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William Babstons















THE  
 ASIATIC  
*ANNUAL REGISTER,*  
 OR,  
 A VIEW OF THE HISTORY  
 OF  
 HINDUSTAN,  
 AND OF THE  
 POLITICS, COMMERCE AND LITERATURE  
 OF  
 ASIA,  
 For the Year 1801.



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In the course of this year, the following Works have appeared in Calcutta, from the pen of the indefatigable and meritorious Mr. GILCHRIST, author of the Hindustanee Dictionary, viz.

A New THEORY and PROSPECTUS of PERSIAN  
VERBS,

*With their HINDUSTANEE SYNONIMES,*

IN PERSIAN and ENGLISH.

To which is prefixed, a COPIOUS INTRODUCTION, wherein Mr. GILCHRIST illustrates the Principles of his Theory, and argues with considerable ingenuity on the Utility that he conceives may result from its Adoption.

We must reserve an account of this Work for our next Volume. In the mean time, we beg to announce to our Readers, that 500 Copies of it are expected in England, by the next Ships from Bengal, and that Orders for it will be received by

Mr. J. DEBRETT, Bookseller, Piccadilly.

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Mr. GILCHRIST's other Work is entitled,

The ANTI-JARGONIST,

OR,

*A Short INTRODUCTION to the HINDUSTANEE  
LANGUAGE,*

(Vulgarly, but erroneously, called the Moors,)

Comprising the Rudiments of that Tongue, with an extensive VOCABULARY, English and Hindustanee, and Hindustanee and English,

Accompanied with

Some plain and useful Dialogues, Translations, Poems, Tales, &c. &c. with a View of illustrating the Whole on Practical Principles, being partly an Abridgment of the Oriental Linguist, but greatly altered and improved, embellished with the Hindustanee Horal Diagram.

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## PREFACE.

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IN delivering this Volume to the Public, so many months after the period at which it ought to have appeared, we feel considerable solicitude. Had this delay arisen from neglect or tardiness, we could have expected no favour, for we should have been without any excuse: but, as it proceeded from a concurrence of circumstances, which it was wholly out of our power either to foresee or prevent, we hope for

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the liberal indulgence of our Readers. Our former Volumes were not published so early in the year as the peculiar nature and objects of the work required, and as we could ourselves have wished; but, we pledge ourselves, in future, to publish punctually in the month of January.

It has been observed by some of our Correspondents, to whose opinions we are disposed to pay great deference, that we proceed too slowly with our History, and that a single chapter in each volume is insufficient. Not to attend to this remark, would betray a degree of indolence, or remissness, of which we are unconscious: but the circumstances above alluded to have disabled us, this year, from fulfilling our intention of extending the historical department to two chapters. The one which we here present to the Public, will



## PREFACE.

will not, however, be found uninteresting, or uninstrucive. It embraces one of the most momentous periods in the annals of India. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the mighty fabric of the Mogul Government had attained its brightest eminence, if not the utmost plenitude of its power; and at that time, too, commenced the connection with England, by which it was destined to be subverted. To unfold the principles on which the political institutions and civil policy of that Government were founded; to view the modes in which these were practised, and to explain the effects of their operation; to shew the state of domestic and foreign commerce in India, and the peculiar maxims by which it had been regulated in all ages; and, finally, to give an account of the manner in which that commerce gave birth to the intercourse with England, as

well as of the origin of the India Company, and their infant establishments, are subjects which, when brought into one point of view, and placed in a perspicuous light, seem well adapted to attract the public attention, and to promulgate an important part of that useful knowledge which lies scattered over several hundred volumes, inaccessible to common readers, from their scarcity, and the different languages in which they are written, and repulsive to men of taste and talents, from their dryness and verbosity. We have made it our business to consult those volumes with scrupulous attention, and to compare the facts which they contain with those which we ourselves collected both in India and England, as well from unpublished documents as oral information. The whole of our materials have been derived from the most authentic

sources;



sources; and we trust the learned reader will find, that the strictest fidelity has been observed, not only in the relation of circumstances and events, but in the views which have been taken of their causes and consequences.

The other departments of this volume contain much interesting information, as well as several original articles, equally curious, entertaining, and useful.

To the important question respecting the Private Trade, and the employment of India-built ships for the purpose of carrying it on, we paid the most diligent attention. All the official communications that took place on the subject between the Commissioners for the Affairs of India and the Court of Directors, in the course of the year 1801, are inserted in a connected series;

ries ; and the Debates on it, both in Parliament and at the India-House, are given in detail.

Having determined, from motives of convenience, as well as by the advice of a great number of our Subscribers, not only to make some reduction in the size of our volumes, but to confine the different departments of the work within certain limits, we were obliged, in our Account of Books, to postpone a review of some of the most interesting publications of the year. According to the plan we have adopted for reviewing works of conspicuous merit, each publication necessarily occupies a considerable space ; as we give a full and complete analysis of its contents, together with illustrations wherever any part admits of embellishment, or the manner in which the author has treated

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ed it, requires to be elucidated or explained: And, when we find occasion to differ from an author, our remarks are often copious, because we are no less anxious to prove the facts we advance by the evidence of the best authorities, and to support our opinions by logical deductions drawn from the established principles of criticism, than to qualify our strictures by the most liberal construction, and invariably to temper them with moderation. This plan appears to us so well calculated to promote the interests of Asiatic Literature and Science, and to enable the Public to form correct notions on Indian affairs, that we cannot depart from it on account of any partial considerations.

Of the general aspect of Political Affairs in Asia, in regard to the continuance of peace, it is only necessary to say a few

words. The conclusion of the war in Europe, and the glorious termination of the campaign in Egypt, have completed the restoration of that tranquillity, of which the Mysorean conquest laid the foundation. There is no immediate prospect of any interruption to the general peace which has been thus established. The gigantic power which the British empire in India has acquired, renders her the arbitress of that part of Asia where hostilities are chiefly to be apprehended; and as peace is, at present, particularly conducive to her most essential interests, all her vast influence will be exerted to preserve it.

LONDON, *July* 26, 1802.



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T H E

ASIATIC

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the Year 1801.

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T H E

HISTORY OF INDIA.

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CHAP. III.

*Recapitulation of the Subjects of the First and Second Chapters—Observations on the Constitution of the Mogul Empire, and on the Political and Commercial State of India, at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century—An Account of the early Intercourse between Great Britain and India—the Origin of the English East India Company—the First Charter granted to that Company by Queen Elizabeth—The Arguments against the India Trade and the Establishment of an exclusive Company, with the Replies to these Arguments—the first Trading Voyages to India by the Company's Ships—The Embassy of Sir Thomas Rowe to the Court of Jehangeer, the Emperor of Hindustan—the Establishment of English Factories in different Parts of India during the Reigns of that Prince, and of his Cotemporary, James the First of England.*

**I**N the preceding chapters we brought down our history to the close of the sixteenth century. We introduced it by surveying the state of ancient Hindustan, with regard to religion, civil government, laws, manners, arms, commerce, arts, sciences, and literature; so that a just and distinct notion might at once be formed of these important particulars. This introduction we followed by a connected series of every well authenticated public event in the civil history of the empire, from the earliest ages to the death of Akbar; by a view of the commercial in-

tercourse between India and Europe, previous to the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope; and by a concise account of the rise and progress of the Portuguese establishments, together with a developement of the causes of their declension. We now proceed to call the attention of our readers to still more interesting topics.

The political situation of Hindustan, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, has been noticed in our view of the reign of Akbar. But before we enter upon the principal subject of this chapter, it

seems essential to make our readers fully acquainted with the condition, not only of the continent, but of the islands of India, both in respect to politics and commerce, at the commencement of the direct trade between these countries and England.

At the death of Akbar, in 1605, his dominions extended from the Tibet mountains on the north, to the provinces of Vissapur and Golconda on the south; and from the confines of Aracan, Meckly, Assam, and Bootan, on the east, to the river Attock and Cabulistan on the west. This vast territory comprehended the finest and richest countries in India. It consisted of one hundred and five provinces, and two thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven districts. With a view to the better government of his extensive empire, to meliorate the condition of his subjects, and thereby to advance the general prosperity, Akbar divided his dominions into fifteen subahs, over each of which he appointed a subahdar or viceroy. The names of these subahs were, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Oude, Agimer, Ahmedabad, Bahar, Bengal, Cabul, Lahore, Multan, Malwa, Berar, Kandeish, and Ahmednagur. The empire thus divided, was governed nearly on the same principles as the ancient Hindu states, though the emperor ruled with a much more absolute sway than the Hindu kings; for he had not, like them, an arbitrary system of religion, interwoven with the civil code, and a domineering hierarchy, who by that code was placed above the prince in the order of society, constantly operating as a check on his conscience, and thereby restraining him in the commission of tyrannical acts. Akbar inherited

from his ancestors on the throne of Delhi, a power in every respect unlimited and uncontrollable; but it was his glory to exercise that power according to the immutable and established maxims of universal justice. Though he possessed in an eminent degree all the qualifications of a great warrior, his turn of mind inclined him to promote the peaceful arts, and to encourage industry amongst his subjects. In the dominions which he conquered, as well as in those which he held by inheritance, he restored the Hindus not only to the free exercise of their religion, but to many of their civil rights. In treating of the ancient Hindu governments, we have already shewn that the prince was the absolute and sole proprietor of the soil; that the land throughout his dominions was apportioned in small allotments to the husbandman, by whom it was cultivated, which allotments they held by perpetual hereditary leases; that the gross produce of the soil constituted the revenues of the state, and that one sixth part only of that produce had from immemorial custom been demanded by the prince. Of this proportion of the gross produce part was paid in kind, and part in money. The state of landed property in Hindustan continued nearly the same for the first three centuries after the Mahomedan conquests. The Ghiznian princes were rude and ferocious fanatics, who overrun rather than subdued the western provinces, and whose short-sighted avarice never looked beyond the immediate plunder of moveable property. Instead of taking possession of, they destroyed the sources by which alone they could have secured to themselves real wealth and permanent power. Whenever they wanted a supply of money, they plundered



plundered the manufacturers, merchants and peasantry, and laid waste the districts contiguous to the royal residence. Under such circumstances, nothing but the extraordinary fertility of the country, and the indefatigable industry of its native inhabitants, could possibly have preserved it from total ruin.

After the establishment of the Afghan dynasty in Hindustan, the Hindus appear to have been somewhat less severely oppressed. The princes of that race, though not less cruel or avaricious, were infinitely more politic than their predecessors. They saw the absurdity of stripping their conquered subjects of the whole of their property, and in effect defeating their own object, by precluding them from having any property to pillage in future. These princes therefore exacted heavy tributes throughout the whole of the provinces they had subdued; without fixing, however, any mode or rate of payment, or establishing any sort of systematic arrangement. They made no appropriation of any part of the lands in their dominions, except the provinces of Delhi, and the Duab\*. In these the Hindu husbandmen were required to convert into money the greatest part of the gross produce of their farms, which money was collected by the choudries or collectors, and by them paid into the royal treasury.

The first Mahomedan monarch who made any change in the political economy of Hindustan, was Alla-ud-deen, whose reign, institutions, and personal character, have been already noticed. After causing an accurate survey to be made of all the provinces in his dominions, he directed the Hindu col-

lectors to make estimates of the value of the gross annual produce of the land in every district; one-half of the whole he appropriated to himself: And Ferishta adds, "that he reduced the choudries to the level of the class of ryots; so that these opulent collectors might not throw the burden from themselves on the industrious farmers. He also enacted, that the fees received by the collectors, as perquisites of office, should in future be paid into the royal treasury." This heavy impost, but still more the alteration which was made in their ancient customs, reduced the peasantry to misery and despair; the cultivation of the lands was neglected; and many of the opulent ryots in the northern provinces abandoned their houses and fled to the woods. At the death of Alla, this destructive system was discontinued; but the same rate of impost was exacted, with more or less rigour, from that period till the accession of Firose-Shah. But that judicious and benevolent monarch no sooner assumed the reins of government, than he remitted a great part of the assessment made by Alla; and, by many wise and salutary regulations, restored the agriculture, and revived the commerce of the empire.

The conquest of Timur, which took place about ten years after the death of Firose-Shah, involved the whole country in anarchy. Whether the institutes of that celebrated prince were prepared for Hindustan or for Persia, is a question of little importance, as they never were adopted in any country; though Akbar indeed appears to have profited by them in forming

\* That fertile district is situated between the rivers Ganges and Jumna.



his plan of government. From the invasion of Timur, until the reign of Akbar, the information which has been handed down by Ferishta, respecting the state of the landed property, is very imperfect. It would appear, however, that though the exactions which were made by the sovereign were immoderately high, and occasionally enforced with circumstances of the most atrocious cruelty, yet trade and agriculture were carried on by the industrious Hindus, according to their ancient customs, in spite of the oppression under which they groaned. None of the Mussulman princes, during that period, made any material alteration in the state of property, or in the mode of collecting the revenues. Whilst the royal treasury was regularly kept full, they were little anxious about the sources from whence it was supplied.

On the accession of Akbar, a system of moderation was immediately adopted. The first edict that was issued was strictly to prohibit the exaction of peishcush or tribute from the farmers, to let all merchandize pass toll free, and to forbid the practice of recruiting the army by force from amongst the Hindu labourers. This edict, which was rigidly enforced, and followed by others of the same complexion, in a few years changed the face of affairs over the whole empire, and paved the way for those institutions which crowned the reign of this prince with a just and durable glory.

Having reduced to subjection the Mussulman governors of the provinces, who had revolted from the authority of the imperial government, Akbar made that political division of the empire which has been described. In forming the

new regulations for the internal government of the subahs, for assessing the land-rents, and for collecting the revenues, which he subsequently established, he called in the assistance of Rajah Tudor Mull, a Hindu of the Chatriya tribe, who was distinguished throughout Hindustan as a consummate statesman and financier. His employing this eminent man in affairs of so much importance, not only evinces his own sagacity, but also the great respect which he paid to the opinions and prejudices of his Hindu subjects, who formed nine-tenths of the people in his dominions: and many of the regulations which he adopted by his advice, correspond both with the principles and practice of the constitutional law of the ancient Hindu states. But while he granted to the Hindus an unlimited religious toleration, and secured to them their hereditary and prescriptive immunities in regard to property, he maintained, in all criminal matters, the entire supremacy of the Mahomedan jurisprudence. According to his political institutes, there was established in every province of the empire a systematic order and regularity, not only in executing the affairs of government, but in the administration of justice. Each subah or province was governed by a subahdar or sepahfillar, who was the immediate representative of the emperor. The subahdar received, along with his appointment, written instructions, wherein he was particularly required to make the happiness of the people the grand and primary object of his attention; for on their happiness depended the prosperity of the state. He was likewise instructed to consider a knowledge of the dispositions



tions of men, and a rigid adherence to the principles of justice, as the firmest basis of his power.

Under the subahdar there was an officer called foudjar, who had the superintendance of several districts, and whose particular duty was to see the orders of the subahdar put in execution by the different subordinate officers of the province.

The cazy and meer adul, the two judges of the Mahomedan court of civil and criminal law, were next in consideration to the foudjar. The cazy tried causes; and the meer adul passed sentence. Before them all criminal actions within their respective province were tried and determined; and likewise all civil suits between Mussulmen, or between a Mussulman and a Hindu: but litigations between the Hindus themselves were always referred to the decision of two pundits, who tried and adjudged them according to the ordinances of the Hindu law.

The police of each province was so well regulated, and so strictly enforced, that travellers might pass from one part of the country to another, at all times, either in the day or night, without any fear of molestation; and even in the neighbourhood of large towns, depredations were very rarely committed. This great degree of security, in regard to persons and property, resulted from the peculiar vigilance and vigour with which the office of master of the police was conducted. A cutwall, or master of the police, was appointed by the emperor to each province; and this officer was held responsible to deliver up to justice every one who should be guilty of an illegal act within his jurisdiction: and when any theft was committed, he was made answer-

able for the loss sustained by the person from whom the goods were stolen, if he did not succeed in apprehending the culprit. But as this regulation was made with a view to discover the offender, rather than to punish the officer of police, it was likewise enacted, that the inhabitants of the district in which any robbery was committed should be obliged to pay to the cutwall the full amount of his loss, if they did not discover either the thief, or the goods he had stolen. By this means, whenever any robbery happened, there was a general search throughout the district, and the offenders seldom or never effected their escape. The cutwall kept a regular register of all the houses in every town in the province, and of the people by whom they were inhabited. The towns were divided into quarters; and to each quarter he appointed an officer to superintend the police, who transmitted to him, every month, a journal of every the most minute occurrence which happened. Besides this officer, there were two others, who lived separately, and were altogether unknown to each other, associated to watch over his conduct, and to report to the cutwall the manner in which he discharged the functions of his office. It was likewise the duty of the cutwall to see that the streets and lanes in the towns, and that the public roads leading through the province, were kept in repair. Every town was guarded at night by armed patrols, some composed of cavalry, and some of infantry, so that no part of the public safety was left unprovided for. This rigorous police, though inconsistent with that degree of personal liberty which every civilized community should be allowed to enjoy, seems nevertheless conducive

to moral discipline, and to the observance of virtuous habits, that even with its severity it deserves our admiration.

The complete protection which these regulations afforded to private property, operated as a powerful incentive to the natural industry of the Hindu people; and agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, regained that flourishing condition which, before the Mahomedan conquest, had rendered Hindustan the most peaceful and opulent of nations.

The revenues of the state, though much greater than at any former period in the history of the country, were borne by the husbandmen, not only with ease, but cheerfulness; for the mode in which they were collected held out so many encouragements to industrious exertions, that the land was improved, and the peasantry enriched, in the same proportion that the state was benefited. During the last twenty years of Akbar's reign, the revenue amounted to THIRTY-SIX MILLION POUNDS STERLING annually. This immense sum was principally, if not wholly, drawn from the gross produce of the land; for the few taxes levied on articles of merchandize formed but a small part of the revenue. It appears from the assessment of the lands made by Tudor Mull, and preserved in the Ayeen Akbary, that the ryots paid to the government something less than one-fourth of the produce of their lands. This at least was the average rate at which they were assessed; for in some sircars they paid more, in some less, according to the fertility of the land they occupied. When it is considered that this was the only rent paid by the husbandmen, and that no other tax was levied on them by government, it will appear evi-

dent that the public burthens were extremely light, and that therefore an annual revenue of 36,000,000l. was perfectly compatible with the prosperity, comfort, and happiness of the people.

This circumstance, however, is in a great degree to be attributed to the admirable plan which was adopted for collecting the revenues. The lands of every district in the empire were placed under the charge of an aumil, or collector, who was a Mussulman officer, appointed annually by the subahdar of the province to receive the land rents of the government, and to transmit them to the royal treasury. This officer was vested with considerable authority; He was specially instructed to superintend the cultivation of the lands; to see that the husbandmen were industrious, and that no part of their farms were allowed to lie fallow, or to run to waste; to stimulate their industry, by assisting them not only with small annual loans of money, but likewise with such sums, at any time, as their occasional exigencies might require; and, above all, to collect the revenues with kindness, to make the collections at stated periods, and never to make any demands from the husbandmen before their rents became regularly due. The aumil was assisted in the execution of his duty by the tepukchy, or accountant, on whom he depended for all accurate information in regard to the financial affairs of the district. The particular province of the tepukchy was to take an account of the medium state of the revenues for ten years, both in money and kind; and having thereby made himself perfectly acquainted with the exact value and capabilities of the lands in the district, to lay before the aumil the whole detail



detail of the information he had obtained. He was also to keep an account of the boundaries of the different villages; to draw out a statement of the waste and arable land, the articles of cultivation, the purgunnahs, and villages. When he had completed the measurement of a farm village, he was to draw out the proportion at which each husbandman was assessed, and specify the actual revenue or rent to be paid by the village to government, so that the aumil might have a fixed rule by which to regulate his collections. He was besides to keep a journal of receipts and disbursements under every name and form; and at the end of every month to draw out an account from this journal, and inclose it under the seal of the aumil, and transmit it to the subahdar of the province. Along with this account he sent the rates of exchange of mohurs and rupees, and the market prices of every article: -and, at the end of every year, an abstract of the assessment of the land rents was transmitted to the emperor. The tepukchy was overlooked in the exercise of his functions, by the wakyahnavees, or king's secretaries, two of whom resided in each district.

In assessing the land rents, in collecting the revenues, and in making out the accounts that have been mentioned, the aumil and tepukchy were supplied with the requisite information, and assisted in all the different departments of their duty by the zemindars and canungoos, who were the native Hindu officers of revenue, and whose offices, according to the Hindu law, were considered as hereditary. The zemindars received their written appointments, or sunnuds, from the king, by which the office of collector of the land rents was conferred on them as an inheritance, on the

special condition of their executing their trust with zeal and fidelity. Along with their appointments, they received certain portions of land, called nankar lands, which it was the ancient custom of the Hindu princes to give them as part of their official allowances, and of which they were vested with the absolute proprietary right, by the same tenure that they held their appointments. The portions of land which were thus given by the sovereign to the zemindar, were very small, and were generally intended as a provision for his family. The customary allowance of his office was ten per cent. upon the rents which he collected for government, and the productive value of the nankar lands was deducted from this allowance.

Yet, though the office of zemindar, and the portion of land attached to it, were bestowed as an inheritance, it was nevertheless customary for the sovereign to dismiss zemindars from their situations, and consequently to deprive them of the nankar lands, upon their being found guilty of any fraudulent or corrupt practices, or even of any very culpable negligence in the execution of their duty.

The duties of the zemindar are specifically pointed, and expressly enjoined in the sunnud, or writ of appointment. His business, in respect to government, was to realize the rent of the lands at the rate annually agreed upon, and to collect the other revenues of the state within the purgunnahs (certain portions of a district) of which he had the special charge. His duty, in respect to the ryots, or husbandmen, was to protect them from every kind of injustice, and at the same time to punish, by pecuniary amercements, or even corporeal chastisement, such of them as



were refractory or criminal. All orders of the sovereign regarding the ryots were delivered to them by the zemindars, before whom likewise all their grievances and complaints were laid: So that he was the ostensible agent of government, in whatever related to the revenues of the state, and to the rural economy of the country. But as Akbar thought it unwise to confide entirely to the agency of Hindus in matters of such extensive importance, he appointed an amil to each district in the empire, to assist in the collection of the revenues, and thereby to be a check on the conduct of the zemindars.

The canangoos were likewise Hindus, and their appointments were invariably hereditary, but subject to the same limitations and conditions as the zemindary tenures; that is to say, they were liable to be dismissed at the option of the emperor, and always were dismissed, on any very culpable error being proved against them. Their duty was to furnish the tepukchy with the whole detail of the land rents, and to control the zemindars in the statement of their revenue accounts. They were paid

by government for these useful purposes; and there was one in every purgunnah.

From these observations on the state of landed property in Hindustan, in the reign of Akbar, and on the revenue regulations established by that illustrious prince, we presume our readers will be completely satisfied, that the sovereign was the SOLE AND ABSOLUTE PROPRIETOR of all the lands in the empire, except certain portions, which he himself bestowed on a few of his subjects, for special purposes, and by particular grants. It appears to us indisputable, after consulting every authority\*, and after the most mature deliberation on the subject, that the proprietary right of the soil was vested in the king, both by the Hindu and the Mussulman constitutions of government: that the actual cultivators of the land held their small farms immediately from the king by perpetual hereditary leases, on the specific condition of paying to him, at stated periods, either in money or in kind, a certain proportion of the annual produce of their grounds: that between the prince and the husbandmen, there were no intermediate proprietors

\* On this important subject, we have principally consulted the Institutes of Menu, as translated by Sir William Jones; and a Disquisition on the property in the Soil, introduced into the Digest of Hindu Law, by the learned Commentator Jagannátha Tercapanchánana, and translated by Mr. Colebrooke. This interesting disquisition proves beyond controversy, that, by the ancient constitutional law of Hindustan, the Rajah, or King, was the sole and absolute proprietor of all the lands in his dominions; and that the husbandmen obtained from the King the usufruct of the land they cultivated, on condition of their paying him one-sixth part of the gross annual produce thereof. With respect to the state of property under the Mogul Constitution, we have consulted the Institutes, or Political Ordinances of Mahommed, preserved in the Hedáya, or Guide to the Mussulman Laws; the Ayeen Akbary; the Akbarnameh, Ferishta's Histories of Hindustan, the Deccan, and Bengal; the Munkhab al Tauric of Abul Khader Bedowni; the Remuzat Alemgeeri; the Fermauns of Alemgeer; the Sunnuds, or Writs of Appointment to Zemindars; the Observations of the accurate and intelligent Bernier, and of Manuchi, Thevenot, Tavernier, Herbert, and Tiery; also the Instructions drawn up for the European Supervisors of the Districts, during Mr. Verelst's Government of Bengal; Sir John Shore, (now Lord Teignmouth's) Minute on Zemindary Tenures; Rous's Dissertation on Landed Property in Bengal; Grant on Zemindary Tenures; and Mr. Patten's highly ingenious Dissertation on the Principles of Asiatic Monarchies.



proprietary whatever: and that the zemindars, who have been supposed to be the actual proprietors of those lands, the rents of which they collected, were in reality the hereditary servants of the prince, specially appointed by him, to superintend the husbandmen in the cultivation of the land, and to collect from them the rents for government.

We have stated, that the gross annual revenue of the Mogul empire, in the reign of Akbar, amounted to 36,000,000*l.* sterling. This was the estimated value of the gross produce of the lands as collected in the provinces, together with the amount of some few taxes, which were levied on certain articles of merchandize, and other moveable property. But the net revenue, which was transmitted in cash to the royal treasury at Delhi, did not amount to more than 20,000,000*l.* sterling; for the civil and military establishments, the expence of which was very considerable, were paid in the provinces out of the gross collections.

The nature of the civil institutions has already been sufficiently explained. The military establishment of the empire was very extensive. Besides the regular army, there were large bodies of irregular troops belonging to every district, and employed in the service of the cut-walls, aumils, and zemindars. These were called the zemindary troops, and are said in the Ayeen Akbary to have amounted to upwards of four millions of men. This immense body was entirely under the command of the officers of revenue and police, and was chiefly composed of Hindus. From thirty to forty thousand men were enrolled in each district for this particular service; and as they were never sent out of the district

to which they belonged, these corps may be considered as a sort of militia. Their pay was very small, and they received it principally in kind.

The regular army was, for the most part, composed of Muffulmen: It was formed of 440 munsubs, or regiments, in each of which the number of men was proportioned to the rank of the commander, who was called a munsubdar. Every munsub consisted of two-thirds cavalry, and one-third infantry. The three principal munsubs were commanded by the emperor's sons. The first consisted of 10,000 horse, and 5000 foot; the second, of 8000 horse and 4000 foot; and the third, of 7000 horse and 3500 foot. The munsubs, commanded by the omrahs and emirs, or nobles, consisted each of seven, six, and 5000 men, in the same proportion of cavalry and infantry; and all the other munsubs, from 3000 to 200 each, according to the rank of the munsubdars. The whole formed an army of 700,000 effective men. The cavalry were armed with long cutlasses: one-fourth only of the infantry had muskets; the remainder were archers. Each munsub had a regular establishment of horses, elephants, camels, mules, bullocks, carts, &c. To each munsub a small train of artillery was attached; and in every province there was an artillery establishment, which consisted of 100 pieces of iron ordnance and 5000 men. In addition to this vast army, there was a body of chosen infantry, consisting of 12,000 men, whose peculiar duty was to guard the royal palaces, and the emperor's person. There were also ten corps, consisting of 10,000 men each, called shumsheerbaz or gladiators. Some of these corps were armed with large shields, and long swords, which they managed with



with surprising dexterity ; others were armed with small shields and cudgels ; others with poignards and daggers, with which they did considerable execution in close action. The whole army was formed into twelve grand divisions, each of which, in time of peace, was appointed by rotation every month, for the public service. Officers of all ranks were obliged to take their tour of duty, excepting those that were employed on the frontiers of the empire, or on special service, in which case it was necessary to make a particular representation to the emirs, or principal military commanders.

It is very unusual in Asiatic princes to pay their military establishments with any tolerable regularity ; their forces are generally kept in long arrears, and often not paid, until a spirit of discontent rises into a fierce mutiny, and threatens a dissolution of the government. But the politic and sagacious Akbar knew, that by means of a well disciplined army, he could alone maintain his widely extended dominions ; and that the discipline of an army could not possibly be preserved, unless the troops were punctually paid. Paymasters were accordingly appointed to distribute the pay to the different munsubs, and other corps, on the first day of every month. The pay of a munsubdar was from 60,000 to 1000 rupees a-month, in proportion to the number of men of which his munsub consisted, and to the rank which he held. The omrahs, who commanded the grand divisions of the forces, and whose duty was much the same as that of generals in European armies,

were for the most part paid by assignments of certain portions of land, called jaghiers, which they held during their lives, at the will of the sovereign, on the condition of their performing military service, and of their supporting a certain number of troops, to be ready for actual service on any emergency. These jaghiers were often of considerable extent, and very valuable ; but the officers and nobles to whom they were assigned were specially instructed not to interfere with the leases of the ryots, or to exact from them a larger proportion of the produce of their farms than they had previously paid to government. On some particular occasions, veteran officers, who had long been renowned for their talents, and who had performed a series of signal services, were rewarded with perpetual hereditary grants of jaghiers, in those countries which their own skill and valour had subdued. The ahdys, or captains, and the inferior officers, were paid partly in money, and partly by tunkha, which was an assignment of the proportion belonging to government of the produce of a certain number of beegahs\* of land. The officers of cavalry, on entering the service, were obliged to find themselves in one horse ; but they were afterwards supplied with horses and camels by government. No expence was spared in procuring horses, from all the different countries of Asia, which were most famed for the breed of that animal. When they were brought to Delhi, they were examined with great care by proper judges appointed for the purpose, and they were then classed according to their beauty and value, and

\* The Beegah is a land measure in Hindustan. Three Beegahs are equal to an English acre.



and marked for the different corps in a manner which indicated the qualities they possessed. The pay of the private troopers varied according to the particular class of horses to which they were appointed. Some were allowed 90 rupees a month, and some only 12 rupees. Each trooper was allowed a camel and an ox. The foot soldiers were also paid by rates, proportioned to the rank of the officer who commanded the corps they belonged to. These rates varied from 10 to 30 rupees a-month.

Such was the manner in which a great army was constructed and paid, by one of the ablest and most accomplished princes that ever adorned the annals of Asia, whether he be considered as a warrior or a statesman. Yet the very formation of this vast multitude of armed men is at variance with every principle of military science, order, and discipline, and is of itself sufficient to shew that Akbar, with all his talents, very little surpassed the rest of his countrymen in his ideas of military affairs. Twice the number of cavalry to that of infantry; such a disproportion in the number of men of which the different corps were composed; such a wide difference between the pay of officers of the same rank, and of the private soldiers, are defects of so much magnitude in the organization of an army, as must necessarily have precluded its ever attaining any degree of systematic order, and of ever performing, on active service, the most common evolutions with effect. Yet such was the general ignorance of Asiatics in military science, that this cumbrous army, which, opposed to a body of 30,000 Europeans, must have been defeated from its own radical defects, nevertheless kept all the surrounding na-

tions in complete awe. These nations were not indeed very formidable.

At the beginning of the 17th century, the Mogul empire had acquired, by the power of her arms, great ascendancy, not only over the other states of Hindustan, but also over all the countries situated between Persia and the river Indus. Of the states of Hindustan, the most powerful were those of the Deccan, then under the government of the Mussulman sultans of Golconda, Bijapur, Calberga, and Telinga. The dominions of these princes, at this period, extended over the greatest part of the interior of the peninsula, comprehending the provinces of Telingana, Golconda, Visapur, Guntoor, Cuddapah, together with a great part of the Carnatic, and the northern parts of Mysore and Bednore. Since the origin of these monarchies, in the latter end of the thirteenth century, it had always been a prominent part of the policy of the court of Delhi to reduce them; a policy which, however necessary in maintaining the power and authority of the Mogul empire, unquestionably produced and strengthened that confederacy of the Mussulman sultans of the Deccan, which it cost so much blood and treasure, and took so much time to dissolve. When Akbar ascended the throne, that confederacy had acquired a very considerable accession of power, by the subjugation of the ancient Hindu monarchy of Bijanagur, and by valuable conquests in the Carnatic. It became therefore one of the first objects of his reign to guard the southern provinces of the empire against the encroachments of these sultans, and to direct his whole force against a confederacy which contemned his authority, and seem-



ed to threaten the stability of his power. The vast armies which he consequently sent against the princes of the Deccan, effectually checked their inroads into the Mogul provinces of Kandeish and Amednagur, and not only obliged them to retire to the southward of the river Godavary, but compelled them to sue for peace, on condition of their paying an annual tribute to the emperor, and of their acknowledging his supremacy. This was the relative situation of the Mogul empire, and of the Mussulman monarchies of the Deccan, at the death of Akbar.

The small Hindu states of the peninsula that yet retained their independence, had no direct influence in the general politics of Hindustan; but the undaunted perseverance with which they continued to resist the Mussulman arms, operated as a constant check on the sultans of the Deccan; and thereby prevented them from gaining strength sufficient to withstand the preponderating power of the Mogul empire.

The nature and extent of the Portuguese possessions in India, and the degree of influence which they acquired amongst the nations of the peninsula, have been abundantly explained. At the time we are speaking of, the atrocities which they committed in their endeavours to propagate the Christian faith, had excited a general indignation, not only in the Hindu, but even in the Mussulman states; and before the commencement of their wars with Savageé, the Mahratta chief, their power, as well as their commerce, had greatly declined.

Before the Mahratta tribes coalesced into a nation under the enterprising Savageé, they were merely a pastoral people, inhabiting

the mountains of Berar, and, like the mountaineers of all other countries, were distinguished for their warlike character, and their love of independence. They made frequent predatory incursions into the lower parts of the province of Berar; but the Mussulmans were satisfied with driving them back to their mountains, and never made any attempt to subdue them.

Between the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Oude, and the countries situated on their eastern frontiers, a regular commercial intercourse was preserved; but these countries possessed too little power, and consequently too little weight in the scale of oriental nations, to be objects of political attention at the court of Delhi. With China there appears to have been very little communication of any sort. That the riches of that country, and the tranquil character of its inhabitants, should never have prompted the Mussulman princes of Hindustan to invade it, notwithstanding their boundless avarice and ambition, is a strong proof that none of them possessed that military genius which inspires confidence, and surmounts difficulties, which leads men to undertake great and daring enterprizes, and by which such undertakings can alone be accomplished.

The countries of Afghanistan and Khorosan, which lie between Hindustan and Persia, and the great provinces of Balk and Bucharia, which are situated between the mountains of Hindu-Kho and Tartary, were at this time divided into several principalities, some of which were independent, some were tributary to the Mogul emperor, and some to Shah Abbas, king of Persia. That distinguished prince was raised to the throne of Persia, on the death



death of his brother Shah Ismael, towards the latter end of the reign of Akbar : and it appears to have been the mutual policy of the courts of Delhi and Isphahan to maintain a friendly intercourse. During the ten years which intervened between the death of Tamasp Shah and the elevation of Shah Abbas, the whole kingdom of Persia was in a state of anarchy, in consequence of the incapacity and vices of the different princes who successively filled the throne. Yet Akbar shewed not the smallest disposition to take advantage of these internal commotions ; and the good understanding between the two countries was uninterruptedly preserved.

Of the commercial intercourse which subsisted between India and foreign states, and more particularly the nations of Europe, from the time of Alexander to the close of the sixteenth century, we have in our last chapter treated at considerable length. We shall now advert to the internal commerce of Hindustan, and the trade of the Indian Archipelago.

Trade between different countries usually arises from a reciprocal want of exchangeable commodities. But the Hindus, limited in their desires, wanted no commodities with which any other nation could supply them. Their character of patience, temperance, and moderation, formed, in a long course of ages, by the restrictive principles of their religious and civil institutions, prevented them from acquiring that taste for luxury and extravagance which is the general concomitant of civilization and refinement, and which so largely contributes to promote the external commerce of nations. Furnished almost with every necessary comfort and convenience, by their own ingenious

industry, and the peculiar benignity of the climate in which they lived, they had no relish for the productions of any other country, and even felt little curiosity about them. They therefore never engaged in any external trade, nor speculated on the advantages they might derive from being the carriers of their own commodities to those nations by whom they were so highly prized. The desire of wealth, however, is a passion too general and too powerful, not to have had a very forcible influence on so enlightened a people ; and the gold and silver, with which the traders of other countries flocked to the markets of Hindustan to purchase those exquisite manufactures, and other valuable articles of merchandize that could be procured no where else, operated as a strong and constant stimulus to their strenuous ingenuity. And as the money which by this means flowed so plentifully into the country was never again remitted from it, either for commercial or other purposes ; and as the trade carried on by the Portuguese had infected the people of Europe with an epidemical rage for Indian productions, at the same time that the precious metals brought from America so much increased the facility of obtaining them, the empire of Hindustan naturally became, in the course of the reign of Akbar, the general reservoir of all the specie of the world. This vast influx of specie, circulating throughout the empire, was employed as an instrument of internal trade, which it rendered infinitely more flourishing than at any former period. The trade of the interior, which was augmented by means of this circulation, was confined to the peninsula, the Deccan, and the provinces of Orissa, Bengal,



gal, Behar, Oude, Delhi, Malwa, Guzerat, the Panjab, Cashmir, and Cabul. The horses, which were imported from Tartary, Persia, and Arabia, were exchanged for muslins, coarse cottons, and silks. The cinnamon brought from Ceylon, the cloves, mace, and nutmegs from the Molucca islands, iron from Europe, and cowries\* from the Maldivé islands, were likewise paid for in commodities. These were the only articles of trade then imported into Hindustan. The demand for horses and iron arose from the great military establishments which were maintained by the emperor and the Mussulman princes of the Deccan, and from the wars which were continually carried on between them. But this exchange of commodities, when considered in a relative view to the general commerce of the country, was partial and unimportant, and no way interfered with the established usage by which that commerce was regulated. The great export trade of Hindustan invariably consisted in an interchange of merchandize and specie, and was never carried on by her own inhabitants, but immemorially by other nations: and her internal trade, nourished and invigorated by that specie, rendered her the most opulent country in the world.

The importation of the precious metals was productive of a double benefit; for it not only supplied all the wants both of the government and the people, but thereby did away any temptation on the part of the Mogul princes to work the gold and silver mines of their own country; a temptation to which all governments are natural-

ly prone to yield, and which when yielded to, never fails to be followed by the most pernicious consequences. The merchants of Hindustan likewise derived a direct advantage from the specie which they received in payment of their commodities from the European traders. In the reign of Akbar, a premium of 20 per cent. was given to all merchants who sent their gold and silver to the royal mints, several of which were established in various parts of the empire. When the specie brought from Europe was re-cast, and issued from these mints, in the coin of the country, (gold mohurs and rupees,) a considerable traffic was carried on in them, by means of their bearing value in the different provinces according to the place in which they were struck. The gold mohurs and rupees of Agra, and Murshedabad in Bengal, were intrinsically, as well as by public estimation, more valuable than those of any other place; and a large profit was obtained on the exchange of these coins, at the markets of the Deccan and Guzerat, whither they were transmitted for the purchase of the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones of Golconda, Berar, and of the rich gold and silver velvets, and beautiful carpets of Putten, Beroach and Ahmadabad. The gold and silver coins (the pagoda and the fanam) that were struck by the independant Hindu rajahs of the peninsula, were also employed to great advantage in carrying on the inland traffic in that part of the country. The dams, pice, and other small coins in circulation, contributed to facilitate this trade, amongst a  
people

\* Cowries are small shells collected on the shores of the Maldivé islands, and used as money in Hindustan.



people who, from being habituated to a peculiarly rigid frugality, required to buy their goods in the smallest possible quantities. Amongst the lowest classes, even copper was not cheap, or plenty enough to answer their purposes; and recourse was had to the cowries, or shells, that have been mentioned, by means of which they provided themselves with necessaries, in such proportions only as suited their parsimonious habits, and as were indispensable to their wants. The trade in cowries was in the time of Akbar principally carried on by the merchants of Cambay, Ghogeh, and Surat, who sent small vessels, called tahwerys, to the Maldivé islands, laden with rice and coarse cottons, with which articles they purchased these useful shells. This was the only sort of export trade ever carried on by the merchants of India on their own account.

The town of Surat, situated in the province of Guzerat, was at this period both the principal port in the Mogul empire, and the great emporium of Hindustan. It was not only resorted to by the Portuguese, who had settlements in the neighbourhood, and by all the other European traders, but also by those of Arabia and Persia. Hence the merchants of the Deccan, and of the eastern and northern provinces, brought their several commodities to this market, where they were sure of finding a ready and extensive sale. Merchandise was conveyed from one province to another, in large caravans drawn by oxen; and Tavernier relates, that these caravans were attended by so great a cavalcade, that a traveller, when he met them, was obliged to halt upon the road, and wait patiently until they passed, which frequently took up one or

two days. Many of the commodities thus conveyed to the market of Surat, were disposed of to the merchants of that place, in exchange for the productions peculiar to the province of Guzerat: and in like manner the natural productions and manufactures of one province were exchanged for those of another, throughout the whole of Hindustan, including the Deccan and the peninsula. In Bengal, however, from being in every part intersected by navigable rivers, the inland trade was transported by water carriage, with much more expedition, and at a much less expence than by the caravans; and this great advantage, together with the extraordinary fecundity of the soil, produced by those rivers, and the superior industry of the inhabitants, rendered this province in all ages by far the most prosperous and wealthy in the whole country. It could not, therefore, escape the notice of the Portuguese merchants, who traded there to a considerable extent, and who, on that account, obtained permission from the emperor to build small factories on the banks of the Hooghly, for the purpose of enabling their agents to reside in the country, and thereby to have cargoes provided for their ships immediately on their arrival from Europe. The Portuguese had also agents residing at Chittagong, a large and populous town, situated in the eastern frontiers of Bengal, near the great mouths of the rivers Ganges and Brahmaputra. This place was the principal mart on the eastern side of Hindustan; and here the traders of Tonquin, Cochinchina, Siam, Pegu, Ava, Aracan, and Assam, carried the gold and silver found in the mines of these countries, with which they bought the manufactures and many of the natural productions of Bengal.

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The commerce of the Indian Archipelago, particularly that of the islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, and the Moluccas, was very extensive and flourishing. The Arabs and the Chinese had long carried on a lucrative trade with these islands. We have undoubted evidence, that several merchants from the commercial cities of Arabia had settled on the western shores of Sumatra, and on the peninsula of Malaya, in the beginning of the ninth century of the Christian æra; and that by means of these merchants, a regular traffic subsisted between Arabia, Hindustan, the eastern Archipelago, China and Japan, which was prosecuted with great spirit, and with proportional success. The town of Malacca, situated on the Malayan peninsula, opposite to Sumatra, was the great emporium of the eastern islands. To this port the Chinese sent annually a fleet of junks (Chinese trading vessels) laden with the productions of China, which they there exchanged for the gold dust, tin and pepper of Borneo, Sumatra, and Celebes, and the exquisite spices of the Moluccas. Many of the articles brought to this mart by the Arab traders, from Hindustan particularly, the cinnamon of Ceylon, and the silver coins of the Mogul empire, were disposed of to the Chinese, in return for their manufactures. A considerable trade was likewise carried on amongst the different islands, by the native vessels called proes, which the Malays navigated with great skill and dexterity.

Such was the nature of the trade of these islands, and the manner in which it was conducted, when the Portuguese commenced an intercourse with them, and obtained by force of arms various settlements on their shores. These settlements have been already noticed. The Portu-

guese supplanted the Arabs in the carrying trade between Hindustan and the Archipelago; but they found it their interest to give every encouragement to the Chinese merchants, who, through their influence, and the increased demand for the commodities of China, greatly enlarged this branch of commerce. When the power of the Portuguese in the western parts of India began to decline, they also lost their influence among the Malays. In the kingdom of Acheen, in Sumatra, they were openly attacked; and after being dispossessed of the factories which they had erected there, they were entirely driven from the island. About the same time, the Portuguese settlers in some of the other islands met with a similar fate. But from these circumstances, the general commerce of the Malay islands sustained no injury, and felt no diminution: for the Dutch had now engaged in it with that vigour of industry which distinguished all their mercantile operations, and which, without the aid of their arms, would soon have supplanted their supine and degenerate rivals. In A. D. 1605, the Dutch had formed settlements in Java, Banda, and the eastern coast of Sumatra; and in the spice islands, or Moluccas, they had completely displaced the Portuguese, who now only retained, on this side of India, the port of Malacca, the island of Macao on the coast of China, and a few inconsiderable factories in Celebes, Ternate, and Tidore.

In the cursory view which has thus been taken of the government of the Mogul empire, and of the political and commercial state of Hindustan and the eastern islands, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, we have endeavoured concisely to combine all the principal particulars, either immediately belonging to these subjects, or that



are calculated to elucidate them in the most distinct and satisfactory manner; so that our readers may be able to form a competent judgment of the actual condition of India at the time when the commercial intercourse commenced between that Country and Great Britain. We now proceed to the history of that intercourse, and of the establishment of the East India Company.

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The communication between England and India has been traced back to an early period of our annals. It has been \* asserted, that Alfred the Great sent a mission to St. Thomas's, on the coast of Coromandel, about the year 883 of the Christian æra; and as the objects of it were confined to pious and charitable purposes, which it was so congenial to the spirit of the age to promote, there seems no reason to question the fact. The Saxon Chronicle informs us, that Alfred having heard that the Christian missionaries in India were in great distress, dispatched Sighelmus, one of his favourite priests, to convey his alms to the monastery of St. Thomas's. Having executed his commission, he returned to England after an absence of several years, and brought with him a considerable number of precious stones, which he deposited in the treasury of the church of Sherburne in Dorsetshire, of which place he was created bishop, as a reward for his signal services.

In consequence of the splendid account given by Sighelmus of the trade, opulence, and luxuries of the east, we are assured, on the same authorities, that Alfred caused several ships to be built and equipped, for the special purpose of embarking in

the India trade; and that having lent these ships to a few adventurous merchants, whom he also assisted with money, they performed some successful voyages to the ports of Syria and Egypt, from whence they returned richly laden with Indian commodities. It does not however appear, that the commercial intercourse, thus begun by the enterprising genius of Alfred, was continued for any length of time, or even prosecuted with any regularity during the most prosperous period of his reign.

After the death of this great prince, no attempts were made for a great many centuries to revive the Egyptian trade. From that time, until the reign of Henry the Eighth, England was supplied by the Venetians with the commodities of the East. After the Norman Conquest, an event which contributed to increase the external commerce of England, a ship of considerable burthen was sent annually from Venice to the port of Southampton, laden with the various products of India. As the English barons advanced in wealth and civilization, they acquired a taste for luxuries, and the demand for eastern commodities was consequently augmented. In the reign of Edward the Third, the Venetian merchants employed five ships in the English trade; and the principal part of the cargoes of these vessels consisted in sugar, spices, and aromatics, which were much used at the tables of men of rank. These valuable articles, together with silks and cotton stuffs, were paid for partly in specie, and partly in woollens, untanned leather, and tin; but as the prices of the eastern commodities were very exorbitant, the balance of trade was in

\* See William of Malmesbury, and Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. 16th.



in favour of the Venetians. Yet, notwithstanding this circumstance, and the superiority of English shipping and seamen to those of any other country, neither the statesmen nor the merchants of England used any endeavours to embark in this lucrative branch of commerce; a sufficient proof, not only of the want of a trading capital, but of the total absence of that speculative spirit which is the living principle of all commercial pursuits.— Hence the English were contented to receive, through the Venetians, those commodities on which they placed so high a value, and from which they must have been sensible they would have derived more advantage from trading in themselves. But when the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope threw the Indian trade into the hands of the Portuguese, and Lisbon thereby became the great emporium for the productions of the East, the merchants of London imported them from that city on their own account, and conveyed them to the Thames in their own ships.

About this period, Mr. Robert Thorne, a merchant in London, presented a memorial to Henry the Eighth, setting forth the great advantages that would accrue to the nation, by opening a direct commerce to India; and with a view to suit his scheme to the ambitious spirit of that prince, he proposed to proceed to India by a new route; for as the Portuguese had pushed their discoveries to the east, and the Spaniards to the west, it was an object worthy of the English to lay open the navigation of the northern ocean. Though this project was certainly extremely plausible, it does not appear that Henry ever gave it the smallest encourage-

ment, or even considered its possible practicability with that attention, which might have been expected from his intelligent mind. It was not till A. D. 1578, that the first light was thrown on this navigation by Sir Francis Drake.

The first Englishman that went to India by the Cape of Good Hope, was a person of the name of Stevens. He had resided at Lisbon in the capacity of a factor, and in A. D. 1579, was induced to make a voyage to Goa, in a Portuguese ship. On his return to Europe, he published\* an account of his voyage, and of the Portuguese establishments on the coast of Malabar. This voyage, together with that of the famous Cavendish, who sailed round the world in 1586, seems first to have suggested to English adventurers the idea of proceeding to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

In 1591, a Mr. Raymond, and a Mr. James Lancaster, jointly equipped three vessels for a voyage to India, with a view not only to trade with the natives of the East, but to cruise against the Portuguese ships returning to Europe. Their voyage, however, proved extremely disastrous. Of the three ships that sailed from England, Lancaster's was the only one that reached India; the others perished off the Cape of Good Hope. The disabled condition of Lancaster's ship, on his arrival at Calicut, rendered it essential to lay out all his money in purchasing materials to repair her; so that he was prevented from fulfilling any one of the purposes of his voyage; and to complete his misfortunes, he was, on his return home, driven far to the westward, and cast away amongst the West India islands, where he was providentially rescued

\* This publication has not been preserved in any of the collections of Voyages.



cued by a French vessel, and carried to England.

The accounts brought by these mariners of the facility of trading with the natives of Hindustan, as well as of the general indignation which the atrocities of the Portugueze had excited amongst them, operated as a very powerful inducement with the London merchants to engage in the eastern commerce. They began to speculate on the great advantages to be derived from it; but as they had not capital enough to carry it on by way of the Cape of Good Hope, on a scale sufficiently large to afford them any chance in a competition with the Portugueze, they resolved to adopt a more prudent line of conduct, and to endeavour to revive the trade with Syria and Egypt; which the Venetians, from a relaxation of their former industry, had permitted to decay. A memorial was accordingly presented to Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1594, signed by a considerable number of the most respectable merchants; in which the national benefits likely to arise from an eastern trade are exhibited in the most favourable light, and in which, therefore, her majesty is earnestly supplicated to make overtures to the Turkish government, for entering into a treaty of commerce, whereby her majesty's subjects should obtain such privileges as would enable them to open a trade with the merchants of Syria and Egypt, on the solid grounds of reciprocal advantages, and entire confidence. The queen received this proposal with perfect cordiality, expressed her satisfaction at the mercantile spirit which was beginning to show itself in the country; and assured the memorialists, that she would lose no time in complying with so rational and laudable a request. The queen being,

besides, always disposed to encourage commercial projects, and entertaining a favourable opinion of this one, immediately dispatched letters to the Turkish emperor at Constantinople, submitting to him certain articles, which she proposed as the basis of a treaty of commerce. These letters were received with courtesy; and the proposition which they contained being agreed to with the utmost readiness, a treaty was soon after concluded between the two Powers, by which the merchants of England obtained privileges, in the ports of the Turkish empire, superior to those which had ever before been granted to any other nation. Henceforward the commodities of India were brought to England in English ships; and the trade thus opened with the Turkish empire, continued to be conducted with unabated spirit for many years after the establishment of the East-India Company.

But this branch of commerce was not attended with those great national advantages which it was expected to produce. From the number of hands through which the Indian commodities passed, before they reached England, the price put upon them was necessarily high: and the Dutch, who had now established themselves in various parts of India, and vigorously prosecuted the trade thither, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, easily underfold the English and Turkey merchants, even at the London market. This mortifying circumstance served to infuse a new spirit into the commercial ardour which then prevailed; and some of the most opulent London merchants determined, if supported by government, no longer to suffer the Portugueze and the Dutch to monopolize the valuable trade of India. In carrying this determination into

effect, they were assisted by the celebrated George Earl of Cumberland, and a number of gentlemen of independent fortune, who agreed to join them in the speculation of fitting out a certain number of ships to trade to India, provided they obtained a charter from government, granting to those who engaged in this concern the exclusive privilege of carrying on the commerce between England and India. Upon application being made to the queen, to know the sentiments of her majesty on this subject, she expressed her approbation of the measure, and her desire to give it every encouragement. She had indeed anticipated, in her comprehensive mind, the idea of the merchants, and with a view to realize it successfully, Mr. John Mildenhall, the English consul at Constantinople, was sent over-land to Hindustan, charged with letters from Elizabeth to the emperor Akbar. The object of this mission was to obtain from that prince such privileges for the English merchants, who came to the ports of his dominions, as would give them a decided advantage over the other European nations that traded thither. We have not been able to find any satisfactory document regarding the embassy of Mildenhall, or any account whatever of the manner in which he was received by Akbar: But from the known character of that accomplished monarch, we are disposed to believe, that the English ambassador was received, at the court of Delhi, with every mark of courtesy, respect, and distinction; though the artifices which were used by the Portuguese Jesuits, then residing at Agra and Delhi, to impress him with an unfavourable opinion of the

English people, might have induced him to reject the friendly overtures of Elizabeth, and refuse to accede to her proposals. It is certain \* that Mildenhall returned to England without having attained the purpose of his mission; but it is not mentioned whether he brought any letters from Akbar to Elizabeth.

The queen, however, did not wait for the answer of that monarch to decide upon the measure in contemplation; for, on the 31st of December 1600, about six months subsequent to the departure of Mildenhall from Constantinople, the East India Company was instituted by the grant of a charter from her majesty.

This charter was granted to George earl of Cumberland, and two hundred and fifteen knights, aldermen, and merchants, constituting them a body politic and corporate, with a common seal, which they were permitted to alter at pleasure, and under the title of the "Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." Thomas Smythe, Esq. alderman of London, governor of the Company, and twenty-four directors, were nominated in the charter, which proceeds to enact, that a governor and twenty-four directors shall be chosen annually, but in future by the Company themselves: That these directors shall form committees, who shall jointly have the direction of the voyages, the provision of the shipping and merchandize, the sale of the merchandize, and the sole management of all things belonging to the Company: That these directors shall take the oath of fidelity, and that every member shall take

\* See Rymer's Fœdera.



take an oath before he is permitted to traffic as a freeman of the Company: That freedom shall be granted to them and their successors; their sons, when arrived at the age of twenty-one; to their apprentices, factors, and servants, employed by them for the space of FIFTEEN YEARS, in the following terms, *namely*, "freely to traffic and use the trade of merchandize by sea, in and by such ways and passages already discovered, as they should esteem and take to be fittest, into and from the East Indies, into the countries and ports of Asia and Africa, and into and from all the islands, ports, havens, creeks, rivers and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the streight of Magellan, where any trade or traffic may be used, to and from every of them, in such order, manner, form, liberty and condition, as they themselves shall from time to time agree upon." They were likewise empowered to make bye-laws; to inflict punishments, either corporal or pecuniary, provided such punishments accorded with the laws of England; to export goods free of duty for four years; and after that period, the duty of all exports which should miscarry, to be deducted from future goods when shipped. For the customs of imported goods, they were allowed six months credit for half, twelve months for the other half, and a free exportation for thirteen months. They were permitted to export to the amount of 30,000*l.* in foreign coin, or bullion, on the express condition that 6000*l.* were re-coined in her majesty's mint. After the completion of a voyage, they were obliged to return the same quantity of bullion and coin that had been exported in that voyage;

but from this condition the first voyage was excepted. The sole and exclusive right was granted to them of the traffic to India; and all other English subjects were excluded from it, under severe penalties. It was, however, added, that if, within the space of fifteen years, (the time limited by the charter,) this monopoly should appear in any respect detrimental to the public, it should then, upon two years warning under the privy seal, become null and void; but that if experience proved this new corporation to be beneficial to the nation at large, her majesty agreed not only to renew their charter, but to add such other clauses to it as should appear most conducive to the interests of the Company, as well as of commerce.

Having obtained this advantageous charter, the Company proceeded, in 1601, to raise a sum of money, (but not in one joint stock or capital,) in order to commence their trade; and though individual shares were limited to 50*l.* each, the money paid into the treasurer's hands, in a short time, amounted to 72,000*l.*; a circumstance which attests the popularity of the scheme amongst the merchants of London. Yet there were not wanting those who endeavoured to decry it, in various publications, with great speciousness of sophistry, and vehemence of expression. The principal points of objection which were advanced against the trade to India in general, as well as the establishment of an exclusive company for carrying it on, were, 1<sup>st</sup>. That it would exhaust the treasures of the country. 2<sup>d</sup>. That the seamen employed in the trade would fall a sacrifice to the pernicious influence of the climate, and the length and fatigue of the voyage; and that our naval



power would thereby be proportionally weakened. 3d. That the returns from India being for the most part articles of luxury, of which there was no need, this trade would have a manifest tendency to check the industry of the people, as well as to deprive the poor of employment. 4th. That the importation of India goods would lessen the sale of home manufactures. 5th. That even granting the necessity of the trade, it was not only impolitic, but inconsistent with the free principles of the English constitution, to give away the natural privileges of the people at large to a particular set of men. 6th. That the free merchants, by whom the general commerce of the nation was conducted, would support the charge, and regulate the management of this one branch, infinitely better than a few directors, whose notions of trade, the very monopoly they were concerned in, would tend to narrow and confine. Lastly, that it was subversive of every principle of trade, and highly injurious to the public, to be under the necessity of buying at the warehouses and sales of one company of merchants, all the commodities of India; and thereby enabling that company, by preventing all competition, to regulate the price of those commodities, according to their own avaricious notions, rather than to the fair profits of trade.

The advocates for the India trade and monopoly replied to these objections with considerable force. They urged, first, that all nations who ever engaged in this commerce had drawn great advantages from it, and that the history of the wisest commercial states established this point beyond controversy. 2d. That nothing could contribute more

than this commerce to the increase of our naval power, on account of the number of ships and seamen that would probably be employed in it. 3d. That nothing could more improve the art of navigation, than voyages along so many shores, into so many seas, through so many climates, and round the greatest part of the globe. 4th. That this trade would bring into the country an incalculable influx of wealth, whilst it furnished employment for a great number of industrious people both at home and abroad. 5th. That many thousands, who would probably be employed in India, after the company had established factories there, would amass large fortunes, with which they would return to their native country, and thereby enlarge the common stock of national opulence. 6th. That every branch of commerce in the country was in some measure dependant on, or connected with, that to India. 7th. That it was unjust to overlook the quantity of home manufactures which the company, by the terms of their charter, were annually obliged to export; and that the importation of unwrought commodities, by the company, ought likewise to be considered. 8th. That with regard to the monopoly, it was the universal opinion of all nations concerned in this traffic, that it could not succeed by an open trade. 9th. That the real state and condition of a trade to a country so distant, could not be known, nor the necessary regulations and instructions for that trade be executed, by any other means than an exclusive company. 10th. That to place the India trade under the immediate direction of the crown, would be much more destructive to the freedom of the English



English constitution, than any corrupt influence which this monopoly of the company might be supposed in time to acquire. Lastly, that for all these reasons, there appeared no alternative, but either entirely to abandon the trade to India, or to pursue it under the conduct of an exclusive company.— Such is the substance of the animated discussions that took place, respecting this important question; and the analysis we have given is the more interesting, as it contains nearly all the arguments which have been advanced since that period, both for and against the India trade and monopoly, by eminent speculative philosophers, celebrated political economists, and great practical statesmen.

Whilst the politicians and merchants of London were occupied in these discussions, the governor and directors of the company were busily employed in equipping their first trading fleet; which consisted of one ship of 600 tons, one of 300, two of 200, and a victualling vessel of 180 tons. The complement of seamen in all of these different ships amounted to 480. The command of the fleet was given to Captain James Lancaster, who has been already mentioned, and whose experience and knowledge of the navigation of the Indian seas, as well as his natural good sense and abilities, rendered a fit person to entrust with so valuable and important a charge. The cargoes of the different ships consisted chiefly of tin, lead, iron, iron-cannon, muskets and cutlasses, which, together with silver bullion and Spanish dollars, came to 27,000*l.* and the remainder of the 72,000*l.* the sum originally advanced by the company for carrying on their

trade, was entirely expended in the purchase and equipment of the ships.

Lancaster was instructed to proceed to the eastern parts of India, for the purpose of more readily procuring spices, which were then in great demand in England; and with a view to facilitate the attainment of that object, the queen addressed a letter to the king of Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, offering her friendship and alliance to that monarch, and expressing an earnest hope that he would not only allow her subjects to trade in his dominions, but agree to enter into a treaty of commerce with her majesty, which she had given the bearer of her letter full powers to conclude, and by which her subjects should be secured in such privileges as would enable them to trade with confidence, and thereby render their traffic advantageous to both nations. On the 13th of February 1601, the fleet sailed from the Downs, and after a long and sickly voyage of fifteen months and eighteen days, arrived in the road of Acheen on the 5th of June 1602. Lancaster immediately sent a deputation of seven of his officers to the king, to inform him that he was the bearer of a letter and some valuable presents to his majesty, from the queen of England, and that he solicited his permission to deliver them in person. The deputation met with the greatest respect, and the king appointed the next day to receive the letter and presents. Lancaster waited upon him accordingly, and he was received with abundant ceremony and politeness, the degree of which with Malay princes is usually proportioned to the number of vessels and apparent strength of their foreign



reign visitors. On being conducted to the presence of the king, Lancaster delivered the letter and the presents, the principal article of which was a fan of feathers; he then declared that he came from England, with the view of establishing a treaty of amity and commerce between his royal mistress and the mighty king of Acheen. His majesty expressed his perfect readiness to meet the wishes of the queen of England, to whose subjects he was happy to shew every respect. He said that he would in two days enter into the terms of the treaty; and, having ordered Lancaster to be arrayed in a magnificent habit of the country, and armed with two creeses, or daggers, he retired from the court of audience. After this ceremony the English agent and his officers were invited to a sumptuous banquet, which had been prepared for them, in which the service was of gold, and at which a number of handsome women, belonging to the king, richly attired and ornamented with bracelets and jewels, were ordered to attend, and entertain them with dancing and music. The next day the king sent two of the principal officers of his court to settle with Lancaster the terms of a commercial treaty, which were soon agreed upon, drawn up, and executed. By this treaty, it was stipulated that the English should have a free entry into the port of Acheen, and permission to trade there duty free; that English agents should be allowed to reside there, and that they should have an ample security for the punctual performance of all contracts and bargains into which they might enter with the native mer-

chants; that they should have authority to punish their own people, without appealing to the civil magistrates of the country; that upon complaint of any injuries received from the Malays, they should have justice speedily rendered to them; that they should be exempted from all arrests in respect to goods or prizes; and lastly, that they should be allowed the undisturbed exercise of their own religion. During the time that the treaty was preparing, the Portuguese missionaries residing at Acheen watched with a jealous eagerness the proceedings of the English, into which they endeavoured to pry; but Lancaster, who appears to have possessed a considerable share of penetration, and great vigilance and activity, completely defeated their design, by bribing their own spies, whom they had placed over him, and employing them as instruments against themselves.

Having thus fully accomplished the principal purpose of his voyage, having shipped as great a quantity of pepper as he could procure, and settled a factor at Acheen, he sailed from thence for Bantam, on the island of Java. On his passage thither he fell in with and captured \* a large Portuguese ship, richly laden with spices.

When he arrived at Bantam, he delivered to the king of that country a letter and presents from queen Elizabeth, with which that monarch was infinitely pleased; and Lancaster met with the like gracious reception, as well as the same success which had attended his introduction, and rewarded his judicious conduct, at the court of Acheen. He obtained from the  
king

\* England and Spain were then at war, and Portugal was at that period a part of the Spanish dominions.



king of Bantam all the privileges which had been granted by the king of Acheen in his commercial treaty; and having completed his cargo of pepper, and procured a house for a factor, he appointed one of his officers to remain in the country in that capacity, and sailed for England, where he arrived in September 1603, after an absence of two years and seven months.

Although this voyage had been much more prosperous than even the most sanguine friend of the Company had ventured to hope, it served to heighten, rather than repress the opposition which had been originally made to the monopoly of the Indian trade; and several treatises were published, in which its abolition was forcibly recommended.

But the Company, elated with the success of their first adventure, and confiding in the support of government, paid little attention to the violence of their opponents; and having disposed of their India goods to great advantage, they proceeded, like sensible merchants, to equip their ships for a second voyage. The countenance which they received from James the First, on his accession to the throne, gave a new zeal to that spirit of enterprize by which they were actuated; and they prosecuted their speculations with indefatigable and unwearied industry.

In the spring of 1604, the Company dispatched their second fleet, consisting of three ships, under the command of Sir Henry Middleton, who was entrusted with letters and presents from the king to the Indian princes. In the month of December following, Middleton arrived at Bantam, where, having delivered the letters and presents to the prince, he left two of his ships

there to take in a cargo of pepper, and proceeded with the other to the Molucca islands, for the purpose of procuring spices. On his arrival at the island of Ternate, he found the Dutch and Portugueze at war, not on account of any particular point in dispute between themselves, but from having espoused a quarrel between the kings of Ternate and Tidore. The result of this warfare, however, served to hasten the downfall of the Portugueze power in those islands, and to prepare the way for the dominion of the Dutch. The appearance of an English ship, at this period, not a little alarmed the contending parties; but as England was in alliance with Holland, and now at peace with Spain and Portugal, Middleton prudently observed the strictest neutrality.— This conduct, however, did not avail to suppress the jealousy which his interference in the spice trade excited; and the Dutch, who were endeavouring to appropriate this branch of commerce to themselves, made use of every secret artifice that their ingenuity could invent, to deter the natives from trading with the English, whom they represented as a perfidious and piratical people, and to whom they attributed the very design which they themselves had already formed, of conquering the Molucca islands, and reducing the natives to a state of vassalage. But the Malays, who looked upon all Europeans with a suspicious eye, were as much inclined to distrust the representations of the Dutch, as the intentions of the English; and as the latter had brought with them a considerable quantity of specie, they opened a traffic without any hesitation.— Middleton therefore soon attained his object, notwithstanding the intrigues of the Dutch; and having shipped



shipped a very valuable cargo of spices, he returned to Bantam, and from thence, in company with his other ships, to England.

Before Middleton's return, the Company had dispatched another fleet to Bantam, under the command of Sir Edward Michelbourn, who arrived there some weeks after his departure. During the time that elapsed between the departure of one fleet, and the arrival of the other, the English factors at Bantam suffered great inconvenience, and were even exposed to personal danger, by the malignant arts which the Dutch unceasingly employed to prejudice the natives against them. When Michelbourn arrived, the factors communicated to him the perilous situation in which they stood, and which disabled them from carrying on that intercourse with the natives that was so essential to the purposes of trade. Upon this information Michelbourn, who was a man of high national spirit, immediately sent a message to the Dutch admiral, informing him, that if the artifices by which the Dutch attempted to injure the character of the English with the natives, and to molest the factors in the peaceful exercise of their duty, were not directly discontinued, he should consider it as an insult to the flag of England, and avenge it accordingly. This spirited declaration awed the Dutch admiral into a compliance with the demand it conveyed, as he did not choose to persist in the practices complained of, at the hazard of an open rupture; and, whilst Michelbourn remained at Bantam, the striking change in the behaviour of the natives towards the English factors, sufficiently testified that they no longer acted under the influence of the Dutch. These insidious artifices being sup-

pressed, and the discontents to which they had given rise being satisfactorily settled, the English fleet returned home, and in the month of June of 1606 arrived at Portsmouth.

The almost unexampled prosperity which had hitherto attended the trade to India, determined the Company to pursue it with unabated activity. A fourth squadron, consisting of three ships, was therefore fitted out with expedition and alacrity, and the command of it given to Captain William Keeling, a man equally well acquainted with the business of commerce, and the arduous duties of a sea-faring life. Upon his arrival at Bantam, he found the factors reduced to the same distress from which they had been so lately relieved, and the Dutch exerting their industry, by every secret means, to raise jealousies and foment disturbances between them and the natives. After two or three strong remonstrances from Keeling, however, the Dutch again thought it prudent to desist; and the affairs of Bantam were once more restored to a temporary tranquillity. The English commander then proceeded to the islands of Lantore and Poolaway, in the last of which he contracted with the natives for the establishment of a factory; a circumstance which gave great alarm to the Dutch settlers on that island, and which they secretly exerted all their influence to oppose. But the avarice which the Dutch so strongly manifested in all their transactions with the Malays, and the contemptuous and insolent manner which they comported themselves in the island of Poolaway, rendered their interference of no avail; and Keeling obtained from the chiefs of that country, not only permission to erect a factory, but a written agreement,



agreement, whereby they pledged themselves to dispose of their spices to the English, in preference to any other nation.

In consequence of this success, Keeling dispatched one of his ships to the islands of Banda and Amboyna, under the command of Capt. David Middleton, and returned himself to Bantam. On Middleton's arrival at Banda, he found the Dutch settlers in that island busily occupied in constructing a small fortification; and sensible of the great advantage which they would thereby derive in carrying on their trade, from the respect and awe with which an appearance of so much strength and security would inspire the natives, he determined, if possible, either to obstruct the further progress of the works, or to prevail upon the chiefs of the island, in consideration of a large sum of money, to take forcible possession of it, and cede it in perpetuity to the English nation. This conduct on the part of the English commander, which nothing but actual hostilities with the Dutch could have justified, met with its merited fate. The Dutch, apprized of Middleton's design, shut themselves up in their fort, the completion of which they hastened, and took every precaution against a sudden attack; whilst, at the same time, they strove to avert a rupture with the Malay chiefs, by assuring them, that the fort was intended for the general defence of the island, rather than the particular security of their own factory; both of which, however, would be in continual danger, as long as any encouragement was given to the English. By this means, and by presents of money, they warded off an attack until their fortress was entirely finished; after which they assumed a tone of defiance

to the natives, and treated Middleton with that derision and obloquy which his weak attempt to over-reach them naturally provoked. The resentment of the Bandanese, at the deception which was thus practised upon them, broke forth into an agony of rage, and they marched in great numbers to the fort, with a determination to scale the walls, and to put the whole garrison to death. As the Dutch were not immediately aware of their approach, and the gates of the fort had been left open, a general massacre would have ensued, if the English, whose humanity was touched, at the idea of so horrid a scene, had not interposed as mediators, and, by earnest entreaties, persuaded the native chiefs to come to an amicable adjustment of their differences with the Dutch. Yet notwithstanding this signal service performed by the English, such was the rancorous and vindictive jealousy of their rivals, that it not only stifled every sentiment of gratitude in their minds, but instigated them to form the atrocious scheme of burning Middleton's ship, or, if that failed in the execution, to sink her by open force. Upon receiving intelligence of this intended proceeding, Middleton remonstrated with the Dutch governor in the bitterest terms, accusing him of dissimulation, ingratitude, baseness, and of a violation of every principle and every right of humanity. But he who was capable of forming such a project, under such circumstances, could feel no shame, much less any compunction and repentance, at the detection of his horrible design. The governor listened to Middleton's remonstrance with the most perfect composure, and with apparent indifference, and neither denied the charge, nor offered any

excuse



excuse in palliation of his intentions. He told him, that the islands of Banda and Lantore were the exclusive property of the Dutch; and that he, therefore, was resolved to take an effectual means of preventing the English from trading with the natives. Upon this declaration, Middleton thought it unsafe to continue longer at Banda, as he had neither the force nor the inclination to proceed to actual hostilities. He therefore weighed anchor, and returned to Poolaway, where he took in a cargo of spices; after which he pursued his course to Bantam to rejoin the squadron. Keeling, on his arrival, set sail for England, and in the month of May 1610, anchored in the Downs, after a long but a highly prosperous voyage.

When the account of the recent occurrences in the spice islands was communicated to the directors of the Company, it filled them with astonishment and indignation; and they immediately drew up and presented a spirited memorial to the king, stating the obstructions which their trade had met with, and the loss it had sustained, from the nefarious machinations of the Dutch; and praying that his majesty would be graciously pleased to make a representation of the grievances they complained of to the government of Holland, and to demand an adequate redress. James received their petition with his accustomed complaisance; but his pacific disposition, and political timidity, rendered him so averse to any public measure which he conceived might involve him in a dispute with a foreign state, that, though he approved of the spirit and justness of their remonstrance, he never complied with their request. The directors then applied

to the ministry for a squadron of men of war, to protect their trade from the interruptions and insults to which it was exposed; but this was likewise denied them. Under these circumstances the Company judiciously resolved to build one or two ships, and to hire others, of a size and force sufficient to defend their trade from the hostile jealousy by which it was assailed.— And as experience had now shewn, that the superior advantages possessed by the Portugueze and Dutch in Indian commerce, arose from these nations having made themselves masters of spacious harbours, formed regular settlements, and erected fortifications in various parts of India, the Company were fully convinced they had no chance of combating these advantages, and of acquiring an equal degree of commercial consequence, but by adopting the same principles of conduct, and by pursuing a similar course. But limited in their financial resources, and yet imperfectly acquainted with the means of enlarging them, it was only by indefatigable perseverance, and the patient hand of industry, that they hoped to attain the envied condition of their rivals.

With this prospect the Company, in 1610, solicited the king for an enlargement of their charter, which he consented to grant, in consequence, he said, “of the great benefit that the nation had already derived from their trade, as well as of the ability with which it was conducted.” Animated with this instance of the royal favour, and the alluring hopes of future successes, they pushed forward their exertions with additional force and a more lively activity. In the beginning of the year 1611, a squadron was dispatched to Acheen in Sumatra; and, in a short time afterwards,



wards, two ships, built according to their plan, and at the Company's cost, were ready to be launched. One of these was 1200 tons burden, and the largest vessel which had hitherto been built in England; the other was 250 tons, and was called a pinnace. The building of so fine a ship rendered the Company extremely popular; as it was esteemed a matter of public utility, not only with respect to commerce, but to the encouragement and advancement of naval architecture: And the king, with a view to countenance the undertaking, attended the launching of the ship, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, and a number of the principal nobility; on which occasion, a sumptuous and magnificent entertainment was prepared for his majesty, who named the large ship the "Trade's Increase," and the other the "Pepper Corn."

When these vessels were equipped for sea, the command of them was given to Sir Henry Middleton, a station which his experience so well qualified him to fill, and to which his former meritorious services so justly entitled him. The commerce of the Company had hitherto been carried on with the eastern Archipelago; but it was now deemed expedient to commence an intercourse with the sea-ports both on the Continent of India, and in Arabia, and to endeavour to obtain a footing on the coasts of Malabar and Guzerat. With these objects in view, Middleton sailed from England, and having passed the Cape of Good Hope, steered for the straits of Babel-Mandel, from whence he proceeded to Mocho. But an unlucky affair, in which he was embroiled with the government of that place, soon after his arrival, involved him in

difficulties, that not only prevented him from trading there, but retarded the progress of his voyage. Having gone on shore, attended by some of his officers, a quarrel arose in the street between them and the inhabitants, in which the latter had the superiority; several of the English were killed, and Middleton himself narrowly escaped. Incensed at this circumstance, he imprudently charged the government with a deliberate intention to murder him and his people, and threatened to destroy the town unless an ample and immediate atonement was made. This violence so much alarmed, as well as exasperated the Arabs, that they immediately threw him into a dungeon in chains, threatening him with torture, if not death, unless he gave orders for the surrender of his ships. But Middleton, undismayed, and unmoved, told them with an intrepid voice, "that his life was in their power, and they might deprive him of it; but that no torments they could inflict, should make him guilty of the ignominy of complying with their demand, and of basely tarnishing his own honour, and disgracing his country." His magnanimity restrained the fury of the Arabs, and they contented themselves with keeping him in confinement, in the expectation of his proposing to ransom his deliverance. In this, however, they were disappointed; for, after an imprisonment of six months, he found means to effect his escape to his ships, which, during his captivity, had kept upon the Abyssinian coast. Having now an opportunity of resenting the indignity he had received, he sent a message to the government of Mocho, intimating, "that if they did not instantly release the remaining prisoners, and render ample satisfaction



faction for the heavy loss he had sustained, he would sink all their ships in the harbour, and fire upon the town." This menace terminated the quarrel; the prisoners were liberated, and Middleton received a considerable sum of money as a compensation for his sufferings.

Having thus failed in his expectations of settling a factory in Arabia, he resolved to proceed to India, where, from the peaceful disposition of the inhabitants, he entertained sanguine hopes of success. After re-passing the straits of Babel-Mandel, he steered for the Gulf of Cambaya, in the province of Guzerat. Upon his arrival there, he received intelligence that a Portuguese fleet, consisting of six men of war and twelve galleys, was stationed at the bar of the river of Surat, for the avowed purpose of preventing any European nation from trading to that valuable mart. Having no alternative, but either abandoning the principal object of his voyage, or hazarding an action with this armament, he gallantly determined on the latter, notwithstanding the inferiority of his force. He accordingly set sail for the port of Sually, a place situated within a few leagues of Surat, where the Company had just established a factory; and being there joined by six vessels which had lately arrived from England, he proceeded against the Portuguese, with that confidence which the justice of his cause and the ardour of his public spirit united to inspire. When he came in sight of the Portuguese fleet, he crowded sail upon his ships, and advanced towards the entrance of the river, with such celerity, that he was close upon the enemy before they were prepared for his reception. The advantage which he thus gained, he followed up with

great skill and uncommon intrepidity. Seeing the confusion into which the Portuguese were thrown, not less by the unexpected vigour of the first attack, than by the damage they were sustaining from the well-directed fire that incessantly assailed them, he seized a favourable opportunity, and boarded several of their largest ships, which, after a desperate conflict, he compelled to surrender: And this bold and daring conduct struck such terror into the rest of the fleet, that they cut their cables and put to sea in the utmost consternation.

Middleton then proceeded up the river in triumph, and landed at Surat; but notwithstanding the glory of his victory, and the consequent respect and distinction with which he was received by the inhabitants, to whom the Portuguese had long been peculiarly obnoxious; such was the influence which the Jesuits possessed with the Mogul government, that he was not only unable to obtain any promise of protection for the Company's supercargoes, who had come from England the preceding year, but was told that they could not be permitted to reside there any longer. Upon this declaration he thought fit to depart from Surat, but not without considerable chagrin and disappointment. He, however, resolved to revenge himself on the Portuguese; and having been informed that two of their vessels, richly laden, were lying at Damaun, he proceeded thither, and captured them after a feeble resistance. He then returned to the Red Sea, where he met with a valuable Arab fleet, of seventeen sail, bound to Mocho, from India, the whole of which he seized and detained, until the inhabitants of Mocho, who had a deep interest in  
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its preservation, paid him a large sum of money to redeem it. This flagrant act of piracy, which receives no extenuation from the idea of his being instigated to it by a rankling remembrance of his former injuries, casts a shade over his character, that even the brilliancy of his preceding actions cannot dispel. After this affair, he proceeded to Ceylon, and from thence to Bantam, where he died.

Whilst Middleton was thus employed in asserting the dignity of the flag, and the superiority of the arms of England, on the western shores of Hindustan, the Company had dispatched Captain Saris, with a squadron of three ships, to Japan, with a view to establish a commercial intercourse with that country. This squadron sailed from the Downs in 1611, and arrived at Japan towards the end of that year; when Captain Saris obtained an audience of the Emperor, to whom he delivered a letter and valuable presents from James the First, and by whom he was received in the most gracious manner, and with all the politeness for which that polished court is so eminently distinguished amongst oriental nations. The Dutch, who had been previously settled there, exerted all their ingenuity, and made use of every stratagem to frustrate Saris's views; but the Japanese monarch possessed far too much discernment and sagacity to be misled by their representations of the English character, which he perceived self-interested motives alone induced them to make. He did not, therefore, hesitate to conclude a treaty of commerce with Captain Saris, by which the Company obtained very important privileges, and which is in itself deserving of praise, as well for the equitable principles as for

the good sense and sound policy it contains.

Having, in consequence of this treaty, shipped a large quantity of the commodities of Japan, and left there eight agents to conduct the affairs of the Company, he proceeded to China, and from thence to the Moluccas and Bantam.

The prosperity which attended this last voyage, no less than the signal victory achieved by Middleton, conspired to spread the fame of the English in various parts of Asia. Hence the Dutch on the eastern, and the Portuguese on the western side of India, continued with a restless jealousy to molest the commerce of the Company, both by hidden artifices and open depredations. It therefore became indispensable to furnish the Company's ships with all the naval implements of war, and appoint to each a sufficient number of officers and men, to use these with skill and effect, in order to secure the trade, and to maintain an equality, if not a preponderance of power, in the Indian seas. To enable them to bear the great additional expence attending the alteration in the equipment of their ships, the Company formed (A. D. 1612) their individual shares into one general capital, or joint stock, which amounted to 1,500,000*l*.

In conformity with the design of this new arrangement, the Company in the spring of 1613, fitted out an armament, consisting of four ships, mounting 30 guns each, and proportionably manned. Captain Thomas Best was chosen to command this squadron; a man whose nautical knowledge, ardent spirit, and dauntless intrepidity, singularly qualified him for the station. He was directed to proceed to Surat; and some men of good address, and



and well skilled in commercial business, were appointed to accompany him thither, in the capacity of supercargoes, for the purpose of opening a negotiation with the Mogul Emperor Jehangeer, with a view to obtain his permission to build factories in his dominions. On the arrival of the squadron at Surat, it was found that the Portugueze had lost much of their influence, in consequence of their interference with the established religions of the country, which, with such unwearyed industry, they were endeavouring to subvert. The English agents therefore strove to gain over to their interests the officers of the Mogul government who commanded at Surat, by assurances, that the religion of the people of England was much more mild and tolerant than that of the Portugueze, who had departed from the pristine purity of those principles which regulated the conduct of the early disciples of Christ. These assurances, together with the good faith which the English had observed in all their mercantile transactions, argued very forcibly in their favour; and induced the subahdar of Guzerat to use his influence in persuading the Emperor to grant them those privileges which they were so solicitous to obtain.

In the mean while, intelligence having been conveyed to the Portugueze viceroy at Goa, of the successful negotiation which the English were carrying on with the Mogul government, he resolved at once to strike a decisive blow, and by destroying their fleet, put an end to their present prospects. He accordingly dispatched to Surat a large armament, consisting of four large galleons, and twenty-six frigates, having on board 5000 men, and 130 pieces of heavy ordnance. The English commander was not

of a temper of mind to be disconcerted, much less alarmed, at the appearance of so formidable a force. He no sooner descried the enemy than he weighed anchor, with his small fleet, and, with an heroic intrepidity, stood out to sea to give them battle. When the hostile fleets met, the evening was so far advanced, that, after a partial action, the decision of the battle was, by mutual consent, postponed till the succeeding day. The Portugueze spent the whole night in prayers for victory; the English employed that time in making such preparations as might give them a chance of obtaining it. Captain Best visited the different ships of his fleet, gave directions to each commander, and animated the crews, by telling them, that their own safety, as well as the hopes of their country, depended on their exertions, which, if crowned with success, would be to them, not only a source of glory but of wealth. Elevated to a pitch of enthusiasm with this exhortation, and the flattering prospects which it held out, they recommenced the engagement, at the first dawn of the morning, with astonishing and almost resistless fury. The Portugueze received the attack with resolution, and returned it with bravery, though not with skill. Relying too confidently on the great superiority of their numbers, they surrounded the English ships with the intention of boarding them; but this manœuvre being ill performed, threw their whole fleet into the utmost confusion; and Best taking advantage of this circumstance, poured in his broadsides upon them with fresh ardour and redoubled activity. In this situation the slaughter in the Portugueze fleet became so great, that the spirit of their sailors began to droop; and,



and being exhausted with the fatigue of incessant firing for upwards of eight hours, they were unable any longer to withstand the unabated impetuosity of the English: and, the Portuguese Admiral finding his men too much disheartened to continue the conflict, made sail, and steered for Goa, in the greatest disorder. The English ships had sustained such considerable damage, that Best, who united prudence with his enterprising valour, thought it too hazardous to attempt to chase the flying enemy; and he returned to Surat with his triumphant fleet, to the infinite wonder, and unspeakable joy and admiration of the inhabitants, who from the shore had beheld the whole battle. Seided Khan, an omrah of high rank, who commanded the Mogul troops in the district of Surat, and who was one of the astonished spectators of the combat, so much admired the extraordinary heroism of the English commander, that he invited him to his camp, where he received him with all the honours which it was customary to confer on the most distinguished military characters, and presented him with a vast number of costly and warlike presents.

Whilst Best was thus enjoying the praises of a foreign nation, which must be so gratifying to the native pride of a brave spirit, he did not neglect to repair his fleet, and to keep it in constant readiness for any farther attack which the Portuguese might meditate. The necessity of his keeping his fleet in this state of preparation was soon proved. The Portuguese government of Goa, enraged at the inglorious defeat which their formidable armament had sustained, equipped, with all possible expedition, another of still greater force, in order to retrieve their national character,

for naval knowledge and prowess, which the amazing superiority of the English had so deeply degraded. When this second armament appeared off Surat, Best, with that daring confidence which his former triumph naturally inspired, instantly resolved to engage it. Having pursued the same plan that in the last action proved so successful, and broke through the center of the enemy's fleet, a desperate conflict took place, in which, after various vicissitudes, during the space of five hours, he was at last successful. The Portuguese, in the most shattered condition, and in the greatest confusion, were compelled to retreat, leaving the English decided masters of the sea.

These victories, which reflect so much lustre on the character of British seamen, as well as on that of the gallant officer who gained them, produced the most important benefits to the Company's trade. The Portuguese were now taught, by a memorable example, to respect the flag of England, and not to disturb her commerce in the East: whilst the Mogul emperor, confiding in the honour and integrity of so brave a people, no longer hesitated to allow the English to establish a regular factory at Surat, and to trade freely to all parts of his extensive empire.

Having so gloriously attained the great objects he had in view in the western parts of India, and having completely refitted his fleet, Best proceeded to Acheen, where he procured from the king of that country a renewal of his former treaty with the Company, together with some additional privileges: from thence he went to the island of Banda, where he shipped a valuable cargo of spices, with which he set sail for England. On his arrival in



London, the Company conferred upon him the most distinguishing and substantial marks of their favour; but in the applause of the public, with which he was every where greeted, he met a reward still more congenial to his noble mind.

The eminent success that had now crowned the Company's arms, gave a high tone of elevation and vigour to their commercial spirit; and they began to extend their views to more comprehensive and aspiring objects. The encouragement they had received from the Mogul court, and the high opinion entertained of the English by the people of India, were circumstances which it behoved them to improve, and from which they justly considered the most permanent advantages might be derived. It appeared to them, that if a man of rank and talents were sent in the character of ambassador from the king of England to the emperor of Hindustan, and with a special commission for concluding a treaty of commerce and amity between the two countries, very valuable immunities might be obtained, and those already granted ratified and secured. Such a treaty with the most powerful monarch in Asia would give the English considerable weight and consequence in their transactions with eastern nations. To this effect, therefore, the governor and directors of the Company drew up a memorial to the king, earnestly intreating him to accede to a measure which would not only promote the general interests, but redound to the honour of the country. James, who had uniformly patronized the Company in every scheme that was not repugnant to his own pacific maxims, listened to the present proposal with a favourable ear, and appointed Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to the Mogul court.

Accordingly, a suitable train of attendants was chosen to accompany the embassy, and a magnificent state coach, and other costly articles, were prepared as presents from James to Jehangeer. In the beginning of March 1614, Sir Thomas Roe embarked on board a large ship, purposely fitted up for his reception, which, together with a convoy of three other armed vessels, sailed for Surat, where the embassy was landed, after a voyage of six months.

At this period Jehangeer resided at Ajmere, whither intelligence of the arrival of an English ambassador was immediately dispatched. The emperor received the information with great satisfaction; sent a vakeel or envoy to Surat to invite the ambassador to court; and gave orders that the utmost respect should be shewn him in the different towns through which he would pass. On the emperor's message being delivered to Sir Thomas Roe, he proceeded to Ajmere; and on his way thither stopped at Brahmur, the capital of Khandeish, where he was treated by Sultan Purvez, the subahdar of that province, with all possible marks of courtesy and attention. On his arrival at Ajmere he was not less struck with the sumptuousness and splendour, than with the joy and hilarity which prevailed. He found that the court was celebrating an annual festival, which was conducted with unusual magnificence, and attended with peculiar gaiety, on account of the tranquillity with which the empire was universally blessed. From this last circumstance he was led to hope that his negotiation would meet with no impediments, and would be brought to a speedy close, as well as a successful result. He therefore resolved to commence it as soon



as the forms of the court would admit.

After waiting on the emperor, and being received, not merely with the pomp and ceremony of Asiatic courts, but with an extraordinary degree of graciousness and distinction, he presented him with the letters and presents from his sovereign; at the same time communicating to him the object of his embassy, and soliciting his permission to submit certain propositions to his ministers, relative to that important point. Jehangeer not only agreed to this request, but assured him he was exceedingly disposed to accede to any measure that would conduce to the mutual benefit of his subjects and the English nation, or that tended to strengthen their alliance and their friendship. The ambassador accordingly drew up eighteen articles, containing the substance of the treaty which it was his wish to conclude, and delivered them to Affof Khan, the emperor's confidential minister. But this minister was less inclined to favour his proposals, than the friendly manner in which the emperor expressed himself on the subject, gave him reason to expect. Affof Khan, naturally of a jealous and distrustful temper, listened to the plausible stories respecting the ambitious views of the English, with which the Portuguese missionaries artfully laboured to possess him; and he advised his master to observe the most scrupulous caution in his mode of proceeding with the ambassador, to endeavour to gain time, by encouraging his hopes with fair promises, and to consent to no definitive stipulation until he should have thoroughly satisfied himself, both as to the general design of this embassy, and the particular tendency of the privileges which he was requested to grant.

In consequence of this advice the negotiation was vexatiously prolonged for seven months, when the basis of the treaty proposed by Roe was returned to him, with many of the articles considerably altered, and some of them entirely expunged. To this alteration he refused to agree, but solicited an audience of the emperor, that he might know from himself his sentiments upon the disputed points; after which he would draw up other articles, conformably to his majesty's pleasure. This request was so well calculated to please Jehangeer, who, like his cotemporary James the First, prided himself in a knowledge of those affairs, for which in reality he was the most incompetent, that Affof Khan was reluctantly obliged to communicate the ambassador's wishes to his master. Jehangeer received Roe with his usual politeness and affability; lamented that he had been so long detained; and expressed his readiness to bring the negotiation to an immediate decision. By this means a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded without any farther difficulty, or much farther delay; the terms of which, though not so advantageous as those originally proposed, were nevertheless extremely favourable to the interests of the Company.

The stipulations of this treaty were, that the leave already given to the English to establish factories at the ports of Surat, Sually, and Beroach, in the province of Guzerat, be confirmed to them by specific grants; that their agents be allowed to reside at Brahmur, Amahdabad, and Agra; that all the subjects of the Mogul empire should receive those of England in the most friendly manner; that the English merchants be suffered to



land their goods peaceably, and be protected from all molestation; that they should have liberty, after paying custom for their goods, to sell them at their own price; that they should be allowed to transport their goods to any part of the empire, free from any additional duty; and lastly, that the private property of English subjects should, upon their death, be secured from embezzlement, and delivered to the English factors by the officers of police.

Having thus accomplished the principal purpose of his embassy, Roe took leave of the Mogul court, after receiving from the emperor some very valuable presents of precious stones, together with shawls, and muslins, of the finest fabric. From Ajmere he went direct to Surat, where, having arranged and regulated the affairs of the different factories, and waited till the new treaty was put in execution, he proceeded by sea to Bussorah, and from thence to the court of Shah Abbas, king of Persia. The treatment he met with from that distinguished monarch was no less flattering, and more cordial, than that which he had received from the emperor of Hindustan: and in a short time he concluded a treaty of alliance between England and Persia, by which the Company were permitted to trade to all parts of the dominions of Shah Abbas, on condition of their sending a fleet to co-operate with his army, in expelling the Portuguese from the settlements they had formed at the bottom of the Persian gulph.

Upon this good fortune, which completed the attainment of those objects which the Company had in view, Roe returned to England, after an absence of nearly four years. On his arrival he was received by the king with the

warmest congratulations, and rewarded by the Company with a pecuniary recompence, proportioned to the high value which they placed on his services.

During the time that Sir Thomas Roe was employed on those important missions, the Company were no less assiduous than successful in cultivating the friendship of the Malay tribes, amongst whom they had greatly extended their influence as well as their trade. By means of this influence, and of the benefits which it held out, they obtained from the chiefs of Banda and Lantore a formal cession of these valuable islands. A factory had besides been established on the island of Macassar; and those at Bantam and Acheen were still retained. A commercial intercourse was opened with Siam, and three agents of the Company were allowed to reside in that country for the purpose of carrying it on. At Calicut, on the coast of Malabar, the zamorin had allowed the Company's factors who resided there, to build a small house for their personal accommodation; but for the erection of warehouses, which constitute what is called a factory, that prince had not yet given his consent. The Company had likewise began to trade on the coast of Coromandel, principally to Maffulipatam, which was at that period a considerable mart.

Such was the progress which England had made in her connection with India in a period of twenty years. The Company's commerce had increased with prodigious rapidity, and had hitherto met with few impediments, and no material check. By the numerous factories they had established, and by the upright conduct of their agents in their dealings with the natives, the English name had become equally known



known and respected throughout the East : and the treaty which had been concluded with the emperor of Hindustan gave the English a decided advantage in that country over the Portugueze and the Dutch ; an advantage at which both these nations were extremely disconcerted, but of which the former, now in the decline of their power, possessed no means to counteract. The Dutch, however, maintained a great ascendancy in the Spice islands, where they had erected fortifications, and formed military establishments ; and they resolved to compensate for

the advantage obtained over them in Hindustan, by seizing the first pretext of a quarrel to expel the English from the Moluccas. The means which were adopted to put this design into execution, and the national controversy to which the conduct of the Dutch factors gave rise ; the general principles on which the Dutch East-India Company uniformly acted, and the insatiable avidity by which they were characterised, are matters that, in our next chapter, we shall fully unfold and illustrate.





## CHRONICLE.

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MAY 1800.

CALCUTTA, *May 9, 1800.*

In commemoration of the capture of Seringapatam, a royal salute was fired from the ramparts of Fort William on Sunday last; and yesterday morning, agreeably to public notification, the principal gentlemen and ladies of the settlement breakfasted with the right hon. the Governor-general at the Theatre, where that lively satisfaction was observable, which the occasion of the meeting was so fully calculated to inspire.

BOMBAY, *May 9.*

Sunday last, the 4th instant, being the anniversary of the storming the capital of the late Suldaun, that glorious event was commemorated by such of the officers now at the presidency who were present on the occasion of that brilliant achievement. They assembled at Maclean's hotel, attended by a numerous party of their friends, where an elegant entertainment was served up, and the evening passed in the highest conviviality and harmony.

On Saturday evening, the 24th inst. the body guard dismounted was inspected by the right hon. the Governor-general on the esplanade, preparatory to the review of the corps, which took place on Monday morning to the southward of the fort. His lordship was received on the ground at sun-rise, under a salute of seventeen guns from the gallopers; after which the corps went through a variety of evolutions, with a celerity and precision not to

be surpassed; and the review concluded by his lordship presenting the colours to Capt. Montgomery, the commandant, accompanied with an address, expressive of his lordship's approbation of the excellent appearance and correct discipline of his corps.

The *Mermaid*, in her late passage from Madras to Rangoon, having occasion to touch at Vizagapatam, received from that port six Chinamen, the remainder of a small prow's crew which had escaped from the Andamans. The account these men gave of themselves was, that in endeavouring to make Basseen river, they were blown off the coast, and reached the Andamans, where they went on shore to wood and water, but were soon surrounded by the natives, and four of their companions knocked on the head, and eat before their faces: those that escaped had been tied up, and they conjectured a similar fate awaited them next morning; but during the night they fortunately released themselves from confinement, got on board their boat, and made the coast of Coromandel, after a long voyage, many days of which they were without either victuals or drink.

A very curious tree, not hitherto described, grows on the island of St. Helena; it is from 15 to 20 feet high, perfectly straight in the body, and divested of branches; on the top is a cabbage, similar to the red kind, and is often eat by the natives. What renders this tree extraordinary is, that its production is ever green, appearing always the same in summer and winter.



*Destruction of a French frigate,  
La Preneuse.*

Letters received from the Cape confirm the intelligence of the destruction of the French frigate *La Preneuse* by his Majesty's ships *Tremendous* and *Adamant*, of which the following are the particulars: At six *a. m.* of the 11th December, the *Tremendous* being then off the Isle of France, saw a strange sail in the S. S. W. quarter, to which she gave chase, and at seven made the chase to be a frigate under French colours. At noon the chase bore S. by W. distance three miles; the *Adamant* seen at the same time bearing west. At half past noon on the 12th, the chase ran on shore on the west side of the river Toorbeau. At one o'clock she fired several shot at the *Tremendous*, as did the batteries on shore, which was returned. From that time till 3 o'clock the *Tremendous* drifted off with variable winds near five miles. At half past four the *Adamant* joined, and at that time the frigate cut away her masts. From half past five to half past six the *Tremendous* and *Adamant* fired on her, and received her fire in return, as well as all the neighbouring batteries, from which many shells also were thrown, but went over the ships without damage. At half past six the two ships hove to, and at seven sent the boats in to destroy the frigate, the ships working in shore, and all the batteries, as well as many guns along shore, keeping up an incessant fire on them as they approached. At half past nine the frigate blew up. At ten the boats returned with a report that they had set her on fire, after having taken out the captain and all the officers, the crew having previously landed.

*Extract of Regulations by His Excellency Sir George Yonge, K. B. &c. &c. relative to the disposal of Prize Goods at the Cape of Good Hope, being the Growth, Produce or Manufacture of Countries to the Eastward thereof. Dated Cape of Good Hope, 3d February 1800.*

And it is hereby further declared, that in respect to such goods, wares and merchandizes, as before described, and which shall be of the growth, produce or manufacture of countries to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, and which shall be condemned or adjudged to be sold by the Court of Vice Admiralty as aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful, until further orders, to sell and dispose of all such goods, wares or merchandize, free of all duties of import whatsoever.

Provided always, that such goods, wares and merchandize shall be sold by public auction, and under the express condition of the same being exported to Great Britain; and that good and sufficient security shall be given by the buyers thereof to the collector and comptroller of his Majesty's customs, that the same shall be so exported.

And provided always, that a duty of export of 5 per cent. be paid to his Majesty's customs by the exporters of such goods; such duty to be calculated upon the price or prices such goods shall have been sold for, by public auction as aforesaid.

Provided always, and it is hereby further declared, that if any such goods, wares or merchandize, the growth, produce or manufacture of countries to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, so condemned or adjudged to be sold as aforesaid, shall be in a perishing state, or liable

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ble to be destroyed, or to suffer very great injury or damage by being farther exported; then, and in such case, it shall and may be lawful to sell the same by public auction, for consumption in this colony; and such goods, wares or merchandize so sold, shall be subject to an import duty of 10 per cent. upon the sale price thereof. But before any such goods shall be so permitted to be sold for consumption, a survey shall be held on the same by such person or persons as shall be appointed for that purpose, and a certificate given by such person or persons under their hands, that such goods, wares or merchandize, are actually in a perishing state, or would be liable to be destroyed, or greatly injured, by being exported.

Provided always, and it is hereby further declared, that if such goods, wares or merchandize, as aforesaid, shall consist of provisions of any kind, or of timber, or of any other building materials, or of any article whatsoever, of which his Majesty's ships or vessels of war may stand in need, or which may be in any way necessary for his Majesty's service in this colony, or of any articles of which a real scarcity may exist in the colony; then, and in such case, it shall and may be lawful to sell the same for consumption in this colony, upon leave for that purpose being first obtained from his Majesty's governor for the time being, and upon payment of the accustomed import duties.

Provided always, and it is hereby further ordered and declared, that if any goods, the growth, produce or manufacture of countries to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, captured or detained as aforesaid, shall, by judgment of the Court of Vice Admiralty, be released and given up to the claimants thereof;

then, and in such case, it shall be lawful for such claimants, or their agents, to export the said goods, wares or merchandize, to the place or places of the original destination of the said goods, free of all duties whatsoever. But if the claimants or parties to whom such goods may be restored, or the agents of such claimants, shall be desirous to sell such goods, or any part thereof, and, from the particular nature of the necessity of the case, shall obtain leave from his Majesty's governor for the time being so to do; then, and in such case, the said goods, wares or merchandize shall be sold, liable to all the duties, and subject to all the limitations, restrictions and provisions, as if the same had been condemned and adjudged to be sold as lawful prizes.

Given under my Hand and Seal,  
at the Castle of Good Hope,  
February 3, 1800.  
(Signed) GEORGE YONGE.

#### MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

G. O. BY GOVERNMENT.

Fort St. George, 12th May, 1800.

The right honourable the Governor in council having received from the honourable Colonel Wellesley a report of the successful attack of the post of Avakery, by a detachment of his Majesty's and the honourable Company's troops, under Lieut. Col. Montresor, the details of which have been published in G. O. by the officer commanding the army in chief, his lordship deemed it due to the officers and men of that detachment, to express in public orders his approbation of their conduct, as stated in the report of the officer commanding; and his lordship has great satisfaction in observing, that the judicious disposition and spirited direction of the attack was entirely worthy of the



distinguished military character of Lieut. Col. Montrefor.

Fort St. George, 12th May, 1800.

The right honourable the Governor in council has received great satisfaction from the reports which have been made by the officer commanding the northern division of the army, of the valuable services performed by the detachment of Bengal native volunteers, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Gardiner, in the Palaveram zemindary.

His lordship in council, in expressing his approbation of the conduct of the officers and men employed on that service, desires to convey to Lieut. Col. Gardiner, the sense he entertains of the uniform public zeal which that officer has manifested during the period which he has served under the orders of his lordship's government.

The judgment, activity and animation evinced in the movements of Lieut. Col. Gardiner in the Palaveram district, are entitled to particular commendation; and his lordship, in taking leave of that officer, on his return to the Bengal provinces, is happy in bearing this public testimony to his useful services.

Fort St. George, 26th May, 1800.

The right honourable the Governor in council has deemed himself fortunate in discovering the near connexions of Commandant Syed Ibrahim, who have survived the long captivity and death of that faithful, honourable, and distinguished officer.

It will be in the recollection of the army that Syed Ibrahim commanded the Tanjour cavalry in the year 1781, was made prisoner during that year, was repeatedly invited by the late Tippoo Sultaun to accept service in Myfore, under the

most brilliant promises, and under the repeated recommendation of his fellow-prisoners, the British officers, until their release in the year 1784; that after the release of the British officers, Syed Ibrahim, commandant, was removed to the fort of Cowley Droog, where he suffered the hardships of a rigorous confinement and unwholesome food, intended to have produced that acquiescence which the Sultaun's invitations had failed to procure.

His lordship, therefore, experiences the most cordial gratification, in pointing out to the native troops of this establishment, the memorable example of attachment and fortitude exhibited by Syed Ibrahim, in resisting the earnest solicitations, in supporting the oppressive cruelty of the late Sultaun, and in finally *laying down his life as a sacrifice to the duties of fidelity and honour.*

In order to manifest his respect for the long services, the exemplary virtue, and impregnable fidelity of Syed Ibrahim, the Governor in council is pleased to order and direct, that the amount of *his pay* as commandant of cavalry, being fifty-two pagodas and twenty-one fanams per month, shall be conferred as a pension for life on *his sister*, who left her home in the Carnatic to share his misfortunes in captivity, and who was subsequently wounded in the storming of Seringapatam.

In order also to perpetuate his lordship's sense of the Syed's truth and attachment to the Company's service, the Governor in council has ordered a tomb to be erected to his memory at Cowley Droog, with an establishment of two lamps and a fakir, for the service of the tomb, according to the rites of his religion.



FORT WILLIAM, *May 27, 1800.*

The right hon. the Governor-general in council has been pleased to appoint

Mr. G. H. Barlow,  
Mr. J. H. Harrington,  
Mr. N. B. Edmonstone,  
Lieut. Col. W. Kirkpatrick,  
and  
Mr. W. C. Blaquiere,

to be a committee for conducting the examination appointed to be holden by the orders of the Governor-general in council of the 9th January 1800, for ascertaining the progress made towards the acquirement of the Hindustanee language by the junior civil servants of the Company, who were directed to attend Mr. Gilchrist for instruction in the Hindustanee and Persian languages.

The civil servants who commenced the study of the Persian language under Mr. Gilchrist, and who may be desirous of being examined, with respect to the progress which they have made towards the acquirement of that language, will, on their expressing a wish to that effect, be examined by the committee.

Published by order of the right honourable the Governor-general in council,

G. H. BARLOW, *Chief Sec.*

*Extract of a letter from an Officer of His Majesty's 73d Regiment.*

Camp in the Ceded Districts,  
May 27, 1801.

We have been employed these six months past in taking possession of the very extensive country ceded to the Company by his highness the Nizam, and when we thought every thing was done, and that we were to go into quarters and rest from our labours, a number of refractory Polygars started up, and for three

months past we have not known more than one day's cessation from marching at a time. It is now said we have done, but the people in this country called Polygars are so deceitful and treacherous, that there cannot be any certain conclusion drawn from appearances. In fact, I have seen so much of it, that I shall expect little or no rest till we get out of the country altogether.

In the course of our late excursions, the flank companies of the 73d, some sepoy, and a detachment of cavalry, performed one of the longest marches ever known to have been done in India by Europeans: we made a march of twelve miles on the morning of the 9th ultimo, over the sandy bed of a river, being the only road; the afternoon of the same day we marched again, and continued marching the whole of that night, and till about 10 o'clock the following morning, when we arrived at our object, being distant 62 miles from the first ground we moved from, and 50 from the last, which was performed in 29 hours altogether. The time you will say was sufficient; but you must know we had to move with heavy scaling ladders, carried on lascars' shoulders, and guns, over a road the greater part of which wheeled carriages had never before gone. The distress in the course of the night I cannot describe to you: the want of water was one of the greatest, which the darkness of the night, and the natural scarcity in that part of the country, prevented our finding. The lascars dropping dead from under the ladders, the Europeans and sepoy fainting, and left apparently dead on the road, were sights that made me shudder, although pretty well accustomed to scenes of the kind within these last two or three years. Much to our

† A 3                      satisfaction,



satisfaction, the whole of the Europeans recovered, and joined us soon after we got to the place, and the only loss in deaths was among the lascars and sepoy. The great object was effected, which was the surprising and taking prisoner a Musselman, by name Mahobet Khan, who had joined with others in shaking off their allegiance to the Company. On the appearance of the cavalry, he made some shew of resistance, but understanding the infantry were close behind, he surrendered.

Another night march we had of twenty miles, in which our success was equal to the other; but the people defending themselves, caused great slaughter among them, with the loss on our side of a few natives and horses.

An unfortunate, and, I may say, melancholy occurrence, has happened to the southward, near Pallamcottah, at a place called Pandalamcourchy; and as I am certain you will not hear of it from any public communication, I will detail the heads of it.

About six months ago, a Polygar Rajah, confined in the fort of Pallamcottah, contrived to make his escape, and the country people, according to a preconcerted plan, took up arms in his defence.

A Major M<sup>c</sup>Caulay, of the Company's service, who commanded in that station, marched against them with what any person would have thought a sufficient force to quell, or oblige them to take to the jungle; much, however, to the astonishment of every one, they not only stood their ground, but compelled the major to retreat, after losing some hundreds of sepoy killed and wounded. On this intelligence reaching government, they ordered the light company and one battalion company

of the 74th, to reinforce the major, who was now surrounded in his fort. This handful of Europeans struck such a panic into the deluded natives, that they immediately fled to the fort of Pandalamcourchy, which had cost the lives of a number of officers in taking not twelve months before, and, strange to tell, it had not been properly dismantled since. The major, being reinforced by the Europeans, immediately advanced to the place; and after a few hours employed to make a breach, the storm commenced, led by Captain Campbell of the 74th.

The enemy defended themselves desperately; the breach was found impracticable, and after a hard struggle, our troops were obliged to retire with great loss, four officers and fifty Europeans killed, fifteen officers, and nearly the remainder of the Europeans wounded, besides sepoy killed and wounded in great numbers.

Captain Campbell was wounded, and had the misfortune to see his brother (a fine young man, and lieutenant in his brother's company) killed by his side, and he is since dead of his wound. I forgot to mention, that previous to the attack of the fort, a large body of the enemy, who had remained on the outside, and attempted to stop the progress of our troops, were charged by the body guard of cavalry, led on by Lieutenant Grant, who commanded them; they stood very steady, and killed and wounded a number of the troopers before they were routed, which they were at last, and a number of them cut up in consequence.

Lieutenant Grant was speared through the lungs, and a subildar of cavalry, who saved Lord Cornwallis's life before Seringapatam, was killed. Our last accounts men-



tion the arrival of the 77th regiment to the support of the detachment; and Colonel Agnew, the Company's Adjutant-General on this coast, is on his way to take the command of the troops, when, I make no doubt, the too much elated natives will suffer for their presumption. There certainly must have been some mismanagement in the above business; and one thing is certain, that on the troops reaching the breach, and finding it was too high to get up to without ladders, there were none to be found, and the gallant fellows attempted to enter it on each other's shoulders, till the whole were either killed or wounded.

*Public Edict, addressed by the Hoppo, or Receiver General of the Customs at Canton, for the information of the Merchants appointed to trade with Foreign Nations.*

Whereas I have received advices from his Excellency the Fooyuen, setting forth, that "the ships of foreign nations have long since been permitted to import at Wampou and Macao, in the province of Quantong, for the purpose of carrying on a trade by the free interchange of those commodities which were in demand on the one side, and superfluous on the other.

"From this general rule the article of opium was excepted, a substance of whose composition we are unacquainted with, but which is of a violent and powerful nature, and possesses a foetid and odious flavour; being, however, remarkable at the same time for a quality of exciting and raising the spirits, it has been sought after, and purchased by persons without fixed homes, or professions, who, having prepared an extract from it, opened shops for this branch of traffic.

"The use of opium originally prevailed only among vagrants, and disreputable persons, who associated together for the purpose of partaking of this substance; but it has since extended itself among the members and descendants of reputable families, students, as well as officers of government, who, infatuated in their attachment to this drug, make an habitual use of it.

"Their inducement on this occasion

appears to be, the power which this substance communicates to those who partake of it, of not closing their eyes for entire nights, and spending them in the gratification of impure and sensual desires, whereby their respective duties and occupations are neglected: when this habit becomes established by frequent repetition, it gains an entire ascendant; and the consumer of opium is not only unable to forbear the daily use of it, but, on passing the accustomed hour, he is immediately seized with pains in the head, and a feverish heat, cannot refrain from tears, or command himself in any degree. For relief, therefore, from these painful symptoms, and to regain his wonted health, he has necessarily recourse to the same pernicious substance.

"When, at length, the gradual and progressive effects of this poison have pervaded the lungs, and the whole bodily frame, the sufferers, with the pale and sickly hue of doves, or small fluttering birds, are no longer within the reach of medical assistance; desirous, though in vain, of quitting so dreadful a practice, they would willingly end it with their lives, by tearing out their entrails in despair.

"The extraordinary expence of this article is further to be noticed, each mace weight of which, in the extract, is exchanged for eight or nine maces in money; and the constant use of it raises at the same time an extraordinary appetite for other kinds of food, which the fortunes of the bulk of the community are unable to satisfy, and are therefore, in the course of a few years, wholly dilapidated and wasted away; of these, the infirm and weak perish gradually from want and hunger, while the strong and vigorous become thieves and robbers; the ruin of either being equally certain and inevitable.

"Others, again, among the deluded and misjudging people, from trifling causes, or absurd conceits, take the premature resolution of swallowing a decoction of opium in wine; thus ending their existence by means of readier access than are the generality of vegetable substances esteemed poisonous and destructive to the human frame.

"The pernicious effects arising from the use of this substance were formerly confined to Fokien and Quantong; but have spread, in the course of time, through the other provinces of the empire, where the eagerness after the traffic, and consumption of this article, have even exceeded that of the first introducers.



“ Thus it is, that foreigners, by the means of a vile excrementitious substance, derive from this empire the most solid profits and advantages ; but that our countrymen should blindly pursue this destructive and ensnaring vice, even till death is the consequence, without being undeceived, is indeed a fact, odious and deplorable in the highest degree.

“ Being now desirous of opposing the growing evil, for which it appeared necessary to revert to the sources from which it sprung, we discover, by careful investigation, that the article of opium is imported by foreigners, and gains admittance into the empire through the Bocca Tigris, whence, either by the pilot-vessels and armed guard-boats that are stationed there, it is conveyed up the river to Shen-shin (Dane’s Island), or, by the means of small craft, it is landed by degrees at Macao, and thence conveyed privately to the capital, while the custom-house officers and guards, at the different stations, though well acquainted with the transaction, suffer it to pass without examination or inquiry, being doubtlessly bribed to a large amount for that purpose.

“ If the utmost endeavours are not now made to cut away the root and branches of this evil, to what extent may they not proceed ? We therefore publish these general orders, for the information of all the mandarins, civil and military, at the different stations and districts of this province, that they may vigorously examine into and punish the commission of this offence whenever it occurs ; and at the same time we desire of his Excellency the Hoppo, to issue positive orders and injunctions to the officers, attendants, and guards, of the several custom-houses in his department, that should henceforth any pilot-vessels, guard-boats, or fishermen, privately take on board these pieces of mould or earth denominated opium, a strict search and investigation shall be made, and the offenders apprehended and conveyed to the presence of the magistrate, to undergo the punishment that may be thought adequate to their guilt.

“ If, notwithstanding these our orders, bribes are again accepted, and the passage of this article connived at, it shall be traced with the utmost exactness and rigour, in the districts and stations through which it had been transported, that no pains may have been spared to produce a thorough reformation and amendment in these respects. Should any further mode or regulation appear, that might tend to enforce or render more effectual these prohibitions

and restrictions, we request of his Excellency the Hoppo to give us due information thereof, in his reply to this our communication to him.”

On receiving the foregoing letter, we made due inquiries respecting the introduction of the substance denominated opium, and finding that it is indeed imported into this country by foreign vessels, wherefore we have issued orders to the superintendant of the custom-house at the port of Macao, to be communicated to the chief foreign residents, and the commanders of vessels belonging to that city, notifying our determination to prohibit the entrance of the article of opium into that port, as well as our general orders to make every exertion to discover and inform us of it, whenever it takes place.

Having replied to his Excellency the Fooyuen’s communication, I proceed to extend the above orders to the Hong-merchants, to which it behoves them to pay strict and unreserved obedience, and communicate them to the Chief Supercargo of Foreign Nations, that they may enforce the observance of our prohibition of the importation of opium on board the ships of their respective nations. But should nevertheless any ship hereafter import the article, none of the Hong-merchants will be so imprudent or absurd as to become security for the ship, or undertake the disposal of her cargo, as I should, in such an event, immediately report their conduct to the Viceroy and Fooyuen, by whom the merchants will be rigorously examined, and punished for the offence, without any mitigation or excuse being admitted. The Hong-merchants shall, according to custom, reply hereto, and make known to us their obedience to our commands.

Given at Canton, the 16th day of the  
11th Moon of the 4th year of KIA-  
KING.

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JUNE.

MADRAS, *June 4*, 1800.

A peon was stabbed in the body, in or near to the new Calcutta gaol, on Wednesday last, by a person of the name of R——, who being baffled in an attempt to escape from prison, rashly committed the action alluded to.

In the commencement of the year 1779, R—— was apprehended for publishing, or causing to be published,



published, a libel against one of the officers of the supreme court, and brought before his Majesty's justices of the peace, where, not being able to assign any reason for his extraordinary conduct, he was ordered to give sureties for his good behaviour, or failing therein, to be committed to prison. He chose the latter.—Some time after he made his escape from confinement in a most miraculous manner, by climbing over the prison walls unperceived, and made his way direct to the court-house during sessions, where he was received by all present with astonishment, but particularly by the gaoler. He was immediately apprehended, taken into custody a second time, and committed. From that period nothing very extraordinary occurred, till the month of April last, when he made a second attempt, and was making his escape; but he was perceived on the prison wall by one of the people in the Hurrinberry, who gave the alarm, in consequence of which a party of sepoy's was immediately ordered in pursuit him: being overtaken in the neighbourhood of Bridge Tallow, he made some resistance; but receiving a blow from the butt end of a musket upon his arm, which deprived him of the use of it, he was easily managed, and taken the third time to prison, and secured in the black hole under double irons. Why he was induced to strike at the peon we have not been able to ascertain: it is certain, however, that he has wounded the man so severely, that there are little hopes of his recovery.

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CALCUTTA, *June 17.*

SUPREME COURT.

This day the first sessions of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery for the town of Calcutta commenced at

the court-house, before the honourable the Judges of the supreme court.

The charge to the grand jury was delivered by the chief justice.

“The calendar,” his lordship said, “contained, which it was satisfactory to him to observe, but few offences; at the same time, unhappily most of them were of a very heinous description:—of smaller offences there were none. From what cause this diminution in the usual length of the criminal list immediately proceeded, he would not take upon him to assert; probably it was in a great measure ascribable to the exertions of the magistrates who had been lately entrusted with the administration of the police, and whose vigilance in their several functions, but more particularly in a rigid superintendence of the assistants immediately under them, might have nipped in the bud those offences which, if suffered to have arrived at maturity, might have swelled the particulars of the present calendar. If so, the magistrates were, his lordship observed, highly meritorious, and well entitled to the thanks of the community; inasmuch as preventive justice was on every account preferable to that which is attained by the infliction of punishment.

“Most of the charges in the calendar were for the crime of murder—a charge much varied as to its degree of guilt, legal denomination, and consequences, by the circumstances attached to each particular case. To discriminate in that respect is the province of the petty jurors; but with a disquisition as to the various shades of the offence, the grand jury ought by no means to encumber themselves. When a fellow creature has lost his life through the act of another, it is but justice to the public, as well



well as to the prisoner, that there should be a fair investigation of the matter upon a public trial:—the sole inquiry of the grand jury should be, whether the defendant gave the stroke, and whether the deceased died in consequence of it. By confining their considerations to those points, and if proved, by finding a bill for murder, justice is much more likely to be attained when the case comes before the petty jury, than it could possibly be, supposing the grand jury to have found the bill only for manslaughter; for upon an indictment so found, a verdict of acquittal would not secure the prisoner against the event of a future trial for murder, at a period when perhaps, from lapse of time, he may have been deprived of his evidence, either from death or otherwise, and may be put to make his defence under every possible disadvantage.

“One offence,” his lordship observed, “was new to this court—the case of piracy, charged to have been committed near Ganjam. Prior to the statute passed in the year 1793, the jurisdiction of the court was confined to the provinces; but by that statute, marine felonies committed upon any of the high seas are made triable by a jury of Calcutta: the grand jury, therefore, as to this offence, would not consider the proof defective, though it should appear to have been perpetrated without the provinces, the ordinary range of the criminal jurisdiction of the court.” His lordship concluded his charge by observing, that “there were no further cases in the calendar calling for particular attention; and as to the general duties of a grand juror, the gentlemen he was addressing were so well informed, that it would be an idle waste of public time to expatiate upon them.”

The same day the grand jury found a bill of indictment against a native woman, for the murder of her servant, a girl of eight or nine years of age. The trial came on the following day, before the petty jury, and a verdict of guilty being returned, sentence of death was passed on the convict.

The sentence was carried into execution on Thursday afternoon. The criminal met her fate with fortitude and resignation. From the prison to the place of execution she was greatly agitated, and seemed inconsolable. On reaching the place of suffering, the violence of her grief subsided. She became immediately composed, and surveyed the apparatus of death with steadiness. Having drank a cup of water, she addressed a few words to the surrounding multitude, and made a salam, as a final adieu to this world. The executioner proposing to assist her on the cart, she repressed his hand, and ascended the steps with firmness.

On Monday afternoon John Smith, late a publican in the Bow Bazar, pursuant to his sentence passed on Friday last, for the murder of a sepoy, by discharging a pistol at the deceased, was executed at the usual place. The Reverend Mr. Brown attended, and assisted in divine service suitable to so awful an occasion. The unhappy man conducted himself with great decency. He became so faint and exhausted, that it was necessary to lift him to the platform from which he was to suffer.

From the ASIATIC MIRROR,  
June 11.

I have observed in your Mirror of the 4th instant, an “Extract from the Log-book of the *Criterion*,” introduced by a paragraph, which, while it calls in question their candour, raises also unfavourable



able doubts concerning those who were on board the American ship *Louis* at the time of her capture in January last, but who, from motives of delicacy towards the commander and ship's company of the *Criterion*, have been prevented from making public a detailed account of that unfortunate transaction. In the publication to which the paragraph in question refers, no notice is taken of the *Criterion*, or of her commander, further than that "she was in company when we were chased by the privateer, and escaped while she (the privateer) was engaged with us." But now, conceiving myself personally attacked, I rely on your impartiality, while I solicit, both in justification of myself, and of those officers of the *Louis* who are still at this place, an insertion in your next paper of the following

#### *Detailed Statement of Facts.*

Previously to the evening of the 2d January 1800, when the ships *Criterion* and *Louis*, under command of Benjamin Wickes and James Deale, left their pilots, then off the Sand Heads, Capt D. had, at the particular request of Captain W. agreed, for the purposes of mutual defence against the enemy, to keep company until they should reach the latitude of Madras. At this time it was well known the *Louis* enjoyed, in point of sailing, a great superiority over the *Criterion*; we, however, kept in company until the morning of the 4th, when between the hours of six and seven, being in lat.  $18^{\circ} 26' N.$  and in long.  $86^{\circ} 53' E.$  a sail of suspicious appearance was discovered. The wind being from N. N. E. we were standing S. W.—the *Criterion* being on our larboard quarter, and bearing N. E. by E. was distant about one league;

and the suspected vessel, (bearing about two points abaft our larboard beam E. N. E.) was standing S. and was distant two or three leagues: she was of course nearer to the *Criterion* than to our ship. The *Louis* was immediately hove to, that the *Criterion* might come up: and in the mean time the suspected vessel altered her course, and stood directly athwart us. When the *Criterion* had come up, she took her station on our starboard beam. Captain W. complaining of the crankness of his ship, proposed fighting before the wind; but it was finally agreed they should fight by the wind: and both ships were accordingly put under easy sail.

Captain W. having requested the *Criterion* might take the headmost station, cautiously kept the *Louis* in an exact line between him and the suspected vessel, which, having approached within the distance of half a mile, had already displayed the French flag at the mizen-peak: and, when within one hundred and fifty yards, she, displaying from her mizen-top-gallant-mast-head the bloody flag, appeared to be making preparation to lay us on board.—Our helm was immediately put to starboard, with a view of raking her; but the enemy (by mistake in the helmsman) at the same instant put her helm to port; so that upon the *Louis*' first broadside being fired, and before she could gather headway again, the enemy came stem on between our larboard main and mizen-chains: and thus, while the ships were entangled, she, after a severe conflict, succeeded in boarding. During all this time, the attention of the commander of the *Criterion* appeared to be occupied in maintaining his ship's first station; for, when we put our helm to starboard, he did the same on board  
the



the *Criterion*; and thus keeping the *Louis* (then distant not more than seventy yards) directly between the enemy and the *Criterion*, he brought that ship a little forward of our starboard beam; nor did he discharge a single gun (except one cohorn from her tafferel-rail), or afford us the smallest assistance, notwithstanding he might very easily have rendered us the most effectual aid, either by dropping a-stern, or shooting a-head, and engaging the enemy in such position. On the contrary, when the enemy had engaged with the *Louis*, the *Criterion's* colours were instantly struck; nor were they again hoisted until, from the disabled condition of the privateer, Captain W. was encouraged to seek for safety in flight. When this was discovered by the enemy (then in complete possession of the *Louis*), a broadside was fired from that ship into the *Criterion*, and a return of the same was made by Capt. Wickes.

The privateer, which proved to be *La Clarisse*, was pierced for, and (at the commencement of the cruize,) mounted 18 guns, seven of which had been thrown overboard, while she was (a few days before) chased by *La Sybelle*: she had between 70 and 80 men, of whom (according to their own account) seven were killed, and two wounded. The *Louis* suffered in killed three, and in wounded seven.

The transactions recorded in the preceding statement were witnessed by the undersigned, who are now in Calcutta.

JER. W. BRONAUGH, *Assist.*  
*Sup. Cargo.*

RICHARD PITT, *1st Officer.*

BENONI WHITE, *2d Officer.*

To establish the truth of the most important part of the foregoing statement, if any thing further could

be required, I need only call in the evidence contained in the very extract in question: For, from the curious expressions, "when the *Louis* bore up, we also bore up and engaged with all our force, &c." combined with what immediately follows, viz. "As we were thus engaged, we were alarmed at seeing the *Louis's* cannon discharged at us, &c." any one in the smallest degree conversant with nautical affairs would naturally conclude that, as the two ships (*Criterion* and *Louis*) were on the same tack, they could not possibly have been in a station different from that I have described.

Omitting further comments, I leave the public to decide whether the extract from the *Criterion's* log-book contains such evidence as "will rescue Capt. Wickes from any unfavourable insinuations, and shews that he and the people of the *Criterion* conducted themselves with bravery and judgment."

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

J. W. BRONAUGH,  
*Supercargo, ship Louis.*

Calcutta, 11th June, 1800.

*Extract of a Letter from Captain Driberg, Commandant of Calpentin, dated the 14th June, 1800.*

On the 11th inst. at five o'clock in the morning, the sloop *Chader Box*, belonging to Mr. John Lellin, having started a plank and lost its rudder, was overfet off Calpentin, far in sea. This vessel was manned with a captain, pilot, mate, six sailors, and a butler, and having on board two officers, who are said to be of the regiment of Meuron, a Moorman and two servants of the aforesaid gentlemen, who came passengers from Columbo. The pilot, two sailors and the Moor passengers, escaped with a balang, and were driven on shore at the island Caredivo;



Caredivo; the others were seen by these four persons on the keel, until the next day at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, so that it is very apparent that all these persons were swallowed by the sea.

It is with concern that we learn, that Ensign Porter, formerly of the Malay corps, and afterwards of his Majesty's 77th regiment, and Lieutenant Moureau de Beauregard, of his Majesty's Swiss regiment de Meuron, were passengers on board the *Chader Box*.

*Fatal Accident.*—A Portuguese servant belonging to Mr. Daniell, of the ship *Hydroffia*, of Calcutta, together with two lascars, were walking by the place where two royal tigers were kept, when one of them, the female, was drinking, for which purpose she had been let out of her cage: these people stopped for a short time to view her while drinking; when they had passed on, and had got about a dozen yards from the cage, she made a sudden spring, and seizing the unfortunate Portuguese by the neck, returned with him into the cage: A number of people immediately assembled around, with bamboos; they beat the tygres until she retreated to the farther end, and the body was got; the poor man was not dead, when rescued from the animal, but expired in a few minutes. She had, in seizing him, stuck her claws into his head, and her teeth into his neck. The instant the Yagoon (whose property she was) heard of the circumstance, he sent people to shoot her; she received three musket balls and dropped. This animal had been accustomed every evening to be let out of her cage to drink, and never did it without numbers stopping to view her.

Accounts from Amboyna state, that Government is paying every attention to the cultivation of that island, and are about to export, from the most convenient places on the continent, cattle of all sorts, of which it has been nearly destitute, not only to aid the operations of husbandry, but likewise for domestic purposes; presents of cattle have been made to the Rajahs in the upper districts, and every encouragement has been held out to the natives to improve and increase the breed.

The crops of rice in Bengal have this season exceeded every thing remembered by the oldest inhabitant, in consequence of which a great number of public granaries have been erected on a new principle.

The present Sovereign of Persia is devoting himself with success to revive the trade of his empire, and has caused several large vessels to be built on the Caspian and Persian seas. The Emperor, in compliment to the English, has prohibited the sale of horses throughout the Persian dominions, for exportation, to any others than the agents of the India Company.

*Extract from the Proceedings of the Marine Board, on the 17th of June.*

The following charge having been preferred against Mr. Thomas Stone, pilot, a committee of inquiry was ordered to investigate into his conduct, viz.

1st. "For drunkenness whilst in charge of the American ship *Elizabeth*, on the 22d and 23d of April last."

2d. "For running the same ship aground,



aground, whereby she has been totally lost."

The committee of inquiry having found Mr. Thomas Stone, master, guilty of the above charges, the most noble the Governor-general in council has thought proper to direct that Mr. Thomas Stone be dismissed from his station of pilot in the service of the honourable East India Company, and he is hereby accordingly dismissed.

The board having submitted to the Governor-general in council, that dismissal from the service, which is the utmost punishment that a pilot is, by the existing regulations, subject to, for losing a ship, however culpable he may himself have been, appears inadequate to an aggravated offence, involving the loss of much valuable property, and not unfrequently the loss of many lives; the Governor-general in council has been pleased to authorise the board to make it publicly known, that in future any pilot who may lose a ship, if the loss should appear to have proceeded from misconduct, under similar circumstances of aggravation on his part, especially from intoxication, will, besides being dismissed the service, be liable to forfeit the honourable Company's protection, and to be sent to England.

By order of the president and members of the marine board,  
J. SHORE, *Secretary.*

FORT WILLIAM, *June 19.*

*General Orders by the most Noble the Governor-General in Council.*

The 10th regiment of native infantry having arrived at Cawnpore, after an absence from this presidency of more than three years and a half, the most noble the Governor-general in council has great satisfaction in expressing his entire approbation of the exemplary conduct of this distinguished regiment, in the several

arduous and important services on which it has been employed in the peninsula of India, during its long absence from these provinces.

His lordship in council is happy to bear this public testimony to the merits of the European officers, under whose command this corps has attained so high a state of discipline, regularity, and order; and he entertains a just sense of the fidelity and attachment to the service, manifested by the native officers and private soldiers of the regiment, throughout the whole period of their laborious duties at Hyderabad, in Mysore, and during their long march from the Deccan to the province of Oude.

The conduct of the artillery and lascars who have been attached to the regiment during the time of its absence from these provinces, is equally entitled to commendation.

To perpetuate the memory of the services of the 10th regiment, to distinguish the individuals who have served in the corps, and to recommend their laudable example to the emulation of the whole native service, the most noble the Governor-general in council is pleased to order, that honorary medals be conferred on all the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and sepoy of the 10th regiment, and also on the lascars belonging to the artillery attached to that regiment during the time of its absence from these provinces.

CALCUTTA, *June 26.*

On Friday last was executed in the Loll Bazar, pursuant to his sentence, Berjoomhun Dutt, convicted of having privately stolen a watch from the dwelling-house of R. Fleming, Esq. It would appear that this man had been an old offender, who went about to houses, under the pretence of being sent to perform



form some repairs; and, availing himself of the entrance thus obtained, robbed the house of any valuable articles on which he could lay his hands. The works of several watches were found in his possession, along with the watch for stealing which he suffered death. His conduct at the place of execution was penitential and resigned.

An old Hindû man was on Tuesday killed on the spot, by the passing over his body of that enormous machine dragged about the streets and roads during the present Hindû festival, called the *Rut*; and subsequently, by the same means, another unfortunate individual has had his leg broken.

Some years ago, one Akul Sir. dar, the chief of a large gang of desperate decoits, was convicted of numerous offences committed in the 24-pergunnahs and its neighbourhood, and sentenced to twelve years of hard labour on the public roads. Not more than two years of his time had elapsed, when, by intoxicating the sepoy's who guarded him, he found means to effect his escape, and rejoin his party. A considerable reward was offered for his discovery; notwithstanding which, and its being notorious that he and his gang, amounting to between three and four hundred persons, had renewed and still continued their depredations, such was the intimidation caused by their numbers and ferocity, that it was found impossible to apprehend him. On Tuesday last, however, information of his haunts having been lodged at the police office, with the additional intelligence that he was well protected by his party, two of the magistrates, with their customary activity, instantly proceeded in quest of him, accompanied by a detachment from the body guard, to prevent a rescue,

which, had the seizure been made by peace-officers alone, in all probability would have been attempted and effected. The ruffian was apprehended in the neighbourhood of Rossipuglah, about eight miles from Calcutta, and will, no doubt, meet with the punishment due to his numerous crimes.

During three days the pendants and ensigns of all the American ships lying in the river Hoogley have been only hoisted half-mast high, as a tribute of respect to the memory of the late Gen. Washington.

A newspaper, under the title of *Ceylon Intelligencer*, sanctioned by the approbation of his excellency the governor, has been established at Columbo.

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## JULY.

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FORT WILLIAM, July 2, 1800.

*By the Most Noble the GOVERNOR  
GENERAL in Council.*

### PROCLAMATION.

Whereas several persons, transported as convicts from the British dominions in Europe to New South Wales, have repaired from New South Wales to Bengal, and have clandestinely established themselves at Calcutta, and at other places within the limits of the presidency of Bengal, such of the said persons who arrived in Bengal previous to the 1st day of June last are hereby required to leave India before the 1st day of March 1801, under pain of being apprehended and sent to England, in the manner prescribed by act of Parliament with regard to persons resorting to India without licence.

All persons having been transported as convicts to New South Wales, and who may be on board  
of



of any ship which may hereafter touch at any port or place within the limits of the presidency of Bengal, are prohibited from landing in Bengal. Any such persons who shall disobey this prohibition, shall be forthwith apprehended and sent to England, in the manner prescribed by act of Parliament with regard to persons resorting to India without licence.

Convicts escaping from New South Wales previous to the expiration of the period for which they may have been transported, and who may be found within the limits of the presidency of Bengal, are to be apprehended and detained in custody until opportunity shall offer of returning them to New South Wales.

And the several magistrates and officers of police are hereby required to carry this Proclamation into effect, according to its tenor, within the limits of their respective jurisdictions.

*July 8th.*—The trial of a soldier named Daniel Sullivan, belonging to the 1st European regiment, for the wilful murder of a corporal in the same corps, at Dinapore, came on last Friday in the Supreme Court. The death of the corporal, from the wound given by the prisoner's musket, as well as the prisoner's subsequent avowal of his intention to commit the murder, having been established by a series of indubitable testimony, the Jury, after an able and minute summing up of the evidence by the Chief Justice, brought in their verdict—*guilty*.

Sentence of death was then pronounced upon the prisoner. His conduct throughout the whole trial marked great indifference and almost contempt as to its probable

event. He was executed yesterday evening in the Loll Bazar.

A melancholy instance of the force of Hindû fantasy occurred a few days ago. A Brahmin having paid the debt of nature at his house in the woods, his wife, described to us as a very pretty young woman, according to the usage of widows of that cast who prefer death to the life of dishonour to which a barbarous conceit dooms them if they survive, formed the resolution of committing herself to the flames on the funeral pile of her husband's remains; but as that practice is discountenanced by government on this island, the dead body was conveyed across to the Mahratta shore, whither the young widow also passed, and voluntarily terminated her existence, by a death at which humanity shudders.

On Tuesday the 15th, agreeably to the Proclamation, the Quarter Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and Jail delivery commenced before Sir William Syer, Knight, Recorder, and his Associates, Robert Henshaw and Edward Atkins, Esquires, Aldermen.

On Wednesday morning two natives, Crustna Posjee and Humon Cooley, were indicted for the murder of a young man named Govind.

This turned out on the trial to have been one of the most cool, deliberate murders on record, and perpetrated with circumstances of the most unrelenting barbarity. It appeared that the deceased, and a girl named Soney, slaves to different masters, had agreed to quit their service and pass over to the Mahratta shore; with which view they hired a boat on the evening of the 27th or 28th May last, and set off from some part of Dongaree, with the two prisoners, and two other  
men



men who have absconded, to row the boat. After rowing some time, the boatmen dropped their anchor; one of the prisoners then came and laid his hands on the deceased's turban; on which he, probably suspecting some intended violence, put his legs out of the boat, as if with a view to jump overboard and make his escape. He was dragged into the boat again by the two prisoners, who then proceeded to tie his hands with his own turban; on which he requested they would take his little all, but put him ashore unhurt on either side of the water; this they refused to do, and having tied his hands before him, threw him overboard; but his hands getting loose, they pulled him into the boat again, and tied them behind his back. While in the act of doing this, Govind asked them if they wanted to kill him? *yes*, they answered, *we brought you here with that intent*, and threw him overboard a second time; but he not sinking immediately, and his hands by some means being extricated again, the prisoners brought him into the boat once more; and finding this method of dispatching their victim too tedious, one of the prisoners called out, *has nobody got a knife?* on which the other prisoner answered, *yes, I have*, and immediately drew a small knife from his turban, with which one of them gave the deceased a stab in the throat. The prisoners then tied his hands behind him again, and passed the turban in such way that his upper and lower extremities were bound together, and his body considerably bent. He was then thrown overboard a third time; and re-appearing on the surface, after the plunge, the prisoners beat him with the oars of the boat until he finally disappeared.

The prisoners then went up to the girl Soney, and asked what property she had got? which she described to them, consisting of ear and nose ornaments, and some silver bangles on her arms and legs. These they took from her, and after stripping her naked, one of the prisoners took her by the hands, and the other by the feet, and threw her overboard. She providentially floated, and drifted towards a boat at some distance, which had come from Tannah, loaded with wood and charcoal, then laying at anchor, waiting the turning of the tide; a rope was hanging over this boat's side, and the girl having the presence of mind to lay hold of it, by an exertion of the little strength she had left, got into the boat, where she found all the crew asleep; they were disturbed, however, by the noise she occasioned, and paid every attention to her which their circumstances admitted, by giving her a cloth to cover her, some water to drink, on which a sickness at the stomach ensued, and afterwards putting her to rest. About gun-fire the boat weighed and proceeded to Bombay, where the girl landed.

The girl afterwards went and related her melancholy story to the superintendant of police, giving as correct a description of the persons of the prisoners as she could, having never seen them before the fatal night; one of whom, Crustna Posjee, was apprehended on the following day. Humon Cooley was not then to be found; but being apprehended some days, we believe a fortnight afterwards, and brought before Mr. Halliday on another charge, that gentleman, with an attention to the duties of his important station, which on this, and all similar occasions redounds highly



to his honour, remarked that his figure corresponded in a great degree with the description which Soney had given of the murderer of Govind. Soney was accordingly sent for, and being asked whether the man who then stood before her was the person she meant, she, with a caution very much in favour of her veracity in other points, hesitated to declare positively whether he was the man or not; she said he was exactly the same figure of a man, and in every respect very like him; but observed, that he had neither whiskers nor hair on his head, whereas the murderer had both: on this Mr. Halliday, addressing the prisoner, asked him if he had attended to what the girl said, and what he had to remark upon it, if any thing? the prisoner made some reply, and the instant he spoke, the girl started, and looking at him with more attention than before, said, now I know him by his voice to be the man. On his denying all knowledge of her, she asked him emphatically—do you not remember your leading me down a narrow passage to the boat, and my observing a mark on the back of your hand (it being then moonlight), and asking you what mark it was? to which you replied, it was a mark. With regard to the prisoner's voice, it was observed in court, that there was a sufficient singularity in it to be distinguished in the manner the girl had noticed; and the jury, on examining his hand, found two distinct marks on it, corresponding with a delineation of them which the girl had previously made with a pen on a piece of paper. The girl's observation, however, regarding the prisoner's whiskers and hair, would perhaps have proved an insurmountable defect in the description of his

person, if it had not been supplied, and the difference reconciled, in a way as unexpected as it proved effectual and conclusive beyond all doubt; but Providence so ordered it, that this circumstance, which threatened to be so material a bar to the identity, proved the means of fixing it in the most satisfactory manner; for it was discovered, that on a hue and cry being made after him on another charge, and ten or eleven days subsequent to the night on which the murder was committed, he had his whiskers and his head shaved, to prevent a discovery of his person. Other particulars also, which came out in proof, strongly corroborated the girl's testimony as to Cooley's person.

With these pointed circumstances, however, against the prisoners, and others which we have omitted, as less necessary in this narrative, although material to the question, it is possible that they might not have amounted, in the minds of the jury, to a full conviction of the crime of murder, if the fate of Govind had remained in doubt; since, notwithstanding the stab in the neck, the blows in the water, and the posture in which he was thrown into it, made it very improbable that he could survive, yet the possibility of his having been picked up, and his life preserved, although he had not been seen or heard of here, might have been an obstacle to the bringing home to the prisoners the crime of murder: fortunately for that community, however, of which the prisoners appeared to be so unworthy members, their guilt was made out in the fullest extent, and the death of the unfortunate Govind fixed on them, on the most unerring evidence, by a body being washed on shore on the island of Caranja, a few



few days after the period assigned for the murder, much swelled and putrid, bent and bound with a turban, as described by the girl Soney. The patel of the village near which the body was found was under the necessity of cutting the turban, to extricate it from the putrid and swollen carcase. He appeared in court and deposed, that a turban, which was then produced in four pieces; was the turban which he had cut from the body. The girl Soney swore that it was the turban which Govind wore when he went into the boat, and with which he was bound by the prisoners; and the deceased's master corroborated her testimony in this instance, by deposing also, on oath, that the turban then produced was that which the deceased had on when he quitted his house, which he said he had formerly worn himself, and gave to Govind some time ago.

These are the most material points in the evidence for the prosecution. The prisoners were then called upon for their defence, which merely amounted to a denial of the crime, and of having ever seen the girl Soney before that day. The prisoner Cruftna called three witnesses to his character; but they had little to say respecting it, one way or other. Humon Cooley alleged that he was at Mahim at the time the murder was committed with which he was charged, but did not produce any witnesses in proof of that circumstance; and it was observed in court, that two men, whom he had named as witnesses to be called in his defence, had been searched for, but could not be found. The other two boatmen had also absconded; and a man named Narran, who, from his intimacy with the prisoner Cruftna, had been in the habit of calling him brother,

who accompanied Cruftna, the girl Soney, and the deceased, to the water side; or near it, on the fatal night, and whose testimony would have been very material on the prosecution, also absconded.

The prosecution being closed, and every thing being heard which the prisoners had to say in their defence, the recorder, in a speech which occupied two hours and ten minutes, summed up the evidence with his usual precision, and, in justice to the public, made such observations on it as might enable the jury to apply it in the most satisfactory manner in support of the charge; while, with a voice of humanity, his lordship observed, that the prisoners being without the assistance of counsel, it was specially incumbent on him to direct the attention of the jury to every part of the evidence which, either from defect in its nature, or prevarication in the statement of the same circumstances by different witnesses, might detract from the credit that was due to the whole, and thus operate in favour of the prisoners. In this his lordship laboured with a zeal which strongly characterized the fairest attribute of the judge—but without success—for the jury, after having retired for a short time, returned into court, at nine o'clock at night, with an unanimous verdict of *guilty*; and the wretched men are to suffer the sentence of the law, they being doomed yesterday to be hanged on Monday next, and their bodies to be given to the surgeons for dissection.

On Thursday an Arab was put to the bar, and indicted for defrauding a native, at different times, of sums of money, by pledging with him small bundles of glass beads, on the faith of their being pearls, and found guilty.



A Submarine Grotto has lately been discovered on the Malabar coast, by Captain Nix on, of the *Apollo*, who gives the following description of it:—"At one part of the reef, to the westward of the flag staff, I discovered a large bed of coral, almost even with the surface of the water, which afforded, perhaps, one of the most enchanting prospects that nature has any where produced. Its base was fixed to the shore, and reached so far in, that it could not be seen, so that it seemed to be suspended in the water, which deepened so suddenly, that at the distance of a few yards there might be seven or eight fathoms. The sea was at this time quite unruffled, and the sun shining bright, exposed the various sorts of coral in the most beautiful order, some parts branching into the water with great luxuriance, others lying collected in round balls, and in various other figures, all which were greatly heightened by spangles of the richest colours, that glowed from a number of large clams, which were every where interspersed. The richness of this submarine grotto could not be surveyed without a pleasing transport, mixed, however, with regret, that a work so stupendously elegant should be concealed in a place where mankind could seldom have an opportunity of rendering the praise justly due to so enchanting a scene."

*Particulars of the capture and recapture of the Calcutta East Indiaman, Capt. Haggey.*

She sailed from Spithead with the *Queen Charlotte*, of 110 guns, Vice Admiral Lord Keith, and the convoy, on the 20th November, and parted, off Cape Finistere, with the *Queen Charlotte*, the *Bengal Anna*, and the *Bombay Anna*: she anchored in Madeira Roads to take

in wines, the 9th December; on the 17th, in a dreadful gale of wind, she parted her anchors and was driven to sea: on the 18th, she fell in with *La Syrene* French frigate, of 44 guns, Citoyen Raignaud, and *La Bergen*, of 18, and was captured the same day. Victor Hughes was on board the former vessel.

At noon, after Capt. Haggey, the second and third mates, and about 50 lascars and seamen, were taken out, a fleet was discovered through the haze to windward, which proved to be his Majesty's frigates *Glenmore*, of 44 guns, Capt. Duff, and *L'Amiable*, of 32, Capt. Roper, and the outward-bound West India convoy from Cork. The *Glenmore* boarded and retook the *Calcutta*, and *L'Amiable* pursued the Frenchmen, and gallantly brought them both to action, which lasted for 35 minutes, when the French men of war made off, though so much superior. The *Glenmore* was to leeward with the fleet, and could not get up to assist *L'Amiable*.

The *Thetis* extra ship, which lately foundered at sea, was so leaky; that her pumps, though continually going, could not prevent the water from gaining upon them. The crew were so exhausted with fatigue, that some of the lascars actually jumped over-board; and had not the *Loyalist* kept close company, the whole of her crew would have been lost. Every thing, we are informed, was done to lighten her, but all exertion proved ineffectual.

Late letters from the Coast mention that a notorious head of a gang of robbers, named Gidda Gomanjee, had been seized, and his banditti dispersed, by a subahdar of the first battalion of the 3d regiment, named Ibrahim Cawn. It appears that



that this gang had come into the neighbourhood of Lieut. Dodd's post at Sadashygar, spreading havoc and devastation all round them, plundering every thing in their way, murdering the inhabitants and laying waste the villages; on which Lieut. Dodd sent out the above-mentioned very meritorious native officer in quest of them, with a party not exceeding forty sepoy and about eighty peons. The subahdar found them lodged in a pagoda at or near Carwar, from which his party was fired upon. Ibrahim Cawn, however, in an officer and soldier-like manner, attacked and forced the gateway, when an action ensued, in which six of the robbers fell; the rest fled, and were pursued by the gallant subahdar; several were wounded in their flight, and, among the rest, Gidda himself, who was taken and brought into Carwar, of which place, and its environs, he had been the terror for near twenty years: the inhabitants were accordingly so exasperated, that they cut off his head before the sepoy could restrain them. There is another ruffian, it seems, named Loll Sing, who has followed the same course of life; he is still at large, but it is hoped he will also soon meet the punishment due to his crimes.

[We insert the following extracts from the *Bombay Courier*, as being more illustrative of the hostile treatment, and subsequent melancholy death, of Capt. PAVIN of the *Ruby*, at Sooloo, than that given in the *Supplement to the Chronicle*, in Vol. II. page 132.]

*Extract of a letter from Amboyna, dated June 20, 1800.*

I am sorry to inform you of the unfortunate loss of Captain Pavin, at Sooloo. We sailed from Amboyna the 24th of February for Sooloo, where we arrived the 15th of March, at six *p. m.* and anchored in

12 fathoms; next morning weighed and run close in shore towards the town, and moored in nine fathoms; at ten *a. m.* Captain Pavin went on shore in the jolly-boat, with four lascars, a servant, the fifer, and havildar. About an hour after Captain Pavin left the ship, I observed five large prows to get under weigh, three of which west of us, and two to the east of us; every thing continued quiet till about three *p. m.* when I observed the prows to mount a 9-pound gun on their bow, with a large brass swivel on each side of it. I immediately prepared, for fear of an attack from the prows; but to my surprize, at half past five *p. m.* they commenced a fire upon us from three distinct batteries; we were then laying with our head to the eastward, with a light air of wind on the larboard bow. I could not, from the situation of the wind and tide, cast the ship's head off shore; but from the constant fire they kept upon us, I was obliged to cut from both cables and try to wear, in which I luckily succeeded, and cleared the rocks about eighteen or twenty yards. After getting the ship turned on the starboard tack, I ordered the people to their quarters; and although the prows and batteries were then keeping up a constant fire upon us, I still delayed returning it, except a few guns that were fired by the people in heat of passion, thinking that if Captain Pavin was not then put to death, that the Sultan, finding he did not succeed in taking the ship, might spare his life, and permit him to return to the ship.

However, as the prows were pulling up to board us, I ordered the people to fire, for the safety of the ship; by the time they had received 30 or 40 vollies of round and grape, they were completely silenced.



ed.—Finding that it would be utterly impossible to get the smallest information of Captain Pavin, I made the best of my way for Manada, agreeable to his instructions left with me. After my arrival at Manada, I had an account of the cargo and Captain Pavin's effects taken by Mr. Court, the English resident, for fear any accident should happen to the ship before our arrival at Amboyna, so as it might be satisfactory to you or any other person concerned in her. From Manada I went to Amourang to load with rice. On my arrival at Amboyna, I delivered up the ship and cargo, with Captain Pavin's effects, to Mr. Farquhar, who has appointed me commander.

The following is an account of damage received from the fort and prows:—

One nine-pound shot and a grape under the starboard quarter gallery, between wind and water; two large shot through the mizen-top-sail; one double headed nine-pound shot under the starboard mainchains; a nine-pound carronade in starboard side; a twelve ditto carried away the starboard gangway stantion, also the iron stantion of the larboard pump, graised the main mast, and wounded one man; a nine-pounder through a spare fore-top-sail-yard; a nine-pounder carried away a piece of the starboard gunnel, and the chock of the fore-sheet; also standing and running rigging a good deal cut; the jolly-boat and two anchors and cables lost.

N. B. There were several shells thrown at us from the fort, which luckily passed us before bursting.

*Extract of a letter from Malacca, dated July 12, 1800.*

The *Apollo*, Capt. Porter, is arrived from Sooloo, and I am sorry to observe, that poor Pavin, and

the whole of the boat's crew, were cut to pieces.—They made a present of Pavin's hat, and the boat, to Captain Porter.

*Extract of a letter from Bencoolen.*

The Malays, whose artifice and cunning are proverbial, have contrived, till lately, to carry on considerable clandestine traffic with the Dutch; but in consequence of a discovery of their contraband practices, a proclamation was recently issued, prohibiting all Malay prows, and vessels of whatever description, from trading, directly or indirectly, with any of the enemy's ports, under pain of forfeiting, in the event of discovery, not only the vessel and cargo, but also the protection of the settlement.

Strong suspicions of the clandestine trade, which induced the proclamation above noticed, were for a long time entertained; but it was owing to the exertions of John Campbell, Esq. governor of Croce, that a complete discovery took place.

The most important events may be traced from trifling occurrences. The detection of the Malays originated in the upsetting of a boat. It appears that a large prow, laden with benjamin and camphor, put into Croce for water, and that having sent her people on shore for this necessary, the boat upset on her return, and was stranded; but her people were saved by the exertions of the inhabitants of Croce. Some words had dropped on their first landing, which being told to the governor, strongly excited his curiosity; and on examining strictly one of the Chinese sailors, Mr. Campbell discovered that the vessel was bound to Batavia, for whose market the cargo was intended. The necessary precautions were there-



therefore taken, and a careful examination of the prow's papers ensued, the result of which was, the discovery of some letters for the governor of Batavia; and these leaving no room for doubt, the vessel and cargo were immediately confiscated. The commander finding his efforts to save the prow ineffectual, confessed at length, that, besides his vessel, there were several others employed in the same manner.

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*Account of the gallant conduct of Captain MEIK, his Officers and Crew, in defence of the Armenia, prior to her surrender to the Clarisse privateer, Captain LE MEME, of 16 guns and 180 men; by Mr. STOKES, who was a passenger on the former.*

On the 5th of July, in the latitude  $7^{\circ} 30'$  south, longitude  $79^{\circ} 80'$  east, at half-past three *p. m.* we saw a ship on our lee quarter, distant about three leagues, in chase of us; at six o'clock the chase gained fast on us, and hoisted American colours; by eleven o'clock she was nearly alongside.

We got the *Armenia* under a reduced sail, and all ready for engaging, hailed the strange sail, but received no answer, though within pistol shot; she then hoisted French colours, and fired a shot into us, which was returned by a broadside from the *Armenia*.

Every exertion was used to prevent the enemy boarding, which, from his manœuvres, appeared to be his intention; we continued the action for about 40 minutes, when, finding that all resistance was fruitless, we were obliged to strike to the *Clarisse* privateer, Captain Le Meme.

Our killed and wounded were, Mr. Baddeley, first officer, slightly wounded; Mr. Falconar, third officer, killed; the captain's steward,

and an European seacunney, dangerously wounded; two Portuguese seacunnies wounded, (one since dead), and the second officer's servant shot through the shoulder. Our sails and shrouds were very much cut up from their line of fire, which was about six feet above the deck.

The *Clarisse* lost three men, which they say were in a boat which filled alongside; but, from the quantity of blood on her deck, we have reason to distrust their account, and to conclude that they fell in the action.

Captain Meik, the second officer, and the lascars, were taken on board the privateer; Mr. Stokes, Mr. Calder, Mr. and Mrs. Baddeley, and the wounded, proceeded to the Isle of France in the *Armenia*, where they arrived on the 17th of July; and it is a tribute of praise due to the government there to say, that every surgical aid and comfort was given to the wounded.

Mr. Stokes left the Isle of France on the 5th of August, prior to which a proclamation had been issued, announcing the death of General Malartic, and the succession of General Magallon to the government of the island.

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Late letters from Poonah mention, that a plot among some of Scindia's head men had been discovered, who, it is said, had planned the death of that chieftain, with the view of substituting in his place an adopted son of Lutchmebye, widow of the late Májee Scindia. The scheme being seasonably discovered, Scindia took the necessary measures for disconcerting the conspirators, and was fortunate enough to place his dependence on Colonel Sutherland for the execution of them. This choice of a confidant, in such a perilous situation, reflects great merit on both; for that officer's zeal and fidelity fully corresponded.



responded with Scindia's expectations, who succeeded in inflicting condign punishment on his enemies. He sent his minister, Tanted Pugnavefe, to the fort of Amednagur; others were dispersed and secured in the same manner in different forts, and some were blown from the mouth of a gun. These measures were fully justified by the important discovery of written engagements between the leaders of the conspiracy and their chief, which were produced to the delinquents, and recognized by them to be their proper hand-writing. By these it was stipulated with some, that tracts of country, and with others, large sums of money, should be the reward of their treachery.

On the 22d of March last, the ship *Soliman Shaw*, commanded by a Nakodah, having her owner on board, and several passengers, left Rangoon, and for some days meeting with fair weather, hopes were entertained of making a speedy passage; but about a fortnight after she had left the port, a storm came on, attended with thunder, lightning, and rain. The ship laboured considerably, which made it necessary to keep the pumps continually going; the storm increased, and, to lighten the vessel, it was deemed necessary to throw her guns, and every thing that was upon deck, overboard. In the morning the wind abated, but the swell was so heavy, and the ship had sustained so much damage, that the utmost labour of the people was insufficient to keep her free; the water gained so much upon them, that self-preservation prompted them to steer towards the shore; they wished to return to Rangoon, and considered it would be more safe to get as near the coast as possible, as in the event of the ship's foundering, they might be able to preserve their lives; they

proceeded in this manner to the latitude of about  $15^{\circ} 30'$ , when the ship filled, at which time the island Preparis was in sight from the mast-head.

The commander, Shabaan, then requested of the owner, Hajee Mahomet, permission to have the long-boat, which was granted; and the commander, his writer, chief mate, second mate, all the passengers, together with the serang, seacunnies, tindals, and eight lascars, got into the boat and pushed off: same time, Hajee Mahomet, and the remainder of the people, to the amount of about twenty-two, got into the pinnace, and likewise pushed off. Hajee Mahomet desired that both boats might keep together; but after they had got a short distance from the ship, Hajee Mahomet looked back at her, and requested he might be put on board again, which was accordingly complied with, and he and the lascars returned on board; after which he requested the seacunnies to come up, and try to cut away the main-mast; they complied, leaving only so little uncut as, with the least wind, it must go overboard: they returned into the long-boat and pushed off; previously to which, however, several of the lascars who had been in the boat attempted to quit the ship; but Hajee Mahomet drew his sword, and declared he would cut any one down who should presume to do so, threatening, at the same time, that if the boat's crew endeavoured to take any of the people away who had attached themselves to him in the first instance, he would fire upon them: and in the agony of despair, he declared, that, in the event of the ship's foundering, he would go down with her; that beggary would otherwise be his lot; and that it was better not to live than want the means by which



which to exist. When the boat left the ship, soundings were unattainable with 80 fathoms.

On the 2d of May the commander and mates arrived at Rangoon, and a few days afterwards intelligence was received that the ship had found her way to Basseen, with no person on board; so that it is supposed Hajee Mahomet and the people took to their boat and were lost. Four or five horses, out of about fourteen, were still alive.

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*Extract of a letter from Amboyna, dated 12th July.*

The hon. Company's ship *Unicorn*, Capt. R. Langlands, sailed from Amboyna the latter end of June, for Delhi, a Portugueze settlement on the island of Timor. Capt. Shaw, master attendant at Banda, was a passenger on board the *Unicorn*, for the purpose of procuring live stock at Delhi for the colony at Amboyna; the ship's company consisted of four seacunnies, twelve lascars, and thirty-four Javanese, taken from three Dutch ships, prizes to his Majesty's ship *La Virginie*.

On the 7th of July, at ten o'clock in the evening, being off Waroo Bay, Captain Langlands, Captain Shaw, and the officers, being all on deck, by the capstern, in conversation with each other, the Javanese rushed aft, singing the war song, and instantly knocked down Captain Shaw with the boat's bomkin, at the same time struck Captain Langlands with a large knife, which severed one ear from the head, and occasioned a great effusion of blood.

Captain Langlands immediately seized the weapon which they had knocked down Mr. Shaw with, and defended himself, until he had sufficiently cleared the quarter-deck so as to get down the after-hatch-

way; he then armed himself, his officers, carpenter, and two seacunnies, and again ascended the hatchway, and requested the Malays to retire from the quarter-deck; but finding all remonstrance fruitless, and the Malays being on the point of commencing a second attack, he gave orders to fire on the mutineers, when, after three hours contest, he found sixteen Malays missing, supposed to be killed by the fire, and had secured the remaining eighteen in irons, some of whom were severely wounded.

At two *a. m.* Captain Shaw died of the wound he received. On the 8th one of the Malays got loose, and was attempting to free the others, when he was shot dead by the sentinel. Captain Langlands then bore up for Amboyna, where he arrived safe, and delivered nine of the Malays to the civil power, the rest having died of their wounds.

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*Extract of a letter from Mangalore, dated July 25, 1800.*

The fate of the forty-nine rebels that were made prisoners in attempting to effect their escape from Jemalabad, has been decided by a general court-martial, and they are sentenced to death. Nine of them that were deserters were hung on the Ead-Gah hill on Monday last, and two others at the same time received a part of their punishment of one thousand lashes each; the others will receive their sentence at Bechul or Cundapore, and Jemalabad. The nephew of the Wittel Rajah had been in confinement at this place for some weeks, and Capt. Bruce, with a detachment, having been sent into the neighbourhood of his former depredations, the uncle came in and surrendered himself, having been totally deserted by his followers: he arrived at Mangalore on Sunday last, where



where he now remains in safe custody. This circumstance we were in hopes would have secured our tranquillity; but information has been received that a party of plunderers have entered the northern parts, in the vicinity of Sedasnewghur; they are supposed to be a part of Doondia's people. Measures, no doubt, will be immediately adopted to put a speedy end to their depredations.

The means by which the garrison of Jemalabad effected their escape has been discovered; it appears to have been by tying together ropes, bamboos, ladders, and every thing of that nature that might enable them to reach from the parapet to the bottom of the perpendicular rock. This desperate resource indicates the pressing distress of their situation; and in the dangerous effort to escape by this mode, several are supposed to have perished, as many of their bodies were found dead at the bottom of the ladder, apparently killed by falling.

#### DESCRIPTION OF BATAVIA.

The only public buildings which merit particular attention are, the palace of the governor-general, the arsenal, the stadthouse, and the high church. The first of them forms a termination to the principal street. The fore court of the palace is handsomely railed, and the front gate is guarded by centinels. This edifice is of stone, and of an imposing appearance; it consists of four stories, with a central dome, crowned with a turret. There is a battalion of soldiers constantly on duty here, which consists chiefly of Malays, commanded by European officers. The European soldiers, who though they are much better clothed and accoutred than the native troops, have such a meagre, pale, and ghastly appearance, as to

be but ill qualified for the duties of their own, or any other profession. Not one in twenty of the military who come from Europe ever return thither; and even those who escape and survive all the dangers and disorders of the climate, generally go back to their own country with emaciated forms and debilitated constitutions. This palace appears to have been built at several distinct periods, from the dates which are engraved in different parts of it; the dates, 1630, 1636, and 1660, mark the particular periods when certain principal parts of it were erected. Before the court there is a kind of lawn, with a walk in the middle, shaded with rows of trees; and to the left of this lawn, at a small distance from the palace, stands the arsenal, before which lie a great number of new brass guns, gun-carriages, shot of all kinds piled up, and 150 pieces of large cannon, completely mounted. This building is more remarkable for its strength than the beauty of its external appearance, and contains an immense quantity of all kinds of ordnance and military stores, both in its chambers and in the deep vaults beneath the building. The small armoury contains 200,000 stand of arms, near which are barracks for 40,000 men. This place is in no condition, however, to resist a well-appointed enemy; nor is it easy to reconcile the defenceless state of this valuable settlement to the wealth and importance of it. The number of regular troops quartered in the neighbourhood of Batavia, including both the European and Malay regiments, amounts to about fifteen thousand men; there are also upwards of thirty thousand native militia, who are regularly clothed and paid. The European troops are clothed in a manner suitable to the climate, are allowed to carry



carry on any trade or profession for which they are qualified, and otherwise remunerated by particular privileges. The Malay troops, on the contrary, are destitute of any decent clothing, none of them at least being allowed shoes or stockings, and in this miserable state of equipment they do their duty. The store-houses have continued full ever since the year 1797, and there was no probability till lately of a vend for the articles on hand. The principal inhabitants, and merchants, were in a state of great embarrassment, in consequence of the stagnation of commerce, as no remittances could be expected while their goods were lying dead.

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### AUGUST.

FORT WILLIAM, *Aug. 6, 1800.*

*By the Most Noble the Governor-general in Council.*

The most noble the Governor-general in council having received, from his Excellency the Commander in Chief, the notification of the arrival within these provinces of the three battalions of Bengal volunteers, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Gardiner, feels a peculiar satisfaction in publishing to the army his most cordial approbation of the distinguished services rendered to the British empire in India, by the European and native officers and privates of those gallant and meritorious corps, during the late arduous crisis of public affairs.

His lordship remarked, with the warmest sentiments of gratitude, the alacrity and zeal manifested by the native officers and privates, in their voluntary embarkation for the coast of Coromandel, on the eve of the late glorious war; after the com-

mencement of the war, the exemplary discipline, valour, and steadiness of the Bengal volunteers, were eminently conspicuous on various important occasions; and the official reports which his lordship repeatedly received from the field during his residence at Fort St. George, justify him in attributing to the Bengal volunteers a considerable portion of the glory and honour acquired by the British arms, during the brilliant and memorable campaign in Mysore.

After the reduction of Seringapatam, the most noble the Governor-general in council was happy to observe the laudable and unabated exertions of the Bengal volunteers, in accompanying the rapid movements of the army upon the northern frontiers of the dominions of the rajah of Mysore.

When the service in the Mysore had been brought to a conclusion, the conduct of the Bengal volunteer battalions in the northern circars, was such as to receive the most honourable testimony of approbation from the right honourable the Governor in council at Fort St. George.

In addition to these circumstances which have fallen under the immediate observation of the Governor-general in council, the favourable reports which his lordship has received from his excellency the commander in chief, of the uniform fidelity, attachment, dutiful subordination and determined courage manifested by these valuable corps on every emergency, require, that his lordship in council should confer a mark of honorary distinction on the Bengal volunteers, for the purpose of commemorating their services, and of recommending their example to the imitation of their fellow soldiers.

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The most noble the Governor-general in council is therefore pleased to order, that honorary medals be conferred on all the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and sepoy's of the three battalions of Bengal volunteers, recently returned from the coast of Coromandel.

From the first ultimo, the entire civil government of the province of Malabar has been transferred to the presidency of Madras, as had been the military command there some months ago: likewise, the interior administration of the city of Surat, and its dependencies, having become vested by treaty in the honourable English Company, the establishment of chief and council has been abolished, and the following appointments taken place in consequence, during the honourable the Governor's late stay there, viz.

Daniel Seton, Esq. to be lieutenant-governor of the Castle of Surat.

Alexander Ramsay, Esq. to be judge and magistrate

Edward Galley, Esq. to be collector.

William Soper, Esq. to be custom-master.

John Church, esq. to be mint-master.

Provision has also been made for the institution of a quarterly criminal court, on a similar footing with that established for Salfette and Caranja.

About half past five o'clock, on the 3d instant, as a bullock coach, with six children in it, belonging to Doctor Cabau, was passing by the river, near the Wallajah gate, the bullocks took fright at a horse and bandy, and ran into the river, when one of the children, a boy near ten years old, was unfortunately drowned: he was picked up three quarters of an hour after, and every humane exertion was made to recover him, but without effect.

*Extract of a letter from Madras, dated the 13th instant, giving a full and correct account of the capture and re-capture of the Friendship.*

After I had dispatched my letter of the 4th, written off Masulipatam, the wind veered from the westward, and we were induced to get under weigh, at which time a ship and brig were standing in for the roads.

The ship we took to be the *Dædalus*, belonging to his Majesty; but proceeding farther to the southward, we grew suspicious.

At this time we saw a very large ship standing in from the southward, which was generally believed to be a two-decker, right a-head of us, distant about seven or eight miles; both these vessels had blue colours flying. We consequently concluded they were consorts, and ceased to apprehend danger.

When the first ship got into our wake, at that time about two miles off, she tacked after us.

We had however no alternative; the course we stood in was that alone which prudence dictated; both vessels were approaching at the same time; we knew well that were they both enemies, it would be impossible to escape; but in the event of the one we must first come in contact with being hostile, and the farther vessel proving English, though captured, we must soon regain our liberty, the force of the latter being so greatly superior.

It was eleven o'clock when we weighed and made sail; at half past noon, the ship we first saw was about a mile from us; we therefore clearly perceived she was an enemy, although she still kept the blue flag flying. A little before one they hailed us, desiring us to strike to a  
French



French privateer, but not to haul down our colours. An armed boat shortly after was sent, which carried the captain and another gentleman on board *L'Uni*, the privateer: by this time we clearly saw that a large ship, distant about four miles, was the *Arrogant*: The Frenchmen, luckily taking her for one of the large Indiamen, stood directly on till they came within two miles of her; the *Friendship* was about a mile off, under command of a prize-master, standing to the northward. The privateer, when too late, perceived her mistake; she neared very fast, and the closer she approached, the greater appeared to be the enemy's confusion; at half past three they were busily employed in throwing their guns overboard; they had carried previously, however, two abaft, and from these five shot were fired at the *Arrogant*, whence an equal number was returned.

It was now nearly four o'clock, and just as the *Arrogant* had prepared to pour a broadside into her, the privateer struck, to the great mortification of the Frenchmen, and proportionate pleasure of the prisoners; the former, but an hour before, considered themselves certain of immense wealth in the capture of a valuable Indiaman. We poor fellows were reduced to distress by the loss of our vessel and of our liberty; but the breeze of fortune shifted, and the vanquisher became vanquished.

The *Friendship*, by this time, had proceeded five or six miles from us; but taking the first opportunity of getting on board the *Arrogant*, we explained her situation to Captain Osborne; he ordered us to return to the privateer, and use our utmost exertions in proceeding after her; with this of course we cheerfully complied. The prisoners were

properly secured; at six we made sail, and at eleven we had the pleasure to see the *Friendship* possessed by an officer and men of the *Arrogant*.

Whilst on board the privateer, it was seen by their journal, that if we had been as near to the land on the 27th ultimo as we supposed, we must have fallen in with her, as she had been cruising off Madras for 26 or 27 days previously to capturing us, sometimes to the northward and sometimes to the southward. The *Helen* fell to the Frenchman, a few hours after she had left Madras. A brig had also been taken, which was in company when the *Friendship* was laid hold of. We arrived here (Madras) yesterday, the 13th, extremely thankful that we were landed in a British, not a foreign settlement, as once we expected.

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BOMBAY, August 22, 1800.

*By the Commanding Officer of the Forces.*

An official report, highly honourable to the character of Ibrahim Cawn, subahdar in the first battalion third regiment Bombay native infantry, having been made through the hon. Colonel Wellesley, for his gallant and soldier-like attack of a pagoda in the vicinity of Carwar, in which a notorious robber, by whom that district was for many years infested, had taken post with his followers, and for his subsequent seizure of the robber's person, the commanding officer of the forces, with the approbation of the hon. the Governor in council, directs that a badge of gold, with an appropriate inscription, be publicly presented to the subahdar, as a mark of the high sense which government ever entertains of distinguished merit, in what-



whatever branch of the service it may be shewn.

And in order to evince to the native troops the more generally, that an active exertion of duty shall not in any way escape the notice of government, the commanding officer of the forces, with the same approbation of the hon. the Governor in council, further directs that this distinction be extended to the havildars who were present, and who may have conspicuously exerted themselves on the same occasion, with this difference, that the badge shall be of silver, to be worn on the right arm.

Lieutenant-colonel Williamson, commanding officer of the first battalion third regiment, will transmit to the adjutant-general, by the first opportunity, the names of the havildars that may be pointed out to him as entitled to the above distinction. The above order to be publicly read and explained on the parade of every native corps in the service.

R. GORDON, *Adj. Gen.*

FORT WILLIAM, *Aug. 26, 1800.*

This morning dispatches were received by the most noble the Governor-general from his Excellency Vice-Admiral Rainier, dated the 11th August 1800, on board of the *Suffolk*, in Madras roads, from which the following is an extract :

“ I have the satisfaction to inform your excellency, that his Majesty's ship *Arrogant*, Captain Edward Osborne, anchored in the roads this morning, with *L'Uni* French privateer, of 30 guns and 250 men, (when taken had 216 on board, the rest sent away in prizes,) which Captain Osborne captured, the 4th instant, off Masulipatam, commanded by Monsieur Jean Francois Hodoul; at the same time retook her

prize, the ship *Friendship*, from Calcutta. The brig *Bee*, another prize to the privateer, then in sight, effected her escape.

*L'Uni* left the Mauritius the 4th of May, and had taken, exclusive of the above, an English privateer from the Cape of Good Hope, named the *Harriet*, and the ship *Helen*, from hence bound to China.

*L'Uni* sailed from Mauritius in company with two smaller privateers, the object of whose cruize, as far as I have yet learnt, was to proceed to Batavia, and from thence to the eastward, though some of the prisoners have said, one was to have gone to the Gulf of Persia. As far as the relation of prisoners may be attended to, there does not appear to have been any more privateers fitted out than the three above-mentioned.”

By command of the most noble the Governor-general in council,  
G. H. BARLOW, *Chief Sec. to Gov.*

In entering Bencoolen Roads, the *Arniston* had a rencontre with a French privateer, of which the following are the particulars :

The French privateer sailed into Bencoolen roads with the *Arniston*, the former having American colours hoisted at the mizen-peak, preparing to anchor with those colours still flying. Several boats had put off, but could not fetch the supposed American; and a boat with the dispatches and letters from the *Arniston* had proceeded to the shore; from which circumstance the enemy conjectured that the captain had landed, and that the ship had been weakened by the departure of some of her hands. Waiting therefore till a short time after the dinner bell had rung, the French national colours were in a moment displayed, where



where the American had before been flying; she then fired a complete broadside, which was as instantaneously returned by the *Arniston* from thirteen twelve-pounders, at that time loaded with *double-headed shot*: the privateer finding the Indiaman prepared at all points to receive her, cut her cables and made sail to the southward; the *Arniston* also cut her cables, and crowded sail after her, but could not come up with her. The *Arniston* failed from England in company with the *Bombay* Indiaman, long since arrived; had been at St. Helena; and some days after the action in Bencoolen roads, took her departure for the Streights of Malacca, in prosecution of her voyage to China, giving protection to the American ship *Grace* as far as Acheen, where they parted company.

The *Arniston*, at the time of the action, is reported to have had 30,000*l.* in specie on board, and to have been but badly manned, when compared with the other Indiamen of the present season, her crew being nearly two-thirds foreigners.

From the mode and boldness of the attack, we are led to suppose the privateer to be no other than the *Confiance*, now commanded by Surcouf: her force was conjectured to have been twenty-two twelve pounders; she was full of men.

A monument is now erecting to the memory of the late Colonel Bruce, which, when finished, is intended to remind the pensive reader of the honourable actions of that praise-worthy character. The late colonel's brother officers, at a distance from the presidency, may be pleased to be reminded of services, in which, with the deceased, they may have been engaged; and to

the junior officer, emulous to tread in the path which leads to honourable distinction, a bright example will doubtless be acceptable; we have therefore extracted the following from the epitaph:

Over the Remains of  
Lieutenant Colonel ROBERT BRUCE,  
Commandant of the 3d Battalion of  
Bengal Artillery;  
Who, in 1771, while yet a youth,  
Opened an honourable Career of Service,  
In the Cooch Beyhar expedition;  
Led the Native Artillery,  
In the memorable march across  
The Peninsula of India,  
From Culpee to Surat;  
Acquiring marked approbation  
In all the active campaigns of  
General Goddard,  
From 1778 to 1781;  
At the recommendation of Gov. Gen. Hastings,  
Was selected in 1782 to direct his Corps,  
At the reduction of the Fort of  
Bidge-Ghur,  
Till that time deemed impregnable;  
In 1786, when Peace in India and in Europe  
Allowed the enjoyments of home to a Soldier,  
Revisited Britain,  
There to leave Impressions of  
Talents, Honour, and Domestic Virtues,  
On his Friends, and on his Family,  
Permanent on their memories and its gratitude;  
But in 1792, when his country called  
On his strong sense of military honour,  
Resumed the active duties of the Field;  
Was sent in 1793, by Lord Cornwallis,  
To conduct the Bengal Artillery,  
Ordered for the siege of Pondicherry;  
Commanded in 1794, the whole Artillery  
In the decisive Battle of  
Beetoreh, in Rohilcund,  
With the public thanks of  
General Sir Robert Abercrombie;  
Continuing in the Field;  
From this era till 4th November 1796,  
When at Diggah, near Dinapore,  
At the Age of 42,  
A fatal Disease, incident to the Climate,  
Deprived the Service of an Excellent Officer,  
And Society of one of its brightest Ornaments—  
'This mute memorial of the heart  
Is inscribed.

GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATION.

Fort William, Aug. 18, 1800.

The most noble the Governor-general has made the following appointments, for the purpose of carrying into effect the institution of a college at Fort William, under regulation IX. A. D. 1800:

The Rev. David Brown, Provost.

The Rev. Claudius Buchanan, A. B. Vice Provost.

PROFESSORSHIPS.

Arabic Language and } Lt. John Baillie.  
Mahomedan Law, }  
Persian



Persian Language and Literature, } Lt. Colonel Wm. Kirkpatrick,  
 } Frs. Gladwin, and Neil; Benj. Edmonstone, Esqrs.  
 Hindustanee Language, } J. Gilchrist, Esq.  
 The Regulations and Laws enacted by the Governor - general in Council, &c. for the Civil Government of the British Territories in India, } George Hillaro Barlow, Esq.  
 Greek, Latin, and English Classics, } The Rev. Claudius Buchanan.

Fort William, Sept. 18. 1800.

The most noble the Governor-general has appointed the Rev. David Brown, Provost, the Rev. C. Buchanan, Vice Provost, G. H. Barlow, Esq. N. B. Edmonstone, Esq. and Lieutenant Colonel W. Kirkpatrick, to be the council for the immediate government, internal regulation and discipline of the college of Fort William.

By order of the most noble the Governor-general, apartments are preparing at Calcutta, for the temporary accommodation of the superior officers of the college of Fort William, for the chambers of such of the students as cannot be lodged in the writers' buildings, for the library, and for the public halls.

The public table for the use of students will be opened in the month of November, and due notice will be given of the day appointed for that purpose.

The lectures in the Arabic, Hindustanee, and Persian languages, will commence in the month of November; due notice will be given of the respective days fixed for the lectures.

The first regular term of the college of Fort William will open on the 6th day of February 1801.

### SEPTEMBER.

From the Calcutta Morning Post.

Sept. 12. 1800.

At the commencement of the year

1798, when the gallant, humane, and ever to be lamented Captain Edward Cooke was cruizing with his Majesty's ship *La Sybille* to the eastward of the Streights of Malacca, he sent on shore a party for wood and water at Pollock Harbour, which place, we are given to understand; is situated within seven or eight miles of the port of Magindanao (or Mindanao), the southernmost of the Phillipine Islands. The whole of this party were unfortunately cut off; a circumstance which was attributed by the officers of the *Sybille* to the orders or contrivance of the Sultan of Magindanao. For the perpetration of this act of atrocity, no adequate motive could indeed be assigned. Captain Cooke had at different times received overtures from this Sultan to wood and water at his port; but either from adventitious circumstances, or from prudential motives, had as often declined them. This alone, it was imagined, had excited the jealousy, and provoked the resentment of the Sultan. We have not been able to ascertain what endeavours were used for the restoration of these people, previous to the departure of the *Sybille*; but if we may found a reasonable belief upon the well known character of her late excellent commander, no expedient was left untried, that prudence could dictate, that humanity could suggest, or that valour could accomplish. It would appear, however, that the *Sybille* had left her station on those seas, before any satisfactory intelligence could be obtained of her unfortunate boat's crew: but their supposed fate and sufferings, whatever the imaginations of the rest of their friends on board might have painted them, left a painful impression on the breast of their generous commander.

In August 1798, when Captain Lynch,



Lynch, at that time in command of the *Brisk*, was bound on a trading voyage to the eastward, Captain Cooke earnestly entreated that he would use every possible endeavour to ascertain the fate of his lost and regretted seamen, suggesting to him, at the same time, the means that appeared best calculated to promote the success and fulfil the object of his inquiry.

In pursuance of this humane intention, Captain Lynch used repeated efforts, in the month of November following, to make the port of Magindanao; but owing to a severe stress of weather, found it impossible, at that period, to effect his purpose.

In November last, however, Captain Lynch, in command of the *Bangalore*, bound to Amboyna, touched at Sooloo, a small island S. W. of Magindanao, and nearly midway between it and the Island of Borneo. Here Captain Lynch had the good fortune to meet with a prince, or chief, belonging to Magindanao, from whom he learnt that nine Europeans were at that time in captivity, under the sultan of that island, who used them as slaves, but was willing to ransom them to any English vessel that might eventually touch there.

On receiving this information, Captain Lynch immediately sailed for Magindanao, where he arrived on the 10th of that month. The above intelligence was now confirmed, with the additional intimation, that three of the boat's crew, which had originally consisted of twelve, were slain in the encounter; and that of the remaining nine, one had expired the day preceding that of his arrival.

Captain Lynch having obtained an audience of the sultan, and sued for the liberation of the eight sur-

viving captives, his native Majesty, after some deliberation, demanded 1200 dollars, as the price of their ransom: and in a few hours (so rapid is the growth of extortion!) increased his demand to 1500; which sum, to elude the insatiability of reflecting avarice, Captain Lynch immediately paid.

He then ventured to land five or six thousand dollars worth of piece goods, on the faith of an agreement with the sultan, that he should receive a stipulated quantity of wax in barter. After the landing of these goods, the day being too far advanced to transact any further business, Captain Lynch desired that the redeemed captives might be permitted to accompany him on board; but to his great concern and astonishment at so iniquitous a violation of the treaty, only four of the men were set at liberty for that purpose.

With those four, however, he proceeded on board, and early the next morning sent on shore two officers to bring off the remaining four men, or investigate the cause of their detention. The goods also they were desired to bring back to the ship, unless the proposed barter should be fulfilled without delay. After much fruitless entreaty these gentlemen returned on board, and reported to Captain Lynch, that they had finally been dismissed, under a pretence that it was customary to treat with none but the commander of a vessel. This display of artifice naturally created in the mind of Captain Lynch much serious apprehension. Being well acquainted with the sanguinary disposition of the people he had to deal with, it was not without some hesitation that he again ventured to put himself in their power. His apprehensions were also grounded on an intimation that



that he had received, of the natives having learnt that the vessel had still 300 bales on board, on hearing which they had exhibited some alarming symptoms of a treacherous design to cut her off.

The united impulse of humanity and resolution at length, however, overcame all scruples. On reaching the shore, he was met by several of the chiefs, whose manner of receiving him, and behaviour throughout, were calculated to excite the most unwelcome suspicions. Assuming a haughty tone of complaint, they insisted that the sum which had been paid to the sultan was inconsiderable, and by no means equivalent to the expence they had been at, in maintaining the Europeans so many months. With a degree of abruptness bordering on menace, they demanded a loan of 2000 dollars! promising to repay it when Captain Lynch should next touch at their port. Upon these conditions alone were the four remaining captives to be liberated, and the goods restored. The circumstances attending this modest proposal were such, however, as convinced Captain Lynch that nothing but an immediate compliance with it could either rescue his unhappy countrymen from bondage, or extricate himself from the most imminent danger of his life. When there is no alternative, a decision is quickly made. Captain Lynch, therefore, instantly compromised with the necessity of leaving in their possession piece goods to the amount of 2000 dollars; and with the utmost difficulty, skill, and management, succeeded in getting the other four Europeans and the remainder of his goods on board; the native chiefs having first obtained from him a very serious promise, that he would come on shore the

ensuing day, and bring a fresh quantity of goods to barter. Thanks to heaven that treachery and credulity are not always incompatible! Captain Lynch quietly weighed and stood off in the night, having previously learnt that the sultan had resolved on attempting the next day to get possession of the ship.

On his way to Amboyna, Capt. Lynch fell in with his Majesty's ship *Orpheus*, and had the generous satisfaction of delivering over the eight seamen whom he had thus nobly redeemed from the most distressful captivity.

This narrative requires no comment. But we cannot refrain from the pleasure of observing, that which every reader will doubtless anticipate. He, who has thus bravely risked his life and fortune in the service of his country, and for the honour of humanity, has a just claim to the gratitude, the applause, and the admiration of mankind.

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*Head Quarters, Choultry Plain,  
24th Sept. 1800.*

G. O. BY MAJOR GEN. BRAITHWAITE.

The operations of the force employed under the hon. Colonel Wellesley on the frontier of Mysore have been frequently marked by circumstances which demanded and obtained the applause of the commander of the army in chief; but in no instance has judgment in the plan, and gallantry in the execution of a military movement, been so eminently conspicuous as in the conclusion of the campaign on the 10th instant, when the rebel chief, Dhoondia Waug, baffled by the judicious disposition of Colonel Stevenson's detachment, in his attempt to escape in a northern direction, was intercepted in his retreat at Coonagal



Coonagalby Colonel Wellesley, with the cavalry of his division only, and forced to a decisive action, which terminated in his total defeat and death; Colonel Stevenson's detachment on the same day dispersing the remnant of his force, then employed in crossing the Kishna near Deodroog, and seizing the remaining cannon and baggage of the rebel army.

Major General Braithwaite requests that Colonel Wellesley will accept his public thanks for the judgment with which his measures have been planned, and the vigour which has marked every movement of his force. He has particular satisfaction in publishing to the army at large the very honourable report Colonel Wellesley has made of Colonel Stevenson's conduct, and the activity of the detachment under his command, to which that officer attributes the occurrence of the opportunity he seized of forcing Dhoondia to a decisive action: And the commander of the army in chief is happy to record, in honour of his Majesty's 19th and 25th regiments of light dragoons, and the 1st and 2d regiments of native cavalry, that those corps, under Colonel Pater, Majors Patterson and Blaquiere, and Captains Doveton and Price, composed the line, whose rapid charge upon a body of 5000 horse, formed to receive them, achieved this glorious conclusion to a campaign, distinguished throughout every stage of its operations by peculiar and progressive energy.

The honourable Colonel Wellesley has expressed his obligation to Lieutenant Colonel Bowser, for his services with his detachment from the subsidiary force; and reported in the warmest terms of praise the uniform good conduct of the troops in general, under cir-

cumstances of uncommon fatigue and difficulty, incident to the nature of the recent service. The advantages derived from the able arrangements of the gentlemen charged with the department of supply have been pointed out to the particular notice of the commander of the army in chief; and he is happy in adding this record of their merits to the general expression of his thanks to the honourable Colonel Wellesley, and the army employed under his orders on the recent service on the frontiers of Myfore.

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*Capture of the French Privateer La Clarisse, Capt. Le Meme, by his Majesty's ship Leopard, Admiral Blankett.*

On the 31st ultimo, arrived at Bombay his Majesty's ship *Leopard*, bearing the flag of Admiral Blankett, accompanied by her prize *La Clarisse*, Captain Le Meme, which they captured on their passage; the *Clarisse* gave chase to the *Leopard*, supposing her to have been an Indiaman from Mocha; the admiral did not try to deceive them, but permitted her to come sufficiently near to make sure of his prize. When the privateer found out her mistake, she crowded all sail to effect her escape; but several of the *Leopard's* shot having gone through her, she struck her flag: during the chase, she had thrown all her guns overboard, and sawed her gunwales in two in several places, to increase her rate of sailing; she mounted twelve guns, six and eight-pounders, and two thirty-six pound carronades, with a crew of upwards of one hundred and seventy men, of different descriptions.

The *Clarisse* has been near four months from the Isle of France; her first cruize was to the Streights



of Sunda, where falling in twice with an American frigate that gave them chase, they were compelled to quit their station, and directed their course towards Bencoolen.

During the time Admiral Blankett was chasing the *Clarisse*, she not only threw her guns overboard, but cut her anchors from the bows; all her small arms were thrown over, an azimuth compass, and, in short, every thing that could in the smallest degree be of service to the captors.

*Particulars of the Capture of the ship Helen, commanded by Captain Stewart, belonging to Messrs. Bruce, Fawcett and Co. of Bombay.*

On the 9th of July the *Helen* sailed from Madras, at half past ten *a. m.*; the wind being southerly, she pursued her course close hauled to the eastward; at ten *p. m.* she passed a ship to leeward, standing to the eastward; the stranger tacked between twelve and one, and was coming up very fast with the *Helen*; at half past one she hailed her, and asked the ship's name, and from whence she came? being satisfied with their answers to these questions, the commander of the *Helen* asked the stranger's name? upon which they answered, a French privateer, and desired him to strike his colours, or they would sink him. Captain Stewart, seeing no probability of effecting his escape, or of hazarding a contest with any hopes of success, ordered his colours to be hauled down, and the ship was taken possession of by a party from *L'Uni* French privateer, mounting four eighteen-pounders, and twenty-four twelve-pounders, manned with 280 men. She sailed from the Isle of France on the 3d of May, and had taken at the

Sycheles the *Henrietta* English privateer, belonging to Mr. Hogan at the Cape, and her prize, a slave ship from Mozambique.

BOMBAY, Sept. 4, 1800.

Information having this day reached the presidency, of the intention formed by our fellow-subjects at home, to perpetuate, by a naval monument, the glorious victories of the British navy, to be erected as the sole effusion of British gratitude by general and voluntary subscription; it is proposed to give, by public contributions, a proof of our immediate participation in these honourable sentiments; and it is not doubted that they will continue to manifest the loyalty, liberality, and affection that has ever distinguished the settlement of Bombay; their regard for the mother country, which, as the minister on a similar occasion of Indian patriotism observed, neither time nor absence can diminish; their attachment to the British crown; their veneration for its grand supporter, the navy of England, and their regret for their brave, but not unfortunate countrymen, who have perished in its defence.

Subscriptions for this purpose will be received by James Smith, esq. to be remitted to the treasurer in England.

Jonathan Duncan,	Rupees, 500
W. Syer, - - -	200
James Rivett, - - -	200
William Page, - - -	200
R. Ricards, - - -	100
R. Bowles, - - -	100
R. Nicholson, - - -	200
P. S. Maister, - - -	100
Robert Gordon, - - -	50
James Fisher, - - -	50
Alexander Adamson, - - -	100
Charles Forbes, - - -	100
James Kerr, - - -	50
Henry Woodington, - - -	50
H. Fawcett, ten guineas.	
Robert Henshaw, - - -	126

Robert



Robert Kitson,	Rupees,	100
S. Halliday, - - -	-	100
James Smith, - - -	-	100
Alexander Gray, - - -	-	50
J. Elphinston, - - -	-	50
H. S. Pearson, - - -	-	50
H. Forrester Constable, - - -	-	50
James Law, - - -	-	50
S. Wilson, - - -	-	50
W. Moir, - - -	-	50

OCTOBER.

*Extract of a letter, giving the Particulars of the Loss of the Ship Bhavani, Capt. Carse, late of Calcutta.*

Our voyage was uncommonly tedious from St. Helena; and owing to Sir Thomas Williams having carried us too far to the eastward, in crossing the line, we were a long time becalmed upon the coast of Africa.—The passage, had we still persevered in endeavouring to get within the Cape de Verd islands, would have been next to miraculous. This deviation from the common track not only led us astray in one instance, but when we came to the northern limit of the trade wind, we had unavoidably fallen out of our track, and were a second time totally becalmed for a long time.

This latter calm was succeeded by a gale of wind, which ceased only at the dissolution of the *Bhavani*; it began to blow in the latitude of 38° N. and continued with such violence from the W. N. W. and N. W. that we were obliged to scud before it, and were unavoidably separated from the commodore, with whom we however fell in again a few days after, and steered for the Channel.

In the lat. of 48° 50' or 49°, in the afternoon, the commodore made our signal for the lat. and lon. which was answered; these agreed with his observations. We had sounded

in the forenoon of the same day in 88 fathoms: we now bore away for the Channel, in company with the *Endymion*, *London*, and *Kingston*; owing to the very bad weather, and the commodore at about eight *p. m.* altering his course, the haze then so thick that we could not see a mile in any direction, we lost sight of him.

We hauled up to the southward immediately, and burned blue lights, one of which was answered, and we steered for it. At four *a. m.* we fired a gun, which was also returned ahead (E. S. E.); at daylight we saw the *London*, *Kingston*, *Endymion*, and another ship of war, in company with them, under easy sail standing for Plymouth; we made all sail possible to join them, by letting out the reefs and setting all the small sails.

In the afternoon it blew fresh in squalls, and we split our jib; a lugger from the French coast at this time steering for our wake. Having shifted our torn sail, we again made sail upon the ship, and continued under a very heavy press in the intervals between the squalls, failing nine knots, one port free.

Towards the dusk we observed the *Endymion* made sail, and, in company with another ship of war, went into Plymouth; we, with the other ships, stood after him, and at 8 *p. m.* saw the Eddystone at about one mile's distance; the night being hazy and tempestuous, we continued our course up the Channel. At two in the morning it blew violently in squalls, with hail, and we were obliged to furl all our sails; at three we hove too; in the morning at dawn we veered and set our foresail, and close reefed mizen top-sail; passed several luggers.

We observed that, although the ship was going very fast through



the water, she did not pass the land with equal velocity; at sun-set on the 7th November, we set Duff-stone-Head, bearing N. N. W. and were steering E. S. E. at eleven in the same evening we foundered, and continued foundering every hour.—At two in the morning I was called upon deck, it then blowing with the most excessive violence, and learned that the ship was in 14 fathoms water, and was then shoaling, supposed to be upon the English coast, set there by the flood. We veered several times, but, as my duty was forward, I cannot say how we stood upon each tack, except that it was close upon a wind; the wind about N. W.; by W. we continued to shoal out water until day-light, when we had nine fathoms, and saw the land bearing from N. N. E. to S. S. W. the nearest part of it about 3 or 4 miles; soon after we saw the French colours hoisted, and the batteries upon the shore opened their fire upon us; we veered once more, and in veering we considerably lessened our distance from the surf, which was breaking upon the beach at a mile's distance. All sail possible was made upon the ship, and every attempt that prudence and experience could dictate, was used for her preservation; but the wind having moderated, and the very heavy ground-swell breaking frequently over the ship in large seas, together with the tide then setting upon the shore, rendered every attempt useless.

No hope now remained of preserving the ship but such as we could expect from the anchors: and this last effort (after endeavouring to get ship upon the other tack, she having fallen off point by point on this) was thought by us all the only one that now remained; the sails were clued up, and the best bower anchor dropped in five fathoms,

upon a bottom of gravel and sand; we veered to two-thirds of a cable, and immediately parted. The other bower was now cut from the bows, and before she felt its effect, she struck the ground, (the batteries still continuing to fire); the second shock was dreadful, and seemed to forbode the speedy dissolution of the ship.

Our endeavours were now called for the preservation of the lives of the crew, and we thought proper to cut the cable, to let the ship drive as far upon the beach as possible, as no hope seemed, in the present state of things, to present itself. We then hoisted our pinnace, and, as no attempt was used to prevent any persons saving their lives, eleven men jumped into her, and left the ship; she, the boat, almost immediately upset, and we had the mortification to see them perish, without being able to render them any assistance. The ship continued to beat with violence; the forts now ceased firing, and immense crowds of peasants flocked to the beach;—all attempts to get the long-boat out would have been useless, as she could not have gained the shore through the surf which now surrounded us.—At two *p. m.* the surf had moderated, and the tide had fallen considerably.—I now proposed to carry a line to the shore, and left the ship in a small boat, accompanied by the third officer and two sea-cunnies; fortunately we all reached the shore alive, and were well received by some French officers, who had collected themselves upon the beach to protect our landing. Hitherto the people on board had continued pretty sober, and excepting the most abject and degrading fear, we had no cause to complain of their conduct; but they now endeavoured, amidst the confusion attending



attending our situation, to drown their fears in plunder and intoxication. Captain Carse generously told them, that he had no desire to save any part of his property; that if they could be saved, those who could get them to the shore were welcome to them; but he little knew that, previous to this, much had been conveyed, as well as his time-keeper, into the pinnace by his own servants, who had perished.

No part of our property was saved to us. At five *p. m.* the passengers, and those of the crew who were not too drunk, got to the shore; in half an hour after the mainmast went, and carried the mizenmast and the whole of the poop with it. During the night the remaining part of the ship's company were saved, by the vigilance and exertion of the French; and they indeed deserved the greatest credit, for they found many on board to appearance dead, but who were only in the last stage of bestial intoxication.

Of the whole ship's company, 24 men perished, and, I am sorry to add, that the greater part were Europeans. Upon our landing we were immediately made prisoners of war, and were conveyed to Valenciennes. We were allowed to leave France on the 10th January, and arrived in London on the 12th at night.

*Extract of Particulars relative to the Capture of the ship Prize, of Calcutta, by the Constance, Captain Surcouf.*

We left the pilot on the 11th of September, and proceeded to the southward, working against fresh southerly winds and squally weather with little success, owing to a heavy head sea, and strong easterly current. On the 17th, finding the ship too light to carry sufficiency of sail in such strong breezes, we thought it

most prudent to strike eight of our ten guns into the hold; and in consequence found that it not only enabled us to carry more sail, but greatly improved our rate of sailing. On the 18th we were abreast of Ganjam; on the 19th at day-light we saw a vessel in the southward standing to the northward; at that time we took no further notice of her, supposing her to be a small vessel steering towards the Sand-heads; and the wind coming off the land, which enabled us to lay our course, we began to make sail as fast as possible; at seven the stranger, which we observed to be a remarkable fast sailer, was almost abreast of us; at half past seven she tacked, and at eight we could see her hull completely from the deck.

We now began to form suspicions respecting her; she had not the appearance of a merchantman, and we were soon convinced was not one, not only by her suddenly putting about, but from her very fast rate of sailing. At half past eight she hoisted English colours; at nine we could distinguish a regular tier of guns, and that she was crowded with men. We were then convinced that she was a privateer, and being certain that there was neither any chance of running away from a vessel which sailed so amazingly fast, or of defending ourselves (even had our guns been on deck) against so superior a force, we, after a short time, resorted to the only expedient we thought gave a probability of success, which was to wear ship, and seemingly prepare for action, hoping that manœuvre might intimidate the enemy. I am sorry to say they were too confident of their own strength to be so easily frightened; for they immediately hauled down the English, hoisted French colours, and fired a gun to wind-



ward, which we not answering, they came alongside, and hailing us, ordered us to strike to the *Confiance*, Captain Surcouf. We were obliged, of course, to obey the summons; they then boarded us, and took possession of the ship. I was immediately turned on board the privateer, and after me the 1st, 2d, and 4th officers, with the passengers, sea-cunnies, and every person of whom it was possible they could entertain the least dread. They afterwards took every necessary which they stood in need of, and dispatched the *Prize* in the afternoon of the 20th to the Isle of France, with the 3d officer, 50 lascars, and about 35 Frenchmen to navigate her.

Captain Surcouf then steered for Ganjam, off which he arrived and anchored on the 22d; finding three small vessels in the roads, he hoisted out his boats and took possession of them. After writing on shore for boats to take us out, which could not come owing to a heavy surf, and hoisting a cartel flag, he sent us on board two of them. The third he burnt, because she had on board English colours and was coppered. Next morning boats being sent off, we landed, to the number of sixty-nine, with all the baggage that we had saved—I say saved, for though Captain Surcouf treated us with great politeness, and gave strict orders against opening our trunks, and pilfering, the Frenchmen nevertheless privately took several things from us. From me they unluckily managed to get my escrutore, containing all my papers, and what ready cash I had, which might have distressed us not a little, had we not fallen into a place where we found gentlemen who treated us with every attention that people in distress require.

## ISLE OF FRANCE.

Colonial Assembly, Sitting of the 10th Thermidor, 8th Year.

*Address of the Colonial Assembly to the Colony of the Isle of France.*

## CITIZENS,

The Governor-general Malartic is no more. Our vows were breathed forth for the preservation of him who was the preserver of these colonies; who maintained them in peace and union; and who, during the course of a long government, made his authority at once beloved and respected. Our vows have proved unavailing; the hand of death has seized him. You will transmit his memory to your children, and with it the remembrance of that auspicious day in which he was hailed by you as the father of the colony. May his name be perpetuated amongst us, and may it serve as a signal to which we may all rally for the common defence, and for the maintenance of internal tranquillity! May that universal sentiment of grief now felt by all, be to all a new principle of unity and concord! The general interest and the safety of the colony unceasingly enforce this sentiment. Citizens, General Mengallon is called by the law to succeed General Malartic. We have received, in your name, his solemn promise to devote himself to the interests of the colony, and to regard its preservation as his most inviolable duty.

The colonial assembly resolves, that the present address be posted up in all the communes: it resolves also, that all the members do attend the funeral of Gen. Malartic. A general mourning is ordered to take place throughout the colony; and, conformably thereto, all persons holding public offices are to wear a crape on the left arm till the 30th  
of



of the present month. The theatre is to be shut for three days. A monument shall be erected in honour of General Malartic at the expence of the colony. (Signed)

C. A. CHAUVET,  
*President of the Colonial Assembly.*

PROCLAMATION.

LIBERTY. EQUALITY.  
*To the Inhabitants of the Isle of France.*

CITIZENS,

The colony has sustained a great and grievous loss. The virtuous General Malartic has terminated his career.

Unfortunately obliged to enter upon my administration after a man whose virtues have fixed the public attachment, gratitude, and veneration, I feel, to their full extent, the importance of the duties I have to fulfil.

If the desire of doing well be one means of attaining that end, I have at least that pretension to hope I may effect it.

The general interest I shall ever make my law, and a spirit of order, conciliation, and justice, the principle of my conduct.

The Isle of France may reckon confidently upon finding in me a sincere friend and zealous defender. (Signed)

MENGALLON,  
*General of Division.*

Port North-West, Isle of France, 10th Thermidor, 8th year of the French Republic.

PROCLAMATION.

French Establishment to the Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.

LIBERTY. EQUALITY.  
*To the National Guards of the Isle of France.*

CITIZENS,

General Malartic is no more. You have lost your guide and your friend. Surrounded by enemies,

the defence of the Isle of France is committed to you.

The inhabitants, their property, the dearest interests, and the honour of the colony, are confided to your courage, which will never flinch.

Honoured in serving and fighting with you, I shall endeavour to deserve your confidence, and shall be ready to die at your head for the defence and the honour of the colony.

We are neither deficient in numbers nor in courage; the brave inhabitants of the Isle of France are well known, and when occasion shall serve, will make themselves doubly esteemed by their enemies.

My plans of defence are ready; what remains to be done for the completion of our preparations is so little, that, by a prudent combination of measures, we can have nothing to fear, if confidence, valour and good-will are our guides— it would be a mutual injustice to suppose they are not.

Live the republic.

Live the brave defenders of the Isle of France. (Signed)

MENGALLON,

*The Governor-General.*

Port North-West, 13th Thermidor, 8th year of the French Republic.

The latter end of September last, a most gallant exploit was performed by the boats of the squadron under Capt. Hotham, cruising off the Isle of France, cutting out of the inner harbour the ship *Sea Nymph*, under Hamburgh colours. The particulars are as follow:

“ This ship was discovered by the squadron early in the morning, close under Cannoneer’s Point, with light airs of wind off the land; and notwithstanding every exertion of each ship, they could not prevent her from getting close under the batteries, although the

*Lancaster*



*Lancaster* fired several broadsides at her: She was supported by a number of shot from the shore; and the boats from the privateers in the harbour towed her into shelter about noon.

“ Captain Hotham was now determined not to part with her, notwithstanding they had succeeded so far as to get her into the inner-harbour, protected by a chain of batteries, and three privateers ready for sea. At sun-set the boats of the squadron were hoisted out, well manned and armed with volunteers; but notwithstanding every precaution was used to prevent the enemy from perceiving our intentions, it was soon made known to the captain of the port that the English had their boats out, and supposed for the purpose of cutting out this ship; in consequence of which a party of forty soldiers was sent on board her from the shore, and all the batteries manned, ready to prevent a surprize; at the same time, three boats were ordered from the port to tow her still farther up the harbour.

“ It appears from the supercargo's account, that he was ordered to go on board his ship by the municipality, just as it was dark, when he found his ship in possession of the French troops, and the boats in the act of towing her farther up; that he had not been on board more than six minutes, before six English boats were discovered close alongside, and a dreadful fire commenced on all sides immediately; but, in a few minutes, the British tars had possession of her, and most of the Frenchmen killed or wounded.— They instantly cut the rope by which the French boats were towing, and sent their own boats in their stead.

“ They towed the ship's head

round, and made sail on her, the wind being direct out; upon which a most tremendous fire was opened upon them, not only from the batteries, with shot and shells, but from the privateers, of which they had to pass within pistol-shot. By the bravery and good management of the British seamen, she was soon without their reach; although the ship was much disabled, and her masts and rigging cut to pieces, with the loss of eight seamen killed and wounded. The first lieutenant of the *Lancaster* lost his arm. The slaughter among the French was great, even from their own guns. She arrived at the Cape on the 18th October, with several other prizes of small value.”

—  
*Extract from a letter, dated Ongole, 29th October 1800.*

We have experienced such exceeding heavy rain at Ongole, for the last twenty-four days, that the surface of the country exhibits one entire sheet of water.

On the 19th instant, about ten minutes after four o'clock *a. m.* the wind blew a hurricane, when suddenly we felt a severe shock of an earthquake, which kept the earth in continued agitation for nearly a minute. It shook down many houses, but I believe no person was killed in consequence.

The earthquake was introductory to a scene the most painful to my feelings to describe: At about eight o'clock last night the wind began to blow strongly, with rain; and in about two hours the wind and rain increased so violently, that the doors and windows were blown open, and shivered to atoms.

In this dreadful situation it would have been adviseable to have quitted our houses for the open plain, but that was impossible, as no one could

stand



stand for a moment against the impetuosity of the hurricane, nor could an object be observed at a yard's distance. We trusted in this dilemma to Omnipotence for protection, and placing ourselves in the strongest situations we could think of, we continually heard the trees and walls falling around us.

The incessant loud claps of thunder, the vivid lightning, the strength of the wind, and uncommonly heavy rain, were such as the oldest inhabitants never before experienced. The wind blew from the N.E. and continued till two o'clock this morning, when we had an interval of calm till three o'clock, during which we were employed in endeavouring to extricate our cattle from the ruins of the fallen buildings.

At three o'clock the storm recommenced from the S.E. and if possible with increased violence, and the houses being at this time all unroofed, we remained till day-break exposed to its utmost fury.

When day-light appeared, nothing but death and destruction caught the eye in every direction. The ground was covered with dead cattle, birds, and fallen houses; and trees, even the largest bannian trees, have not escaped; indeed there is scarcely a tree left in the district. It is melancholy to observe the devastation in the villages, and the inhabitants labouring to remove their families and cattle from the ruins. Three officers, proceeding to their destination, have been detained here by the weather for some days.

*Extract of a letter from Masulipatam, 30th October.*

On the 28th, about two p. m. a violent gale of wind, with rain, set in from the N.W. which at seven in the evening came round to N.E. from which point we were assailed

by a most heavy storm of wind and rain. In less than an hour the south glacis was entirely covered with water, and the greatest part of the fort completely inundated.

The storm ceased about five o'clock the next morning, to the great joy of the suffering inhabitants, whose hardships are hardly to be described.

On ascending the ramparts, I beheld all around me fallen houses, trees torn up by the roots, and large vessels on dry land; the smaller vessels were either sunk or stove to pieces: but I do not hear of more than two lives lost; they were natives, and were lost with a paddy boat near the Bar.

All the bridges are carried away, except the one at the main guard. The hurricane was equally severe all along the coast, and we much fear that Coringa, from its situation, is totally destroyed. Paddapatam, Golahpolam, and Samuldevt, are nearly destroyed. The excellent house at the latter place, which General Brathwaite had generously dedicated to the use of travellers, has suffered considerably by the storm.

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## NOVEMBER.

FORT WILLIAM, Nov. 11, 1800.  
*Extract of a letter from the Hon. the Court of Directors, dated the 15th of July 1800, published by Order of the Governor-General in Council.*

In order to avert the consequences to be apprehended from a scanty crop of grain this season in these kingdoms, we naturally look to India as capable of administering to our wants, by affording, as upon a former occasion, supplies of rice and other grain; with that view,



we are desirous that every encouragement should be given to individuals to induce them to send grain from thence to this country, and which, if undertaken immediately after the receipt of this letter, their importation may arrive here within twelve months from this date, which, in case of a deficiency in the expected crops, would come most opportunely before the produce of the harvest of next year could be brought into consumption. Ships employed on this service will be permitted to carry out return cargoes from hence, of the same description as usually allowed to country-built ships.

By command of the most noble the Governor-general in council,

G. H. BARLOW, *Chief Sec.*

COLLEGE AT FORT WILLIAM.

Lectures will commence from Monday the 24th of November, and will be continued to the end of the year, in the Arabic, Persian, and Hindustanee languages, viz.

*Arabic* — On Mondays and Thursdays, at eleven o'clock. First Lecture on Monday the 24th.

*Persian* — On Tuesdays and Saturdays, at ten o'clock. First Lecture on Tuesday the 25th.

*Hindustanee* — On Wednesdays and Fridays, at nine o'clock. First Lecture on Wednesday the 26th.

The public table will be opened for the use of the students on Monday the 24th.

Students who have subscribed their names in the lecture-book, are exempted, by order of the most noble the Governor-general in council, from all other public duties.

The public library being now founded, the names of any persons who may think fit to make donations of books to the college, will be recorded in a register to be kept

of the names of the benefactors to the institution.

DAVID BROWN, *Provost.*

Provost's Chambers,  
Council House Street, Nov. 15, 1800.

The following melancholy circumstance occurred a short time since on the coast:—A native schoolmaster, accompanied by twenty-one boys, his scholars, was passing a branch of the Pallar river, not far from Wallajahbad: at the time of these unfortunates having reached the bank of the river, its bed was nearly dry, and they consequently expected to pass it without the smallest danger: the heavy rains, however, had accumulated into a large and extensive body of water above the pass, which suddenly breaking through its embankment, rushed impetuously down, and overwhelmed the unsuspecting schoolmaster, and his innocent pupils, with immediate destruction: two boys, with their master, alone reached the opposite bank of the river, but one of them was so much exhausted, that he died in a few minutes after he had reached the shore. The poor schoolmaster stood upon the bank, and gazed upon his dying pupils, in all the agonies of despair; “and who,” said he, “shall tell this dreadful tale to the fathers and to the mothers of these children? I never can.” After this pathetic exclamation, he stood some few moments, exhibiting a speechless figure of unutterable grief, then plunged into the flood, and instantly perished.

The surviving boy soon recovered, and carried the afflicting tale to the house of the schoolmaster, when his wife, with that desperation which sometimes marks the otherwise mild character of the Asiatic, threw herself into a deep well,



well, and was drowned before any assistance could be given.

—  
*Dispatch from Captain CANNING,*  
*Commander of the Hon. Compa-*  
*ny's Frigate the Nonfuch, re-*  
*ceived on the 17th instant.*

To JOHN SHORE, Esq.  
 Secretary to the Marine Board.

SIR,

In obedience to the Board's orders, which I received on the 13th of October at Saugur roads, I immediately weighed, and pursued a course in a direction I judged it most probable to fall in with the Hon. Company's late ship *Kent*, and the enemy's cruizer *La Confiance*; I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for the Board's information, that the *Nonfuch* fell in with *La Confiance*, Mons. Surcouf commander, on the 22d of October, at eight *a. m.* in latitude  $16^{\circ} 46'$  N. and longitude  $85^{\circ} 56'$  E. of Greenwich, when he was perceived from the main-top-gallant-yard, standing to the N. E. The *Nonfuch* immediately gave chase, and came up within reach of the enemy's stern-chasers at half past four *p. m.* at which period he commenced a teasing fire from his stern-chase guns, many of which shot passed between our masts, and some through our sails and colours, without doing the smallest injury. I desisted for a length of time from firing our bow-chasers, in hopes that I should have been able to close with him within pistol shot; but my endeavours were not crowned with success, for the enemy perceiving my intention, and the wind decreasing suddenly, immediately cut away his anchors from his bows, and hove all his guns overboard, except his stern-chasers, which immediately increased his rate of sailing, so much so, that

I perceived the *Nonfuch* was dropping fast astern. I then directed our bow-chase guns to be fired, but had not the good fortune to carry away any of his masts or yards; but it was perceived that our shot went through his hull, and also, some of the bulwark and timber of his quarter floating close past us; both ships were under a crowd of steering-sails and royals, going nearly eight knots. The approach of the evening, with very squally weather during the night, increased his distance a-head of us, in the morning, at day-light, to ten or twelve miles; when about noon, the Hon. Company's *Bombay* frigate heaving in sight to the southward and joining in the chase, made the enemy alter his course, so as to enable us at sun-set to get nearly within gun-shot. The night proving very dark and hazy (and which made it very difficult to observe the enemy's motions with our night glasses), with frequent shifts of wind in the enemy's favour, enabled him to alter his course hourly, and which he did sixteen points from S. S. W. to N. N. E. and was at day-light on the morning of the 24th, five or six leagues in the wind's eye of the *Nonfuch*, and at sun-set could not be perceived from any of our mast-heads; I therefore now considered any further pursuit fruitless, and at eight *p. m.* bore up and shaped my course to the southward, in hopes of falling in with the *Kent*.

On Tuesday the 23th of October, at noon, having arrived in the latitude prescribed in the Board's orders, without having had the good fortune to fall in with the *Kent*, bore up and steered for the Sand Heads, where I arrived on the 14th instant, and proceeded immediately to Saugur, agreeable to the Board's



Board's orders of the 31st ult. and where I shall await their further pleasure, and use every dispatch in making readiness for sea.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. CANNING, *Commander.*

Hon. Company's Frigate *Non-such*, off Saugur Point, 16th Nov. 1800.

N. B. *La Constance* is a remarkable beautiful vessel, sets very low upon the water, had then black sides with yellow moulding posts, were concealed with a French stern all black, and a new red vane at her main-top-gallant-mast-head, very square yards, and taunt masts, very upright, without the smallest rake forward or aft; her sails were all quite new, and cut French fashion; her royals very small and remarkable, having a great roach and steering-sails very square: the many and various manœuvres the enemy made during the chase were performed with great expedition and correctness.

By command of the most noble the Governor-general in council,

G. H. BARLOW.  
*Chief Sec.*

FORT WILLIAM, Nov. 25, 1800.

Advices were yesterday received of the arrival of the hon. Company's ship *Phœnix*, commanded by Capt. William Moffat, at the Sand Heads, on the 21st instant.

The following extracts from a dispatch from Captain Moffat, to the most noble the Governor-general in council, are published by his lordship's command:

"I beg leave to inform you, that the hon. Company's ship *Phœnix*, under my command, in lat.  $20^{\circ} 15' N.$  and long.  $91^{\circ} 18' E.$  on the 10th Nov. at eight *a. m.* captured the French privateer *General*

*Malartic*, of 14 guns, two of them 42 pound carronades, and 120 men, commanded by citizen Jean Duterte, out five months from the Mauritius.

"I am much obliged to my officers and ship's company for their activity in shifting the prisoners, and to the officers of his Majesty's 88th regiment, and the other gentlemen on board, for their assistance in securing and keeping watch over them.

"The privateer came up under English colours, with intention to board us; she is a fine new coppered ship, of 150 tons burthen, pierced for 18 guns, and sails remarkably fast; but her masts and rigging being in a very bad condition, the former full of shot holes, they were carried away in a storm at N. N. W. in the night of the 13th, in which we split most of our sails, and drove from the Sand Heads to leeward of Point Palmyras. We have been obliged to tow her ever since.

"One man only was hurt on board the *Phœnix*, by the recoil of a carronade, by which his leg was broken. Citizen Duterte, with 111 of his crew, are on board the *Phœnix*."

On the preceding evening, a suspicious vessel having been discovered from the *Phœnix*, she was in consequence duly prepared at all points for the reception of the stranger, which, when on the next morning she had approached within a short distance under English colours, was hailed by the *Phœnix*, with a demand to what nation she belonged? "English," was the reply. A requisition followed from the *Phœnix* that a boat should be sent on board of her; but this being evasively answered, and not complied with by the privateer, (now plainly



plainly ascertained to be such,) the word of command to fire was given on board the *Phœnix*, and seven twelve-pounders, double shotted, were poured into the *Malartic*.—By this discharge the English ensign was carried away, and the tricoloured flag, hoisted for a moment in its place, was immediately afterwards lowered down again, in token of surrender.

The passengers and troops on board the *Phœnix* were most judiciously quartered on the poop, and in the waste, in a way that kept them entirely concealed from the privateer, which, suspecting her to be a country ship, had approached for the purpose of boarding. Suddenly jumping up when the orders to fire were given, their numbers and state of preparation so alarmed and surprized the enemy, that he in an instant struck his colours. Resistance, in any event, would not have availed, the *Phœnix* being fully prepared for a much more formidable force than her actual opponent.

The *Mermaid*, Captain Garden, from this port to Rangoon, was the last capture made by the *Malartic*. Having plundered her, and taken out the main and mizen masts, after some days detention, she suffered the *Mermaid* to proceed to her destined port. Prior to this event, the *Malartic* had fought a long and desperate action with an American ship, supposed the *Rebecca*, from Calcutta, in which two surgeons, the boatswain, and several of the crew belonging to the former, were killed.

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*Extract of Particulars relative to the Engagement between the Albatross and L'Adele.*

We sailed in the *Albatross*, Capt. Waller, from Bombay; but, meet-

ing with bad weather and contrary winds, it was not until the that we made Ceylon, and were informed by a Danish ship that we spoke off Point de Galle, of the *Constance* and *Malartic's* depredations on our commerce in the Bay. We crowded all sail; and the winds being favourable in general, we had got as far to the northward as  $58^{\circ} 30'$  N. about  $\frac{3}{4}$  past midnight on the 13th, at which time we perceived a strange sail to windward, whose manœuvres soon gave us reason to suppose her to be an enemy, and which, being a brig, we imagined to be the *Malartic*. The *Albatross* was immediately cleared for action, and tacked with an intention of standing up for the enemy, who soon after was perceived bearing down on us. The night was very dark and cloudy, with light variable winds. Both vessels carefully concealed their lights; not the least glimpse could be seen on board of either. Passing to windward on the contrary tack, he wore, and hauled up under our lee quarter within half pistol-shot, at the same time firing two guns to bring us to. Suspecting that it might probably be his Majesty's armed vessel *Mongoose*, we hailed to know, and were answered, "L'Adele, a French privateer; heave to, lower your top-sails down, and send your boat on board." To which Captain Waller replied, "Yes, we will be on board very soon;" and giving orders to fire, the *Albatross's* broadside was immediately discharged at him, and it was instantly returned.

He was then upon our lee beam, but, after some manœuvring, got upon our weather one, and which we did not take any pains to prevent, as we could easily perceive his intention was to board us, a circum-



circumstance we rather wished than dreaded, being very well prepared to receive him. After nearly half an hour's action, he laid us alongside, discharged his broadside, and attempted to board us in the smoke; but no sooner did they attempt it than our sailors thrust them back with the point of the bayonet and boarding pikes. Capt. Waller observing one of the Frenchmen mounting our main rigging, thrust a boarding pike into his breast, and he immediately fell backwards into the privateer. They now began to fly from their quarters, and our people were eager to board in their turn; for which purpose several gallant fellows attempted to lash his bowsprit to our main rigging, one of whom received a musket-ball in his arm, while endeavouring to perform this piece of service; but the ship's pitching carried away the lashings, and, in spite of every effort on our part to prevent it, he dropped astern, made all the sail he could, and ran for it, being now pretty well convinced that he had not a harmless merchantman to deal with, but a very different kind of vessel.

Our sailors, inflamed with success, and the ideas of victory and prize-money, very soon made all sail in chase, and we had the satisfaction to find that we gained fast upon the enemy. In about half an hour both vessels laid each other alongside, as it were by mutual consent, discharging their broadsides into one another, at a time when the muzzles of the guns touched. Several were killed and wounded on both sides, and considerable damage done; but nothing could now damp the courage of our sailors, which was worked up to the highest pitch, and they were boarding in all parts, when the Frenchmen hail-

ed for quarter, struck, and was taken possession of by Mr. Lambert, first lieutenant of the *Albatross*.

On board the *Albatross* one marine and one seaman were killed, (this last belonging to his Majesty's ship *Braave*;) and six wounded, one of whom belonged to the *Braave*, and one to the *Centurion*. *L'Adele* lost six killed and thirteen wounded.

On going on board the *Albatross*, Surcouf presented his sword to Capt. Waller, who politely restored it with the handsome compliment, that "he could not think of depriving him of a weapon which, it had been evinced, he so well knew how to use." Every civility and attention have been shown to Surcouf and his officers by Captain Waller and the lieutenants of the *Albatross*.

*L'Adele* is a beautiful little vessel, mounting ten 4 and two 6 pounders, recently fitted out at Nantz, well found, and in every respect qualified for the service she was intended to perform.

#### ADDRESS of the British Inhabitants of Bombay to the KING.

The 4th of November, being the day appointed by the sheriff for convening the British inhabitants of Bombay in pursuance of their request, a numerous and respectable meeting attended accordingly at the old session-house, the place chosen for the purpose.

The sheriff opened the business of the meeting by observing, that it was with a view of taking their opinion on the propriety of expressing their sense of the divine interposition in warding from the sacred person of his Majesty the blow lately aimed at a life so precious to his loyal and virtuous subjects, and congr-



congratulating his Majesty on his providential escape from that mad attempt of an unhappy lunatic.

A glowing sentiment of unanimity in favour of the measure pervaded the meeting; and the sheriff having quitted the chair, Mr. Henshaw proposed that Sir William Syer should take his place. This appearing to be the wish of the meeting, Sir William acquiesced; and, having taken the chair, Mr. Henshaw moved that an humble address be prepared and transmitted to the throne, offering the congratulations of the inhabitants on the occasion above alluded to; acknowledging the blessings which the inhabitants of Bombay enjoy, in common with their fellow-subjects all over the British empire, under his Majesty's paternal care of their civil and religious liberties; and their awful sense of the divine favour in continuing to them the life of a Sovereign so deservedly beloved and dear to all his subjects. Mr. Henshaw very justly expressed his confidence, that the sentiments of the meeting would be unanimous on the occasion; and accordingly judged it unnecessary to enter further into the subject.

Mr. Dowdeswell seconded the motion, and took that opportunity of contrasting the security, happiness and prosperity which we enjoyed under his Majesty's reign, with the miseries which have pervaded France in consequence of a revolution which had proved so destructive to the peace and true interests of that devoted country. The good sense of the people of England, he said, under the influence and example of a Sovereign equally distinguished for the love of his subjects and invincible fortitude in the most trying political circumstances, had preserved our

boundaries from the encroachment of those destructive tenets which had overwhelmed the fairest part of Europe in their ravages; and rejected those fanciful and ruinous notions of liberty and equality, which had in other countries engulfed, with an inexorable disregard of every law human and divine, both public and private virtue, public and domestic enjoyments of every thing desirable in this life, in the horrors of anarchy, and havock almost irretrievable. Mr. D. added, If a doubt could have been entertained formerly of the excellence of the British Constitution, of its fitness and its power to secure every thing that is valuable in life, that doubt must now be removed. Every thing, he said, which had lately occurred, proved an additional inducement to rally round the throne. The public and private virtues of his Majesty equally endeared him to us all; and we could not sufficiently lament that a life so essential to the public welfare (but such was the lot of mortality) was subject to such attacks. During his Majesty's reign, the most extraordinary exertions had been made by sea and land, and the British dominions widely extended; and we had, by his wisdom and guidance, resisted every effort of a desperate enemy. Mr. D. doubted not that we should, by the same means, be still able to resist them effectually; and expressed his fervent wishes that his Majesty might bring the present eventful contest to a happy termination, and live to enjoy many years of peace, amidst a loyal and affectionate people.

The Chairman then proposed that a committee should be nominated for the purpose of preparing a suitable address, which was accordingly done, and consisted of the following gentlemen:



R. Henshaw, Esq. P. Dundas, Esq.  
 W. Dowdeswell, Esq. H. Fawcett, Esq.  
 Col. C. Beresford, P. Hall, Esq.  
 Col. T. Marshall, AND  
 Col. A. Duff, S. Halliday, Esq.

The committee having retired for a short time, returned with an address; which being read by the Chairman, was unanimously approved of.

The Chairman then proposed suitable resolutions (which were unanimously carried,) for the transmission of the address to Britain.

It was then unanimously resolved, that the thanks of the meeting be given to the gentlemen who moved and seconded, and to the committee who prepared the address.

That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Sheriff, for his ready acquiescence in the requisition to call the meeting, and for the loyal manner in which he opened the business of the day.

That these resolutions be printed in the next Bombay Courier and Gazette.

The Chairman then leaving the chair, the same was resumed by the Sheriff, when it was resolved that the thanks of the meeting be given to the Chairman for his conduct in the chair.

The following is a copy of the Address to his Majesty :

*To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.*

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects residing at Bombay in the East-Indies, humbly offer to your Majesty our most sincere congratulations on your late providential escape from the horrible attempt on your Majesty's life.

Feeling the blessings we derive from your Majesty's guardian care of our civil and religious liberties, and of the constitution so well calculated to secure them, we are firmly persuaded that such an attempt could only have been the act of a person labouring under mental derangement.

Impressed with an awful sense of the interposition of Divine favour in preserving to us the life of a Sovereign so deservedly

dear to all his subjects, we shall not cease to offer our grateful thanks to the Almighty, united with our earnest prayers for the continuance of your Majesty's reign over a free, loyal, and happy people.

## DECEMBER.

*Address from the British Inhabitants of Ceylon to his Majesty, on his late providential Escape from Assassination.*

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

We, your Majesty's loyal subjects, the British inhabitants of Ceylon, united by every tie that can bind a grateful and affectionate people to their King and Constitution, and deeply penetrated with horror at the late atrocious act of treason attempted against your Majesty's sacred person, do now approach your throne, to assure your Majesty of the fervent and unanimous gratitude with which we have acknowledged the signal interposition of the Divine goodness in our favour, in preserving a life at all times so justly dear to us, and at this time so indispensably necessary, not merely for the welfare of the British empire, but for the tranquillity, security, and independence of the civilized world.

At the same time that we thus express our feelings on an event so deeply interesting to ourselves and our fellow-subjects, it is no small consolation to us to consider, that the wretch who has excited this alarm through all those extensive dominions where the blessings of your Majesty's government and protection are diffused, has appeared incapable of appreciating their value; and we firmly trust that the reproach of so atrocious a parricide will be wiped from our age and country, by the unquestionable infamy of the man who attempted it.

That



That your Majesty may long enjoy the delicious fruits of those domestic virtues which you, Sire, have cultivated with so much pious care; that the bright example of them may long and successfully operate on the hearts and conduct of your grateful and affectionate subjects; and that those princely virtues which have raised to so exalted a height the power, prosperity, and renown of Great Britain, may long continue to display themselves triumphantly at the head of a great nation and a glorious constitution, in the maintenance of true religion, liberty, and social order; is the prayer which, most excellent Sire, we offer up to the Author of all good, in the utmost fervour of our hearts.

Signed by  
140 British Inhabitants.

On the 8th instant, arrived at Bombay, the hon. Company's cruizer *Intrepid*, late Capt. George Hall, from Bussorah, after having encountered, on the 22d ultimo, a French privateer. The particulars of the action are thus described in the Bombay Courier Extraordinary of the 10th current:

They saw a vessel from the mast-head at sun-rise, and about seven o'clock saw her from the deck standing towards them. Captain Hall made the private signal to her about eight o'clock, which was not answered: the stranger soon afterwards hoisted an union jack at the fore-top-gallant-mast-head, and a blue ensign at the gaff-end: at half past nine, Captain Hall fired a shot, and hoisted the Company's colours, which was almost immediately returned under French colours.

An action ensued, chiefly within pistol-shot; and between ten and

eleven o'clock the enemy, trusting to his superiority in Europeans, made two attempts to board the *Intrepid*, under the stern; in the second attack, the enemy's jib-boom was for some time foul of the *Intrepid's* driver; both attacks were repelled with great spirit and execution; the few Europeans Captain Hall had were called from the guns on these occasions. About a quarter before eleven o'clock, Captain Hall received a severe wound, which obliged him to quit the deck; on which Lieut. Smee took charge.

By this time the *Intrepid's* masts were much injured, and most of the sails rendered useless by the damages they had sustained, and the rigging being almost all cut to pieces, with two Europeans killed, and many others of the crew wounded. In this state the engagement continued until near twelve o'clock, when the enemy's fire slackened, and they began to make off. Lieut. Smee then turned the hands up to repair their damages, in order to chase. A little after twelve, all sail was set on the *Intrepid*, and the chase continued until three *p. m.* when, finding that the enemy failed so much superior as to afford no chance of coming up with her, Lieut. Smee hauled his wind to the N. N. W.

The enemy was a brig, carrying her guns on a flush-deck, having six on each side, of different calibres, and four swivels; copper-bottomed, and nearly the size of the hon. Company's cruizer the *Antelope*.

The following is given as a correct list of the killed and wounded on board the *Intrepid*:

*Killed*—1 seaman, 1 quarter-master (European.)

*Wounded*—Captain Hall, since dead; Lieuts. Smee and Best, slightly; Mr. Harriot, volunteer, and Mr. Chamberlain,



lain, boatswain; 1 European seaman, 1 tindal, and 1 lascar, slightly; 1 havildar, 2 naiques, 11 sepoy, and 2 servants, some of them dangerously.

Total—2 killed, and 24 wounded.

N. B. The havildar and 1 sepoy died afterwards of their wounds.

*Extract from the Minutes of Council, 10th December 1800.*

The Governor in council, while he sincerely regrets the loss of so valuable an officer as Captain Hall, who fell in the late action of the *Intrepid* with an enemy's privateer in the Gulf of Persia, pays but a just tribute to the memory of this gallant commander, in declaring his entire approbation of the brave defence made by Captain Hall against the daring attacks of the enemy, who, with superior numbers, twice attempted, but failed, to board the Company's cruizer.

Lieutenants Smee and Best, with the other officers and men of the *Intrepid*, are also entitled to the praise and thanks of the Governor in council, for the whole of their conduct during this action; Lieut. Smee, in particular, for continuing the unequal conflict after the fall of his gallant commander, finally repulsing the enemy, and obliging him to seek refuge in retreat.

The Governor in council, to mark his sense of this laudable conduct, directs the superintendant of marine to cause four months pay to the petty officers and European seamen, and three months pay to the sepoy and lascars, to be immediately advanced them, as a gratuity for their exertions on this occasion: Lieut. Smee will receive the pay of a junior captain in the marine from the day of his gallant repulse of the enemy, viz. the 22d of November 1800, until he shall be regularly promoted in the line; the superintendant being also directed to employ the intermediate

services of Lieut. Smee in as distinguished situations as his marine rank will admit of.

The superintendant is also desired to report, whether Captain Hall has left in this settlement any family or connections, on whom the Governor in council could bestow some recompense for their late loss; it being to him a subject of sincere concern that this officer has not survived to enjoy in person the just reward of his bravery and meritorious exertions.

Published by order of the Governor in council,

R. RICKARDS, *Sec. to Gov.*

*Extract of a letter from Hydrabad, dated Dec. 10.*

This morning, at nine o'clock, the body of the late Lieut. Col. Dalrymple was interred, with all the honours due to his high station and character. The regiment of cavalry, the artillery, lascars, and six battalions of native infantry, were drawn out, and partly disposed of in streets to the place of burial, partly in forming a spacious square around it, in order to fire over the body, which was carried by Europeans, and the pall supported by the principal officers at the station. The mourners were not only the members of the deceased's family, but consisted of the whole body of officers and others who attended the corpse; and in my life I never witnessed a scene of more real, solemn, and universal woe, than was shewn upon this melancholy occasion; men of all ages, ranks and stations, were seen mingling their tears, and wailing their common loss in the most poignant expression of grief. To have so lived, and to have died so lamented, as did Colonel Dalrymple, is an honour to his memory, beyond which, no human being, I think,



think, ever attained; but, alas! at the age of forty-four only, it was too soon to lose so valuable a person, of whom it may be said, in the language of Cæsar, "The world might stand up and say, he was A MAN!"

Minute guns were fired during the procession; and the service was read by Major Kirkpatrick, the British resident at the court of Hyderabad, with great energy and feeling.

—  
*Some Particulars relative to the recapture of the Ann and Elizabeth.*

The *Ann and Elizabeth*, on her passage from Madras to Rangoon, being at anchor off Bragu Point, perceived, making towards her, a small vessel under English colours, which shortly afterwards came to an anchor close alongside of her, at the same time changing the English for the National ensign, firing a shot, and ordering the *Ann and Elizabeth* to surrender. The captain and chief mate were likewise directed to repair on board in their boat; but this not being immediately complied with, three or four shots more were fired from the privateer.

On repairing on board the brig, Captain Haigs and his officers were much surprised to observe but one European among the whole crew; a circumstance that instantly suggested to them the practicability, not only of re-taking their own vessel, but making themselves masters of the privateer. With this view, Captain Haigs requested that his officer might be permitted to return for a short time to his ship: his request was acceded to; and the design having been previously concerted between the prisoners, at about dusk the boat returned, containing the greater part of the *Ann and Elizabeth's* crew, armed with whatever they

could procure, and concealed by a tarpauline; they rushed on board the privateer, of which, after a short and ineffectual resistance on the part of the enemy, they took possession, and soon afterwards regained their own vessel.

Having put a prize-master on board the *London*, Captain Haigs dispatched her to this port, proceeding in his own ship, with the Frenchman who had acted as commander of the prize, towards his original destination.

The *London*, now a prize to the *Ann and Elizabeth*, was captured last year by the *Laurette*, sent to Rangoon, there fitted out as an armed vessel, and lately sailed from that port in company with a small ketch, also a prize to the *Laurette*; she parted with her the evening before her capture.

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CRIMINAL LAWS OF CHINA.

On the late occasion of a disagreeable discussion with the Chinese government at Canton, relative to a Chinaman being wounded by a shot from his Majesty's schooner the *Providence*, the following translation of extracts from the Chinese criminal code of laws was published, by the authority of the hon. Company's supercargoes, for the information of all concerned:

ARTICLE 1. A man who kills another on the supposition of theft, shall be strangled, according to the law against homicide committed in an affray.

2. A man who fires at another with a musket, and kills him thereby, shall be beheaded, as in cases of wilful murder. If the sufferer is wounded (but not mortally), the offender shall be sent into exile.

3. A man who puts to death a criminal who had been apprehended and made no resistance, shall be strangled, according to the law against homicide committed in an affray.

4. A man who falsely accuses an innocent person of theft (in cases of greatest criminality), is guilty of a capital offence;



in all other cases, the offenders, whether principals or accessories, shall be sent into exile.

5. A man who wounds another unintentionally, shall be tried according to the law respecting blows given in an affray, and the punishment rendered more or less severe, according to the degree of injury sustained.

6. A man who, intoxicated with liquor, commits outrages against the laws, shall be exiled to a desert country, there to remain in a state of servitude.

The foregoing are articles of the laws of the empire of China, according to which judgment is passed on persons offending against them, without allowing of any compromise or extenuation.

#### G. O. BY GOVERNMENT.

Fort St. George, Dec. 24, 1800.

In the general orders of the 25th September, the right hon. the Governor in council published the high sense his lordship entertained of the services rendered to the British interests in India by the hon. Colonel Wellesley, and the officers and troops under his command.

The Governor in council has now the satisfaction of announcing the entire concurrence of the most noble the Governor-general in council in the sentiments expressed in those orders, on the dispatches from Colonel Wellesley; and the Governor-general in council has directed the Governor in council to communicate in general orders, "the thanks of the Governor-general in council to the hon. Colonel Wellesley, for the judgment, energy and valour which have distinguished his operations against Doondiah Wahag during the late rapid and prosperous campaign, and for the important services which he has rendered to the hon. Company, in terminating the war against that insurgent with such signal and speedy success."

The Governor in council has farther been directed to convey the thanks of the Governor-general in

council to the officers and troops acting under the command of Colonel Wellesley, for the gallantry and perseverance manifested by them throughout the late arduous service; and particularly, to express to the officers and men of the detachments of cavalry employed in the action of the 10th September, the high sense entertained by the Governor-general in council of the eminent courage and discipline manifested by them in the attack on the army of Doondiah Wahag, which terminated in the fall of that insurgent, and in the complete destruction or dispersion of his forces.

The Governor in council is farther pleased to add, that it will afford to the Governor-general in council the highest satisfaction, to represent to the hon. the court of directors the important benefits which have resulted to the interests of the East-India Company, and to the British Nation in India, from the services of the hon. Colonel Wellesley, and the officers and troops acting under his command during the late campaign.

Circumstances having rendered it necessary for the Governor in council to employ the services of the hon. Colonel Wellesley at a distance from Mysore, his lordship in council has been pleased to appoint Col. James Stevenson to the important command of the forces in Mysore, Malabar and Canara; and the Governor in council has great satisfaction in this opportunity of manifesting his high sense of the zealous and spirited support afforded to Colonel Wellesley by Colonel Stevenson, as second in command of the army employed against Doondiah.

Fort St. George, Dec. 25, 1800.

The high sense entertained by the most noble the Governor-general in council, of the meritorious services and eminent abilities of Lieut. Col.

Clofe;



Close, having been repeatedly published to the army, the Governor in council considers it not to be necessary for his lordship to add any observations to the following extract of a letter from the hon. court of directors, expressing their approbation of that officer's conduct.

*Par. 203.* "From the great estimation in which we held the character and abilities of your late adjutant-general, Lieut. Col. Close, even previous to the knowledge of the distinguished services rendered by him in the late war against Tippoo Sultaun, we should have felt no hesitation in yielding to his request, had he continued to occupy that situation, that his allowances should maintain their equality with those of the quarter-master-general; but we have the satisfaction to observe, by your late dispatches, that Lieut. Col. Close, on account of his eminent talents and integrity, added to his extraordinary skill in the country languages, and to his experience in the manners, customs and habits of the natives of India, had been selected by Lord Mornington (now Marquis Wellesley) for the important charge of resident with the Rajah of Mysore, an appointment which has received our entire approbation. And as both the governor-general, and commander in chief, have borne most honourable testimony to the ability, zeal and energy displayed by Lieut. Col. Close, during the late Mysore campaign, thereby manifesting extensive knowledge, approved experience, superior talents, ardent valour, and indefatigable activity, we have resolved to present that officer with a sword, to be made in England, of the value of three hundred guineas, in testimony of the high sense which we entertain of his services upon that memorable occasion.

Fort St. George, Dec. 26, 1800.

The right hon. the Governor in council has much satisfaction in publishing to the army, the following extract of a letter from the hon. the court of directors, dated the 7th May last, expressive of the just sense which the hon. court entertains of of the meritorious exertions of Captain M'Kenzie, in collecting materials for a map of the Nizam's dominions:

*Par. 175.* "The several plans and geographical materials executed by Cap-

tain Colin M'Kenzie, referred to in these paragraphs, have been submitted to the inspection of Major Rennel, as was also Captain M'Kenzie's map of the Nizam's dominions, formerly transmitted to us, to which the plans before mentioned are supplementary, as in the 303d paragraph of your subsequent dispatch of the 15th Oct. 1798, and as you have repeated your recommendation of this officer for some pecuniary compensation on account of his maps and surveys, we authorize you to present him with the sum of two thousand four hundred pagodas, for his past services in this line."

*Address from the Cadet Company at Madras, who are about to join their respective Regiments, to Captain ARMSTRONG.*

DEAR SIR,

With the warmest feelings of the heart, that gratitude, affection and respect can produce, that part of the Cadet Company who are now about to join their respective corps, with an unfeigned sorrow, bid you adieu. Placed in a situation equally arduous and uncommon, it required no moderate abilities to command universal satisfaction: the best proof we can give of your success in promoting our happiness, is, that we sincerely regret the period is arrived when we shall no longer enjoy the benefit of your instructions as a soldier, and the pleasure of your society as a friend. We disdain to flatter any human being; but, when glowing expressions are alone capable of conveying our sentiments, we hope you will excuse us for thus publicly declaring the high opinion we have of your character and conduct. We remain

Your affectionately attached servants,

[Here follow the signatures of the  
Gentlemen leaving Chingleput.]

Dec. 18, 1800.

JANUARY 1801.

*Extract of a Letter, dated Fort Marlborough, Jan. 1.*

The west coast has had a dreadful

† D 4

ful



ful visitation of sickness these last two months. A fever, similar to the yellow fever of the West Indies, has raged here with unremitting violence. The great fatality has fallen upon the Chinese colony. Our few remaining troops have only sustained a loss of three Europeans. It has most unluckily happened, that all the medical faculty are laid up in illness.

Within these last fifteen days a catarrhal fever has spread almost universally over the coast, and the other fevers of the bilious type are diminishing. The writer of this has a melancholy remark to make, that in the course of eight years, eleven medical gentlemen have died from the climate and the severity of the duties of this coast, and sixty-one gentlemen, including officers, with the gentlemen of the civil establishment, besides itinerant captains and officers of ships.

The fatality has spread a sombre gloom of melancholy every where around. The bell has been ordered (through the humane attention of the commissioner) to cease from tolling for the dead; it had such a melancholy effect on the living.

In pursuance of the resolution of the most noble the Governor-general in council, of the 15th January (notified in the Gazette of the 29th of the same month,) to present Capt. Moffat, commander of the hon. Company's ship *Phoenix*, with a sword, that gentleman had the satisfaction of receiving the same the 7th instant, from the hands of Major-general Baird, on the quarter-deck of the *Phoenix*. The General, in presenting Captain Moffat with the sword, addressed him in the following words:—  
“The Marquis Wellesley has requested of me to present you with

this sword from him, as a mark of his lordship's high approbation of your gallant and seaman-like conduct, and that of your officers and the ship's company in preparing for and during the action in which you engaged and captured the *Mallartie* French privateer. I congratulate you on this occasion, and feel much pleasure in complying with his lordship's request.”

By a letter received from Capt. Meik, dated Cochin, the 6th of January, it appears that he and his crew, together with two midshipmen, and sixteen men belonging to his Majesty's ships *Adamant* and *Lancaster*, were embarked on the 29th of October, on a small vessel of thirty-five tons, bound to Columbo. It is with much concern we state, that this vessel was wrecked on the 9th of November, about twelve o'clock at night, upon a reef of rocks amongst the Maldivia islands, and that five men of his Majesty's ships, three of the *Armenia*'s crew, and five Frenchmen, unfortunately perished, in an attempt to reach the shore by a raft. The survivors betook themselves to a couple of Maldivia boats, in one of which Capt. Meik reached Cochin on the 4th ult. The other, in which were the people belonging to the king's ships, had not arrived. Mr. Maddox, a midshipman of his Majesty's ship *Lancaster*, died by sickness on the passage. Capt. Meik expresses himself in the highest terms of the attention shewn to him, his officers and crew, by the inhabitants of Sechelles, during their stay at the island.

On Monday the 26th inst. came on for trial, before the supreme court in its admiralty jurisdiction, the case of Samuel Stephenson, charged with the murder of Mr. James Heath Mitchell. It appeared by



by the evidence, that on the 2d of June last, the deceased was second officer, and the prisoner a seaman, on board the ship *Bengal*, then on her passage to England. Mr. Mitchell, it seems, in consequence of a complaint made to him, that the prisoner had been insolent to an inferior officer, had ordered him to go from below upon deck; but his order not being readily obeyed, he had repeatedly attacked the prisoner with a broom-stick, and struck him with considerable violence; which treatment at length induced a scuffle between them, and, in the course of it, Mr. Mitchell received a mortal wound with a clasp-knife.—The chief justice prefaced his charge to the jury by observing on the relative situations of seamen and officers on board merchant-ships carrying letters of marque. In ships so circumstanced, he said, the discipline of the navy, as regulated by the articles of war, was, by positive statute, in as full force as in a king's ship; but as there was now no defect of authority on the part of the officers, the law also required that seamen should be protected against the exercise of that authority in any irregular manner. His lordship then adverted to the circumstances of the particular case; discriminated the characteristics of the four classes of homicide—namely, justifiable, excusable, man-slaughter, and murder; and concluded by directing the jury, that the fact in the present instance rested between the two middle descriptions, excusable homicide and man-slaughter. The attack which appeared in proof to have been made upon the prisoner, seemed entirely to exempt him from the imputation of murder; whilst the nature of the case, on the other hand, was not such as to amount, in the contem-

plation of the law, to justifiable homicide, it not having been committed in the prevention of a felony, or in any of those circumstances essential to the justification of him who kills an assailant. But though there might be now no reasonable ground to suppose that Mr. Mitchell meant the death of the prisoner, in the attack which he had made upon him, yet it was for the jury to say, upon the evidence given, whether, heated as the prisoner must have been by the affray, and urged as he still continued to be by the deceased, armed with a weapon of no inconsiderable offence, he had not reasonable ground to consider his life in imminent danger, and might not have done the deed charged against him with the view of extricating himself from such peril. If they believed that to be the fact, (and how far it was so, his lordship repeated, rested exclusively with them to determine,) the case would be excusable homicide, and the prisoner would be entitled to a verdict of acquittal; but if they should be of opinion, that the prisoner acted merely from the heat of passion, and not from a principle of self-preservation, it would then amount, under the provocation given, to man-slaughter, which, his lordship observed, was, by a recent statute, punishable now when happening at sea, in the same manner as if it had occurred on shore.—The jury retired for several hours, and after ten o'clock at night, brought in a verdict of *not guilty*.

We give publicity to the following circumstances, in the hope that they may be serviceable to commanders of ships under similar situations: his Majesty's ship *Suffolk* being lately off Diamond Island, near the coast of Pegue, Lieut. Malcolm, and twenty-five seamen, were



were landed, for the purpose of obtaining a supply of turtle for the crew: the party in a few hours turned forty fine turtle, and with which they immediately returned on board the *Suffolk*. It does not appear that Lieut. Malcolm or the seamen eat of any production of the island, which is nearly barren, or even drank of the water, to which not any noxious quality had been heretofore ascribed. Be that, however, as it may, the whole party became ill immediately on their returning on board; and in a few hours, fourteen of the seamen died. In fine, at the expiration of a few days, only Lieut. Malcolm and one seaman retained life out of twenty-six persons, most of them young and healthy men, and the most correct and orderly of the *Suffolk's* crew.

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### FEBRUARY.

FORT WILLIAM, *Feb. 12, 1801.*

The secret committee of the hon. court of directors, in a letter dated the 30th of September 1800, having been pleased to direct, that every encouragement be given to the exportation of rice from India to England, so as to throw in as large a supply as possible into England, previous to the harvest in that country; the most noble the Governor-general in council has been pleased to direct, that the following extracts from the letter from the hon. committee be published:

That every ship which takes on board three quarters of her registered tonnage in rice, shall have liberty to fill up with such goods for this port as has been usual of late years to be imported by country ships.

That the ships which embark in this adventure, shall be allowed to carry out exports from this kingdom as of late allowed to country ships.

That the said ships shall be excused from paying on the rice which they import,

the three per cent. which otherwise should become due to the Company for landing, wharfage, &c. &c.

That when the ships are approved by our surveyors, as usual in India, the risk of the rice which they bring shall be on account of government, which will of course save the owners of it the expence of insurance on that article.

That in case of the price of rice being, on the ships arrived here, under from 32s. to 29s. per cwt. the difference between the price it sells for, and the above rates, shall be made good to the owners on the following conditions: that the ship which sails from her port of landing within one month after the contents of this being promulgated, shall be guaranteed—32s. per cwt. for the rice which she brings—if in two months, 31s. if in three months, 30s. and if in four months, 29s.

The above encouragement, we have to observe, is only to be given on condition that the rice so laden be purchased by a person under your appointment. We conceive this latter proviso absolutely necessary, because, unless the rice is of real good quality, and the newest to be had, it cannot be expected to answer the purpose for which it is meant. It ought to be of what is generally styled the best cargo rice.

Although our government will endeavour to secure to these ships convoy whenever they can get it, they still should on no account be detained for convoy. We need not point out, that coppered ships should be preferred on this business, as so much depends on expedition.

G. O. by the *Commander in Chief.*

FORT WILLIAM, *Feb. 16, 1801.*

The commander in chief, before his final departure from India, esteems it not more an act of justice to the army that has served under his immediate orders near four years, than a tribute due to his own feelings, to publish his sentiments of its merits and deserts.

He reflects with heart-felt satisfaction, that, throughout the whole period of his command, the zeal and attention which have been invariably manifested by the officers of all ranks to the duties of their profession, have not had stronger claims on his public approbation, than the  
cordial



cordial support and personal attention he had uniformly experienced; entitle them to his warmest thanks. The commander in chief must ever cherish the sentiments of gratitude with which his mind is impressed, for men endeared to him by the spirit of *Honour, Propriety, and Disinterestedness*, that have distinguished their public and private conduct; and he shall be happy on all occasions to bear ample testimony to the collective and individual merits of this army, and with real approbation embrace every opportunity to promote its interest.

Where the commander in chief has had so much reason to express his approbation generally, it might seem difficult to discover cause for particular praise; but the peculiar situation in which Major-general Sir James Craig has been placed in the field, having occasioned the greatest part of the army to be at different times under his immediate command, and the discipline of the whole having received essential benefit from his unremitting exertion, knowledge and care, the commander in chief cannot resist the impulse he feels, in this public manner, to offer his hearty thanks to the Major-general, for those and his other important services during the period of his command in the field, which he hopes he will be pleased to accept.

FORT WILLIAM, *Feb. 26, 1801.*

*By His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council.*

#### PROCLAMATION.

Whereas his Majesty hath been graciously pleased, by letters patent, dated at Westminster, on the seventh day of August 1800, to constitute and appoint his Excellency, the Most Noble Richard Wellesley, Marquis Wellesley of the kingdom

of Ireland, Baron Wellesley of Wellesley in the county of Somerset, in the kingdom of Great Britain, knight of the most illustrious order of Saint Patrick, and now being Governor-general of all the British possessions in the East Indies, to be his Majesty's Captain-general and Commander in Chief of all his land forces serving in the East Indies:—

His Excellency the Governor-general in council is pleased to direct the said letters-patent to be published herewith; and the said letters-patent are now published accordingly.

GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth: To all to whom these presents shall come greeting.

Whereas the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, by their Commission under the seal of the said Company, bearing date the sixth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven, have appointed our right trusty and entirely beloved cousin and counsellor Richard Wellesley, Marquis Wellesley, (then Earl of Mornington,) of our kingdom of Ireland; and Baron Wellesley, of Wellesley, in our county of Somerset, in our kingdom of Great Britain, and knight of the most illustrious order of Saint Patrick, to be, during the pleasure of the said Company, Governor-general of the Presidency of Fort William in the bay of Bengal, and of all the towns and territories thereunto belonging, and of all and singular the forts, factories, settlements, lands, territories, countries and jurisdictions within the Soubahship of Bengal, and of and for all the affairs whatsoever of the said Company in the bay of Bengal, and other the places and provinces thereto belonging in the East Indies, together with all and every the powers and authorities committed and given to the Governor-general of Bengal for the time being, by any act or acts of parliament then in force; and by another Commission under the seal of the said Company, bearing date the same sixth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven, have appointed the said Richard Marquis Wellesley, Governor-general and commander in chief

of



of the fort and garrison of Fort William in Bengal, of the town of Calcutta, and of all the forces which then were, or hereafter should be employed in the service of the said united Company, within the said fort, garrison and town; and the said Company have also from time to time appointed officers to be commanders in chief to their forces at the said presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and their presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay respectively, and also have occasionally appointed persons to be commanders in chief of all the said Company's forces in the East Indies: And whereas we have from time to time caused detachments of our land forces to be employed in the East Indies for the protection of the British territories there, and the annoyance of our enemies in those parts: And whereas difficulties have arisen, and may arise, in the direction and employment of our said forces, inasmuch as the same are under the immediate command of officers commissioned by us, and not by the said Company, and we are desirous of preventing such difficulties by giving authority to the said Richard Marquis Wellesley to act as Captain-general and commander in chief of all our forces in the East Indies, and thereby to put under his orders and directions all our land forces, as well as the military force in the service of the said united Company which may be employed in those parts:—Now know ye, that we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the prudence, courage, and loyalty of the said Richard Marquis Wellesley, have made, constituted, and appointed, and do by these presents make, constitute, and appoint the said Richard Marquis Wellesley, our Captain-general and Commander in Chief of all and singular our land forces employed or to be employed in our service within any of the British territories in India, and in all parts within the limits of the exclusive trade of the said united Company during our pleasure, to order, do, and perform all things whatsoever, which do or ought to belong to the officer of our Captain-general and commander in chief of our land forces, within the parts aforesaid; and generally to order, do, and perform all and whatsoever for us, and in our name, ought to be done in the command, order, and direction of our said forces, and also of all military forces whatsoever in the parts aforesaid, which the said Richard Marquis Wellesley is not authorised and empowered to order, do, and perform, by force and virtue of the said commissions

from the said united Company: it being our gracious will and intention by this our Commission, to give to the said Richard Marquis Wellesley full power and authority to order, direct, and controul all military forces employed, or to be employed, in the territories and parts aforesaid, in all cases to which the commissions so granted by the said united Company to the said Richard Marquis Wellesley, cannot extend for want of powers in the said Company for that purpose; and we do hereby command all our officers and soldiers who are or shall be employed in our land service within any of the territories and parts aforesaid, to acknowledge and to obey the said Richard Marquis Wellesley, as their Captain-general and Commander in Chief; but nevertheless we do strictly enjoin and command the said Richard Marquis Wellesley, in the exercise of the powers and authorities given to him by these presents, to observe and obey all such instructions, orders and directions, from time to time, as the said Richard Marquis Wellesley shall receive from the first commissioner for the affairs of India, or from any of our principal secretaries of state: Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that if the said Richard Marquis Wellesley shall cease to be Governor-general of the Presidency of the British territories in Bengal as aforesaid, then and from thenceforth, all and every the powers and authorities hereby given to the said Richard Marquis Wellesley shall cease, determine, and become void, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the seventh day of August, in the fortieth year of our reign.

BY WRIT OF PRIVY SEAL, YORKE.

His Excellency is further pleased to direct, that this proclamation be read at the head of the troops in the different garrisons, and at all the military stations within any of the British territories in India, and in all parts within the limits of the exclusive trade of the Hon. Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

By command of his Excellency the most noble the Governor-general in council.

G. H. BARLOW, *Chief Sec.*  
*General*



*General Orders by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-general in council, under date the 26th February 1801.*

Ordered, that the foregoing proclamation be read this evening at sun-set, at the head of the troops in the garrison of Fort William, under a royal salute and three vollies of small arms.

By the command of his Excellency the most noble the Governor-general in council.

G. H. BARLOW, *Chief Sec.*

*General Orders by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-general in council, under date the 26th February 1801.*

The general officer holding the commission of commander in chief for the time being of his Majesty's forces in the East Indies, will fill, according to former usage, all appointments and commissions which may become vacant in his Majesty's army serving in the East Indies, subject as heretofore to his Majesty's pleasure.

All returns of his Majesty's land forces serving in the East Indies, all applications for leave of absence, and all correspondence respecting the internal regulation of his Majesty's said forces, are to be transmitted as heretofore to the general officer holding the commission of commander in chief for the time being of his Majesty's said forces serving in the East Indies, who will report the same, together with all other details respecting the said forces, to his Excellency the Governor-general in council.

By command of his Excellency the most noble the Governor-general in council.

G. H. BARLOW, *Chief Sec.*

*Particulars of the Massacre of Captain George, and his Officers, on board of his own ship, near the Sand Heads, by four of his Seacornies.*

The ship *Marianne* was bound from Prince of Wales' Island to this port, and had near completed her voyage, when four of the seacornies rose upon their officers, murdered the captain, his first and second mate, and a native woman. Gaining over the lascars, they proceeded for Chittagong; when, getting sight of land, they hoisted out the ship's boat, laid a train of gun-powder between decks, and were in the act of pushing off from the ship, and to set fire to her, when a Tindal, plucking up courage, jumped into the boat alongside, plunged his knife into one of the seacornies bodies, and, being himself wounded, they both fell into the sea, and were drowned. The lascars upon this attacked and killed two of the remaining three seacornies; the survivor took refuge on the main-topmast head, being armed with a brace of pistols and a large knife, where he remained for two days: he was at length persuaded, by fair promises, to come down; and having been plentifully plied with liquor, he fell a sleep, when he was secured in irons by the lascars, his arms taken from him, and in this state the ship arrived at Prince of Wales' Island.

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MARCH.

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CALCUTTA, *March.*

A horrid circumstance occurred a few days since at Chandernagore. Information was lodged with the officers of the police, that in the house of one Radah Caite, a corpse, supposed



supposed to be his mother's, who, a few months before, had suddenly and unaccountably disappeared, had been discovered through an aperture in the wall. The magistrate accordingly repaired to the spot, where was found, as had been represented, a female corpse, consumed to a skeleton, and forcibly crammed into a basket. Upon his examination Radah Caite confessed, that about four months ago, a quarrel had arisen between him and his mother, in which, she having given him great provocation, he had struck her a blow on the face. That her abusive language still continuing, he then left the house, and returning home a few hours afterwards, found his mother a lifeless corpse.

Alarmed, he said, lest suspicion should rest upon him from its being known that he and his mother lived not upon very good terms, he immediately buried the body in his own house; and to the various inquiries regarding her which had been since made by his brothers and the neighbours, had uniformly replied, that she was gone to Paunrah upon a visit to his uncle. That some days since, however, understanding in conversation, that this account was doubted by many of the neighbours, who had determined to give information of their doubts, and cause his house to be searched, he had dug up the body in the design of throwing it at night into the river, but was prevented from putting this intention into execution, by an unexpected visit from one of his brothers. The corpse had in consequence continued from that time in a basket deposited in a small hut communicating with his dwelling-house.

Against him there is at present

no other evidence than this confession, and the circumstance of the body being found in his house, combined with his assertion that his mother had gone to Paunrah:—Strong presumption, it must be confessed, of his guilt. He has therefore been fully committed to take his trial before the judge of circuit.

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## APRIL.

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### *Capture of La Gloire.*

It is with the highest satisfaction that we announce the capture of the French privateer *La Gloire*, by Captain Waller, of his Majesty's brig *Albatross*.

Captain Waller fell in with *La Gloire*, in the latitude of 15° N. and 87' E. longitude, and, after a long chase, came up with her about noon, on the 23d ultimo, when a close and severe action ensued, and which continued for twenty minutes, when Captain Burgoine struck the republican flag to the superior prowess and gallantry of his British opponent.

*La Gloire* had five killed and twelve wounded; among the latter were Captain Burgoine and several of his officers.

The *Albatross* has not lost a single man of her gallant crew, either killed or wounded.

The active zeal, the spirited exertion, and the gallantry manifested by Captain Waller, in the capture of two of the enemy's cruizers, within the short period of a few weeks, is too conspicuous to need the feeble and transitory blazon in our power to bestow: the merit of this valuable officer will, doubtless, be justly appreciated by those whose peculiar province it is to reward it as it deserves: we have therefore only to congratulate the commercial



commercial part of society on the capture of an enterprising enemy, whose successful inroads on their property they have so long and so repeatedly experienced.

*La Gloire* is, perhaps, one of the fastest sailing vessels now existing; Captain Burgoine states, that he could with ease have escaped from the *Albatross*, but that his crew would not permit him: he also speaks in high terms of the exertions of Lieutenant Frost, the commander of the *Mornington*, who had recently chased him for three days, during which he manifested great skill and ability in his endeavours to come up with *La Gloire*.

The *Albatross*, with her prize, anchored in the roads on Monday at 9 a. m.

The New Madras Insurance Company have requested of Captain Waller to accept a sword, of the value of 200l. as a mark of the high sense they entertain of his manly conduct and activity, of which he has signified his acceptance in the following terms:—

GENTLEMEN,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, and am happy to think, that in the performance of my duty, you consider I have been serviceable to the underwriters and mercantile part of India; the sword you are so polite as to request me to accept, I receive with pleasure, as a mark of your esteem.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,  
WILLIAM WALLER.

Madras, April 8, 1801.

*To the New Madras Insurance Company.*

The Old Madras Insurance Company have presented Captain Waller, of his Majesty's brig *Albatross*, with a piece of plate, of the value of two hundred pounds. It had been the intention of that office to

have presented Captain Waller with a sword of the above value, as being a more appropriate testimonial of the high sense they entertained of his merit and exertions; but having been anticipated in that instance, the following letter was addressed to Captain Waller, by the agents to the Old Insurance Company, on the 14th instant.

To CAPTAIN WALLER,  
*Commanding H. M. Brig Albatross.*

SIR,

It is with peculiar satisfaction that we offer you the congratulations of the Old Madras Insurance Company, on the late spirited and gallant conduct manifested by you in the capture of the enemy's cruizers *L'Adele* and *La Gloire*; at the same time we thus communicate the tribute of praise due to you, we are directed to request you will do the Company the honour to accept the accompanying piece of plate, as a token of their esteem and regard.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

LYS SATUR & D'MONIE,  
*Agents to the Company.*

The following letter, in answer to the above, was the same day received by the Old Insurance Company from Captain Waller:

*To the Old Madras Insurance Company.*

GENTLEMEN,

Much obliged by your polite attention, and gratified that you consider my services useful, I accept with pleasure the handsome present of plate you are pleased to honour me with, and remain, Gentlemen,

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

W. WALLER.

G. O. BY GOVERNMENT.

Fort St. George, April 15, 1801.

The right honourable the Governor in council has received, with much regret, a report of the death of Subidar Shaik Ibrahim, of his lordship's body guard, in a gallant and successful charge, led by Lieutenant James Grant, against the rebels of Tinnevelly on the 30th of last month.



A rare combination of military talents has rendered the character of Shaik Ibrahim familiar to the officers of the army. To cool decision, and daring valour, he added that sober judgment, and those honourable sentiments, which raised him far above the level of his rank in life: an exploit of uncommon energy and personal exertion terminated his career, and the last effort of his voice breathed honour, attachment, and fidelity.

The Governor in council being desirous of marking to the army his lordship's sense of the virtues and attainments which have rendered the death of this native officer a severe loss to the service, has been pleased to confer on his family a pension equal to the pay of a subidar of the body guard, being 30 pagodas per month; and his lordship has farther directed that a certificate to this effect, translated into Persian and Hindustanee, may be presented to the family as a record of the gift, and a tribute to the memory of the brave subidar Shaik Ibrahim.

The right honourable the Governor has been pleased to appoint Captain Mark Wilks to be private secretary, and Major Alex. Grant, military secretary, to his lordship.

Fort St. George, 28th April 1801.

Circumstances having occurred which enable the right honourable the Governor in council to avail himself again of the services of the hon. Colonel Wellesley; his Lordship in council is pleased to direct that Colonel Wellesley shall return to Seringapatam, and resume the command of the forces in Mysore.

The Governor in council takes this opportunity of expressing his Lordship's high sense and approbation of the conduct of Colonel Ste-

venson in the command of the forces in Mysore during the absence of the hon. Colonel Wellesley, and the eminent success which has attended the operations entrusted to that officer in Malabar, having entitled him to a distinguished mark of his Lordship's approbation, the Governor in council has resolved to appoint Colonel Stevenson to the special command of the provinces of Malabar and Canara, under the orders of the officer commanding in Mysore.

*Orders of his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council.*

Fort William, April 30, 1801.

His Excellency the most noble the Governor-general in council records the following copy of a letter, addressed to him by the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, and the copy of the order of his Majesty in council, dated the 5th November 1800, referred to in that letter.

CIRCULAR.

Downing-street, Nov. 27, 1800.

MY LORD,

Inclosed I transmit to your Lordship, by the King's command, a printed copy of his Majesty's order in council of the 5th instant, settling the royal style and title, and also the ensigns armorial, on the union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, drafts of the royal arms, standard, and the union flags, are also annexed; and I am to desire that you will cause the same to be made known and carried into effect in all the presidencies, forts, and possessions of the Crown and of the East-India Company, under your Lordship's government and command.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,  
humble servant,

(Signed) HENRY DUNDAS.  
*The Marquis Wellesley, &c. &c. &c.*

In obedience to his Majesty's commands, his Excellency the most noble



noble the Governor-general in council orders, that on the fourth day of June next, being the anniversary of his Majesty's birth-day, and from and after that day, the flags and banners of the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland be used throughout the possessions of the Crown and of the English East-India Company under his excellency's government and command; and that accordingly the said flags and banners be hoisted and displayed under the usual honours, on the fourth day of June next, or as soon after that day as may be practicable, on all the forts and castles, and in all the garrisons of his Majesty, and of the honourable the English East-India Company, within the British territories in India, subject

to the superintendence, direction, and control of his excellency in council.

His excellency the most noble the Governor-general in council directs, that a copy of the foregoing order, and copies of the drafts of the flags and banners referred to in his Majesty's order in council, dated the 5th November 1800, be transmitted to the governments of Fort St. George, Bombay, and Ceylon, and to his excellency the commander in chief of his Majesty's and the honourable Company's forces in the East-Indies,

By command of his excellency the most noble the Governor-general in council.

G. H. BARLOW,  
*Chief Sec. to the Govt.*

## CIVIL APPOINTMENTS, &amp;c.

## BENGAL.

## MARCH, 1800.

Mr. Thomas Brown, commercial resident at Patna, *vice* Mr. E. E. Pote, resigned.

## APRIL.

Mr. T. Parr, secretary to the Board of trade, *vice* Mr. Edmonstone.  
 Mr. Y. Burges, judge and magistrate of Dinagepore, *vice* Mr. Parr.  
 Mr. John Stracey, judge and magistrate of Momening, *vice* Mr. Gregory, resigned.  
 Mr. Cornelius Fryer, judge and magistrate of Ramghur.  
 Mr. Robert Cunyngham, collector of Burdwan.  
 Mr. T. H. Ernst, collector of Midnapore.  
 Mr. G. P. Ricketts, collector of Tirhoot.  
 The Hon. Frederick Fitzroy, collector of the twenty-four pergunnahs.  
 Mr. John Mackenzie, assayer.  
 Mr. E. Golding, head-assistant in the office of secretary to Government, in the secret, political and foreign department.  
 Lieutenant T. Sydenham, secretary to the resident at Hyderabad.  
 Mr. Henry Ruffel, assistant-secretary to ditto.  
 Mr. Matthew Louis, coroner for the town of Calcutta, *vice* Mr. A. Macklew.  
 Mr. Philip Coales, commercial resident at Cossimbazor.  
 Mr. Henry Williams, commercial resident at Chittagong, *vice* Mr. Coales.  
 Mr. J. W. Paxton, head-assistant to the commercial resident at Patna.  
 Mr. Charles Elliot, second assistant to do.  
 Mr. Mumford, head-assistant to the sub-treasurer.  
 Mr. W. Cowell, register to the provincial court of Appeal and court of Circuit for the division of Benares.  
 Lord H. Stuart, register to the zillah court of Moorshedabad, *vice* Cowell.  
 Mr. S. Macan, register to the city court of Dacca.  
 Mr. Courtney Smith, head-assistant in the office of the secretary to the Board of Revenue, and assistant to the Persian and Bengal translator to that Board.

Mr. George Chester, assistant to the register to the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawluts.

Mr. J. W. Simpson, junior counsel to the Hon. Company, *vice* Mr. Bateman.

## MAY.

Mr. Henry Parry, assistant to the register to the judge of Tipperah, and assistant to the magistrate of that zillah.  
 Mr. Samuel Davis, superintendant-general of police, justice of the peace for the town of Calcutta, and first magistrate of the twenty-four pergunnahs and districts adjacent to Calcutta.  
 Mr. S. Davis, Mr. C. F. Martyn, Mr. W. C. Blaquiere, Mr. A. Macklew, Mr. E. Thoroton, and Captain C. Wyatt, to be commissioners of police.  
 Mr. Martyn, Mr. Blaquiere, Mr. Macklew, and Mr. Thoroton, magistrates of the twenty-four pergunnahs and districts adjacent to Calcutta.  
 Mr. Francis Hawkins, to be judge and magistrate of the city of Benares.  
 Mr. William Camac, third judge of the provincial court of Appeal and the court of Circuit for the division of Calcutta.  
 Mr. John Hall, paymaster of the artillery, garrison and ordnance departments of the troops at the Presidency and Behampore, and of the King's and Company's allowances to his Majesty's troops, *vice* Mr. L. Collings, deceased.

## JUNE.

Mr. John Dickens, judge and magistrate of the settlement of Prince of Wales's Island.

## JULY.

Mr. John Gilchrist, secretary to the committee for the examination of the junior civil servants in the Hindustanee and Persian languages.

## OCTOBER.

Mr. Francis Pierard, judge and magistrate of the zillah of Purneah.

Mr.



Mr. John Melvill, judge and magistrate of the city of Dacca.

Mr. Samuel Middleton, judge and magistrate of the zillah of Jessore.

Mr. James Wintle, judge and magistrate of the zillah of Backergunge.

Mr. William Brodie, register of the zillah court of Moorshedabad.

Mr. William-Edward Rees, register of the zillah court of Purneah.

Mr. James Irwin, register of the zillah court of Dacca.

Mr. William Spedding, assistant to the register, and second assistant to the magistrate of the zillah of Backergunge.

Mr. William-Towers Smith, to officiate as judge and magistrate of Ramghur.

Mr. John Deane, to officiate as judge and magistrate of the city of Benares.

Mr. James-Thomas Grant, to officiate as register of the provincial court of Benares.

Mr. Robert-Keith Dick, to officiate as register of the provincial court of Dacca.

Mr. John Sanford, to officiate as register of the zillah court of Jaunpore.

Mr. William-Edward Wynch, to officiate as register of the zillah court of Mirzapore.

Mr. William-Orton Salmon, to officiate as register of the zillah court of Behar.

Mr. Henry Parry, to officiate as register of the zillah court of Tipperah.

Mr. Robert Graham, to officiate as register of the city of Patna.

Mr. William Parker, to officiate as translator to the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawluts.

Mr. Robert Ker, collector of Chittagong.

Mr. Thomas Thornhill, collector of Jessore.

Mr. Courtney Smith, collector of Dinagepore.

Mr. William Cowell, to officiate as collector of Beerbhoom.

The Hon. James R. Elphinstone, to officiate as collector of Shahabad.

Mr. John Ryley, to officiate as collector of Tipperah.

## NOVEMBER.

Mr. John Adam, head-assistant in the office of the secretary to the Government, in the revenue and judicial departments.

Mr. John Fendall, appointed to officiate as third judge of the Dacca provincial court.

Mr. John Stonehouse, appointed fourth judge of the provincial court of Appeal and court of Circuit for the division of Dacca.

## JANUARY, 1801.

Mr. Edward Scott Waring, assistant professor of Hindustanee language in the college of Fort William.

Lieutenant-Colonel William Kirkpatrick, resident at Poonah, in the room of Colonel Palmer, resigned.

Mr. N. B. Edmonstone, secretary to the Government, in the secret, political and foreign department.

Mr. Edward Strachey, secretary, and the hon. Mr. Elphinstone, assistant-secretary to the resident at Poonah.

Mr. Charles Law, to act as marine paymaster and naval storekeeper.

Mr. Bryant Mason, to take charge of the salt agency of Tumlook.

## FEBRUARY.

Mr. William Farquharson, to take charge of the salt agency of Hidgellee.

Mr. Edward Pytts Middleton, to take charge of the salt agency of the twenty-four pergunnahs.

Mr. James Stuart, appointed to the office of deputy register of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut and Nizamut Adawlut.

Mr. R. W. Cox, a member of the Board of Revenue,

Mr. Burrish Crisp, second judge of the court of Appeal and court of Circuit for the division of Calcutta.

Mr. John Stonehouse, third judge of ditto.

Mr. Joseph-Thomas Brown, reporter-general of external commerce in India.

## MARCH.

Mr. Thomas Philpot, commercial resident at Santipore.

Mr. Henry William Droz, commercial resident at Rungpore.

Mr. Charles Milner Ricketts, commercial resident at Commercolly.

Mr. F. Balfour, first assistant to the secretary, and assistant to the Persian and Bengal translator to the Board of Revenue.

Mr. E. Moore, assistant to the resident of the Board of Revenue, and second assistant in the office of the secretary to that Board.

Mr. Henry St. George Tucker, accountant-general.

Mr. Robert Bathurst, military paymaster-general.

Mr. George Dowdeswell, secretary to the Government in the revenue and judicial department.

Mr. John Fendall, third judge of the provincial court of Appeal and court of Circuit for the division of Dacca.

Mr. James Graham, fourth judge of ditto, ditto.



Mr. Alfred Tufton, judge and magistrate of the city of Moorshedabad.

Mr. Thomas Lenox Napier Sturt, judge and magistrate of the zillah of Behar.

Mr. Lambert Molony, judge and magistrate of the zillah of Chittagong.

Mr. William Towers Smith, judge and magistrate of Ramghur.

Mr. James-Thomas Grant, register of the provincial court of Appeal and court of Circuit for the division of Benares.

Mr. Robert Keith Dick, register of the provincial court of Appeal and court of Circuit for the division of Dacca.

Mr. Robert Graham, register of the city court of Patna.

Mr. William Orton Salmon, register of the zillah court of Behar.

Mr. John Sanford, register of the zillah court of Juanpore.

Mr. Ryley, collector of Tipperah.

Mr. William Cowell, collector of Beerbroom.

The hon. James R. Elphinstone, collector of Sarun.

Mr. Samuel Swinton, sub-export warehouse-keeper.

#### APRIL.

Peter Speke, esq. chief judge of the courts of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut and Nizamut Adawlut.

Mr. John Lumsden, puisne judge of ditto ditto.

Mr. J. H. Harington, ditto ditto ditto

Mr. James Stuart, register to do do. do.

Mr. Samuel Davis, third member of the Board of Revenue.

Mr. Charles Buller, secretary to do. do.

Mr. F. Balfour, sub-secretary to ditto ditto ditto.

Mr. A. P. Johnstone, Persian and Bengal translator to ditto ditto.

Mr. E. Moore, head-assistant in the office of the secretary to the Board of Revenue, and assistant to the Persian and Bengal translator to that Board.

Mr. Alfred Tufton, re-appointed judge and magistrate of Behar.

## MADRAS.

#### APRIL, 1800.

Mr. John Cassamajor, commercial resident at Palamcottah.

Mr. J. S. Sullivan, deputy ditto.

Mr. Edward Terry, assistant to ditto.

Mr. George Parish, assistant to the collector at Canara.

Mr. John Collins, deputy commercial resident at Salem.

Mr. Charles Hyde, assistant to ditto.

#### MAY.

Mr. Peter Cherry, head-assistant to the collector at Guntoor.

Mr. F. A. Robson, assistant to the collector in the second division of the Vizagapatam district.

Mr. John Goldingham, civil engineer.

#### JUNE.

Josiah Webbe, esq. chief secretary to government.

Major Robert Turing, secretary to Government in the military department.

Mr. George Buchan, ditto in the general and commercial department.

Mr. John Hodgson, ditto in the revenue and judicial department.

Mr. G. Read, Malabar translator to Government

Mr. William Brown, collector at Guntoor

Mr. Robert Alexander, ditto at Vizagapatam.

Mr. E. C. Greenway, ditto in the Jaghire.

#### AUGUST.

Mr. Charles Higginson, assistant to Government in the general and commercial department.

Mr. William Chaplin, ditto.

Mr. Edward Wood, ditto, under the sub-treasurer.

Mr. S. R. Hamilton, assistant in the revenue and judicial department.

Mr. T. Hamilton, ditto.

Mr. R. Charles Ross, assistant under the secretary to the board of revenue.

Mr. William Clark, master attendant at Carringa, *vice* Marshall.

Mr. W. Garrow, deputy secretary to the Board of Trade.

Mr. B. Randal, assistant to the commercial resident at Cuddalore.

Mr. E. P. Blake, assistant to the commercial resident at Maddepolam.

#### SEPTEMBER.

Mr. Andrew Scott, collector at Guntoor, *vice* W. Brown.

Mr. W. Brown, ditto at Ganjam.

Mr. P. Cherry, ditto at Chicacole.

Mr. R. H. Latham, assistant to ditto

Mr.



Mr. Edward Powney, assistant to the collector at Manargoody.

Mr. David Coust, assistant to the collector in the Jaghire.

Mr. A. Brooke, assistant to the collector of government customs, Madras.

Mr. G. Gowan, ditto to ditto at Canara.

Mr. J. Hunt, master attendant at Negapatam.

## DECEMBER.

Mr. John Turing, deputy postmaster-general.

Mr. James Taylor, in charge of the import warehouse.

Mr. Robert Andrews, alderman in the court of the recorder.

Mr. Richard Yeldham, elected mayor for the ensuing year.

Mr. John Binny, sheriff for ditto.

Mr. George Parish, head-assistant under the collector of Polygar Peishcush.

Mr. Andrew Barclay, ditto to the collector at Dindigul.

Mr. A. G. Blake, assistant to the collector at Chicacole.

Mr. George Paske, ditto at Ganjam.

Mr. M. G. Hudson, ditto at Guntoor.

## BOMBAY.

## APRIL, 1800.

Assistant Surgeon Kier is appointed to the medical duties of the civil line of the service.

Samuel Rolleston is appointed resident of Fort Victoria.

John Morrison, provincial second assistant to the commercial board at Surat, *vice* Smith, proceeding to China for the benefit of his health.

William Crawford, assistant to the collector of Bombay.

## DECEMBER.

Mr. Fletcher Hayes, promoted to the rank of senior merchant, *vice* C. C. Elphinstone, deceased; and P. Le Mesurier to fill up the vacancy in the list of junior merchants, occasioned by Mr. Hayes's promotion.

Nathan Crow, appointed judge and magistrate at Surat, *vice* Ramsay, permitted to proceed to England.

## MILITARY PROMOTIONS, &amp;c.

## BENGAL.

*In HIS MAJESTY'S Regiments.*

## FEBRUARY, 1800.

By his Excellency Lieut. General Sir Alured Clarke, K. B. Commander in Chief.

Lieut. Berrington Bradshaw, of the 80th regiment, to be major of brigade to his Majesty's troops serving under the presidency of Bengal, *vice* Captain Sir George Leith, who resigns; Feb. 19, 1800.

25th Light Drag.—Lieut. J. Varnon, from 51st foot, to be lieutenant, *vice* D. Perring, who exchanges; Feb. 1.

19th Foot—Lieut. J. Kerr to be adjutant

without purchase, *vice* T. A. Kennedy, who resigns; Jan. 18.

51st *do.*—Lieut. D. Gerring, from the 25th regiment light drag. to be lieutenant, *vice* J. Vernon, who exchanges; Feb. 1.

73d *do.*—Ensign J. M. Jackson to be lieutenant by purchase, *vice* J. Todd, promoted; Jan. 4.

## MARCH.

27th Light Drag.—Quarter-master Vincent Beatty to be adjutant without purchase, *vice* Richard Coyall, who resigns; March 7, 1800.



33d Foot—Serjeant-major Rich. Turton to be ensign by purchase, vice J. Warren, promoted; Feb. 20.

73d do.—Ensign A. Morris to be lieutenant, vice Garden Leith, deceased; Feb. 23. Henry Glenholme, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Morris, promoted; do.

74th do.—William Moore, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice A. W. Campbell, promoted; Feb. 28.

75th do.—Lieut. A. Macneil, from the Scotch brigade, to be lieutenant, vice R. Wimbleton, who exchanges; Feb. 22.

78th do.—Lieut. D. Grant to be captain of a company by purchase, vice the hon. G. A. Cochrane, promoted; Jan. 19, 1800. Ensign Alured Clarke to be lieutenant by purchase, vice D. Grant, promoted; do. J. Douglas, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice A. Clarke, promoted; do.

88th do.—Thomas Rogers, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Hanlon; Dec. 21, 1799.

Scotch Brigade—Lieut. R. Wimbleton, from the 75th reg. to be lieutenant, vice A. Macneil, who exchanges; Feb. 22, 1800.

APRIL.

Regiment de Meuron—Serjeant Henry Kerns to be quarter-master; Jan. 1.

77th Regiment—Ensign Killha to be lieutenant, vice Jacob Morland, deceased; April 2. W. Porter, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Killha, promoted; do.

By his Majesty.

27th Light Drag.—R. Davies, gent. to be veterinary surgeon; July 3, 1799.

12th Foot—Lieut. J. Crawford to be captain by purchase, vice Moore, who retires; Sept. 15, 1798.

19th do.—Capt. J. W. Evans, from the 52d foot, to be captain, vice Steill, who exchanges; Aug. 31.—To be Ensigns, J. Nixon, gent. without purchase, vice Freill, who resigns; Nov. 17, 1799. J. Gray, gent. without purchase; July 18, 1796. Ensign S. P. Freill, from the 33d foot, vice Gray, who exchanges; and A. Robson, gent. by purchase, vice Vilant, promoted; Oct. 13, 1798.

33d do.—Ensign J. Gray, from the 19th foot, to be ensign, vice Freill; Sept. 12, 1798. W. A. Irvine, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Macdougall, promoted; Oct. 5. Lieut. G. Champion, from the half pay of

the 19th foot, to be lieutenant, vice Robertson, who exchanges; July 3, 1799.

51st do.—Lieut. M. J. O'Connell, from the half pay of the late 4th reg. of the Irish Brigade, to be lieutenant, vice Jackson, superseded; July 3, 1799. J. Campbell, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Tolfrey, promoted in the 26th foot; June 12, 1797. J. Cole, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Marquis of Tullibardine, promoted; Aug. 16, 1799.

73d do.—Major M. Moneyppenny, from the 78th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel by purchase, vice Spens, who retires; Aug. 30, 1798. Ensign S. Orr to be lieutenant by purchase, vice Thomas, promoted in the 16th foot; Oct. 10. Capt. G. Pearson, from the 60th foot, to be captain, vice Porver, who exchanges; July 25, 1799.

74th do.—W. M. Charlton, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Engel, promoted in the 75th foot; May 10, 1798.

75th do.—Ensign J. Hall to be lieutenant by purchase, vice Blashfield, who retires; July 18, 1799.

76th do.—J. M. Sinclair, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Frith, promoted; Nov. 2, 1798. C. Bristow, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Farme, who retires; August 5, 1799.

77th do.—C. G. Gray, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Anderson, promoted; Sept. 1, 1796. Serjeant-major H. Fletcher to be adjutant, vice Campbell, who resigns; Sept. 4, 1798. Lieut. R. Maclaughlan, from the 79th foot, to be lieutenant without purchase, vice Arch. Campbell, promoted; July 3, 1799.

78th do.—Capt. Alex. Adams to be major by purchase, vice Moneyppenny, promoted; Aug. 30, 1798. Lieut. T. G. Smollett to be captain by purchase, vice Adams; do. Ensign A. Macleod to be lieutenant by purchase, vice Smollett; do. Ensign D. Mackenzie to be lieutenant by purchase, vice Hanson, removed to the invalids; Oct. 15. G. T. D'Aguilar, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Macleod, promoted; Aug. 30. S. H. Todd, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Mackenzie; Oct. 15.

80th do.—Lieut. C. Hardy, from the half pay of the late York Fusileers, to be lieutenant, vice Campbell, who exchanges; July 3, 1799.

84th do.—Lieut. C. Macquillicuddy, from



from the half pay of the late 5th regiment of the Irish Brigade, to be lieutenant, vice Marsh, who exchanges; July 25, 1799.

86th do.—Lieut. P. De Latre, from the 81st foot, to be lieutenant, vice Master-son, who exchanges; April 6.

*Brevet*—Officers of the East-India Company's forces to take rank by brevet in his Majesty's army in the East Indies only, as follow: To be colonels, Lieut. colonels John Pater and A. A. Langley; Jan. 1, 1798: and to be lieutenant-colonels, Lieut. Col. Robert Croker, Major Bennet Marley, and Major Dyson Marshall; Jan. 1.

## MAY.

*By the Commander in Chief.*

19th Foot—Lieut. Alex. Lawrence, from the 77th, to be captain-lieutenant, vice T. A. Kennedy, deceased; April 17, 1800.

75th do.—Ensign T. Cooper to be lieutenant by purchase, vice H. Falvey, who retires; May 14.

77th do.—Ensign P. Maclaughan, from the 78th, to be lieutenant without purchase, vice Alex. Lawrence, promoted in 19th; April 17.

78th do.—L. Campbell, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Peter Mac-laughlan, promoted; do.

86th do.—P. Jenney, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice F. Campbell, promoted in Scotch Brigade; Feb. 23.

*Scotch Brigade*—Ensign Fred. Campbell, from the 86th foot, to be lieutenant, vice J. Black, deceased; do.

33d Foot—G. Westcott, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice W. A. Irvine, promoted in the Scotch Brigade.

88th do.—Ensign H. Miller to be lieutenant by purchase, vice E. Taylor, who retires; April 10, 1800. J. Mackenzie, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice H. Miller, promoted.

## JUNE.

27th Light Drag.—Lieut. Dawson Gregory, from the 29th light dragoons, to be lieutenant, vice James Hayes, who exchanges; May 7, 1800.

29th do.—Lieut. J. Hayes, from the 27th light dragoons, to be lieutenant, vice Dawson Gregory, who exchanges; do.

75th Foot.—Ensign C. Young, from the 86th foot, to be lieutenant, vice Peter Mackenzie, deceased; May 15.

76th do.—Ensign Frederic William St. Aubin to be lieutenant, vice Robert Frith, deceased; May 28. Charlton

B. Tucker, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice St. Aubin, promoted; do.

86th do.—Neil Maclaurin, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Cornwallis Young, promoted; May 15. Ensign William Baird, from the 76th regiment, to be lieutenant by purchase, vice F. Willis Elliot, who retires; May 20.

12th do.—Ensign E. Nevill to be lieutenant, vice W. Langford, deceased; June 2. C. B. Sale, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Ed. Nevill, promoted; do. Lieut. Mus. Shawe to be adjutant, vice W. Langford, deceased; do.

73d do.—T. Hooper, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice J. M. Jackson, promoted; April 6.

*Regiment de Meuron*—Capt.-lieut. J. T. Bar to be captain of a company, vice Isaac de Meuron du Rochat, deceased; May 23. Lieut. Nicolas July de Bergeon to be captain-lieutenant, vice Jean T. Bar, promoted; do. Ensign Fred. Matthey to be lieutenant, vice J. B. Gachter, who declines; January 1. J. Reynolds, gent. to be paymaster on the new establishment; May 23.

10th Foot.—Sullivan, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice M. Bathurst, promoted in the 86th regt.; June 25.

*By His Majesty.*

12th Reg.—Lieut. Col. G. W. Rd. Harcourt, from the 40th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Aston, deceased; March 1, 1799.

## JULY.

His Majesty has been pleased to appoint the under-mentioned officers of regiments in the East-Indies to take rank in the army as follows, viz.

*To be Colonels*—Lieut. colonels Stapleton Cotton, of the 25th light drag.; John Murray, of the 84th foot; Carr Beresford, of the 88th; Charles Baillie, of the 51st; Samuel Achmuty, of the 75th foot—Jan. 1, 1800.

*To be Lieutenant-Colonels*—Majors William Cullen, of the Scotch brigade; H. Lewis Dickenfon, of the 84th foot; Gordon Skelly, of the Scotch brigade; John Mackenzie, of the 78th foot; John Shee, of the 33d; Robert Bell, of the 86th; Hugh Baillie, of ditto; E. E. Colman, of the 84th; Benjamin Forbes, of the 75th; David Robertson, of the 74th; William Douglas, of do.; Alexander Cumine,



of the 75th; William Frederick Spry, of the 77th; Edward Musgrave, of the 76th foot; Patrick Maxwell, of the 19th light dragoons---Jan. 1, 1800.

*To be Majors*---Captains Charles Sutherland, of the 74th foot; Thomas Patterfson, of the 19th light dragoons; Samuel Swinton, of the 74th foot; John William Evans, of the 19th; Malcolm M'Pherfson, of the 77th; Sir George Leith, bart. of the 73d foot---Jan. 1, 1800.

Officers of the Hon. East-India Company's fervice, who, from their ftanding in the army, and purfuant to the late regulations, are to take rank by brevet in his Majesty's army in the East-Indies only, as follow; the commiffions dated the 1ft January 1800---viz.

*To be Lieutenant-Colonels*---Majors Thomas Holland, John Barton, Nicholas Carnegie, James Gordon, John Horfeford, Richard Humphrys, Patrick Alex. Agnew, Edward Gibbings, Robert Mackay, John Tendal Evans, Hector Maclean, Robert Cameron, Thomas Dallas, John Torin, Keith Macalifter, Charles Fred. Mandeville, Richard Gore, Francis William Bellis, John Little, John Wifeman, Henry Oakes, Thomas Marshall, Charles Reynolds, Burnaby Boles, George William Mignan, William Home, Andrew Anderfon, Charles Boye, John Macdonald, James Romney, Henry Long, Jacob Thomfon, Jeremiah Hawkes, John Baillie, Jofeph Bland, William Henry Blafhford.

*To be Majors*---Capts. R. Walker, Edward Pennington, Thomas Polhill, Alexander Legertwood, Andrew Frafer, Edward Tolfrey, Samuel Jeannerett, John Chalmers, George Knox.

*By his Majesty.*

25th Light Drag.—Lieut. J. Thomas, from the 35th foot, to be lieutenant, vice Brackenbury, who exchanges; Auguft 30, 1799.

27th do.—M. T. Harris, gent. to be cornet, vice Hilton, deceased; Jan. 1. Lieut. V. L. Ward, from the 17th light drag. to be lieutenant, vice Nesbitt, who exchanges; Oct. 17.

29th do.—P. Rawlings, gent. to be cornet by purchase, vice Tolley, who retires; Aug. 23.

12th Foot—Ensign J. Gordon, from the 74th foot, to be lieutenant by purchase, vice Crawford, promoted; Nov. 30. 1798. Lieut. W. Macpherfon, from

the 73d foot, to be captain-lieutenant without purchase, vice O'Brien, promoted in the 5th foot; Aug. 3, 1799.

19th do.—Ensign Robert Ball, from the 1ft West India regiment, to be ensign by purchase, vice Cust, who retires; Oct. 3.

51st do.—Lieut. R. O'Farrel, from the half-pay of the late 1ft regt. of the Irish brigade, to be lieutenant, vice Talbot, who exchanges; Aug. 23. Ensign D. O'Donel, from the N. Mayo militia, to be ensign by purchase, vice Johnson, promoted; Oct. 17.

73d do.—J. Guthrie, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Orr, promoted; Dec. 1, 1798.

75th do.—T. Cooper, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Macinnes, who retires; Nov. 10.

78th do.—Capt. A. C. B. Crawford, from the 3d West India regt. to be captain, vice Scott, who exchanges; Oct. 3, 1799.

84th do.—J. Jenkins, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Dale, promoted; Oct. 3.

86th do.—Lieut. J. Fox, from the 49th foot, to be lieutenant, vice Hudson, who exchanges; Aug. 5. Ensign J. Carr, from the Northumberland fencibles, to be quarter-master, vice Hudson, who resigns; Sept. 12.

88th do.—W. Thompfon, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Williams, promoted; Sept. 5. W. W. Adair, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Bailey, promoted; Oct. 31.

*Scotch Brigade*—Capt. W. Cullen, from the half-pay of the 53d foot, to be captain, vice Johnson, who exchanges, taking the difference; Oct. 17. J. Stretch, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Ellis, who retires; Nov. 25.

*By the Commander in Chief.*

74th Regiment—Quarter-Master J. Wilson, from the 27th regiment of light dragoons, to be ensign by purchase, vice W. Hill Wallis, appointed cornet in the 27th regiment light dragoons; May 1, 1800. Ensign W. Purcell Creagh, from the 84th regiment, to be lieutenant without purchase, vice J. Campbell, promoted; ditto.

51st do.—Capt. Lieut. J. Fleming to be captain of a company, vice Flood, deceased; June 14. Lieut. J. Campbell, jun. from the 74th regt. to be captain-lieutenant without purchase, vice J. Fleming promoted; ditto.

AUGUST.



## AUGUST.

*By his Majesty.*

- 10th Foot—Major R. Quarrel to be lieutenant-colonel by purchase, vice Major Gen. Amherst, who retires; Nov. 21, 1799. Captain the hon. G. Cochrane, from the 78th foot, to be major by purchase, vice Quarrel; Nov. 21. Captain S. Holmes to be major by purchase, vice Cochrane, promoted in the 87th foot; Dec. 26. Lieut. the hon. C. J. Greville to be captain by purchase, vice Holmes; Dec. 26.
- To be Ensigns—H. Palmer, gent. by purchase, vice Sutherland, promoted in the 55th foot; Aug. 23. R. Burke, gent. by purchase, vice Thivates, promoted; Nov. 21.
- 78th Foot—Lieut. T. B. M. Humberstone to be captain by purchase, vice Cochrane, promoted in the 10th foot; Dec. 11.
- His Majesty having been pleased to promote Major Richard Quarrel to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the 10th regiment by purchase, and to appoint Captain the Honourable George Cochrane, from the 78th regiment, to be his successor by purchase in the 10th foot, the promotions made by the Commander in Chief in India, under date the 17th of Sept. 1799, 7th of Feb. and 27th of March 1800, of those officers and their several successors, are cancelled.

*By the Commander in Chief.*

- 10th Foot—Brevet Lieut. Col. W. Potts to be lieutenant-colonel, vice John Wemyss, deceased; Nov. 22, 1799. Brevet Major D. Mellifont to be major without purchase, vice Potts, promoted; ditto. Captain en second C. J. Milnes to be captain of a company, vice Mellifont, promoted; do. G. Fergusson, gent. to be ensign by purchase; Sept. 15.
- 77th do.—Ensign J. Douglas to be lieutenant by purchase, vice R. James, promoted in 90th foot; April 18, 1800. Serjeant W. Jones to be quarter-master without purchase, vice J. Campbell, who resigns; July 21.
- 78th do.—Capt. Lieut. J. Frazer to be captain of a company without purchase, vice J. M'Leod, promoted in the Princess Charlotte of Wales's regt. of fencible infantry; Aug. 22. Lieut. D. Grant to be captain-lieutenant without purchase, vice J. Frazer, promoted; ditto. Ensign Alured Clarke to be lieutenant by purchase, vice T. B. M. Humberstone, promoted; Dec. 11. J. Douglas, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Alured Clarke, promoted; ditto.

- 78th do.—Hugh Macandie, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice G. Rofs Munro, promoted; Aug. 16.
- 86th do.—Ensign J. Stewart to be lieutenant, vice De Porbeck, deceased; July 26.

## SEPTEMBER.

*By the Commander in Chief.*

- 25th Light Drag.—Cornet J. Grant to be lieutenant by purchase, vice Christopher Farwell, promoted in the 4th dragoon guards; April 22, 1800.
- 77th Reg.—J. Macquairrie, gent. to be ensign, vice W. Porter, deceased; Sept. 1.
- Scotch Brigade—C. Campbell, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice J. Campbell, who resigns; Aug. 2.
- Regiment de Meuron—Ensign J. P. S. Fauch to be lieutenant, vice N. Julie de Bergeon, promoted; July 13. Ensign R. Amedie de May to be lieutenant, vice C. Moreau de Beauregard, deceased; Aug. 19.
- 19th Foot—Ensign A. Robson to be lieutenant by purchase, vice T. Jones, who retires; Aug. 27. J. Wiene, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice R. Stark, promoted; Aug. 25.
- 25th Light Drag.—A. Scott, gent. to be assistant surgeon, vice G. Briggs, who resigns; ditto.
- 80th Reg.—H. J. Grove, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice R. Wimpleton, promoted; Sept. 9.
- 33d do.—J. Haigh, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice S. Hathway, who retires; Aug. 20.
- 75th do.—T. Atkins, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice T. Cooper, promoted; July 16.

## OCTOBER.

*By his Majesty.*

- Major-gen. the hon. F. St. John to the staff. Capt. A. Pilkington aid-du-camp to ditto.

*By the Commander in Chief.*

- 27th Light Drag.—Captain Lieut. P. Philpot to be captain of a troop without purchase, vice W. Griffith, promoted in the 29th light drag. Oct. 9, 1800. Lieut. M. M. French to be captain-lieutenant by purchase, vice Philpot, promoted; ditto. Cornet J. Sands to be lieutenant without purchase, vice M. M. French, promoted; ditto.
- 29th do.—Captain W. Griffiths to be major, from the 27th regiment of light drag. vice W. Gale, deceased; ditto.



**10th Foot**—B. Sullivan, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice T. Lamphier, promoted in the 86th regt. Sept. 20.

**86th do.**—Ensign T. Lamphier, from the 10th foot, to be lieutenant by purchase, vice J. Grant, promoted; ditto. Ensign J. Wilson, from the 74th foot, to be lieutenant by purchase, vice D. M'Neil, promoted; Sept. 21.

*By his Excellency the Governor of Ceylon.*

Colonel C. Baillie, of his Majesty's 51st regt. is appointed to command the fort and garrison of Columbo; and Lieut. Col. G. Dalrymple, of his Majesty's 19th regiment, is appointed to command the fort and garrison of Point de Galle. Major J. Logan, of his Majesty's 51st regiment, to be military paymaster, and paymaster of extraordinaries on Ceylon for the western district, comprehending all the garrisons and posts from Jaffnapatam to Matura, and to reside at Columbo; and Captain W. Pollock; also of his Majesty's 51st regiment, to be military paymaster of extraordinaries for the eastern district, comprehending the garrisons of Trincomalee and Fort Ostenburg, Batticaloa, and Moelletivo, to reside at Trincomalee.

#### NOVEMBER.

*By his Majesty.*

**25th Light Drag.**—Major P. Charlton, from the 3d dragoon guards, to be major, vice Calcraft who exchanges; April 4, 1800.

**10th Foot**—Ensign M. Bathurst to be lieutenant by purchase, vice Greville, promoted; March 7, 1800. A. Newport, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Bathurst; March 21.

**12th do.**—H. Hardy, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Hurford, promoted in the 23d foot; March 7. Surgeon A. D. Campbell, from the half pay of the late 97th foot, to be surgeon, vice Gray, who exchanges; Sept. 29, 1798.

**19th do.**—J. A. Morley, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Ogden, promoted in the 60th foot; March 21, 1800.

**51st do.**—Ensign A. Robinson to be lieutenant without purchase, vice Campbell, promoted in the 88th foot; March 28. C. Tryon, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Hook, promoted in the 9th foot; April 4. W. E. White, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Chalner, whose appointment does not take place; April 18.

**73d do.**—G. F. W. Fluker, gent. to be

ensign without purchase, vice Rowen, promoted in the 52d foot; April 23.

**76th do.**—Major M. Symes to be lieutenant-colonel by purchase, vice Mufgrave, who retires; Feb. 15. Brevet Major E. Baynes, from the 32d foot, to be major by purchase, vice Symes; April 23.

**84th do.**—Ensign B. W. Ferree to be lieutenant by purchase, vice Dodsworth, promoted in the 11th foot; April 18.

**88th do.**—Lieut. D. Campbell, from the 51st foot, to be captain by purchase, vice Sloper, appointed paymaster to the 4th dragoons; March 28. Ensign H. Mayhew, from the 8th foot, to be ensign by purchase, vice Maclellen, promoted in the 6th foot; April 11. W. A. M'Dougall, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Hunter, whose appointment does not take place; April 23.

**Scotch Brigade**—W. Beckwith, gent. to be ensign by purchase; Feb. 28.

*By the Commander in Chief.*

**10th Foot**—H. E. Addison, gent. to be ensign, vice H. Palmer, deceased; Nov. 6, 1800.

**77th do.**—Ensign H. Hooper, from the 73d regiment, to be lieutenant by purchase, vice J. Douglas, who retires; Oct. 5.

**74th do.**—J. Miller, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice J. Wilson, promoted in the 80th foot; Sept. 21.

**84th do.**—Capt. Lieut. W. C. Williams to be captain of a company, vice W. R. Robinson, deceased; Oct. 11. Lieut. R. Horton to be captain-lieutenant without purchase, vice Williams, promoted; ditto. Ensign M. Burns, from the Scotch brigade, to be lieutenant without purchase, vice Horton, promoted; ditto.

**Scotch Brigade**—J. Grant, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice M. Burns, promoted in the 84th foot; ditto.

**19th Light Drag.**—Lieut. J. M. Jackson, from the 73d foot, to be cornet, vice J. C. Ridout, deceased; Oct. 14.

**73d Regt.**—Ensign H. Hooper to be lieutenant without purchase, vice J. M. Jackson, removed to the 19th light dragoons; ditto. J. Johnstone, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice H. Hooper, promoted; ditto.

#### DECEMBER.

*By his Majesty.*

**78th Regt.**—Major H. Scott, from the Ross and Cromarty rangers fencible infantry, to be major, vice J. Mackenzie, who exchanges; May 9, 1800.

The



The Commander in Chief has been pleased to make the following promotions and appointments until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known:

- 19th Foot—Ensign M. Harland Byng, from the 76th regiment, to be lieutenant, vice J. Nixon, deceased; Nov. 1.
- 76th do.—J. Antill, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Byne, promoted in the 19th foot; ditto. Ensign R. Coxon to be lieutenant by purchase, vice G. J. B. Tucker, promoted in the 22d foot; Nov. 2.
- 78th do.—Ensign J. Kinloch to be lieutenant, vice A. Miller, deceased; Oct. 30. — Turner, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Kinloch, promoted; ditto.
- 80th do.—Ensign R. Dashwood to be lieutenant without purchase, vice T. Howard, promoted in the 9th foot; Nov. 10. — Harness, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Dashwood, promoted; ditto.
- 51st do.—Lieut. S. Rice to be captain of a company by purchase, vice N. O'Donnell, who retires; June 18, 1798.
- 84th do.—Major E. E. Colman, from the 36th foot, to be major, vice Orde, deceased; Dec. 30.
- Brevet*—Colonel the Count de Meuron to be major-general in the army.
- By the Commander in Chief.*
- 19th Foot—G. Stewart, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice H. Shadforth, promoted in 20th foot; Sept. 20, 1800.
- 74th do.—M. Morris, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice R. M'Murdo, promoted; Nov. 10.
- 77th do.—L. Luter, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice H. Fletcher, promoted; Oct. 31.
- 80th do.—Ensign J. Morisset to be lieutenant, vice P. Kearrans, deceased; Nov. 9. P. R. Stepney, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Morisset, promoted; ditto.
- 86th do.—E. F. Smith, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice J. Stuart, promoted; Nov. 1.
- 74th do.—J. Miller, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice J. Wilson, promoted in 86th foot; Sept. 2.
- 86th do.—Lieut. L. M'Laurin to be captain of a company by purchase, vice J. J. Stuart Hall, who retires; 7th do. Ensign J. Wilson, from the 74th foot, to be lieutenant by purchase, vice L. M'Laurin, promoted; 21st do. Ensign L. Maffey to be lieutenant, vice

D. Macneil, deceased; Oct. 27. R. Paten, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice L. Maffey, promoted; Nov. 12. H. Steel, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice G. C. D'Aguilar, who resigns; 3d do.

*Scotch Brigade*—Ensign J. Tate to be lieutenant by purchase, vice C. Gordon, promoted; Nov. 14.

*Regiment de Meuron*—Capt. lieut. N. J. de Bergeon to be captain of a company, vice J. G. Gradmann, who resigns; Nov. 19. Lieut. H. F. de Meuron Bayard to be captain-lieutenant, vice de Bergeon, promoted; Nov. 19. Ensign C. S. Wittel to be lieutenant, vice de M. Bayard, promoted; Nov. 19.

JANUARY, 1801.

*By the Commander in Chief.*

27th Light Drag.—Cornet S. Taylor to be lieutenant by purchase, vice J. M. Partridge, who retires, Dec. 1, 1800. J. H. Barnsly, gent. to be cornet by purchase, vice Taylor, promoted; do.

12th Foot—Capt. lieut. N. Eustace to be captain of a company, vice W. Whittie, deceased; 15th do. Lieutenant J. Macleod, from the 77th regiment, to be captain-lieutenant without purchase, vice N. Eustace, promoted; do. Sergeant major Jaggard to be adjutant without purchase, vice M. Shaw, who resigns; December 20.

33d do.—Capt. J. Todd, from the 73d reg. to be captain of a company, vice J. Chetwood, who exchanges; 5th do.

73d do.—Capt. J. Chetwood, from the 33d foot, to be captain of a company, vice J. Todd, who exchanges; do.

74th do.—Lieut. J. Daniel, from the 84th regiment, to be lieutenant, vice W. P. Creagh, who exchanges; 2d do. H. Munro, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice W. M. Charlton, who retires; Nov. 14.

75th do.—R. H. Dick, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice H. W. Sale, who resigns; 22d do.

77th do.—Ensign A. Meldrum, from the 78th regiment, to be lieutenant without purchase, vice J. Macleod, promoted in 12th foot; 15th do. Ensign Sir G. Colquhoun, bart. from the 80th foot, to be lieutenant by purchase, vice J. Douglas, who retires; Decem. 22. Capt. lieut. J. Campbell to be captain of a company by purchase, vice C. Macrae, who retires; Decem. 16. Lieut. C. Mackintosh to be captain-lieutenant by purchase, vice J. Campbell, promoted;



moted; do. Ensign H. C. Brisco, from the 33d foot, to be lieutenant by purchase, vice C. Mackintosh, promoted; do.

86th do.—Lieut. W. P. Creagh, from the 74th regiment, to be lieutenant, vice J. Daniel, who exchanges; 2d do.

*Scotch Brigade*—J. Goodhew, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice W. Baird, promoted; 19th do.

78th Foot—G. W. Smith, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice A. Meldrum, promoted in the 77th foot. A. Macdougall, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice G. W. Smith, promoted in the 76th foot; Jan. 31, 1801. Quarter-master serjeant D. Macrae to be quarter-master without purchase, vice A. M'Dougall, who resigns; Jan. 23. Ensign J. Hay to be adjutant without purchase, vice A. Wilhart, resigned; Nov. 30, 1800.

76th do.—Ensign G. W. Smith, from the 78th foot, to be lieutenant by purchase, vice P. Philpot, promoted; Feb. 2, 1797.

84th do.—Ensign J. Jenkins to be adjutant without purchase, vice R. Dale, who resigns; Dec. 24, 1800.

#### FEBRUARY.

*By his Majesty.*

33d Reg.—Lieut. A. Hook, from the 9th regiment, to be lieutenant, vice J. Gorges, who exchanges; May 23, 1801.

*By the Commander in Chief.*

27th Reg. *Light Drag.*—F. A. Christie, gent. to be cornet without purchase, vice J. Sandys, promoted; Oct. 9, 1800.

75th Reg.—J. Fitchet, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice J. Turner, superseded, having never joined; Decem. 23.

76th do.—J. H. Hurd, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Butts, who declines; Nov. 2. B. Camac, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice R. Coxon, promoted; Nov. 3. A. J. Macan, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice C. B. Tucker, who declines; Feb. 8, 1801.

77th do.—Ensign R. Northcote, from the 78th regiment, to be lieutenant, vice G. Moncrieff, deceased; Jan. 1, 1801.

78th do.—J. Mackenzie, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice R. Northcote, promoted in 77th foot; Feb. 2. Ensign J. Hay to be lieutenant by purchase, vice J. Macandie, who retires; 3d do.

*Scotch Brig.*—C. Wilson, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice T. Vincent, who abides by his appointment of cadet in the hon. the East India Company's service; Jan. 27. G. G. Munro, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Squirrel, promoted; Feb. 1.

#### MARCH.

*By his Majesty and the Hon. the East India Company.*

His Excellency Lieut. General GERRARD LAKE to be *commander in chief* of his Majesty's and the hon. Company's forces in India, in the room of Lieutenant General Sir A. Clarke, who resigns; March 14, 1801.

*By the Commander in Chief.*

Major M. Nicholson to act as adjutant general; Captain G. A. F. Lake to act as quarter-master-general; Major Nicholson and Capt. Lake to be aids-de-camp to the commander in chief; Feb. 15.

25th *Light Drag.*—The hon. W. Blaquiere to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Sir W. Lee, deceased; Feb. 29, 1801. Capt. R. Travers to be major, vice Blaquiere, promoted; Feb. 9. Capt. Lieut. P. Ross to be captain of a troop, vice Travers, promoted; Feb. 9. Eldest Lieut. H. Stuart to be captain lieutenant, vice Ross, promoted; 9th do. Eldest cornet E. H. Hutchinson to be lieutenant, vice Stuart promoted; 9th do. Adjutant M. Simes to be cornet, vice Hutchinson, promoted; 9th do.

*By his Majesty.*

19th *Light Drag.*—Brevet Major T. Patterton to be major by purchase, vice C. Bladen, who retires; May 23, 1799. Assistant surgeon J. Colgan, from the 28th light dragoons, to be assistant surgeon, vice Bevil, deceased; 19th do. Captain Lieutenant J. Kennedy to be captain of a troop, without purchase, vice Monteath, deceased; June 22. Lieutenant J. Cathcart to be captain lieutenant without purchase, vice Kennedy; do. Cornet W. Boyle to be lieutenant without purchase, vice Cathcart; do.

25th do.—Brevet Lieut. Col. H. Davis, from the 9th foot, to be major, vice Charlton, who exchanges; May 23, 1800. E. Griffith, gent. to be cornet without purchase, vice J. Sanders, deceased; Feb. 17, 1799. Quarter-master M. Symes to be adjutant, vice J. Gordon, who resigns; June 28. W. Brown, gent. to be assistant surgeon, vice J. H. Klugel, deceased; Sep. 30. 27th do.—Captain P. Philpot, from the 26th



76th foot, to be captain-lieutenant, vice J. Covell, who exchanges; March 2. Cornet C. Deane, from the 28th light dragoons, to be cornet, vice H. Spencer, who exchanges; April 11. S. W. Harrison, gent. to be cornet without purchase, vice Blake, promoted in the 11th light dragoons; July 16, 1800.

9th do.---W. Thorn, gent. to be cornet by purchase, vice W. T. Gaul, who retires; March 17, 1799. Captain J. Smith, from the 20th light dragoons, to be captain, vice Gould, who exchanges; March 24, 1800. Ensign F. Temple, from the 40th foot, to be cornet, vice Gale, who exchanges; July 10.

10th Foot---Brevet Lieutenant Colonel W. Potts to be lieutenant colonel without purchase, vice Wemyss, deceased; Nov. 22, 1799. Brevet Major D. Mellifont to be major without purchase, vice Potts; Decem. 27. G. Ferguson, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Brown, promoted; Sep. 15. W. Stuart, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice T. Dent, promoted; do.

21th do.---Lieutenant R. Nixon to be captain of a company by purchase, vice T. James, who retires; Feb. 12, 1799. Ensign N. A. Mein, from 74th foot, to be lieutenant, by purchase, vice R. Nixon; Feb. 17. Ensign W. Gahan to be lieutenant without purchase, vice T. Falla, deceased; April 7. R. W. Shawe, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice W. Gahan, do. Lieutenant M. Shawe, from the 75th foot, to be lieutenant, vice W. Gahan, deceased; May 7. M. Shawe, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice C. Rift, promoted in the 74th regiment; do. Captain T. Woodhall to be major by purchase, vice T. Craigie, who retires; Decem. 31. Lieutenant R. Ashton to be captain by purchase, vice Woodhall; Decem. 31. Ensign H. MacReady to be lieutenant, vice S. Percival, deceased; June 20. S. Cleveland, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice McReady, promoted; do. Lieutenant C. Rift, from 74th foot, to be lieutenant, vice T. W. Edwards, who exchanges; July 17. Ensign M. Grace to be lieutenant by purchase, vice C. Morgan, promoted in 8th light dragoons; Aug. 9. Captain Lieutenant W. M'Pherson to be captain of a company by purchase, vice Walford, appointed paymaster to the 54th foot; 23th do. Lieutenant N.

Eustace to be captain-lieutenant by purchase, vice M'Pherson; Aug. 28. Ensign J. Rift to be lieutenant by purchase, vice R. Ashton, promoted; Aug. 10.

19th do.---Colonel E. Hewgill, from Coldstream regiment of foot guards, to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Acland, who exchanges; May 10, 1800. Lieutenant A. B. Vilant to be captain of a company by purchase, vice G. A. Bygrave, who retires, March 28, 1799. Ensign J. Nixon to be lieutenant by purchase, vice Vilant; March 28. H. Maclaine, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Moore, promoted in 73d foot; May 23. T. A. Anderson, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Ebhart, promoted; July 15. Ensign W. Blackney, from 84th regiment, to be lieutenant without purchase, vice J. Nairne, deceased; Aug. 10. Ensign J. Moore to be lieutenant without purchase, vice J. Christie, who resigns; Sep. 20. P. Plenderleath, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Moore; 20th do.

33d do.---Captain Lieut. D. Quin to be captain of a company by purchase, vice E. M'Pherson, who retires; March 9. Lieut. F. R. West to be captain lieutenant by purchase, vice Quin; do. Ensign J. Warren to be lieutenant by purchase, vice West; March 9. Lieut. G. Gaff to be adjutant, vice Quin, promoted; 9th do. Lieutenant H. M'Quarrie, from 73d foot, to be lieutenant, vice C. M'Gregor, who exchanges; May 14. Ensign A. Gray to be lieutenant, vice J. Whittie, deceased; 15th do. R. Milward, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Gray; 31st do. Lieut. C. C. Kenny, from 74th foot, to be lieutenant, vice A. Campbell, who exchanges; July 18. C. Irwin, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice A. Campbell, promoted; May 30. Lieut. J. Guthrie, from 73d foot, to be lieutenant, vice A. Gray, who exchanges; Sept. 14. Captain A. P. Macdowall, from 17th foot, to be captain, vice Keating, who exchanges; June 12, 1800. K. B. Stuart, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Sullivan, who retires; May 9.

51st do.---Major General W. Morhead, from 5th bat. 60th regiment, to be colonel, vice Lieut. Gen. Martin, deceased; May 9. Brevet Major J. Castleman to be major without purchase, vice Williams, promoted in the Newfoundland fencibles; Feb. 21.

Capt.



Capt. Lieut. J. Fleming to be captain of a company without purchase, vice Castleman; do. Lieut. W. Chifholm to be captain-lieutenant without purchase, vice Fleming; do. Ensign J. Kyte to be lieutenant, without purchase, vice Chifholm; Feb. 21. Ensign D. Campbell, from the 86th foot, to be lieutenant, vice R. Jennings, deceased; Sept. 23, 1799. Lieut. H. Watson, town major of Carlisle, to be lieutenant, vice Lieutenant the Marquis of Tullibardine, who is placed on half pay; May 9, 1800.

73d do.—Lieut. C. M'Gregor, from 33d foot, to be lieutenant, vice H. M'Quarrie, who exchanges; May 14, 1799. Lieut. A. Gore to be captain-lieutenant, vice A. Rose, deceased; 17th do. J. Mackay, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Guthrie; May 17. Ensign A. Moore, from 19th foot, to be lieutenant without purchase, vice J. Thomas, deceased; 23d do. Lieut. A. Gray, from 33d foot, to be lieutenant, vice J. Guthrie, who exchanges; Sept. 14. J. Reddie, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice W. Frazer, promoted; May 1, 1797. Ensign M. Maclaine to be lieutenant without purchase, vice J. Lalor, deceased; May 5, 1799. G. Prescott, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Maclaine; do. Ensign H. Antill to be lieutenant without purchase, vice Maclaine, removed to 77th foot; 6th do. H. Hooper, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Antill; May 6.

74th do.—Brevet Major S. Swinton to be major without purchase, vice Brevet Lieut. Colonel Douglas, promoted in 85th foot; May 17. Serjeant Major R. Neilson to be ensign by purchase, vice Gordon promoted in 12th foot; April 15. Ensign C. C. Kenny to be lieutenant, vice L. Irwin, deceased; April 27. A. W. Campbell, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Kenny; do. Ensign P. Shank to be lieutenant, vice J. Farquhar, deceased; May 5. R. M'Murdo, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice P. Shank, promoted; do. Ensign C. Rist, from 12th foot, to be lieutenant, vice V. Hill, deceased; May 7. Ensign J. Gray, from 33d foot, to be lieutenant, vice Henry Shawe, deceased; May 8. Lieut. S. Pocock, from 80th foot, to be lieutenant, vice T. W. Kerr, who exchanges; May 10. Lieut. T. W. Edwards, from 12th foot, to be lieutenant, vice C. Rist, who exchanges;

July 17. Lieut. A. Campbell, from 23d foot, to be lieutenant, vice C. C. Kenny, who exchanges; July 18.

75th do.—Ensign J. Spalding to be lieutenant, vice G. Bowzer, deceased; March 3. R. Syme, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Spalding; do. Ensign D. Mackay to be lieutenant, vice R. Mather, deceased; May 5. H. W. Sale, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Mackay; do. Ensign R. H. S. Malone to be lieutenant without purchase, vice J. Spalding, removed to the 77th regt. do. — Wilkins, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Malone; May 6.

76th do.—Assistant Surgeon C. Carfield to be surgeon, vice Musgrave, deceased; Feb. 25. Capt. Lieut. J. Covel, from 27th light dragoons, to be captain of a company, vice Philpot, who exchanges; March 2. Ensign B. J. Young to be lieutenant by purchase, vice Vere L. Ward, removed to the 17th light dragoons; April 29. Ensign W. Cheyne to be lieutenant without purchase, vice M. Shawe, removed to 12th foot; May 7. J. G. Watson, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Cheyne; do. Ensign E. Marston to be lieutenant by purchase, vice G. Cornish, who retires; August 22. Ensign R. Sleeman to be lieutenant without purchase, vice C. Morgan, deceased; September 14. — Butts, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Sleeman, promoted; do. W. Baird, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice B. J. Young, promoted; May 15. Ensign A. C. Campbell, from the 80th foot, to be lieutenant by purchase, vice Cheyne, promoted in the 35th foot; August 7, 1800.

77th do.—Capt.-lieut. J. L. Winslow to be captain of a company without purchase, vice J. Owen, deceased; May 5, 1799. Lieut. C. M'Rae to be captain-lieutenant without purchase, vice Winslow; do. Lieut. M'Laine, from the 73d foot, to be lieutenant, vice M'Rae; do. Lieut. J. Spalding, from 75th foot, to be lieutenant, vice W. Grant, deceased; May 6.

78th do.—Capt.-lieut. J. Frazer to be captain by purchase, vice Ferguson, deceased; November 26. Lieut. C. M'Kenzie to be captain-lieutenant by purchase, vice Frazer; December 12. Ensign A. Clarke to be lieutenant by purchase, vice M'Kenzie; February 22, 1800.

80th do.—Ensign J. Lewis to be lieutenant



tenant without purchase, vice R. Ashe, deceased; April 26, 1799. M. R. Freeman, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice T. Douglas, promoted; March 8. Lieut. T. W. Kerr, from the 74th foot, to be lieutenant, vice S. Pocock, who exchanges; May 15. Lieut. R. Mowbray to be captain of a company by purchase, vice J. Rooke, promoted in 16th light dragoons; August 3. Ensign J. St. George to be lieutenant without purchase, vice J. Edwards, promoted; April 28, 1797. J. Walsh, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice St. George; May 10. Ensign L. Hooke to be lieutenant by purchase, vice Groffer, promoted in 31st foot; August 21, 1799.

4th do.---Ensign B. W. Ferebee to be lieutenant by purchase, vice Dodsworth, promoted in 11th foot; April 18, 1800. E. Nicholl, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Ferebee, promoted; May 23. T. Scott to be ensign without purchase, vice W. Blackney, promoted in 19th foot; August 10, 1799. W. Garner, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice M'Auley, who retires;

June 12. J. Johnson, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Lang, removed to 28th dragoons; August 21, 1800.

86th do.---L. Macquarie to be ensign without purchase, vice D. Campbell, promoted in the 51st foot; September 23, 1799. E. Carter, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Lang, promoted; January 16, 1800.

Scotch Brigade---Lieut. J. Innes to be captain of a company by purchase, vice brevet Lieut.-colonel Gillespie, who retires; July 10, 1799. Ensign P. M'Arthur to be lieutenant by purchase, vice Innes; do. Lieut. J. Allen to be adjutant, vice James Donald, who resigns; July 12. Assistant Surgeon J. Smith, from 75th foot, to be surgeon, vice Shetky, deceased; June 4. J. Campbell, gent. to be ensign without purchase, vice Bisset, who has been superseded; June 30. C. E. Millar, gent. to be ensign by purchase, vice Beckwith, who retires; July 30, 1800.

Meuron Regiment---C. Rhamm, gent. to be ensign; April 4, 1799.

### *In the Hon. COMPANY'S Army.*

MARCH, 1800.

*By the Governor-General in Council.*

Capt. S. G. Ashe to be major in the 9th native regiment, vice Sibbald, deceased; March 4, 1800.

Capt. Lieut. J. Missing to be captain of a company in the 9th native regiment, vice Ashe, promoted; ditto.

Brevet Capt. and Lieut. J. Maxwell to be captain-lieutenant in the 9th native regiment, vice Missing, promoted; do.

Mr. L. M'Intosh, agent for packing and transporting the clothing of the army, in the room of Mr. W. E. Philips, resigned.

*Calcutta Militia*—Eldest ensign W. Egerton to be lieutenant, vice W.

Johnson, deceased; May 5, 1799. Ensign R. Parry to be lieutenant, vice T.

Gowan, resigned; Nov. 16. Ensign C. Rothman to be lieutenant, vice

J. Vanzandt, resigned; Nov. 29. Ensign A. Gilmore to be lieutenant, vice

F. Horsley, resigned; Nov. 30. Ensign J. Hall to be lieutenant, vice C.

Benezet, on furlough; Jan. 19, 1800. Eldest Captain F. Gladwin to be major, vice J. Bebb, on furlough; Feb.

1. Eldest Lieut. H. Buller to be captain of a company, vice Gladwin, pro-

moted; Feb. 1. Lieut. J. H. Harrington to be captain of a company, vice Myers, on furlough; ditto. Ensign J. P. Gardiner to be lieutenant, vice Buller, promoted; ditto. Ensign D. Seton to be lieutenant, vice Harrington, promoted; ditto.

The following gentlemen are to be ensigns from March 4:—

Mr. J. Lumsden, vice Egerton, promoted; Mr. G. Udny, vice Parry, ditto; Mr. C. R. Crommelin, vice Rothman, ditto; Mr. H. C. Plowden, vice Gilmore, ditto; Mr. J. Caulfield, vice Hall, ditto; Mr. R. Fleming, vice Gardiner, ditto; Mr. B. Boswell, vice Seton, ditto.

The following cadets of infantry are appointed ensigns:—

Messrs. W. Tibby, T. Jones, J. Murray, J. Scott.

MAY.

*Artillery*—Brevet Col. and Lieut. Col. C. Greene to be colonel, vice Duff, retired; April 21, 1800. Brevet Lieut. Col. and Major J. Macintyre to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Greene, promoted; ditto. Brevet Major and Capt. N. Carnegie to be major, vice M'Intyre.



tyre, promoted; ditto. Brevet Capt. and Capt. Lieut. J. R. Exshaw to be captain of a company, vice Carnegie, promoted; April 1. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. G. Raban to be captain-lieutenant, vice Exshaw, promoted; April 21. Lieut. Will. Parker to be lieutenant, vice Raban, promoted; ditto.

*Infantry*—Brevet Col. and Lieut. Col. J. Dunn to be colonel, vice Forbes, retired; ditto. Brevet Col. and Lieut. Col. J. Dickson to be colonel, vice Jones, retired; ditto. Lieut. Col. S. Dyer to be colonel, vice Johnstone, retired; ditto. Major S. Cox to be lieutenant colonel, vice Roberts, retired; ditto. Major D. Cunningham to be lieutenant colonel, vice Denby, retired; ditto. Major P. Murray to be lieutenant colonel, vice Edwards, retired; ditto. Major L. Grant to be lieutenant colonel, vice Dunn, promoted; ditto. Major J. Hutchinson, to be lieutenant colonel, vice Dickson, promoted; ditto. Major J. Guthrie to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Dyer, promoted; ditto.

*10th Native Regt.*—Capt. J. Scott to be major, vice Cox, promoted; ditto. Capt. Lieut. H. Royle to be captain of a company, vice Scott, promoted; ditto. Lieut. D. Lyons to be captain lieutenant, vice Royle, promoted; do.

*11th do.*—Capt. T. Taylor to be major, vice Cunningham, promoted; ditto. Capt. Lieut. R. Dee to be captain of a company, vice Taylor, promoted; ditto. Lieut. R. Hodgson to be captain lieutenant, vice Dee, promoted; ditto.

*12th do.*—Capt. D. Ochterlony to be major, vice Murray, promoted; ditto. Capt. Lieut. J. Home to be captain of a company, vice Ochterlony, promoted; do. Lieut. S. Wood to be captain lieutenant, vice Home, promoted; do.

*13th do.*—Capt. J. Reid to be major, vice Grant, promoted; do. Captain Lieut. C. Grant to be captain of a company, vice Reid, promoted; do. Lieut. J. Vanrennon to be captain lieutenant, vice Grant, promoted; do.

*15th do.*—Capt. T. Willet to be major, vice Hutchinson, promoted; ditto. Capt. Lieut. W. Burton to be captain of a company, vice Willet, promoted; do. Lieut. H. Cheap to be captain lieutenant, vice Burton, promoted; do.

*16th do.*—Capt. A. Grant to be major, vice Guthrie, promoted; do. Capt.

Lieut. J. Stewart to be captain of a company, vice Grant, promoted; do. Lieut. R. Henry to be captain lieutenant, vice Stewart, promoted; do.

*Infantry.*

*1st European Regt.*—Lieut. Col. S. Cox, vice Denby.

*2d do.*—Lieut. Col. E. Lambert, from the 1st native regiment, vice Roberts. Lieut. Col. Kirkpatrick, from the 14th native regiment, vice Edwards.

*1st Native Regt.*—Col. J. Dunn to be colonel, vice Jones.

*1st Bat.*—Lieut. Col. Rayne, from the 2d bat. vice Lambert.

*2d do.*—Lieut. Col. P. Murray, vice Rayne, removed.

*3d Native Regiment.*

*2d Bat.*—Lieut. Col. J. Hutchinson, vice Dickson, promoted.

*6th Native Regiment.*

*2d Bat.*—Lieut. Col. H. Hyndman, from the 10th, vice Dunn.

*10th Native Regt.*—Col. S. Dyer to be colonel, vice Forbes. Lieut. Col. D. Marshall, from the 15th, vice Hyndman.

*11th Native Regiment.*

*1st Bat.*—Lieut. Col. D. Conyngham, vice Dyer. Major J. Derby, from the 2d bat. vice Conyngham. Capt. Lieut. R. Hodgson.

*2d do.*—Major T. Taylor, vice Derby, removed. Capt. R. Dee.

*12th Native Regt.*—Col. J. Dickson to be colonel, vice Johnstone.

*2d Bat.*—Capt. J. Home, vice Ochterlony.

*13th Native Regiment.*

*1st Bat.*—Major J. Reid, vice Grant, promoted. Captain T. Brougham, vice Reid.

*2d do.*—Capt. C. Grant, vice Mouggach, deceased. Capt. Lieut. J. Vanrennon, vice Grant.

*14th Native Regiment.*

*1st Bat.*—Lieut. Col. L. Grant, vice Kirkpatrick, removed.

*15th Native Regiment.*

*1st Bat.*—Lieut. Col. R. Hamilton, from the 16th, vice Marshall, removed. Major T. Willet, vice Hutchinson, promoted. Capt. W. Burton, vice Willet. Capt. Lieut. H. Cheap, vice Burton.

*16th Native Regiment.*

*1st Bat.*—Lieut. Col. J. Guthrie, vice Hamilton, removed. Major A. Grant, vice Guthrie, promoted.

*2d do.*—Captain J. Stuart, vice Grant, promoted. Capt. Lieut. R. Henry, vice Stuart, promoted.

*Cavalry.*



*Cavalry.*

*To be Colonel*—Lieut. Col. T. Welsh; May 29, 1800.

*To be Lieut. Colonels*—Major G. Hardyman, Major T. Wharton, Major J. J. Pigott; May 29.

*1st Regiment*—Capt. L. Baillie to be major, and appointed to the 5th regiment. Capt. Lieut. P. Black to be captain of a troop, vice Baillie, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. W. Mercer to be captain of a troop, and appointed to the 5th regiment.—Lieut. and Brevet Capt. G. Welsh to be captain-lieutenant, vice Black, promoted; May 29.

*To be Lieutenants*—Cornet C. M. Roberts, and appointed to the 5th regiment. Cornet J. Tombs, vice Mercer, promoted. Cornet T. Shubricke, vice Welsh, promoted. Cornet J. Kennedy, and appointed to the 5th regiment. Cornet R. Pepper, vice Clarke; May 29.

*2d Regiment*—Capt. J. Gordon to be major, vice Hardyman, promoted. Capt. W. D. Fawcett to be major, and appointed to the 6th regiment. Capt. Lieut. W. Toone to be captain of a troop, vice Gordon, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. A. Knox to be captain of a troop, vice Fawcett, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. G. Mounsey to be captain of a troop, and appointed to the 6th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. M. Fitzgerald to be captain-lieutenant, vice Toone, promoted; May 29.

*To be Lieutenants*—Cornet F. Latter, vice Knox, promoted. Cornet A. Cummings, and appointed to the 6th regiment. Cornet F. J. T. Johnston, vice Mounsey, promoted. Cornet R. Fry, and appointed to the 6th regiment. Cornet J. Mocklar, vice Fitzgerald, promoted. Cornet R. Sweetenham, vice O'Brien, removed to the 5th regiment; May 29.

*3d Regiment*—Capt. T. S. Bateman to be major, vice Wharton, promoted. Capt. Lieut. C. Frazer to be captain of a troop, and appointed to the 5th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. R. Doveton to be captain of a troop, vice Bateman, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. W. H. D. Knox to be captain-lieutenant, vice Frazer, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. C. Webber to be captain-lieutenant, and removed to the 5th regiment; May 29.

*To be Lieutenants*—Cornet C. Stewart, vice Doveton, promoted. Cornet J. Graham, vice Knox, promoted. Cor-

net J. Beecher, and appointed to the 5th regiment. Cornet J. H. R. Boileau, vice Webber, promoted. Cornet C. Ryder, vice Sweetenham, appointed to the 6th regiment. Cornet O. Clarke, and appointed to the 5th regiment; May 29.

*4th Regiment*—Capt. J. M'Gregor to be major, vice Pigott, promoted. Capt. Lieut. R. Nairne to be captain of a troop, vice M'Gregor, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. R. Armstrong to be captain-lieutenant, vice Nairne, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. J. Smith to be captain-lieutenant, and appointed to the 6th regiment; May 29.

*To be Lieutenants*—Cornet H. Shubrick, vice Graham, promoted. Cornet T. S. Knox, vice Armstrong, promoted. Cornet T. D. White, and appointed to the 6th regiment. Cornet E. J. Ridge, vice Smith, promoted. Cornet H. Ramsay, vice Houston, removed to the 6th regiment. Cornet H. Howarth, and appointed to the 6th regiment; May 29.

*Infantry.*

*To be Colonels*—Lieut. Col. E. Lambert, Lieut. Col. S. Watton; May 29, 1800.

*To be Lieut. Colonels*—Major and Brevet Lieut. Col. S. Bradshaw. Major and Brevet Lieut. Col. G. Wood. Major and Brevet Lieut. Col. H. Skinner. Major and Brevet Lieut. Col. T. W. Clayton. Major and Brevet Lieut. Col. J. Wood. Major and Brevet Lieut. Col. J. Haynes; May 29.

*1st European Reg.*—Capt. H. F. Calcraft to be major, vice Wood, promoted. Capt. Lieut. J. Cunningham to be captain of a company vice Calcraft, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. S. Kelly to be captain of a company, vice Clancey, removed to the 11th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. T. M. Weguelin to be captain-lieutenant, vice Cunningham; May 29.

*2d European Reg.*—Capt. E. S. Broughton to be major, vice Skinner, promoted. Capt. Lieut. H. Huet to be captain of a company, vice Broughton, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Captain W. S. Greene to be captain of a company, vice Alcock, removed to the 18th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. R. Munro to be captain-lieutenant, vice Huet, promoted; May 29.

*1st Native Reg.*—Capt. T. Shaw to be major, vice Clayton, promoted. Capt. Lieut. W. H. Cooper to be captain of a company, vice Shaw, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. W. Cuppage to be captain of a company, vice Fal-



- vey, removed to the 19th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. R. Broughton to be captain-lieutenant, vice Cooper, promoted; May 29.
- 2d Native Reg.*—Capt. F. Kyan to be major, vice Wood, promoted. Capt. Lieut. J. Davidson to be captain of a company, vice Kyan, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. C. Christie to be captain-lieutenant, vice Davidson, promoted; May 29.
- 3d Native Reg.*—Capt. J. Hume to be major, vice Haynes, promoted. Capt. Lieut. B. Litton to be captain of a company, vice Hume, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. J. Hamilton to be captain of a company, vice Orme, removed to the 9th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. W. Hill to be captain-lieutenant, vice Litton, promoted; May 29.
- 4th Native Reg.*—Capt. J. Gascoyne to be major, vice Davidson, removed to the 18th regiment. Capt. Lieut. H. Lennon to be captain of a company, and appointed to the 18th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. G. Scott to be captain-lieutenant, vice Lennon, promoted and removed to the 18th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. G. Foulis to be captain of a company, vice Gascoyne, promoted. May 29.
- 6th Native Reg.*—Capt. M. Hiffernan to be major, vice Hunter, removed to the 19th regiment. Capt. Lieut. J. Hodgson to be captain of a company, vice Hiffernan, promoted. Lieutenant and Brevet Capt. G. Benson to be captain-lieutenant, vice Hodgson, promoted; May 29.
- 8th Native Reg.*—Capt. P. Don to be major, and appointed to the 18th regiment. Capt. Lieut. J. Dawson to be captain of a company, and removed to the 19th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. J. Burnet to be captain of a company, vice Don, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. P. Bradshaw to be captain-lieutenant, vice Dawson, promoted; May 29.
- 9th Native Reg.*—Captain. Lieut. J. Maxwell to be captain of a company, vice Smith, removed to the 18th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. R. Frazer to be captain-lieutenant, vice Maxwell, promoted; May 29.
- 10th Native Reg.*—Capt. W. M. Baker to be major, and appointed to the 19th regiment. Capt. Lieut. D. Lyons to be captain of a company, vice Baker, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. D. Gillies, to be captain-lieutenant, vice Lyons, promoted; May 29.
- 11th Native Reg.*—Capt. Lieut. R. Hodgson to be captain of a company, vice Ralph, removed to the 18th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. D. M'Leod to be captain-lieutenant, vice Hodgson, promoted; May 29.
- 12th Native Reg.*—Capt. Lieut. S. Wood to be captain of a company, vice Powell, removed to the 19th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. W. Raban to be captain-lieutenant, vice Wood, promoted; May 29.
- 13th Native Reg.*—Capt. Lieut. J. Vanrenon to be captain of a company, and appointed to the 18th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. W. S. Nangrave to be captain-lieutenant, vice Vanrenon, promoted; May 29.
- 14th Native Reg.*—Capt. Lieut. T. Martin to be captain of a company, vice J. Duff, removed to the 19th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. W. Nicholls to be captain of a company, and removed to the 19th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. H. Imlack to be captain-lieutenant, vice Martin, promoted; May 29.
- 15th Native Reg.*—Lieut. and Brevet Capt. J. N. Smith to be captain-lieutenant, and appointed to the 18th regiment; May 29.
- 16th Native Reg.*—Capt. Lieut. R. Henry to be captain of a company, vice Marsden, removed to the 19th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. W. Yule to be captain-lieutenant, and appointed to the 19th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. P. Grant to be captain-lieutenant, vice Henry, promoted; May 29.
- 17th Native Reg.*—Capt. W. Duff to be major, vice Bradshaw, promoted. Capt. Lieut. A. Charron to be captain of a company, vice Duff, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. C. White to be captain of a company, vice Rind, removed to the 18th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. H. R. Patton to be captain-lieutenant, vice Charron, promoted; May 29.

## JUNE.

The following is the arrangements of officers in the 5th and 6th regiments of native cavalry, and appointment of staff to the different corps:

*5th Regiment*—Lieut. Col. T. Watson, Capt. C. Frazer, Capt. W. Mercer, Lieut. J. Kennedy, Major L. Bailly, Capt. Lieut. C. Webber, Lieut. R. Clarke, Lieut. Otto Clarke, Lieut. C. M. Roberts, Lieut. G. Becher, Lieut. L. R. O'Brien, Adjutant Lieut. C. M.



- C. M. Roberts, Quarter Master Lieut.  
L. M. O'Brien.
- 6th Regiment*---Lieut. Col. J. Pigott,  
Capt. G. S. Mounsey, Lieut. R.  
Howlton, Lieut. R. Fry, Major W.  
D. Fawcett, Capt. Lieut. J. Smith,  
Lieut. A. Cumming, Lieut. H.  
Howarth, Capt. R. Nairne, Lieut.  
R. Swinton, Lieut. J. R. White, Ad-  
jutant Lieut. R. Howlton, Quarter  
Master Lieut. R. Swinton.
- 1st Regiment of Cavalry*---Adjutant  
Lieut. S. Tombs, vice E. Black, pro-  
moted. Quarter Master Lieut. A.  
Watson, vice Mercer, promoted.
- 2d Regiment of Cavalry*---Adjutant  
Lieut. R. Jackson, vice Swinton, re-  
moved to the 6th regiment. Quarter  
Master Lieut. S. Noble, vice Knox,  
promoted.
- 3d Regiment of Cavalry*---Adjutant  
Lieut. C. Stewart, vice O'Brien, re-  
moved to the 5th regiment. Quarter  
Master Lieut. A. Perron, vice Dove-  
ton, promoted.
- 4th Regiment of Cavalry*---Adjutant  
Lieut. C. J. Ridge, vice Nairne,  
promoted. Quarter Master Lieut. H.  
Shoebrock, vice Gahan, do.
- The officers posted to the 5th and 6th  
regiments are ordered to repair to Gha-  
zipore.
- The following removals and appoint-  
ments to corps are to take place:
- Infantry.*
- 2d European Regiment*—Lieut. Col.  
Douglas, from the 17th regiment, vice  
Lambert, promoted.
- 1st Regiment Native Infantry.*
- 1st Bat*---Capt. W. Cooper, vice Fal-  
vey, removed to the 19th regiment.  
Capt. Lieut. R. Broughton, vice  
Cooper, promoted.
- 2d Bat*---Major T. Shawe, vice Clay-  
ton, promoted. Capt. Wm. Hem-  
mings, vice Shawe, promoted. Lieut.  
J. Sharpe to be adjutant, vice Fagan,  
removed to the 19th regiment.
- 2d Regiment Native Infantry.*
- 1st Bat*---Captain J. Davidson, pro-  
moted.
- 2d Bat*---Lieut. Col. J. Wood, vice  
Collins, removed. Major F. Kyan,  
vice Wood, promoted. Capt. Lieut.  
C. Christie, vice Kyan, promoted.
- 3d Regiment Native Infantry.*
- 1st Bat*---Capt. B. Litton, promoted.  
Lieut. H. Carter, to be adjutant, vice  
Litton.
- 2d Bat*---Lieut. Col. J. Haynes, vice  
Hatchinson, removed. Major J.  
Hume, vice Haynes, promoted. Capt.  
J. Hamilton, vice Hume, promoted.
- Capt. Lieut. W. Hill, vice Orme,  
removed to the 19th regiment.
- 4th Regiment Native Infantry.*
- 1st Bat*---Major J. Gascoigne, vice Da-  
vidson, removed to the 19th regiment.  
Capt. Lieut. G. Scott, vice Lennon,  
removed to the 19th regiment.
- 2d Bat*---Capt. G. Fowlis, vice Gas-  
coigne, promoted.
- 6th Regiment Native Infantry.*
- Lieut. A. Maxwell to be adjutant and  
quarter master, vice Hodgson.
- 1st Bat* Major F. Hefferman, vice Hun-  
ter, removed. Lieut. A. Adams to  
be adjutant, vice Maxwell.
- 2d Bat*---Capt. J. Hudson, vice Heffer-  
man, promoted. Capt. Lieut. G.  
Benfon, vice Hodgson, promoted.
- 8th Regiment Native Infantry.*
- 1st Bat*—Capt. Lieut. P. Bradshaw,  
vice Dawson, removed to the 19th  
regiment.
- 2d Bat*---Capt. J. Burnet, vice Don,  
removed to the 18th regiment.
- 9th Regiment Native Infantry.*
- 1st Bat*—Capt. R. Frazer, vice Smith,  
removed to the 18th regiment.
- 2d Bat*—Capt. J. Maxwell, pro-  
moted.
- 10th Regiment Native Infantry.*
- 1st Bat*—Capt. D. Lyons, vice Baker,  
removed to the 19th regiment. Capt.  
Lieut. D. Gillis, vice Lyons. Lieut.  
G. Macpherson to be adjutant.
- 2d Bat*—Lieut. Cummings to be adjutant.
- 11th Regiment Native Infantry.*
- 1st Bat*—Capt. Lieut. R. Hudson, pro-  
moted.
- 2d Bat*—Capt. Lieut. D. M'Leod, vice  
Ralph, removed to the 18th regiment.
- 12th Regiment Native Infantry.*
- 1st Bat*—Major J. Chamming, vice  
Ochterloney, removed to the 2d bat-  
talion. Capt. S. Wood, promoted.  
Lieut. M. Dunkin to be adjutant, vice  
Burk, removed.
- 2d Bat*—Lieut. Col. J. Collins, vice  
Watson, promoted. Major D. Och-  
terloney, vice Chamming, removed.  
Capt. Lieut. W. Raban, vice Powell,  
removed.
- 13th Regiment Native Infantry.*
- 1st Bat*—Lieut. J. Irvin to be adjutant,  
vice Grant, promoted.
- 2d Bat*—Capt. Lieut. S. Nangrave,  
vice Vanrennon, removed. Lieut. P.  
Gascoigne to be adjutant, vice Robert,  
removed to the 18th regiment.
- 14th Regiment Native Infantry.*
- Lieut. J. Leathart to be adjutant and  
quarter master, vice Howard.
- 1st Bat*—Capt. J. Martin, promoted.  
Capt. Lieut. H. Imlicke, vice Martin.



*2d Bat.*—Lieut. Robert Carruthers to be adjutant, vice Nicholls, removed.

*15th Regiment Native Infantry.*

*1st Bat.*—Lieut. J. Greenstreet to be adjutant, vice Smith, removed.

*16th Regiment Native Infantry.*

Capt. Lieut. P. Grant to be adjutant and quarter master, vice Leadbeater, removed.

*1st Bat.*—Capt. R. Henry, promoted.

*2d Bat.*—Capt. Lieut. P. Grant, vice Martin, removed.

*17th Regiment Native Infantry.*

Lieut. Atty Hennesey to be adjutant and quarter master, vice Campbell, removed to the 19th regiment.

*1st Bat.*—Lieut. Col. Bradshaw, vice Douglas, removed. Major W. Duff, vice Bradshaw, promoted. Capt. A. Chanon, vice Duff, promoted. Capt. Lieut. H. R. Patton, vice Chanon. Lieut. J. Patton to be adjutant, vice Hennesey.

*2d Bat.*—Capt. Charles White, vice Rind, removed to the 18th regiment.

*8th Reg. Native Infantry, Col. Watson.*

Lieut. W. A. Leadbeater to be adjutant and quarter master, from the 16th regt.

*1st Bat.*—Lieut. Col. J. Hutchinson, from the 3d regiment. Major J. Davidson, do. 4th do. Capt. R. Ralph, do. 11th do. Capt. F. J. Smith, removed from the 9th do. Capt. T. Alcock, do. do. 2d European do. Capt. Lieut. A. N. Smith, from the 15th native regiment. Lieut. J. O'Holloran, do. 1st do. do. Lieut. J. Y. Bradford, do. 8th do. Lieut. W. E. Leadbeater, do. 16th do. Lieut. W. M. Watson, do. 1st European do. Lieut. E. Clark, do. 9th native do. Lieut. Cock, do. 7th do. do. Lieut. Hair, do. 15th do. do. Lieut. Hanney, do. 10th do. do. Adjutant, Capt. Lieut. J. N. Smith.

*2d Bat.*—Lieut. Col. T. W. Clayton, promoted from the 5th native regiment. Major P. Don, do. do. 8th do. Capt. J. N. Kind, removed from the 17th do. Capt. G. Clancey, do. do. 1st European do. Capt. H. Lennon, do. do. 4th native do. Capt. J. Vanrennon, do. do. 15th do. do. Lieut. R. Hay, do. do. 3d do. do. Lieut. J. M'Grath, do. do. 7th do. do. Lieut. D. Robertson, do. do. 15th do. do. Lieut. W. Hamilton, do. do. 3d do. do. Lieut. T. F. Fagan, do. 2d do. do. Lieut. J. Slade, do. do. 11th do. do. Lieut. J. Williams, do. do. 9th do. do. Adjutant, Lieut. D. Robertson.

*To be Colonel*—Lieut. Col. Thomas Welsh; May 29, 1800.

*To be Lieut. Colonels*—Major George Hardaman, Thomas Wharton, John J. Pigott; May 29, 1800.

*1st Regiment*—Capt. L. Baily to be major, and appointed to the 5th regiment. Capt. Lieut. P. Black to be captain of a troop, vice Baily, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. William Mercer to be captain of a troop, and appointed to the 5th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. George Welsh to be captain-lieutenant, vice Black, promoted; May 29, 1800.

*To be Lieutenants*—Cornet Charles M. Roberts, and appointed to the 5th regiment. Cornet John Tombs, vice Mercer, promoted. Cornet Thomas Shubrick, vice Welsh, promoted. Cornet James Kennedy, and appointed to the 5th regiment. Cornet Richard Pepper, vice Clarke; May 29, 1800.

*2d Regiment*—Captain John Gordon to be major, vice Hardyman, promoted. Captain W. D. Fawcett to be major, and appointed to the 6th regiment. Captain Lieut. W. Toone to be captain of a troop, vice Gordon, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Captain A. Knox to be captain of a troop, vice Fawcett, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. George Mounsey to be captain of a troop, and appointed to the 6th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. Martin Fitzgerald to be captain-lieutenant, vice Toone, promoted; May 29, 1800.

*To be Lieutenants*—Cornet F. Latter, vice Knox, promoted. Cornet A. Cumming, and appointed to the 6th regiment. Cornet F. J. T. Johnston, vice Mounsey, promoted. Cornet R. Fry, and appointed to the 6th regiment. Cornet J. Mocklan, vice Fitzgerald, promoted. Cornet R. Sweetenham, vice O'Brien, removed to the 5th regiment; from May 29, 1800.

*3d Regiment*—Capt. T. S. Bateman to be major, vice Wharton, promoted. Capt. Lieut. C. Frazer to be captain of a troop, and appointed to the 5th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. Richard Doveton to be captain of a troop, vice Bateman, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. W. H. D. Knox to be captain-lieutenant, vice Frazer, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. C. Webber to be captain-lieutenant, and removed to the 5th regiment; May 29, 1800.

*To be Lieutenants*—Cornet C. Stewart, vice Doveton, promoted. Cornet J. Graham, vice Knox, promoted. Cornet



net G. Beecher, and appointed to the 5th regiment. Cornet J. H. R. Boileau, vice Webber, promoted. Cornet Charles Ryder, vice Sweetenham, appointed to the 6th regiment. Cornet Otto Clarke, and appointed to the 5th regiment; May 29, 1800.

*4th Regiment*—Capt. T. M'Gregor to be major, vice Pigott, promoted. Capt. Lieut. R. Nairne to be captain of a troop, vice M'Gregor, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. R. Armstrong to be captain-lieutenant, vice Nairne, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. John Smith to be captain-lieutenant, and appointed to the 6th regiment; May 29, 1800.

*To be Lieutenants*—Cornet Henry Shubrick, vice Graham, promoted. Cornet Thomas Knox, vice Armstrong, promoted. Cornet Thomas D. White, and appointed to the 6th regiment. Cornet E. T. Ridge, vice Smith, promoted. Cornet H. Ramsay, vice Houston, removed to the 6th regiment. Cornet H. Howarth, and appointed to the 5th regiment.

*Infantry, to be Colonels*—Lieut. Col. Edmund Lambert; May 29, 1800. Lieut. Col. Samuel Watfon; do.

*To be Lieutenant Colonels*—Majors and Brevet Lieut. Cols. Samuel Bradshaw, George Wood, Hercules Skinner, T. W. Clayton, Jonathan Wood, John Haynes; do.

*1st European Regiment*—Capt. H. F. Calcraft to be major, vice Wood, promoted. Capt. Lieut. J. Cunningham to be captain of a company, vice Calcraft, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. S. Kelly to be captain of a company, vice Clancey, removed to the 11th regiment. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. T. M. Wiguelin to be captain-lieutenant, vice Cunningham; do.

## JULY.

Capt. Thomas Brown to be major, vice Burrell, deceased. Capt. Lieut. G. Welsh to be captain of a troop, vice Brown, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. Hugh Rose, to be captain-lieutenant, vice Welsh, promoted. Cornet H. J. Pattle to be lieutenant, vice Rose, promoted; Jan. 16, 1800.

The under-mentioned cadets of cavalry, who have hitherto done duty in the infantry as ensigns, are, in consequence of the recent augmentation of the former corps, and conformably to their original appointments for the cavalry branch of the service, appointed cornets.

The date of their ranks as cornets will be hereafter adjusted:—

R. Stirling, J. Vernon, S. Reid, H. T. Roberts, W. Sewright, N. Hodges, B. Mather, W. Barbey, W. Thompson, W. B. Weston, J. Ralph, J. Jones, P. G. Cornish, J. Cauldfield, W. T. Sweetenham, C. B. Borlase, P. Dunbar, P. Crowe, W. Harper, T. Martin, A. W. Bureau, H. Hantry, W. C. Swendall, T. D. Stuart, J. Oake.

The following ensigns of infantry are promoted to the rank of lieutenants. The date of their ranks will be settled hereafter:—

J. Stewart, L. Davidfon, A. Todd, S. Frazer, G. Bridge, T. Clarke, A. Maxton, J. Hunter, W. Forrest, A. Stewart, A. Billingham, W. Turner, J. Campbell, J. Cunningham, P. T. Cunyn, J. Delamaine, R. T. Meredith, G. T. D. Auglar, J. M'Innes, H. Todd, J. Ramsay, T. P. Smith, J. Todd, T. Goodall, J. Pontor, W. Collier, C. Sleigh, H. S. Pepper, W. Black, S. Arden, G. White, C. W. Murray, H. Hodson, G. R. Penny, R. Hampton, A. Manners, A. Dixon, D. Kyan, T. Blakeney, H. Arbuthnot, J. Blanchard, W. Helme, G. Birch, J. M'Farlane, A. Dougal, A. Chatfield, J. H. Ken, J. Nesbitt, C. H. Baynes, R. A. C. Watfon, S. Patman, J. Delamaine, J. Alexander, J. P. Griffyn, J. N. Griffyn, J. George, R. H. Cornish, E. Morris, P. Begley, C. Brady, W. H. Wood, H. T. J. R. Wilson, J. Ferguson, A. M'Quinn, J. Fascott, S. Williams, J. Swinton, N. Manley, J. Lumisdaine, W. Swinton, J. M'Cartney, W. H. Carrington, C. F. Stuart, T. Audie, T. A. Shadwell, J. Orrock, J. Smith, W. Trower, H. Anderson, W. Ball, G. Knight, W. Short, G. Cooper, L. Landeg, J. Oliphant, J. B. Martin, A. R. Melard, A. H. E. Jackson, W. C. Faithfull, J. Patterfon, A. Hamilton, J. Bryant, H. W. Frith, C. Whitfield, A. Owen, L. Wiggins, J. Bell, J. M'Naughton, W. Menzies, J. Simpson, W. M'Pherfon, W. Hanley, H. Sibley, B. Rooke, J. Sibley, J. Jones, J. Murray, J. Scott, P. Phipps, H. Oake, R. U. Hales, J. R. Hodgson, J. Filcher, A. Stonard, J. H. Ashurst, W. Staig, J. Turton, A. Fortune, C. Martin, T. M'Gregor, F. C. Ellifon, W. M. Fountain, G. Warden.



## AUGUST.

*11th Regiment Native Infantry*—Capt. R. S. Allen to be major, vice Darby, deceased. Capt. Lieut. D. M'Leod to be captain of a company, vice Allen, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. C. W. Lambourne to be captain-lieutenant, vice M'Leod, promoted; August 23, 1800.

*8th Native Infantry*—Brevet Capt. and Capt. Lieut. P. Bradshaw to be captain of a company, vice Murray, retired from the service. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. R. Eaton to be captain-lieutenant, vice Bradshaw, promoted; July 31, 1800.

*Engineer Corps*—Brevet Capt. and Lieut. T. Robinson to be captain-lieutenant, vice ———, retired from the service; July 31, 1800.

## SEPTEMBER.

*2d Regiment Native Infantry*—Brevet Capt. and Capt. Lieut. C. Christie to be captain of a company, vice Capt. A. Davis, retired. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. T. Staunton to be captain-lieutenant, vice Christie, promoted; September 4, 1800.

*9th Regiment Native Infantry*—Brevet Capt. and Capt. Lieut. R. Frazer to be captain of a company, vice Capt. J. H. V. Dubois, retired. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. John Bullock to be captain-lieutenant, vice Frazer, promoted.

Major John Gerrard, deputy adjutant-general, to be adjutant-general, with the official rank of lieutenant-colonel, vice Lieut. Col. J. Darby, deceased. Capt. George Downie to the command of the Calcutta native militia. Capt. Salmond to be deputy military auditor general in the room of Capt. Downie; September 4, 1800.

## OCTOBER.

Major and Brevet Lieut. Col. J. Kearnan to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Boujannier, deceased; August 24, 1800.

*4th Native Regiment*—Capt. J. Edwards to be major, vice J. Kearnan, promoted. Capt. Lieut. G. Scott to be captain of a company, vice Edwards, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. G. Berkley to be captain, vice Scott, promoted; Aug. 24. Capt. Thos. Brougham to rank as captain of a company, vice Mouggach, deceased. Capt. Lieut. Charles Grant, vice Brougham; March 27.

Lieut. Pitman is removed from the 1st to the 2d battalion 6th native

regiment; and Lieut. Wright, from the 2d to the 1st battalion, in the room of Lieut. Pitman. Capt. A. Morrison, aid-de-camp to Major General Stuart, in the room of Major Duff. Capt. Lieut. W. Hill to be captain of a company, vice Jarret, deceased. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. Thomas Hickman to be captain-lieutenant, vice Hill, promoted. Lieut. J. Atkinson, of his Majesty's 10th reg. of foot, to be aid-de-camp to the Governor-general. Brevet Capt. William Campbell to be deputy adjutant general, with the official rank of major, in the room of J. Gerrard, promoted. James Williamson, assistant surgeon, to perform the duties of civil surgeon at the station of Juanpore; Oct. 2, 1800.

*3d Regiment Native Infantry*—Capt. Lieut. T. Hickman to be captain of a company, vice Hill, deceased. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. R. Francis to be captain-lieutenant, vice Hickman, promoted; Oct. 25, 1800.

## NOVEMBER.

*Cavalry*—Major J. Gordon to be lieutenant colonel, vice Frith, deceased; Oct. 5, 1800.

*2d Reg. of Cavalry*—Capt. W. Toone to be major, vice Gordon, promoted; Oct. 5. Capt. Lieut. M. Fitzgerald to be captain of a troop, vice Toone, promoted; Oct. 5. Lieutenant and Brevet Capt. R. C. Jackson to be captain lieutenant, vice Fitzgerald, promoted; Oct. 5.

*Cavalry*—Major T. Bateman (in Europe,) from the 3d regiment, to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Pigot, deceased; Nov. 13.

*3d Reg. of Cavalry*—Captain C. Middleton to be major, vice Bateman, promoted; November 13. Capt. Lieut. W. H. D. Knox to be captain of a troop, vice Middleton, promoted; Nov. 13. Lieut. J. Nuthal to be captain-lieutenant, vice Knox, promoted; Nov. 13.

*Calcutta European Militia.*

*Cavalry*—Cornet Ledlie to be lieutenant, vice Macnaghten, promoted; Nov. 12, 1799. Lieut. J. T. Browne to be captain of a troop, vice Cockerell, on furlough; March 10, 1800. Cornet M. G. Prendergast to be lieutenant, vice Browne, promoted; March 10. Mr. C. Roberfon to be cornet, vice Prendergast, promoted; March 10. Mr. S. Davis to be a supernumerary cornet; Nov. 1.

*Infantry*—Capt. R. Bathurst to be major,



for, vice Belli, on furlough; March 10. Lieut. J. Cotton to be captain of a company, vice Bathurst, promoted; March 10. Ensign J. Addison to be lieutenant, vice Cotton, promoted; March 10. Ensign J. Lumfden to be lieutenant, vice Dashwood, resigned; Nov. 1. Lieut. R. W. Cox to be captain of a company, vice H. Buller, deceased; Nov. 1. Ensign G. Udney to be lieutenant, vice Cox, promoted; Nov. 1.

## DECEMBER.

Mr. J. Fleming, second member of the medical board, to be first member of that board, from the 9th instant; and Dr. F. Balfour to be second member of the board, from this date, in the room of Mr. Fleming.

Captain J. Salmond, deputy military auditor general, to be military auditor general, from the 9th of this month, in the room of Capt. G. A. Robinson, gone to Europe; and Capt. S. Green to be deputy military auditor general, from this date, in the room of Capt. Salmond.

Lieut. Colonel J. Collins to be colonel of a regiment, vice Lambert, retired; May 29.

*6th Native Reg.*—Major R. Walker to be lieutenant colonel, vice Collins, promoted; December 8. Captain J. Eales to be major, vice Walker, promoted; December 8. Capt. Lieut. G. Benson to be captain of a company, vice Eales, promoted; December 8. Lieutenant and Brevet Capt. S. White to be captain-lieutenant, vice Benson, promoted; December 8.

## FEBRUARY.

Major T. Polhill to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Higgins, deceased; Jan. 4, 1801.

*7th Reg. N. I.*—Captain W. Craggs to be major, vice Polhill, promoted; Jan. 4, 1801. Capt. Lieut. G. Cruittenden to be captain of a company, vice Craiggs, promoted; 4th do. Lieutenant and Brevet Capt. B. Kelly to be captain-lieutenant, vice Cruittenden; 4th do. Lieut. Col. R. Rayne to be colonel of a regiment, in the room of Major General C. Morgan, retired; Jan. 8. Major J. Clarkson to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Rayne, promoted; Jan. 8.

*8th Reg. N. I.*—Captain R. Wetherstone to be major, vice Clarkson, promoted; 8th do. Capt. L. R. Eyton to be captain of a company, vice We-

therstone, promoted; 8th do. Lieutenant and Brevet Capt. J. Dewar to be captain-lieutenant, vice Eyton, promoted; 8th do.

*17th Reg. N. I.*—Captain R. M. Bagshaw to be captain of a company, vice D'Esterre, deceased; Jan. 13. Lieutenant and Brevet Capt. A. Hennefy to be captain-lieutenant, vice Bagshaw, promoted; Jan. 13.

Capt. H. Cheape, of the 15th regiment N. I. is appointed major of brigade, in the room of Capt. N. Rind resigned.

Major W. Griffiths to be aid-du-camp to the governor general, in the room of Lieutenant B. Sydenham.

Colonel Watson is appointed to the command of the 11th native regiment, in the room of — Morgan, retired.

Colonel R. Rayne is posted to the 18th native regiment, in the room of Watson, removed.

Lieut. Col. Polhill is appointed to the 1st battalion 1st native regiment, vice Rayne, promoted.

Major Craggs is appointed to the 1st battalion, Capt. G. Cruittenden to the 2d battalion, and Capt. Lieut. B. Kelly to the 1st battalion of the 7th native regiment.

Major Wetherstone and Capt. Eyton are posted to the 2d battalion, and Capt. Lieut. Dewar to the 1st battalion, 8th native regiment.

Lieut. J. Kerr is appointed adjutant and quarter-master of the 8th native regiment, in the room of Eyton, promoted.

## MARCH.

*Calcutta Militia, Cavalry*—The hon. Capt. H. Wellefley, from the Calcutta militia infantry, to be major commandant, vice Farquharson, on furlough; March 1.

*Infantry*—Eldest Lieut. G. Dowdeswell to be captain of a company, vice the hon. H. Wellefley, promoted in the cavalry. Lieutenant in second, R. Campbell to be lieutenant, vice Dowdeswell, promoted; March 1.

Capt. Lieut. C. Wyatt to be captain, vice Pearson, deceased; December 10, 1800.

Lieutenant and Brevet Capt. J. Mowatt to be captain-lieutenant, vice Wyatt, promoted; December 10.

Ensign J. Gordon to be lieutenant, vice Mowatt, promoted; December 10.

Ensign H. W. C. Smith to be lieutenant, vice Stokoe, deceased; Feb. 21, 1801.

Ensign H. Wilson to be lieutenant, vice M'Donald, retired; Feb. 21.



Mr. J. H. Jones, cadet, to be ensign, vice Gordon, promoted, December 10, 1800.

Mr. J. Wilson, cadet, to be ensign, vice Smith, promoted; Jan. 13, 1801.

*Infantry*—Major H. White to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Douglas, retired; Feb. 21. Major G. Martindale to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Cox, retired; Feb. 21.

*10th Native Reg.*—Capt. J. Burnett to be major, vice White, promoted; Feb. 21. Capt. Lieut. D. Gillies to be captain of a company, vice Burnett, promoted; Feb. 21. Lieutenant and Brevet Captain G. Macmeron to be captain-lieutenant, vice Gillies, promoted; Feb. 21.

*12th Native Reg.*—Capt. A. Hamilton to be major, vice Canning, retired; Feb. 21. Capt. Lieut. W. Raban to be captain of a company, vice Hamilton, promoted; Feb. 21. Lieutenant

and Brevet Capt. J. Kelly to be captain-lieutenant, vice Raban, promoted; Feb. 21.

*13th Nat. Reg.*—Capt. N. Colebrooke to be major, vice Martindale, promoted; Feb. 21. Captain Lieut. L. W. Nangrave to be captain of a company, vice Colebrooke, promoted; Feb. 21. Lieutenant and Brevet Capt. C. Grieg to be captain-lieutenant, vice Nangrave, promoted; Feb. 21.

*18th do.*—Capt. Lieut. T. S. Smith to be captain of a company, vice Clancey, deceased; Jan. 5. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. J. O'Halloran to be captain-lieutenant, vice Smith promoted; Jan. 5.

*Artillery*—Lieutenant and Brevet Capt. C. Gale to be captain-lieutenant, vice Toppin, retired; Feb. 21. Lieutenant-Fireworker M. W. Browne to be lieutenant, vice Gale, promoted; Jan. 21.

## MADRAS.

### *In the Hon. COMPANY'S Troops.*

*By the Right Hon. the Governor in Council.*

Fort St. George, APRIL, 1800.

*7th Reg. Nat. Infantry*—Capt. Lieut. A. Marshall to be captain of a company, vice Holford invalid; April 7, 1800. Capt. Lieut. J. Ahier to be adjutant and quarter-master, vice A. Marshall, promoted; do.

*3d Reg. Native Cavalry*—Lieut. P. McGill to be quarter-master, vice Dunn. Lieut. Dandridge to be adjutant, vice Rawles, on furlough to Europe.

Lieut. D. Foulis to be brigade major to the second brigade of native cavalry, vice Walker, resigned.

MAY.

Captain T. Wilson to be muster master in the southern division, vice Cunningham, resigned.

Captain H. Webber to be acting muster master in the centre division, vice Wynn, on leave of absence.

Mr. Surgeon Millar to return to his station at Madura.

*6th Reg. Native Cavalry*—Cornet John Smith to be lieutenant, vice Balmer, deceased; May 12,

*1st Reg. Native Cavalry*—Capt. William Elliott to be major, vice Watson, deceased. Capt. Lieut. John Doveton to be captain of a troop, vice Elliott. Lieut. G. Neale to be captain-lieutenant, vice Doveton. Cornet Richard Otto Bayer to be lieutenant, vice Neale; May 8.

*1st Reg. Native Infantry*—Lieut. R. E. Mainwaring to be adjutant and quarter-master, vice Marriot, promoted. Lieut. Richard Barker to be adjutant to the 2d battalion, vice Mainwaring.

Messrs. Assistant Surgeons Dalton and Steddy to be surgeons, the former to the 16th and the latter to the 17th regt. native infantry.

Mr. Surgeon Galloway is removed from the 6th to the 15th regt. native infantry.

Mr. Assistant Surgeon Street to do duty at Tiagar and Autore, vice Dalton.

Mr. Assistant Surgeon Scarman to do duty at Ramnad, vice Steddy.

*Cavalry, 6th Regiment*—Lieut. Thomas Walcott to be captain-lieutenant, vice Grange, retired. Cornet James Balmer to be lieutenant, vice Walcott; May 7.

*Infantry*—Lieut. Col. T. Leighton to be colonel, and to command the 8th regiment



ment of native infantry, vice Cuppage, retired; May 7. Major J. Brunton, of the 1st regiment of native infantry, to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Leighton; May 7.

*1st Reg.*—Capt. T. Fenn to be major, vice Brunton; May 7. Capt. Lieut. T. Marriott to be captain of a company, vice Fenn; May 7. Lieut. R. Brice to be captain-lieutenant, vice Marriott; May 7.

*2d do.*—Capt. Lieut. T. Steele to be captain of a company, vice Groce, deceased; May 1. Lieut. J. Marshall to be captain-lieutenant, vice Steele; May 1.

*8th do.*—Captain T. Munro to be major, vice Home, retired; May 7. Capt. Lieut. J. Colebrooke to be captain of a company, vice Munro; May 7. Lieut. G. Wahab to be captain-lieutenant, vice Colebrooke; May 7.

*5th Reg. Nat. Infantry*—Capt. Lieut. A. Macleod to be captain of a company, vice Butler, invalided; May 7. Lieut. G. Lauder to be captain-lieutenant, vice Macleod; May 7.

#### JUNE.

*10th Regt. Native Infantry*—Lieut. M. Hawes to be captain-lieutenant, vice Peacock, deceased; May 30, 1800. Mr. Assistant Surgeon Jones is appointed to the 2d battalion 4th native regiment, vice Scarman, removed.

The right hon. the Governor in Council having resolved to augment the forces under this presidency by one regiment of native cavalry, to be denominated the 7th regiment, and by two regiments of native infantry, to be denominated the 18th and 19th regiments, directs that such corps be raised forthwith, and that the necessary orders towards their formation, as well in regard to drafts being furnished from established regiments, as to the most convenient stations at which these new levies can be raised, and to the requisite recruiting taking place, be issued by the officer commanding the army in chief.

In consequence of the new levies ordered above, the following promotions are to have effect from this date:

*Cavalry*—Eldest Major W. Sheriff, from the 2d, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 7th regiment native cavalry.

*2d Regt.*—Capt. T. Burrows to be major, vice Sheriff. Captain-lieutenant H. C. Montgomery to be captain of a troop, vice Burrows. Lieut. M. Colby to be captain-lieutenant, vice Montgomery. Cornet E. Saunders to be

lieutenant, vice Colby. Eldest Capt. J. R. Huddleston, from the 3d, to be major of the 7th native cavalry.

*3d Regt.*—Capt. Lieut. J. Dunn to be captain of a troop, vice Huddleston. Lieut. C. Dallas to be captain-lieutenant, vice Dunn. Cornet R. Bell to be lieutenant, vice Dallas. Captain J. Hargrave, from the 5th, to be captain of a troop in the 7th regiment native cavalry.

*5th do.*—Capt. Lieut. G. Kippen to be captain of a troop, vice Hargrave. Lieut. J. Maclean to be captain-lieutenant, vice Kippen. Cornet E. L. Smyth to be lieutenant, vice Maclean. Eldest Capt. Lieut. W. Macgregor, from the 4th, to be captain of a troop in the 7th regiment of native cavalry.

*4th do.*—Lieut. H. Mackay to be captain-lieutenant, vice Macgregor. Cornet G. Dade to be lieutenant, vice Mackay. Eldest Lieut. J. Overend, from the 4th, to be captain-lieutenant of the 7th regiment native cavalry.

*4th do.*—Cornet R. Palin to be lieutenant, vice Overend. Lieut. A. D. Monteath, from the second, to be senior lieutenant of the 7th regiment native cavalry.

*2d do.*—Cornet F. Walker to be lieutenant, vice Monteath. Lieut. J. Doveton, from the 5th, to be lieutenant in the 7th regiment native cavalry.

*5th do.*—Cornet I. I. I. L. Bonomi to be lieutenant, vice Doveton. Lieut. I. H. Skinner, from the 3d, to be lieutenant in the 7th reg. native cavalry.

*3d do.*—Cornet M. West to be lieutenant, vice Skinner. Lieut. C. Hamilton, from the 1st, to be lieutenant in the 7th regiment native cavalry.

*1st do.*—Cornet R. Bryant to be lieutenant, vice Hamilton. Lieut. J. Smith, from the 6th, to be lieutenant in the 7th regiment native cavalry.

*6th do.*—Cornet R. Ormsby to be lieutenant, vice Smith. Eldest Cornet A. Macleod, from the 5th, to be lieutenant in the 7th regiment native cavalry.

*5th do.*—Cornet P. Anderson, from the 4th, to be cornet.

#### *Infantry.*

*To be Colonels*—Lieut. Colonels F. Torrens and C. Lalande: the former to be colonel of the 18th, and the latter to be colonel of the 19th regiment of native infantry.

*To be Lieut. Colonels*—Major T. Poole, J. L. Bannerman, F. Capper, J. Cuppage, R. Lang, and A. Lindsay.

*2d Reg.*



- 2d Reg.---Capt. T. Riddle to be major, vice Poole. Capt. Lieut. J. Marshall to be captain of a company, vice Riddle. Lieut. A. McIntosh to be captain-lieutenant, vice Marshall.
- 3d do.---Capt. W. Sheppard to be major, vice Bannerman. Captain Lieut. J. Welsh to be captain of a company, vice Sheppard. Lieut. J. L. Jones to be captain-lieutenant, vice Welsh.
- 4th do.---Capt. J. Darley to be major, vice Capper. Capt. Lieut. J. Maitland to be captain of a company, vice Darley. Lieut. J. Ceville to be captain-lieutenant, vice Maitland.
- 5th do.---Capt. Irton to be major, vice Cuppage. Capt. Lieut. G. Lauder to be captain of a company, vice Irton. Lieut. H. Frazer to be captain-lieutenant, vice Lauder.
- 6th do.---Capt. A. Robertson to be major, vice Lang. Capt. Lieut. H. Nail to be captain of a company, vice Robertson. Lieut. J. Lorani to be captain-lieutenant, vice Nail.
- 7th do.---Capt. R. Harden to be major, vice Lindfay. Capt. Lieut. J. Aheir to be captain of a company, vice Harden. Lieut. A. Browne to be captain-lieutenant, vice Aheir. Second Major T. Parkison, from the 9th, to be first major in the 18th regiment native infantry.
- 9th do.---Capt. W. Macleod to be major, vice Parkison. Capt. Lieut. E. Boardman to be captain of a company, vice Macleod. Lieut. T. A. Frazer to be captain-lieutenant, vice Boardman. Second Major M. Macgregor, from the 10th, to be first major in the 19th regiment native infantry.
- 10th do.---Capt. P. Dallas to be major, vice Macgregor. Capt. Lieut. M. Hawes to be captain of a company, vice Dallas. Lieut. W. Shaw to be captain-lieutenant, vice Hawes. Capt. R. Mealey, from the 11th, to be major in the 18th regiment native infantry.
- 11th do.---Capt. Lieut. R. Ogg to be captain of a company, vice Mealey. Lieut. J. H. Desborough to be captain-lieutenant, vice Ogg. Capt. E. M. Gepp, from the 12th, to be major in the 19th regiment native infantry.
- 12th do.---Capt. Lieut. J. Spence to be captain of a company, vice Gepp. Lieut. T. Younge to be captain-lieutenant, vice Spence. Capt. A. Maccally, from the 13th, to be eldest captain in the 18th regiment native infantry.
- 13th Reg.---Capt. Lieut. G. Hamilton to be captain of a company, vice Maccally. Lieut. J. D. Gordon to be captain-lieutenant, vice Hamilton. Capt. P. Maypothor, from the 14th, to be eldest captain in the 19th regiment native infantry.
- 14th do.---Capt. Lieut. M. M. Smyth to be captain of a company, vice Maypothor. Lieut. B. Dodd to be captain-lieutenant, vice Smyth. Captain A. Grant, from the 15th, to be captain in the 18th regiment native infantry.
- 15th do.---Capt. Lieut. R. W. W. Mathews to be captain of a company, vice Grant. Lieut. J. Campbell to be captain-lieutenant, vice Mathews. Capt. J. Malcolm, from the 17th, to be captain in the 19th regiment native infantry.
- 17th do.---Capt. Lieut. M. Stuart to be captain of a company, vice Malcolm. Lieut. B. Newfome to be captain-lieutenant, vice Stuart. Capt. P. Bruce, from the Madras European regiment, to be captain in the 18th regiment native regiment.
- Madras European Reg.*---Capt. Lieut. Sir J. Cox, Bart. to be captain of a company, vice Bruce. Lieut. F. Thomson to be captain-lieutenant, vice Cox. Capt. N. Forbes, from the 1st, to be captain in the 19th regiment native infantry.
- 1st do.---Capt. Lieut. R. Brice to be captain of a company, vice Forbes. Lieut. J. Hazlewood to be captain-lieutenant, vice Brice. Capt. C. B. Philipson, from the 3d, to be captain in the 18th regiment native infantry.
- 3d do.---Capt. Lieut. J. L. Jones to be captain of a company, vice Philipson. Lieut. C. Aldridge to be captain-lieutenant, vice Jones. Capt. J. Walker, from the 4th, to be captain in the 19th regiment native infantry.
- 4th do.---Capt. Lieut. L. Ceville to be captain of a company, vice Walker. Lieut. N. T. Showers to be captain-lieutenant, vice Ceville. Capt. A. Muirhead, from the 6th, to be captain in the 18th regiment native infantry.
- 6th do.---Capt. Lieut. J. Lorani to be captain of a company, vice Muirhead. Lieut. W. Chambers to be captain-lieutenant, vice Lorani. Captain T. Whitley, from the 8th, to be captain in the 19th regiment native infantry.
- 8th do.---Capt. Lieut. G. Wahab to be captain of a company, vice Whitley. Lieut. H. Macintosh to be captain-lieutenant, vice Wahab. Capt. E. Boardman,



man, from the 9th, to be captain in the 18th regiment native infantry.

9th do.---Capt. Lieut. T. A. Frazer to be captain of a company, vice Boardman. Lieut. J. P. Keafeburry to be captain-lieutenant, vice Frazer. Captain R. Ogg, from the 11th, to be captain in the 19th regiment native infantry.

11th do.---Capt. Lieut. J. H. Desborough to be captain of a company, vice Ogg. Lieut. T. Vaughan to be captain-lieutenant, vice Desborough. Captain Lieut. E. P. Long, from the 16th, to be captain in the 18th regiment native infantry.

16th do.---Lieut. D. M'Donnell to be captain-lieutenant, vice Long. Capt. Lieut. J. D. Gordon, from the 13th, to be captain in the 19th regiment native infantry.

13th do.---Lieut. G. Lang to be captain-lieutenant, vice Gordon. Lieut. T. Baynes, from the 14th, to be captain-lieutenant in the 18th regiment native infantry. Lieut. T. Coghlan, from the 15th, to be captain-lieutenant in the 19th regiment native infantry.

18th do.---Lieutenants R. Sheppard from the 17th, R. Marriott from the 1st, J. Prendergast from the 5th, R. Heming from the 8th, E. F. Davis from the 10th, E. Macleod from the 13th, C. H. Powell from the 16th, S. MacDowall from the Madras European regiment, G. Hilliard from the 2d, W. I. Jones from the 4th, E. Hay from the 6th, W. F. Blakemore from the 9th, and J. D. Compton from the 12th, to be lieutenants.

19th do.---Lieutenants J. Storey from the Madras European regiment, D. C. Kenny from the 2d, S. Taylor from the 7th, J. Wisset from the 9th, J. Taylor from the 12th, R. W. Davis from the 14th, C. T. Bishop from the 17th, C. Burrow from the 1st, H. M. Kelly from the 3d, G. Nare from the 5th, R. Foster from the 7th, M. Hope from the 10th, and H. Hurdis from the 13th, to be lieutenants.

16th do.---Lieutenants J. Edmonds, from the 8th, and J. Woulfe, from the 11th, to be lieutenants.

#### JULY.

5th Reg. Nat. Cavalry---Capt. Lieut. J. Maclean to be captain of a troop, vice Geekie, transferred to the non-effective establishment. Lieut. J. Colebrooke to be captain-lieutenant, vice Maclean, promoted. Cornet P. Anderson to be lieutenant, vice Colebrooke, promoted; June 28, 1800.

The Right Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to appoint Capt. T. Boles to be secretary to Colonel D. Burn. Capt. P. Walker to be subordinate agent for cavalry supplies to the 4th regiment native cavalry. Capt. W. M'Gregor to be subordinate agent for cavalry supplies, to the 7th regiment native cavalry. Capt. T. Wilson to be acting deputy quarter-master-general to the army. Major R. Turing to be honorary aid-de-camp to the governor. Lieut. J. Munro to be deputy secretary to the military board, vice Grant. Capt. R. Shaw to be muster master in the southern division, vice Wilson. Capt. W. Berkeley to be post-master with the subsidiary force, vice Boardman, removed from the subsidiary force. Lieut. J. Colebrooke to be subordinate agent for cavalry supplies to the 5th regiment of native cavalry, vice Geekie, transferred to the invalid establishment. Lieut. Col. Campbell, of his Majesty's 74th regiment, to resume the command of Pondicherry.

The following persons are appointed conductors of ordnance, at the recommendation of the officer commanding the army in chief:—Weibeli, store serjeant at Palamcotah; J. Wilson, do. at Trichinopoly; W. Mackay, do. at Kistnagherry; T. Robinson, serjeant H. M. 33d regiment; M. Dunn, Artillery; P. Smith, do.

9th Reg. Nat. Infantry---Capt. Lieut. P. Keasberry to be captain of a company, vice M'Cally, deceased. Eldest Lieut. J. Fitzpatrick to be captain-lieutenant, vice Keasberry; July 1, 1800. Capt. Leith to be Persian interpreter to head-quarters, with the usual allowance.

Capt. Lieut. Thomson, of the Madras European regiment, to be major of brigade to Colonel Vigor, vice Munro.

Major General D. Campbell, commandant of cavalry; Major General T. Trent, of infantry; and Capt. Lieut. T. Walcot, having been permitted by the Hon. the Court of Directors to return to their station on this establishment without prejudice to their rank, are accordingly admitted with their rank in the army.

The following gentlemen to be cadets of infantry on this establishment:—Messrs. T. Becket and J. Kirwon, of the season 1798; Messrs. J. Ford, W. Bennett, H. A. P. Williams, W. Pell, R. Parminter, J. Brush, D. Carstairs, R. Davis, H. Y. Kent, T. Jenkins, L. Poignand, W. Poignand, J. W. H. Howell,



H. Howell, E. Conny, R. B. Scott, A. C. Hamilton, J. B. Greaves, R. Peacock, J. Robinson, G. Shepherd, W. Barrett, H. J. Clofe, J. Simons, J. L. Charlesworth, J. Y. Porter, B. Baker, J. T. Trewman, E. Ormsby, A. R. Hughes, H. L. Harrington, E. Norris, J. Cantwell, H. Mackenzie, A. Stewart, G. Jeffreys, B. J. Pidding, J. C. Williamson, H. W. Sale, J. Moore, R. West, D. Hay, R. M'Creith, J. Armstrong, T. Simpson, B. Woodward, W. H. Loftrie, J. W. Brown, T. Smithwaite, J. Lucas, W. Brown, G. Cadell, H. E. Somerville, G. Hankin, R. Bye, W. Scott, R. Wooldridge.

Capt. Holford, of the invalid establishment, to be fort adjutant of Vizagapatam, vice Hamilton.

Lieut. Sheridan, of the invalid establishment, to be fort adjutant of Masulipatam, vice Reynolds.

Lieut. J. Patterfon, of the 2d battalion 11th regiment, to be fort adjutant of Vellore, vice Jones.

*Artillery*---Lieut. W. Blair to be captain-lieutenant, vice Mackie, permitted to resign. Lieut. W. Stone to be captain-lieutenant, vice Ruffel, transferred to the pension list; July 12, 1800.

## SEPTEMBER.

Messrs. G. L. Wahab, and J. Wahab, to be cadets of infantry.

Ensign E. Malton, from the engineer corps, to be lieutenant of infantry.

Serjeant Major Mills, of the 5th native infantry, to be conductor of ordnance

*5th Reg. Nat. Cavalry*---Captain Lieut. J. Colebrooke to be captain of a troop, vice Kippen, transferred to the invalid list; Sept. 23, 1800. Lieut. H. Mason to be captain-lieutenant, vice Colebrooke, promoted; Sept. 12. Major R. Powis, of the 12th regiment native infantry, has permission to proceed to Europe on sick certificate.

## OCTOBER.

*10th Reg. Nat. Infantry*---Capt. Lieut. W. Shaw to be captain of a company, vice Ormsby, deceased. Lieut. E. B. Bagshaw to be captain-lieutenant, vice Shaw, promoted; Oct. 17, 1800.

## NOVEMBER.

*15th Reg. Nat. Infantry*---Capt. Lieut. J. Campbell to be captain of a company vice Matthews, deceased. Lieut. J. Stonard to be captain-lieutenant, vice Campbell, promoted; Aug. 14, 1800.

Major General D. Campbell to be a general officer on the staff of the army under this presidency, and to command the forces stationed in the provinces recently ceded to the Hon. Company by his highness the Nizam.

Lieut. A. Limond to be adjutant of the 2d battalion 15th regiment native infantry, vice Stonard, promoted.

Mr. G. Kearns having been appointed to a commission in his Majesty's 19th regiment, is permitted to resign his situation in the Hon. Company's service.

Serjeant Major Reddy, of the 2d battalion 7th regiment native infantry, is appointed to be adjutant to the 1st Madras battalion, vice Kearns.

Mr. Assistant Surgeon D. M'Gibbon is appointed medical store-keeper at Masulipatam.

Mr. Surgeon Steddy is removed from the 17th to the 11th regiment of native infantry.

Mr. Wise, senior assistant surgeon, to be full surgeon, vice Haliburton, deceased, and is posted to the 17th regiment native infantry, vice Steddy, removed.

*3d Reg. Nat. Cavalry*---Cornet S. Chitty to be lieutenant, vice Dandridge, deceased; Nov. 15, 1800. Lieut. R. Bell to be adjutant, vice Dandridge.

*4th do.*---Cornet T. Darke, senior cornet of cavalry, is removed to the 5th regiment of native cavalry.

*5th do.*---Cornet T. Darke to be lieutenant, to complete the establishment; December 2.

*1st Bat. 18th Reg. Native Infantry*---Lieut. E. F. Davis to be adjutant, vice Sheppard.

The medical department in the districts lately ceded by his highness the Nizam to be placed under the superintendance of a head surgeon, the following arrangements are to take place in consequence:

Mr. Head Surgeon J. Briggs, on furlough, is appointed to the ceded districts.

Mr. H. Miller, senior surgeon, is appointed an acting head surgeon, and to do duty in the ceded districts during the absence of Mr. Briggs.

Mr. Tait, late surgeon of Tanjore, and at present supernumerary, to do duty in the garrison of Madura, vice Miller.

Mr. J. Street, senior assistant surgeon, is promoted to the rank of full surgeon, and appointed to the 5th regiment of native cavalry, vice Crilly, deceased.

Mr. Assistant Surgeon T. Owen is removed



moved from the 1st battalion 13th regiment, and appointed to do duty in the garrisons of Attore and Tiagar, vice Street, promoted.

Mr. J. Annesley to be an assistant surgeon in the 1st battalion 13th regiment of native infantry, vice Owen, removed.

## DECEMBER.

The following gentlemen cadets to be lieutenants on the establishment :---

*Artillery*---Messrs. M. H. Court, G. W. Poignand, and R. B. Scott.

*Infantry*---Messrs. T. Becket, cadet of the season 1798, J. Kirwan, do. J. Ford, H. A. P. Williams, J. Brush, R. Davis, H. Y. Kent, T. Jenkins, L. Poignand, E. Conry, A. C. Hamilton, J. P. Greaves, G. Shepherd, H. J. Clofe, J. Simons, J. Y. Porter, B. Baker, J. T. Trewman, E. Ormsby, A. R. Hughes, E. Norris, J. Cantwell, A. Stewart, G. Jeffreys, B. J. Pidding, J. C. Williamson, H. W. Sale, J. Moore, R. West, D. Hay, W. H. Loftie, J. W. Brown, W. Brown, G. Cadell, H. E. Somerville, J. Pearson, J. George, M. Blackiston, C. Palk, J. Hall, G. Sandford, H. A. Purchas, H. Davie, A. Macleod, P. Davie, W. Fernuhaugh, J. Cox, J. Walker, T. Hodgson, T. King, J. A. Kelly, G. L. Wahab, J. Wahab, G. L. Nixon.

Colonel U. Vigors to command the subsidiary force serving with his highness the Nizam, vice Dalrymple, deceased.

Colonel F. Gowdie to command the Northern division of the army until further orders, vice Vigors.

Major E. Cooke, of the Bombay establishment, to be barrack master in the province of Canara.

Captain Lewis, of the Bombay establishment, to be barrack master in the province of Malabar.

Capt. A. Strahan to be barrack master in the territories ceded by his highness the Nizam to the Honourable Company.

Capt. J. Wilson, of the 1st battalion 4th regiment, to be muster-master in the ceded districts.

*Corps of Artillery*---Major General W. Sydenham to be colonel of the 1st battalion of artillery, and to be commandant of the corps of artillery, vice Geils, struck off. Major General D. Smith to be colonel of the 2d battalion of artillery. Major C. Carlisle to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Smith, promoted. Capt. R. Bell to be major, vice Carlisle, promoted. Capt. Lieut. Sir J. Sin-

clair, bart. to be captain of a company, vice Bell, promoted. Lieutenant G. Steele to be captain-lieutenant, vice Sinclair, promoted; December 25. 1800.

Lieutenant Colonel J. Brunton to succeed Major General Sydenham in the office of military auditor general. Capt. P. Bruce to be deputy military auditor general; and Lieut. J. Prendergast to be head assistant to the military auditor general.

## JANUARY, 1801.

Lieut. J. Falconer, now fort adjutant at Poonamalie, to be fort adjutant at Gooty.

Lieut. G. Wilson, now the fort adjutant at Chittledroog, to be fort adjutant at Poonamalie, vice Falconer, removed.

Serjeant Major J. Clements is promoted to be adjutant of European and Native Invalids, vice Pippett, deceased.

## FEBRUARY.

*17th Reg. Nat. Infantry*---Captain W. Davison to be major, vice Gomonde, retired. Capt. Lieut. B. Newsome to be captain of a company, vice Davison, promoted. Lieut. P. Grant to be captain-lieutenant, vice Newsome, promoted; Feb. 6, 1801. Lieutenant R. Mears is posted to the 17th native regiment, in which he will rank next below Lieut. A. Jones, and above Lieut. J. Falconer.

*Madras European Reg.*---Captain H. Webber to be major, vice Munro, deceased. Capt. Lieut. J. Munro to be captain of a company, vice Webber, promoted. Lieut. A. Andrews to be captain-lieutenant, vice Munro, promoted; Dec. 24, 1800. Lieut. H. Yarde to be quarter-master, vice Andrews, promoted. Capt. J. De Morgan, of the 2d battalion 15th regiment native infantry, to be muster-master in the center division of the army, vice Webber, promoted.

## MARCH.

The following gentlemen cadets to be lieutenants of infantry :---B. B. Parlby, (cadet of 1798); Aug. 7, 1799. J. Hankins, (cadet of 1799,) J. B. Frankis, H. Barlow, J. Sadler, R. MacCreith, H. L. Harington, R. Parminster, D. Carlstairs, J. Armstrong, W. F. Stewart, R. Peacock, R. Bye, W. Barrett, W. Benett, J. S. Frazer, J. M. Coombs, B. Woodward, J. Lucas, T. Smithwaite, J. Brown, W. Pell, F. Sampson, G. Hankin, H. Downs, T. Strange,



T. Strange, J. W. H. Howell, G. Collier, H. M'Kinzie, G. Young, J. Taggari; July 15, 1800.

*7th Regt. Native Infantry*—Capt. A. Greenhill to be major, vice Hardin, deceased; Feb. 21, 1801. Captain Lieut. A. Brown to be captain of a company, vice Greenhill, promoted; do. Lieut. H. S. Scott to be captain lieutenant, vice Brown, promoted; do. Lieut. C. Heath to be adjutant to the 2d battalion 7th regiment native infantry, vice Scott, promoted.

*5th do.*—Capt. Lieut. G. M'Gregor to be captain of a company, vice M'Leod, struck off; March 3, 1801. Lieut. J. S. Blofield to be captain lieutenant, vice M'Gregor, promoted; do.

Lieut. H. W. Wakefield is appointed to succeed Lieut. Harding as adjutant to 2d battalion 14th regiment; and Lieut. I. C. Stoke to succeed Lieut. Price as adjutant to the 2d battalion 9th regiment native infantry.

Serjeant Hunter, of the 2d battalion of the 1st native regiment, is appointed a conductor of ordnance.

The Governor in Council is pleased to order the following medical promotions, removals, and appointments to take place: Messrs. J. White, and R. Sherwood to be assistant surgeons, the former at the presidency general hospital, and the latter as assistant to the garrison surgeon at Fort St. George, vice Foljambe, ordered on field service.

Mr. Senior Surgeon H. Harris is appointed an acting head surgeon, and to superintend the medical department in the southern division of Malabar, vice James, on furlough to Europe.

Mr. Surgeon C. Fleming is appointed to the Madras European regiment, vice Harris, promoted; and Mr. Surgeon G. Dunbar to the garrison of Ganjam, vice Fleming, removed.

Mr. Senior Assistant Surgeon R. Addi-

son is promoted to the rank of a full surgeon, and appointed to the 3d regiment of native cavalry, vice Dunbar, removed.

Mr. Assistant Surgeon J. Grant is removed from the 1st regiment of native cavalry to the 2d battalion 18th regiment native infantry. Mr. Assistant Surgeon J. Best is appointed to the 1st regiment of native cavalry, vice Grant, removed; and Mr. C. Mackabe to do duty under the staff surgeon with the detachment commanded by Lieut. Col. Innes, vice Palmer, deceased.

Mr. Assistant Surgeon Cordiner is appointed to the 2d battalion 4th regiment native infantry, vice Gilchrist, deceased.

Mr. Assistant Surgeon T. Evans is appointed to the right honourable the governor's body guard, vice Thomas, directed to proceed to Europe.

Mr. Assistant Surgeon Alves is appointed to the medical charge of the garrison of Sankerrydroog and Errode.

Major J. Long, from the 10th regiment, of native infantry, to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Tolfrey, deceased; March 7, 1801.

*10th Regt. Native Infantry*—Captain J. English to be major, vice Long, promoted. Capt. Lieut. E. B. Bagshaw to be captain of a company, vice English. Lieut. T. Seton to be captain lieutenant, vice Bagshaw; do.

#### APRIL.

*Madras European Regt.*—Capt. Lieut. A. Andrews to be captain of a company, vice King, deceased; April 13, 1800. Lieut. G. Cuffance to be captain lieutenant, vice Andrews, promoted; do.

Serjeant Burby, late store serjeant at Tanjore, Serjeant Gill, arrack serjeant at Fort St. George, and Serjeant-Major Thomson, of the garrison of Trichinopoly, to be conductors of ordnance.

## BOMBAY.

### *In the Hon. COMPANY'S Troops.*

MARCH, 1800

*By the Hon. the Governor in Council.*

Major-Gen. Robert Bowles to be commander in chief of his Majesty's and the hon. Company's troops under this presidency, in the room of Lieut. Gen. J. Stuart, resigned; Jan. 21, 1800.

The following line promotions to take

place to furnish the 7th and 8th native regiments with officers, and to complete the infantry establishment; The date of rank, March 6, 1800:—

*To be Colonels of Infantry*—Lieutenant Colonels J. Kerr and R. Gore.

*To be Lieutenant-Colonels of Infantry*—Majors M. Grant, J. Paterson, J. Taylor,



- lor, W. Williamson, R. A. Heirn, A. Disney.
- To be Majors of Infantry*—Captains R. Buchanan, R. Cook, G. Holmes, W. Browne, C. Stuart, R. Kerr, R. Seale, W. Lambert, T. Grummont, R. T. Heath.
- To be Captains of Companies*—Captain Lieutenants J. Harding, R. J. Gormon, G. Llewellyn, W. Powney, R. Lewis, R. Wightman, D. Mahony. Lieutenants J. Locke, H. Browne, W. Boye, F. W. Gifford, C. O. Stephenon, C. B. Burr, W. Young, H. S. Osborne, T. C. Harris, W. Mealy, W. Roome, C. W. Maxwell, T. Haswell, A. Johnston, R. Webb, T. Corfellis, F. Parry.
- To be Captain Lieutenants*—Lieutenants W. Green, J. D. A. Watson, E. Armstrong, C. Mellingchamp, J. P. Dickinson, R. Elliott, J. Smith, D. Seton, W. Taylor, J. C. Tudor, W. P. Tucker, J. Mackenzie, E. S. Frisell, R. Steward, J. Hunter, W. Marshall, A. Glas, J. B. T. J. Powell, S. Alleyn, J. H. Fleming.
- Captain D. Price to be secretary, and Captain C. R. Burr to be aid-de-camp to Major-General Bowles.
- Capt. A. Bethune to command the Nair Subendy corps, vice Kerr, promoted; March 6, 1800.
- Mr. Laurence Shaw to be muster master at the presidency, vice Buchanan, promoted.
- Assistant Surgeon Collett, now at Goa, to be deputy medical storekeeper at that place.
- Assistant Surgeon Fildes to be acting surgeon of the Bombay frigate.
- Lieut. J. Leighton, of the battalion of artillery, to be adjutant, vice Smith, who retires; March 11, 1800.
- Major B. Forbes, of his Majesty's 75th regiment, to be honorary aid-du-camp to the governor.
- the 6th to the 7th regiment native infantry.
- Surgeon B. Philipps is removed from the Bombay frigate to the 6th regiment native infantry.
- Surgeon S. Meek is removed from the Mornington to the 5th regiment native infantry.
- Surgeon T. Ogilvie is appointed to the Bombay frigate.
- Surgeon J. Drysdale is appointed to the Mornington.
- Surgeon Drysdale is to act as surgeon to the 8th native regiment.
- Assistant Surgeon Fildes to act as garrison surgeon.
- Assistant Surgeon Twiss to act as surgeon of the Bombay frigate.
- Assistant Surgeon Skene to act as surgeon of the Mornington.
- Assistant Surgeon Inverarity is removed from the European regiment to the 1st battalion 2d native regiment.
- Assistant Surgeon Cootes is posted to the European regiment, vice Inverarity.
- Assistant Surgeon Wallace is posted to the 7th native regiment.
- Assistant Surgeons Cruso and Robertson are posted to the 8th native regiment.
- European Regt.*—Captain Lieutenant W. Green to be captain of a company, vice Wightman, deceased; April 3, 1800. Lieut. H. M. Fitzgerald to be captain lieutenant.
- Major L. Macquarrie, of his Majesty's 77th regiment, to be military secretary to the governor, vice Capt. Wilson, resigned.
- European Regt.*—Cadet A. Brown to be ensign; Sept. 21, 1800. Ensign A. Brown to be lieutenant; March 6.
- The 2d, or Mabim division of the Portuguese Militia*—Alvera de Saa Serrao de Azavedo, captain, to be sub-commandant, vice F. Amador de Cruz Viegas, sub-commandant, resigned the service. Joaquim Joseph des Chagas, lieutenant, to be captain, vice Alvera de Saa Serrao de Azavedo, promoted to sub-commandant. Theotonia de Mello, ensign, to be a lieutenant, vice Joaquim Joseph des Chagas, promoted to be captain. Joseph de Silva de Mello, gent. to be an ensign, vice Theotonia de Mello, promoted to be lieutenant; March 28, 1800. Lieut. Antonio de Mello to be captain, vice Joaquim Jose das Chagas, deceased; April 17. Manoel Ferreira Mello, ensign, to be a lieutenant, vice Antonio Mello, promoted; do. Manoel Barretto, gent. to be ensign, vice Manoel Ferreira, promoted; do.

## APRIL.

- Major-Gen. R. Nicholson to be a general officer on the staff on this establishment *pro tempore*.
- The following officers are appointed as General Nicholson's staff:—Captain T. Cape, of the 2d battalion 7th regiment, major of brigade. Captain J. Dunsmure, of his Majesty's 75th regiment, aid-de-camp.
- Assistant Surgeons Ogilvie and Drysdale to be full surgeons, to complete the 7th and 8th regiments.
- Surgeon J. Short, M. D. is removed from



## MAY.

Lieut. Spink to be adjutant and quarter-master of the European companies at Cannanore.

## JUNE.

Lieutenant J. Lighton to be removed to the coast, and appointed adjutant and quarter-master to the detachment of artillery under the command of Major Baillie.

Lieut. C. J. Bond to be adjutant to the battalion of artillery, vice Lighton, removed.

The following cadets are promoted to ensigns, date of rank May 26, 1800, and are posted to corps as follows:—

*European Regt.*—H. Hexter, F. D. Ballantyne, and G. Strachan.

*1st, or Grenadier Bat.*—J. Sykes and J. Allan.

*2d Bat. 1st Regt.*—A. B. Bacon.

*1st Bat. 2d Regt.*—S. Wallis and V. Kennedy.

*2d Bat. 2d Regt.*—W. Miles.

*1st Bat. 3d Regt.*—W. Vofs and Alex. Maxwell.

*2d Bat. 3d Regt.*—J. Irving.

*1st Bat. 4th Regt.*—H. R. Deschamps and D. Dumerfq.

*2d Bat. 4th Regt.*—J. F. Salter.

*1st Bat. 5th Regt.*—G. Cauty and T. Pierce.

*2d Bat. 5th Regt.*—T. Poole.

*1st Bat. 6th Regt.*—C. T. Page.

*2d Bat. 6th Regt.*—H. Cruso.

*1st Bat. 7th Regt.*—C. Armstrong.

*2d Bat. 7th Regt.*—T. White.

*1st Bat. 8th Regt.*—R. A. Willis.

*2d Bat. 8th Regt.*—J. Thomas.

*Marine Bat.*—I. R. Prescot.

*1st Native Regt.*—Eldest Captain W. Mason to be major, vice Fyfe, deceased; June 26, 1800. Capt. Lieut. J. D. Watson to be captain of a company, vice Mason, promoted; do. Eldest Lieutenant A. Steele to be captain lieutenant, vice Watson, promoted; do.

Mr. J. Skene, now acting in the Mornington, to be acting surgeon of the Bombay frigate, and that Mr. Henry Robertson be removed as acting surgeon of the Mornington until further orders.

## JULY.

The under-mentioned officers who are cadets of the season 1782, and who had not attained the rank of captain previous to the 8th January 1798, are to have

commissions as such by brevet with rank in the army on the above-mentioned date, viz. Jan. 8, 1798.

Captains T. Cape, D. Bruce, G. Williams, J. Duffy, J. Douglas, J. Lloyd, J. Harding, R. J. Gorman, G. Llewellyn, W. Powney, R. Lewis, and J. Turner.

*4th Native Regt.*—Capt. Lieut. J. P. Dickenson to be captain of a company, vice Marshall, deceased; July 7, 1800. Lieutenant J. Simpson to be captain lieutenant, vice Dickenson, promoted; do. Lieutenant and Adjutant George Brady, of the 2d battalion, to be adjutant and quarter-master, vice Dickenson, promoted; do. Lieutenant D. Leighton to be adjutant of the 2d battalion, vice Brady; do.

## AUGUST.

Mr. R. Montgomery to be ensign of the marine battalion; July 30, 1800.

Messrs. Bernald and Wyburd to be ensigns, August 6, 1800, the former to the European infantry, the latter to the 2d bat. 1st native regt. at Surat.

## SEPTEMBER.

The following cadets are appointed ensigns as follows:—Ensign Lacy to the 2d battalion 2d regiment; Ensign Gordon to the 2d battalion 3d regiment; Ensign Jennings to the 2d battalion 4th regiment; and Ensign Stokoe to the 2d battalion 5th regiment native infantry.

Lieutenant G. Warden, quarter-master of the battalion of artillery, is appointed a member of the committee of survey, vice Powell, promoted.

Assistant Surgeon Wallace to act as surgeon of the Mornington, vice Assistant Surgeon Thomson, removed to the 2d battalion 7th regiment native infantry.

## OCTOBER.

Lieut. G. Warden, of the battalion of artillery, to fill up the vacancy in the commissariat department of the presidency, occasioned by the death of Capt. Lieut. John Comyn.

Lieut. C. M'Lean to be captain lieutenant, vice Comyn, deceased; Aug. 1, 1800.

Capt. Lieut. W. Smith to be appointed quarter-master of the battalion of artillery, vacated by the nomination of Lieut. Warden to be deputy commissary of stores.

Doctor Short, of the 6th regiment of native infantry; is appointed to the medical duties at Bagdad.

Mr.



Mr. Wye, the senior assistant surgeon on this establishment, to be promoted to the rank of a full surgeon from the date of Dr. Short's removal; and also that Assistant Surgeon Thompson be appointed garrison surgeon's mate, in the room of Mr. Wallace, ordered to the Mornington.

## NOVEMBER.

Lieut. A. G. Fisher to be captain lieutenant of artillery, vice Urquhart, deceased; Nov. 10, 1800.

## DECEMBER.

Mr. Kehn to be assistant surgeon to the Portuguese militia, in the room of Dr. Fildes.

Doctor Keir to be surgeon to the fencible corps.

Eldest Major H. P. Lawrence to be lieutenant colonel, vice Hierne, struck off the list of the army; Dec. 23, 1800.

*European Regt.*—Eldest Captain J. Baird to be major, vice Laurence, promoted; do. Capt. Lieut. H. M. Fitzgerald to be captain of a company, vice Baird, promoted; do. Lieut. R. Mahon to be captain lieutenant, vice Fitzgerald, promoted; do.

*2d Native Regt.*—Capt. Lieut. E. Armstrong to be captain of a company, vice Davis struck off the list of the army; do. Lieut. J. Morley to be captain lieutenant, vice Armstrong, promoted; do.

*3d do.*—Capt. Lieut. C. Mellingchamp to be captain of a company, vice Reed, struck off the list of the army; ditto. Lieut. M. Kennedy to be captain lieutenant, vice Mellingchamp, promoted; do. Lieut. W. Turner to be adjutant and quarter-master, vice Mellingchamp, promoted; do.

*8th do.*—Capt. Lieut. W. Taylor to be captain of a company, vice Forman, retired; do. Lieut. R. Barkley to be captain lieutenant, vice Taylor, promoted; do.

## JANUARY, 1801.

*4th Native Regt.*—Captain-Lieutenant J. Sampson to be captain of a company, vice Maxwell, deceased; Dec. 17, 1800. Lieut. G. Brady to be captain lieutenant, vice Sampson, promoted; do.

The following cadets are promoted to be ensigns, and posted as follows:—E. Frederick and G. Grant, 2d battalion 1st regiment infantry. R. Shaw, J. Godfrey, and G. A. Litchfield to the

7th regiment; the two first to the 1st battalion, and the last to the 2d bat.

Captain J. Sampson, of the 4th native regiment, is transferred to the 2d battalion, vice Maxwell, deceased; and Capt. Lieut. Brady is removed to 1st battalion, vice Sampson, promoted.

Lieut. Col. T. Marshall is transferred to the regiment of European infantry, vice Little, promoted; and Lieut. Col. J. Burrows is removed to the 2d battalion 2d regiment, vice Marshall.

Capt. Lieut. E. C. S. Waddington, of the 2d regt. is removed to the 1st bat.

## FEBRUARY.

Cadets of the year 1799, promoted to be lieutenants and ensigns of infantry, are permanently posted to regiments as follows; the date of rank of the ensigns, 6th of March 1800; and that of the lieutenants, 26th May 1800.

*European Regt.*—Lieutenants I. R. Prefcot, H. Cruso, J. S. Crofts, J. Allan, R. Ogilvie, R. A. Wallis, H. L. Hexter, vice Cantillon, deceased; T. W. Stoke, vice Hexter, deceased; W. Sandwich, vice Fitzgerald, promoted; E. G. Stannus, vice Mahon, promoted; C. Armstrong, vice Cartwright, deceased; T. White, vice Willmott, deceased.

*1st Native Regt.*—Lieutenants C. F. Gordon, J. Buchan, G. W. Jennings, F. D. Ballantyne, T. Poole, vice Gordon, deceased; G. Grant, vice Steele, promoted; W. Milles, vice Smith, deceased; J. A. Brackebury, vice Drummond, removed as a cadet to the engineer corps.

*2d do.*—Lieutenants J. Thomas, V. Kennedy, N. Besnard, D. Dumaresq, J. Irving, vice Levingston, deceased; W. Miles, vice White, deceased; R. Shaw, vice Morley promoted; T. Collier, vice Waddington, promoted.

*3d do.*—Lieutenants C. T. Page, H. R. Deschamps, D. C. Weyms, T. Pierce, P. Featon, vice Allen, deceased; R. Jones, vice Kennedy, promoted; Ensign G. Strachan.

*4th do.*—Lieutenants E. Frederick, E. C. Lord, J. Sykes, W. Vofs, C. Swayne, vice Hammond, dismissed by the sentence of a general court martial; W. Barnett, vice Sampson, promoted; J. Lewis, vice Brady, promoted; Ensign A. Maxwell.

*5th do.*—Lieutenants C. Christie, G. A. Litchfield, T. Lacey, R. Montgomery, Ensign J. Stewart.

*6th do.*—Lieutenants N. P. Powell, H. Smith,



Smith, S. Wallis, E. Reynolds, D. Campbell, vice Marriott, pensioned; Ensign W. T. Mathias.

7th do.—Lieutenants J. Godfrey, T. Burford, R. Wyburd, W. Shermer, Ensign J. B. Brooks.

8th do.—Lieutenants J. F. Salter, A. B. Bacon, F. G. Munt, S. F. Robertson, R. Lapville, vice Helm, deceased; G. Cauty, vice Fleming, deceased; C. Garraway, vice Barclay, promoted.

*Marine Bat.*—Lieutenants P. Lodwick, and E. J. Martinnant.

*Engineers*—Ensigns E. H. Bellafis and J. S. R. Drummond to be lieutenants; March 26, 1800.

Captain W. Powney is transferred to the charge of the 3d company of native invalids, and to the command of Mahim Fort, vice Goodwin, deceased.

Adjutant R. Pereira, of the Bombay division of Portugueze militia, is promoted to be captain in the Mahim division of Portugueze militia.

#### MARCH.

6th Regt.—Ensign W. T. Matthias to be lieutenant, vice Percival, deceased; March 11, 1801.

8th Regt.—Capt. Lieut. R. Barclay to be captain of a company, vice Powney, deceased; do. Lieut. W. Burk to be captain lieutenant, vice Barclay, promoted; do. Lieut. H. Rudland to be adjutant and quarter-master, vice Barclay, promoted; do.

Assistant Surgeon Donald is appointed second mate of the General Hospital at the Presidency.

6th Regt. of Infantry—Capt. Lieut. J. Smith to be captain of a company, vice Johnston, pensioned on half pay; March 28. Lieut. R. Macdonald to be captain lieutenant, vice Smith, promoted; March 21.

#### APRIL.

In consequence of the departure of Ma-

yor-General Bowles for Europe, Major-General Nicholson is appointed to the chief command of his Majesty's and the Hon. Company's troops on this establishment; April 2, 1801.

Captain T. Cape is also appointed military secretary to General Nicholson.

#### *Fencible Regiment.*

*To be Captains*—H. Fawcett, J. Fell, J. Smith, C. Forbes, W. Dowdeswell, N. H. Smith, J. Law, H. S. Pearson, J. Elphinstone, E. Atkins.

*To be Lieutenants*—H. Shank, H. Leckie, J. Hungerford, W. Kennedy, H. F. Constable, J. Cumberledge, A. Gray, L. Ashburner, R. Hough, J. Douglas.

Lieut. J. Edward is appointed adjutant of the regiment of European infantry, vice Scobie, promoted; April 5, 1801.

Lieut. O. Bond to be adjutant to the first battalion sixth regiment, vice Smith, promoted to a company; March 21.

Lieut. Rebeneck, of the engineers, to be adjutant to that corps, vice Crozier, gone to Europe.

Mr. W. Crawford to be a lieutenant in the fencible regiment, vice Hough, permitted to retire.

*European Regt.*—Captain S. Wallace to be major, vice Baird, deceased; March 28. Capt. Lieut. R. Mahon to be captain of a company, vice Wallace, promoted; do. Lieut. M. J. Scobie to be captain lieutenant, vice Mahon, promoted; do. Lieut. John Spink to be captain lieutenant, vice Scobie, promoted; April 4.

Surgeon Stewart to be appointed acting medical store-keeper, vice Scott, promoted; and that Assistant Surgeon Baird perform the medical duties of the artillery corps.

Senior Assistant Surgeon Keir to be promoted to full surgeon, and appointed garrison surgeon at the Presidency.



## BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

## BIRTHS.

APRIL 1, 1800, at Madras, the lady of Dr. Thackeray, of a son; 2, at ditto, the lady of the rev. Mr. Kerr, of a son; 6, at Calcutta, Mrs. R. Williams, of a daughter; 14, at Hyderabad, Mrs. Goldsworthy, of a daughter; 21, at Bombay, the lady of R. Anderson, esq. of a son; same day, at Madras, Mrs. Blyth, of a daughter; 22, at Calcutta, the lady of Captain Moore of the *Friendship*, of a son; 25, at Bombay, the lady of Henry Fawcett, esq. of a son; same day, at Ambore, the lady of Captain William King, commanding that garrison, of a daughter; 26, at Calicut, the lady of Mr. John Smee, of a son; 27, at Calcutta, the lady of J. C. Pingel, esq. Danish Commercial Chief at Serampore; 28, at Bombay, the lady of Capt. W. Brookes of the Engineer corps, of a daughter; 30, at ditto, the lady of James Smith, esq. of a son; *Lately*, at Cannanore, Mrs. Rebenack, of a son; at Bombay, the lady of Captain Robert Blackall, of a daughter.

MAY 1, at Bankipore, the lady of James Barton, esq. of a son; 4, at Madras, Mrs. Geisler, of a daughter; 14, at Hyderabad, Mrs. Goldsworthy, of a daughter; 15, at Madras, the wife of James Clare, matross of the 2d battalion of artillery, was safely delivered of *three children*, one boy and two girls, who, with their mother, are likely to do well; 17, at Calcutta, Mrs. Kennedy, of a son; 18, at ditto, Mrs. David Daniel, of a son; same day, at Bombay, the lady of J. Cumberledge, esq. of a son; 23, at ditto, the lady of Lieut. Col. Blair, of a daughter; 24, at Gya, the lady of John Patch, esq. of a son; 26, at Chuprah, the lady of T. L. N. Sturt, esq. of a son; at Jassnapatam, the hon. Mrs. Turnour, of a daughter; 30, at Calcutta, the lady of Captain John Cooke, of a daughter; *Lately*, at Madras, the lady of Mungo Dick, esq. of a son; same place, the lady of Lieut. Colonel Dallas, of a son.

JUNE 4, at Calcutta, the lady of F. Horsley, esq. of a son; 5, at Bombay, the lady of Robert Stewart, esq. of a daughter; 6, at Chingleput, the lady of W.

Ainslie, esq. of a daughter; 7, at Calcutta, Mrs. W. Bartlett, of a daughter; 9, at ditto, the lady of Capt. C. Wyatt, of a daughter; 12, at ditto, the lady of W. Farquharson, esq. of a son; 13, at Columbo, the lady of the rev. Mr. Meyer, of a daughter; 16, at Serampore, the lady of S. Kierulf, esq. of twin sons; 20, at Pondamallie, the hon. Mrs. G. St. John, of a daughter; 21, at Guntoor, the lady of H. Wilson, esq. of a son; same day, at Bombay, the lady of John Church, esq. of a son; 24, at Benares, the lady of S. Davis, esq. of a son; 26, at Calcutta, the lady of Colonel Dyer, of a daughter; 27, at ditto, Mrs. Debordeux, of a son; 29, at Bombay, the lady of J. Patterson, esq. of a son; *Lately*, at ditto, the lady of Capt. Dowell, of a son; at Hoogly, the lady of Thomas Brooke, esq. of a daughter; at Madras, the lady of W. Harrington, esq. of a daughter; same place, the lady of George Lys, esq. of a daughter; same place, the lady of Lieut. Colonel Agnew, of a son; same place, the lady of James Taylor, esq. of a son; at Mugletore, the lady of Capt. Bowness, of a son.

JULY, at Calcutta, the lady of David Ross, esq. of a daughter; same place, the lady of Major Hart, of a daughter; same place, Mrs. A. Fleming, of a son; same place, Mrs. T. Betts, of a son; same place, Mrs. J. E. Frances, of a son; same place, the lady of C. Rothman, esq. of a son; ditto, the lady of W. Holland, esq. of a daughter; at Gufferah, Mrs. Hurton, of a daughter; at Bombay, the lady of Mr. West, assistant-surgeon, of a son; at Calicut, the lady G. W. Gillid, esq. of a son; at Calcutta, the lady of Lawrence Shaw, esq. of a son; at Allahabad, the lady of C. Corfield, esq. surgeon, 76th regiment, of a daughter; at Malacca, the lady of Major John Deighton, of a son; at Madras, the lady of John Underwood, esq. of a son; ditto, Mrs. Griffiths, of a son.

AUGUST, at Bombay, the lady of Capt. Ed. Moore, of a daughter; ditto, the lady of Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Forbes, of a daughter; at Calcutta, the lady



lady of Edward Lloyd, esq. of a son; ditto, the lady of Alexander Binny, esq. of a daughter; ditto, the lady Ruffel, of a daughter; at Madras, the lady of Thomas D'Souza, esq. of a son; at Kishnagur, the lady of Charles Oldfield, esq. of a son; at Calcutta, Mrs. Sandford, of a son; at Buxar, the lady of Capt. William Mercer, of a son; at Madras, the lady of William Walters, esq. of a son; ditto, the lady of Capt. Augustus Floyer, of a son.

SEPTEMBER, at Bombay, the lady of Alexander Bell, esq. of a son; at Calcutta, Mrs. Barnfield, of a son; at Barrackpore, the lady of Capt. Charles Brietzcke, esq. of a son; in Fort William, the lady of Capt. O'Halloran, of a son; at Patna, the lady of Lieut. Col. G. Gordon, of a son; at Calcutta, Mrs. M. Smith, of a son; ditto, Mrs. Welshire, of a son; *Lately in Camp*, the lady of Capt. Staunton, of a daughter; at Madras, the lady of Robert Woolf, esq. of a son; ditto, the lady of H. Brown, esq. of a son; ditto, the lady of Thomas Stephens, esq. of a son; ditto, the lady of Charles Walters, esq. of a son; ditto, the lady of Capt. Bose, of a son; at Calcutta, the lady of Thomas Raban, esq. of a daughter; ditto, Mrs. Hutteman, of a son; ditto, Mrs. Moffat, of a son; ditto, the lady of George Jackson, esq. of a son; ditto, Mrs. Barnfield, of a son; at Madras, Mrs. Hope, of a daughter.

OCTOBER, at Bombay, the lady of Lieut. Colonel Joseph Bland, of a daughter; at Calcutta, the lady of William Cumming, esq. of a daughter; ditto, Mrs. M'Arthur, of a daughter; ditto, Mrs. P. Gore, of a son; ditto, the lady of E. Fletcher, esq. of a son; ditto, the lady of John Lumfden, esq. of a son; at Dinapore, the lady of D. Burgefs, esq. of a son; at Cawnpore, the lady of Capt. J. Paton, of a son; at Calcutta, the lady of E. Fletcher, esq. of a son; ditto, the lady of James Taylor, esq. of a son; ditto, the lady of the rev. Mr. Brown, of a daughter; at Serampore, the lady of G. A. V'Deurs, esq. of a son; at Chittledroog, the lady of J. Stevenson, of a son; at Calcutta, the lady of R. Cardin, esq. of a son; at Rungpore, the lady of A. Wright, esq. of a son; at Calcutta, the lady of Major Glass, of a son.

NOVEMBER, at Bombay, the lady of Capt. John Shaw, of a daughter; at Ingeram, the lady of William Norman, esq. of a daughter; at St. Thomé, Mrs. Da-

vis, of a son; at Madras, the lady of Herbert Compton, esq. of a son; at Bombay, the lady of William Sandwich, esq. of a son; at Calcutta, Mrs. Smith, head mistress of the free school, of a son; at Barrackpore, the lady of Lieut. Colonel Marley, of a son; at Madras, the lady of J. Goldingham, esq. of a son; at Jeffere, the lady of J. Wintle, esq. of a son; at Columbo, Mrs. Holst, of a daughter; at Chuprah, the lady of Charles Boddam, esq. of a daughter; at Bombay, the lady of Helenius Scott, esq. of a son; ditto, the lady of Capt. S. Wilson, of a daughter; at Calcutta, the lady of G. P. Ricketts, esq. of a daughter.

DECEMBER, at Calcutta, the lady of William Roxburgh, esq. of a son; at Madras, the lady of Major Grey, of a son; ditto, the lady of Surgeon Caudmont, of the regiment de Meuron, of a son; ditto, the lady of J. Fombelle, of a daughter; ditto, the lady of William Dring, esq. of a daughter; ditto, the lady of G. French, esq. of a daughter; ditto, Mrs. W. Smith, of a daughter; at Rampore, the lady of Francis Lawrence, esq. of a daughter; at Ruffapuglah, Mrs. Manley, of a daughter; at Calcutta, the lady of James Herriot, Assistant Surgeon, of a daughter; ditto, Mrs. Balton, of a son; at Serampore, the lady of J. C. Kersting, of a son; at Calcutta, the lady of Sir Alexander Seton, bart. of a daughter; in the Malabar province, the lady of Major G. Holmes, of a son; at Madras, the lady of A. Macleod, esq. of a daughter; ditto, the lady of Major Gen. Conyngham, of a daughter; in the Canara province, the lady of C. Watkins, esq. of a son; at Madras, the lady of J. N. Watts, esq. of a son; ditto, Mrs. Connell, of a daughter.

JANUARY, 1801, at Madras, the lady of Maurice Fitzgerald, esq. of a son; at St. Thomas's Mount, the lady of Alex. Mackenzie, esq. of a daughter; at Ganjam, the lady of Capt. Hall of the artillery, of a son; at Madras, the lady of Alexander Falconar, esq. of a son; at Poonamallie, the lady of William Mackintosh, esq. of a son; at Arrah, the lady of J. Rawlins, esq. of a daughter; at Calcutta, the lady of Capt. Hodgson, of a daughter; ditto, the lady of Sir Frederick Hamilton, bart. of a daughter; ditto, the lady of W. B. Gould, esq. of a son; ditto, Mrs. Desbroffles, of a daughter; at Chunar, the lady of Capt. J. J. Bird, of a daughter;



daughter; at Calcutta, the lady of A. Johnstone, esq. of a son; ditto, the lady of Lieut. Blunt, of the engineers, of a son; ditto, Mrs. Hodges, of a daughter; at Calcutta, the lady of Capt. R. H. Colebrooke, esq. of a son; ditto, Mrs. A. Thompson, of a son; ditto, the lady of Lieut. Wilson, of a daughter; at Pinang, Mrs. Rattray, of a son; at Surat, the lady of Capt. J. Smith, of a son; at Soorool, the lady of J. Cheap, esq. of a son; at Calcutta, the lady of B. Mason, esq. of a son.

FEBRUARY, at Madras, the lady of E. Roebuck, esq. of a son; at Bombay, the lady of Capt. Nathaniel Tucker, of a daughter; at Calcutta, Mrs. Masters, of a daughter; ditto, Mrs. Conyers, of a son; at Baugwongolah, the lady of Lieut. Col. Pringle, of a daughter; at Calcutta, the lady of C. P. Crommelin, esq. of a son; ditto, the lady of the rev. Claudius Buchanan, of a daughter; at Cawnpore, the lady of Capt. S. Wood, of a son; at Serampore, the lady of J. De Verinne, of a daughter; in the province of Malabar, the lady of Capt. D. Bruce, of a daughter.

MARCH, at Dinapore, the lady of Capt. Peter Littlejohn, of a daughter; at Calcutta, Mrs. Hodgkinson, of a daughter; ditto, the lady of Major Blackwell, of a son; at Negapatam, lady Elizabeth Richardson, of a son; at Madras, the lady of James Brodie, esq. of a daughter; at Calcutta, the lady of John Stonehouse, esq. of a son.

APRIL, at Kistnagerry, the lady of Ed. Mackay, esq. of a son; at Bombay, the lady of Capt. John Morley, of a son; at Bombay, the lady of Capt. Robert Blackall, of a daughter; ditto, the lady of J. Elphinstone, esq. of a son; at Calcutta, Mrs. Stark, of a daughter; ditto, Mrs. Woolaston, of a son; ditto, the lady of Capt. Butler, of a son; ditto, Mrs. P. Huet, of a daughter; ditto, Mrs. Jones, of a daughter; at Dinagapore, Mrs. G. Dacosta, of a daughter; at Calcutta, the lady of Mr. Davidson, of a daughter.

### MARRIAGES.

APRIL, 15, 1800, at Dindigul, by the rev. Mr. Ball, at the house of Lieut. Colonel Innes, Major Francis Aiskell, 2d. battalion 13th regiment native infantry, to Miss Mary Turing, daughter of Sir Robert Turing, bart. late of the Madras establishment; 17, at Berhampore, James Rattray, esq. of the civil

service, to Miss Vaughan; *Lately*, at Mangalore, by the rev. Mr. Hill, Capt. John Griffiths, of the hon. Company's artillery, on the Bombay establishment, to Miss Lloyd; at Moorshedabad, Samuel Swinton, esq. to Miss Routledge. MAY 1, at Quilon, Capt. William Boye, to Miss Lorencine la Valliere; 2, at Cawnpore, Serjeant Major W. S. Dodd, of the hon. Company's Native dragoons, to Miss Sarah Crooks; 10, at Cochin, Lieut. Charles Bunyan, to Miss Sheen; at Calcutta, John Stapleton, esq. an attorney of the Supreme Court, to Miss Le Gallais; 13, at Bombay, Samuel Humphrys, esq. to Miss Popham; 24, at Calcutta, Mr. Joseph Masters, to Miss Ann Grose; same day, at Pondicherry, Capt. Dehita, to Mademoiselle Cornet; *Lately*, at Madras, Capt. Joseph Holmes, to Miss Rebecca Christie; same place, Mr. William Hogg, to Miss Blacker; ditto, Dr. Pascal, to Miss Elizabeth Hathaway.

JUNE 1, at Calcutta, Capt. Matthew Smith, to Miss Alice Hennes; same day and place, Mr. John Fritz, to Miss Sarah Brothers; 2, at ditto, James Rannie, esq. of Madras, to Mrs. Christian Pirie, widow of the late Mr. R. Pirie, of Calcutta; 3, at Mahe, J. Stevens, esq. superintendant of the northern division of the province of Malabar, to Miss Louisa Whitehill; 6, at Cawnpore, Lieut. Robert Durie, 27th dragoons, to Miss Grant; same day, at Calcutta, Mr. D'Verge, to Miss Frances Lherondell, daughter of Mr. Lherondell, attorney at law; 9, at same place, Allan Maclean, esq. to Miss Jane Fraser, daughter of Capt. R. Fraser; 13, at Bombay, W. Hunter, esq. to Miss C. Robertson; 14, at ditto, James Scott, esq. to Miss Hunter; 18, same place, Mr. Edward Essex Capes, to Miss Mary Gilbert; 21, same place, Mr. Thomas Collin, in the pilot service, to Miss F. Monthreau; same day and place, Captain H. C. Montgomery, commanding the body guard of the most Noble the Governor-general, to Miss S. M. Grove; 22, at Calcutta, Mr. J. J. Looker, to Miss E. Beck; *Lately*, at Vizagapatam, Lieut. Henry Yarde, to Mrs. Elizabeth Giraud, widow of the late Capt. W. T. Giraud.

JULY, at Calcutta, Mr. Constantine, to Miss Marquard; same place, Mr. John Teyen, jun. to Miss D. C. Antonia; same place, Mr. Laurence Johnson, to Miss Anne Roberts; ditto, Mr. W. D. S. Smith, to Miss Pechee; ditto, Mr.



J. Leaf, to Miss Muffin; ditto, Capt. C. F. Hill, to Miss Buckley; at Bombay, Lieut. Levi Philips, to Miss Page; at Masulipatam, Lieut. A. Limond, to Miss Watson; at Cawnpore, Capt. Lieut. W. Burton, Major of Brigade, to Miss Topham.

AUGUST, at Calcutta, Mr. W. H. Marshall, to Miss Turnbull; ditto, Capt. H. M. D'Esterre, to Mrs. Eliza Charlotte Bateman; ditto, James Haig, esq. to Mrs. Turley; at Madras, William Abbot, esq. to Miss Lee; at ditto, William Pritchard, assistant surgeon, to Miss Watkins; at Madras, Thomas Anstey, esq. to Miss Frances Montrefor; at Calcutta, Captain Richard Charlton, of the Madras establishment, to Miss S. A. Caulfield; at ditto, Ensign Ed. Lacey, to Mrs. Burges; at Poonamallie, Capt. J. W. Freefe, to Miss Stewart; at Madras, Mr. Locke, of the ship *Marquis Wellesley*, to Miss Cullen; at Santipore, Alex. Hair, surgeon, to Miss Woodcock; at Columbo, Mr. Philip Vandersteraten, to Miss Kreeckenbeck; at Goa, Captain Samuel Carter, to Miss Helena Anna Memeligh; at Bombay, Sir William Syer, knight, recorder of Bombay, to Miss Mary Anne Williamson; at Madras, Major Woodall, to Miss Cochran; at Dinapore, Mr. Lyons Cane, to Miss C. Goodall.

SEPTEMBER, at Calcutta, Mr. Paul Ferris, to Miss Esther Mullins; at Chandernagore, Capt. J. S. Graham, to Mrs. Hudson; at Monghyr, Capt. Philip D'Auvergne, to Miss Lowrie; at Calcutta, Mr. W. Spencer, to Miss Rosette Landiman; at Madras, Mr. John Stephens, to Miss Catherine Satur; at ditto, J. X. D'Rozario, to Miss R. Huhn; at Bombay, Lieut. Colonel Robert Gordon, Adjutant General at that establishment, to Miss King.

OCTOBER, at Calcutta, Capt. Green, to Miss Corson; ditto, Lieut. Tanner, to Miss Driver; ditto, Lieut. G. Wiggens, to Miss Caroline Collins; at Chunar, Mr. R. Brunstrupt, to Miss I. J. Robinson; at Bhaughulpore, Capt. Stewart, Bengal establishment, to Miss Harriet Wainwright; at Ambore, Mr. Yates, to Miss King; at Pondicherry, Lieut. R. Ormsby, to Madame Welsh de Chermant; at Madras, Lieut. Colonel Carlisle, to Miss Glenholme; ditto, Capt. J. G. Gradman, to Mrs. S. I. Osdyk; at Columbo, Mr. Robert Smith, to Miss Christiana Sheaub.

NOVEMBER, at Calcutta, C. M. Rick-

etts, esq. to Mrs. Taylor; ditto, Thos. H. Travers, esq. to Miss Eliza Finch; at ditto, George Udny, esq. to Miss Fleming.

DECEMBER, at Calcutta, W. Higgs, esq. to Miss Sarah Avery; ditto, Mr. Geo. Augustus Farrell, to Miss Mary Potter; ditto, Mr. Francis Rennel, to Miss Sarah Roach.

JANUARY, 1801, at Madras, John King Lane, esq. to Mrs. de Diu; at Calcutta, Lieut. Wanner, to Miss S. White; at ditto, Richard Fitzgerald Anster, esq. to Miss Meredyth; ditto, Lieut. Edward Hardwicke, to Miss M. Barber; ditto, Lieut. Thomas Bayley, to Miss Hammond; ditto, Capt. John Williams, of Monghyr, to Mrs. Sibbald; at Dinapore, Lieut. John Hilton, to Miss E. Ross; at Trimgur, Lieut. H. Sibley, to Miss Beddel; at Columbo, Mr. Louis Mitchel, to Miss Johanna Schaub; at Vizagapatam, Mr. J. J. Shafar, to Miss Grouse; at Seringapatam, Mr. G. Humphrestone, to Miss Catherine Tutt; at Bombay, W. Sooper, esq. to Miss Harriet Dempster.

FEBRUARY, at Patna, Lieut. Col. Samuel Bradshaw, to Miss Polly Keating; at Calcutta, W. Wilcocks, esq. to Miss Eliza Douglas; ditto, R. Davies, assistant surgeon, to Miss Frances Oehme; ditto, Geo. Ravenscroft, esq. to Miss Louisa Ramus; ditto, Mr. H. Ham, to Miss Catherine Johnstone; ditto, Captain Thomas Hawkins, to Miss Elizabeth Friel; ditto, Mr. Geo. Walter, to Miss A. P. Loffes; at Cannanore, Lieut. Robertson, to Miss Nancy Bowler; at Calcutta, Capt. William Bracklyn, to Miss Marian Hastings Collie.

MARCH, at Mangalore, John Ravenshaw, esq. to Miss Hannah Bond; at Calcutta, Capt. Thomas Thomas, of the ship *Cecilia*, to Miss Pratt; at Tipperah, John Patterson, esq. to Miss Harris; at Fredricknagore, Mr. Jefferson, to Miss Wendall; at Calcutta, Lieut. Thomas Pollock, to Miss Carolina Augusta Thomas; ditto, J. W. Bailey, esq. to Miss Smith.

APRIL, at Bombay, Capt. T. Ross, of the *Hope* transport, to Mrs. Hunter; at Serampore, Charles De Verinne, esq. to Miss Queiros; at Calcutta, Mr. Samuel Nichols, to Miss Mary Irwin; at Kistnagherry, Capt. J. G. Graham, to Miss Johnstone.

## DEATHS.

MARCH 9, 1800, at fort Victoria, after a long and painful illness, John Carmichael, esq. of the hon. Company's medical



dical service; 10, at Bombay, Capt. Ed. Legge Hay, late of the navy; 16, at Bombay, Lieut. Gerrard Drummond, of the hon. Company's marine; same day and place, Lieut. J. B. Cantillon, of the hon. Company's military establishment; same day, at Madras, the lady of Thomas Thackeray, esq. surgeon of the General Hospital at that Presidency.

*Quis talia fando*

————— *temperet a lachrymis?*

Her disposition was mild, her manners amiable and engaging; her affection as a wife and as a mother, could not be surpassed; she lived beloved in society, and has died universally regretted; same day and place, suddenly, Thomas Wallace, esq. of the Civil service; .29, at Calcutta, the infant son of Captain Glegg; 30, at same place, the eldest daughter of Capt. Anthony Greene; *Lately*, at Madras, W. Saxon, esq. much regretted by all those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance; at Colombo, Dr. Ewart, physician-general of his Majesty's forces in the East Indies; at Poonah, Nana Furnavese, late prime minister to the Peshwa; at Calcutta, Mr. John Sealy; at ditto, Ricardo Pereira Pinto, esq.; at Chinsura, B. Domplich, esq. surgeon on board the ship *Anstruther*; on the coast of Malabar, Capt. Mougach, Bengal military establishment; *Lately*, at sea, William Cockell, esq. late sheriff of Madras.

APRIL, at Chunar, Alex. Stewart Aird, the infant son of A. Aird, conductor of ordnance; and the morning following, Miss Matilda Dalrymple Aird, the daughter of Conductor Aird, aged 12 years; at Calcutta, Mr. Evander MacIver; at ditto, Miss Anne Shand, youngest daughter of Capt. C. Shand; at Barrackpore, Mr. William Moore, assistant surgeon; at St. Thomé, Mr. Peter Letang, architect; *Lately*, on board the ship *Orpheus*, on his passage to the Cape, whither he was proceeding for the benefit of his health, Leonard Collings, esq. a senior merchant on the Bengal establishment, and paymaster of the artillery garrisons and ordnance, and of the King's troops; at the Cape of Good Hope, to which place indisposition had obliged him to repair, Henry Buller, esq. a senior merchant, and third judge of the provincial court of appeal for the division of Calcutta; at Cundaproe, the lady of Lieut. Col. Disney; at Surat, Mr. John White, second officer of the ship *Surprise*; at

ditto, the infant son of Captain Tucker, of the marine; at Tachinore, the lady of Major A. Blackader, of his highness the Nabob's service.

MAY, at Calcutta, Lieut. Steward, of the Madras establishment; at ditto, Mr. George Carr, master in the pilot service; at Calcutta, after a long and painful illness, Mr. William Murphey, conductor of ordnance; at Calcutta, after a short illness, Lieut. Henry M'Kenly, proprietor of the Telegraph press; same place, William Clark, esq. at Bombay, William Cleaver, esq. a barrister in the court of the recorder; same place, Capt. William Relph, of the Company's marine; at Madras, Peter Bodkin, esq.; at Serampore, Robert Bruce, esq. surgeon on board his Majesty's ship *Dædalus*; at sea, Henry Sewell, esq. mayor of Madras and its dependencies; at Sera, Major Alexander Watson, 1st regiment native cavalry; at Madras, J. C. Fancourt, esq. assistant-surgeon; *Lately*, to the westward, Capt. Onslow Groce, of the pioneers; at Viper, Capt. John Mercer, late commander of the *Active*, after a lingering illness; at Madras, suddenly, James Daly, esq. an eminent merchant there; same place, Major James Rodgers, military auditor general on the island of Ceylon; in Fort St. George, captain and paymaster De Meuron de Rochat, of the regiment de Meuron; at Allahabad, Lieut. R. Frith, of his Majesty's 76th regiment of foot; at Bombay, Lieut. Peter Mackenzie, of 75th ditto; at Bombay, Stephen Whitehill, esq. chief and custommaster at Mahim, and senior merchant at Bombay; at Columbo, Mr. David Gardiner; at Bussora, Mr. John Skinner, acting lieutenant in the Company's marine; at Bencoolen, Miss Eliza Hartley, daughter of B. Hartley, esq. surgeon, an amiable young lady.

JUNE, at Dinapore, Cornelius Bird, esq. at Madeira, the infant son of Lieut. Col. Dyce; at Calcutta, Mrs. Darley; same place, Mr. Aaron Upjohn, first assistant to the surveyor general; in Fort William, Capt. William Armstrong, 8th native regiment; at Futtighur, Major David Birrell; at Chunar, after a long and painful illness, Mrs. Mary Brumstrup; at Bombay, Major Thomas Fyfe, of the 1st regiment native infantry; at Madras, Capt. Benjamin Brown, of the ship *Dispatch*; near Hyderabad, Joseph Vernon, esq. assistant surgeon; at sea, Lieut. Edmund



Reynolds, Madras establishment; at Kistnagherry, Mr. Alexander Barrie; at Madras, Capt. Hood, of his Majesty's 51st regiment; at Poonah, after a short illness, Mrs. Yoon; at Point de Galle, Major General Baron T. Van Hugel; at Bombay, Mr. James Forbes, of the Courier printing-office.

**JULY**, at Calcutta, after a painful illness, the lady of Robert Ledlie, esq. barrister at law; same place, Mr. Joseph Dickson, undertaker; same place, C. G. S. Bainbridge, youngest son of Mr. A. Bainbridge; ditto, Mrs. Harfts; ditto, Lieut. Peacock, native infantry; ditto, William Boyd, esq. surgeon to the garrison at Buxar; at Chittledroog, Capt. Lieut. George Pippard, native infantry; at Calcutta, Lieut. Grace, of his Majesty's 12th regiment of foot; at Madras, after a short and painful illness, Mrs. Johanna Mary Bodkin, relict of the late Peter Bodkin, esq.; at Palamcottah, Mr. M. Maxwell; at Bombay, the infant daughter of Capt. Ed. Moor; same place, Lieut. De Porbeck, 86th regiment; at Purneah, Mr. Joseph Bloxam; at Columbo, Mr. M. Bomguard; on the Malabar coast, Mr. S. Walter, writer, Bombay establishment; Capt. Walter Marshal, native infantry; at Chandcolly, (Sunderbunds), Mr. John Taylor; at Chunar, Lieut. J. Bell, 12th native regiment.

**AUGUST**, at Chouringee, Colonel John Darby, adjutant general; at Chittagong, Capt. Bone; at Calcutta, Mr. F. Dennegan; same place, Mr. William Stephenson, conductor of ordnance; at the Naval Hospital, Madras, Ingram Pank, esq. purser of his Majesty's ship *Intrepid*; at Calcutta, Henry Sealy, esq. of the civil establishment, aged 18; ditto, Mr. W. Hare; at Patna, Mr. Basil Alexander; at Calcutta, in the 22d year of his age, Lewis Mackenzie, esq. of the civil service; ditto, Mrs. Lawrence Pichachy; on his passage to England, on board the *Manchip*, Col. John Boujonnar; at Prince of Wales's Island, James Dent, esq. master attendant at Columbo; at Bombay, Lieut. Henry Smith, 1st native regiment; at Calcutta, Mr. Robert Lougher; on board his Majesty's ship *Suffolk*, Mr. Griffiths, surgeon's mate; at Arnee, Capt. Wood, of the engineers; at Bombay, Lieut. Col. Robinson, of his Majesty's 86th regiment; at Gauzipore, the 21st inst. the lady of Mr. Conductor Wood; and on the 25th, at Allahabad, Mr. Conductor Wood; at Madras, the infant son of Thomas Stevens, esq. and

the infant son of Charles Walters, esq.; same place, Lieutenant William Henry Potter, 14th native infantry; at Chittledroog, Capt. R. Robinnett, 3d native infantry; at Allahabad, Mr. William Boyes, son of Capt. Boyes, of his Majesty's 76th regiment; at Bombay, Mr. Davies, chief officer of the ship *Candidate*; ditto, Lieut. Henry Helm, 8th native regiment; on board the *Intrepid*, at Bombay, Mr. Barber, heir to the greatest part of the immense wealth of the late C. Barber, esq.; ditto, Mr. John Lodge, late of Calcutta; at Rungpore, the infant son of Bryant Mason; at Pondicherry, Lieut. T. Spencer.

**SEPTEMBER**, at Calcutta, Mrs. Mary Moffat; ditto, Mr. Robert Knelen; ditto, Mrs. Maria Moffat; at Chandernagore, Augustus Brun, esq. agent of the French Company of the port of L'Orient; at Madras, Cornet Jones, 2d regiment native cavalry; at Bombay, Lieut. Colonel E. Robinson, of his Majesty's 86th regiment; at Calcutta, Mr. Francis Brown, master in the pilot service; on board the *Fox* frigate, Mr. Garner, purser of that ship; on board the *Princess Mary*, Major Gale, of his Majesty's 29th light dragoons; at Bombay, Ensign J. Stewart, of his Majesty's 86th regiment; at Madras, Thomas Ledsham, esq. deputy sheriff; at Amboyna, Capt. Stratton, of his Majesty's bomb *Vulcan*; ditto, Lieut. Lufkin, of his Majesty's ship *Virginie*; at ditto, Capt. Matthews, paymaster to the troops at that island; at ditto, Mr. Trickett, warehouse-keeper.

**OCTOBER**, at Chinfurah, Mr. J. T. Briggs; at Goa, Captain Robinson, of his Majesty's 84th regiment, universally esteemed and regretted; at Calcutta, John Scawen, esq. late military auditor general, universally and deeply regretted; ditto, J. C. Bartholmæ, esq. superintendent of the Company's stationery; at Futtighur, Capt. John Jarrett, 3d regiment native infantry; same place, Lieut. Thomas Shoulbred, 3d regiment native infantry; at Bombay, the infant daughter of Capt. G. Powell; in Fort William, Mr. C. Dalley, cadet; at Barrackpore, Capt. William Hill, 3d native regiment; at Calcutta, Mr. R. B. Winwood; at Vellore, Capt. Lowe, of his Majesty's 33d regiment; at Bombay, Lieut. Colonel Robert Frith, 1st regiment native cavalry, a gallant, active and zealous officer.—Those whose peculiar happiness it was to live with him in habits of intimacy, have to de-  
plore



plore a friend, whose warmth of affection have left an indelible sensation of regret; same place, Mr. D. Drummond, late purser of the Company's cruizer *Mornington*; at Muscat, H. Bogle, assistant surgeon; at Calcutta, the infant son of E. Fletcher, esq.; at Bombay, Mrs. Deare; in camp, in the Ganjam district, Capt. Adam Ormsby, of the 10th regiment native infantry; on board the *Princess Maria*, extra ship, in Bengal river, Major Gale, of his Majesty's 29th dragoons; at Hyderabad, Mr. Harncorne, formerly quarter-master of the 19th dragoons; at Bombay, the lady of Luke Ashburner, esq.; at Goa, Capt. Robinson, of his Majesty's 84th regiment; at sea, Lieut. Col. John Barton, of the Bengal artillery; at Ganjam, Edward Hare, esq.; in camp, at Polveram, Lieut. John Macdonald; at Allahabad, Capt. Edward Parry, 12th regiment native infantry; at Juanpore, Lieut. Davis.

NOVEMBER, at Calcutta, Ed. Moroney, esq. much regretted; ditto, Lieut. R. R. Sheppard, of the Madras establishment; at ditto, Mrs. J. E. Frances; at Calcutta, the infant daughter of Major Clerkson; at Malacca, the lady of W. Betty, esq. surgeon on the Madras establishment; on board the Company's ship *Lady Burges*, at sea, Mr. James Neilson, surgeon of that vessel; at the General Hospital, Calcutta, Lieut. Spendor, 2d European regiment; at Gazipore, Lieut. Col. J. Piggot, 6th regiment native cavalry; at Calcutta, Lieut. H. R. Patton, 17th native regiment; at Jaffnapatam, Lieut. Jasper Nixon, of his Majesty's 19th regiment; at Madras, David Haliburton, esq. surgeon on that establishment; at Calcutta, Capt. Robert Carruthers, 14th regiment native infantry; at Gazipore, Mr. James Grant, of Allahabad; at Chunar, Lieut. R. Webster, 12th native infantry; at Chunargur, Nathaniel Hornby, esq. paymaster at that station; at Trincomallee, Lieut. Daniel Macneile, from Bombay; at Cawnpore, Mr. Robert Howe, conductor of ordnance; at Mangalore, aged 84, Brigadier General John Carnac, a man highly celebrated in the historical annals of India.—He was early known as the friend and associate of the gallant Lord Clive, to whose military genius and political sagacity his country was indebted for regaining and establishing our possessions in Bengal.

DECEMBER, at Calcutta, after a long and painful illness, Mrs. Elizabeth Rolt;

ditto, the infant daughter of William Dring, esq.; at Monghier, Mrs. Jane Gore; at Pulicat, the lady of Jacob Eilbracht, esq. late governor of that place; at Hyderabad, Lieut. Patruche MacGill, 3d regiment cavalry; same place, Lieut. Colonel James Dalrymple, commanding the subsidiary force attached to his highness the Nizam, universally esteemed, and sincerely regretted; at Bombay, Charles Colin Elphinstone, esq. of the civil service; at Surat, the lady of Lieut. Cowper of the engineers; at Calcutta, Mr. George Fergusson, a master in the pilot service; at Calcutta, Capt. Robert Macfarlane, aged 74, the oldest European inhabitant of that place; at Bombay, D. Robertson, esq. surgeon on that establishment; same place, Ensign H. Hexter; at Ganjam, Ensign and Adjutant Samuel Pippet, of invalids; at Seringapatam, Lieut. J. Hanham; at Ghooty, Lieut. Jos. Taylor; at Masulipatam, the lady of Henry Harris, esq. M. D. at Ganjam, Capt. Hodgson, of invalids; at Bauglepore, the lady of Capt. H. M. D'Esterre, of the 17th regiment native infantry; on the passage from the Cape to the island of St. Helena, Lieut. Colonel Thomas Higgins; on his passage to England, William Raine, esq. late chief surgeon, and second member of the medical board.

JANUARY, 1801, at Calcutta, William Moscrop, esq.; same place, Mr. W. Croker, master in the pilot service; same place, Mrs. Elizabeth Collier; same place, Mr. Edward Burrowes; at Madras, Col. Sir W. Lee, bart. 25th light dragoons; same place, Capt. George Lauder, of the native infantry; to the eastward, Capt. Turner, of his Majesty's ship *Trident*; at Madras, Adam Blackader, esq.; at Calcutta, Lieut. Gordon, 12th regiment; at Penang, Capt. Jos. Stokoe, of engineers; at Madras, G. Andrew Ram, esq. of the civil service; *Lately*, at China, Major J. Munro, sincerely regretted.

FEBRUARY, at Calcutta, the infant son of B. W. Gould, esq.; at Midnapore, Lieut. P. Begbie; at Jaffnapatam, the infant daughter of the hon. George Turnour; at Madras, Charles Keble Floyer, the youngest son of Capt. Augustus Floyer, native cavalry; at Point de Gallé, the lady of Capt. Beck; at Madras, Mrs. Pratt, widow; at Prince of Wales's Island, Mr. Rattray; at Bombay, Capt. Wm. Godwin; same place, Mr. Thomas Ruckley.

MARCH, at Bombay, Capt. Wm. Powney;



ney; same place, Lieut. M. Percival; at Calcutta, the daughter, of Mr. Thomas Jones; ditto, Mrs. Dolby; ditto, Mr. Leister; same place, Mr. James Taylor, assistant in the commissary of stores' office; at Trincomallee, after a long illness, Major Richard Harding, 7th regiment native infantry; at Calcutta, D. Macalester, esq.; same place, Mrs. Brightman, much lamented; at Cawnpore, Mr. John Price, several years a merchant in Calcutta; at Madras, William Roebuck, esq. much and sincerely regretted by all to whom his amiable qualities were known; at Calcutta, Mrs. Carey; ditto, Mrs. D'Abreu; at Muscat, Mr. Thompson, assistant-surgeon, Bombay establishment; Jared Dixon, esq. surgeon of the Company's ship *Marquis Wellesley*; at Manundwaddy, in the Wynaad district, Lieutenant R. E. Mainwaring; Lieutenant Louis de Pury, of the regiment de Meuron; at Trincomallee, Ensign G. Kearns, 19th regiment; in the Malabar province, Lieut. Peter Tait, 5th native regiment; at Trincomallee, Lieut. J. P. Le Mesurier, 7th native regiment,

who, it is supposed, was carried away by an alligator, or a shark, while bathing. APRIL, at Madras, Capt. Bong, of engineers; ditto, Capt. Young, formerly commander of the Travancore ship *Gamalanaban*; at Cochin, Capt. Lieut. R. Mahon, European infantry; in camp, at Valand, Lieut. William Monteath; in camp, near Hyderabad, Ed. Barry Beaumon, 12th native infantry; at Calcutta, Mrs. Carey, last survivor of those unfortunate persons who were confined in the Black-Hole prison, on the capture of Calcutta, in June 1756, and whose husband, mother and sister, perished in the prison; *Lately*, at Dacca, Stephen Bayard, esq. second judge of the provincial court of appeal; at Calcutta, H. Tolfrey, esq.; on his passage from Madras to Europe, Lieut. Colonel Edward Tolfrey; at Madras, Andrew Barclay, esq.; at Bangalore, Mr. Matthew Price; at Calcutta, T. Halkett, esq.; ditto, Mr. Alex. Sannel, pensioner; at Chunar, Miss Emily Delamain; at Dindigul, J. Barclay, esq. of the civil service, and assistant to the collector of that district.



LONDON, January 1st, 1802.

PROJECT OF AN EXPEDITION OVER LAND TO INDIA.

*Submitted to the Government of France in the Spring of 1801.*

We received this Scheme in the form of a Pamphlet from Paris, of which the following is a Translation.

*The intent of the expedition.*

To drive the English from Hindustan for ever; to deliver that beautiful and rich country from the British yoke; to open new ways to the industry, and to the commerce of all the civilized nations of Europe, and to France in particular:—such is the design of an expedition worthy to immortalize the first year of the nineteenth century, and the heads of those governments who will carry into execution so useful and so glorious an enterprize.

*Of those powers who are to cooperate in this design.*

The French Republic and the Emperor of Russia are to send a combined army of 70,000 men to the banks of the Indus.

The Emperor of Germany is to give a passage to the French troops, and is to facilitate the mode of their descent down the Danube, till they enter the Black Sea.

*Of the junction of the Russian army, composed of 35,000 men, at Astracan, and of their transportation to Astrabad.*

As soon as the projected expedition shall have been concerted and determined on, Paul I. will give orders that an army may be assembled at Astracan, which shall consist of 25,000 regular troops, perfectly equipped, and 10,000 Cossacks.

This armament will embark immediately on the Caspian sea, and

will be conducted to Astrabad, there to wait the arrival of the French forces.

Astrabad will be the head-quarters of the combined armies: all the magazines of war and of provisions will be established there; and it will be the central point of communication between Hindustan, France and Russia.

*Of the route of the French army from the borders of the Danube to the borders of the Indus.*

Thirty-five thousand men of every denomination, shall be detached from the army of the Rhine.

These troops shall be embarked on boats in the Danube, and shall descend that river, till its entrance into the Black Sea.

When they shall have arrived at the Euxine, they shall be shipped on transports provided by Russia; and when they shall have passed the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof, they shall disembark under Tadjanroc.

This force will afterwards coast along the Don, ascend the right bank of the river to a small town of the Cossacks called Piati-Isbi-anka.

Arrived at that point, the army will pass the Don, and travel by land as far as the environs of the town of Tfaritsin, built on the right bank of the Volga.

There to embark, and to descend that river as far as Astracan.

The



The troops will there embark on mercantile vessels, and after having sailed the whole length of the Caspian sea, will arrive at Astrabad, a maritime town of Persia.

Then the French and Russian forces being united, the combined army will begin its march; pass the towns of Herat, of Ferah, of Candahar, and will soon reach the right bank of the Indus.

*Of the length of time employed in the voyage, and in the march of the French army.*

	Days.
In the descent of the Danube, till its entrance into the Black Sea - - -	20
From the entrance of the Danube to Tajanroc - -	16
From Tajanroc to Piati-Isbianka - - -	20
From Piati Isbianka to Tfaritfin - - -	4
From Tfaritfin to Astracan -	5
From Astracan to Astrabad -	10
From Astrabad to the borders of the Indus - - -	45
Total	120

N. B. Thus the French army will take four months in going from the borders of the Danube to the banks of the Indus; but in order to allow a greater period of time, it may be supposed that the journey will last five months: if then, the forces take their departure at the beginning of May (V. S.\*) they will arrive at the place of their destination towards the end of September.

It is to be observed, that half of the passage is to be made by water, and half land.

*Of the means of its execution.*

On their embarkation on the

Danube, the French forces are to carry with them their field pieces, and their ammunition waggons.

They will have no occasion for any tent equipage.

The cavalry, the light horsemen, and the artillery, are not to carry their horses; they will embark only their saddles and bridles, pack saddles, harness and traces, &c. &c. &c.

The forces will be provisioned with biscuit for one month.

The commissaries will precede the army, to prepare store-houses wherever they may be necessary. Arrived at the mouth of the Danube, the army will embark on board of the transports provided by Russia, and victualled for fifteen or twenty days.

During the embarkation the commissaries and the officers of the etat-major will travel by land with the utmost dispatch, and disperse themselves between Tajanroc, Tfaritfin, and Astracan. The Russian commissaries will regulate the march of the army from Tajanroc to Piati-Isbianca, will provide the stores, and conduct the billeting of the troops; collect all the horses and the waggons necessary for the conveyance of the artillery and the baggage of the army. The same commissaries will act in concert with those stationed at Tfaritfin, to collect the number of boats necessary for the passage of the Don, which at that point is a little larger than the Seine at Paris.

The commissaries stationed at Tfaritfin will be attentive to be previously prepared,

1st, To collect, at three or four stations, between the Don and the Volga, all the camp equipage, and the victualling for the army during its march.



2d, To collect a sufficient number of boats at Tfaritfin for the embarkation of the French army on the Volga, and for its descent to Astracan.

The commissaries at Astracan will have their vessels ready to receive the army, and will have shipped on board of them provisions for fifteen days.

When the French army shall have disembarked at Astrabad, it will find the following articles, which shall have been collected and prepared by the commissaries of the two governments:—

1st, All kinds of warlike stores and of heavy artillery.

N. B. Such stores may be drawn from the arsenals of Astracan, Casan, and Saratof, with which they abound.

2d, Draft horses for the conveyance of the artillery and the stores of the combined army.

3d, Horses and waggons for the conveyance of the baggage and the pontons, &c.

4th, Saddle horses for the French cavalry and the light horsemen.

N. B. These horses shall have been purchased from the Cossacks and Calmucks between the Don and the Volga; they are to be found in great numbers, and at a more moderate expence than elsewhere; and are the best adapted for service in those countries which are to become the theatre of military operations.

5th, All the necessary camp equipage for the French army, during its march from the borders of the Indus and beyond them.

6th, Magazines of linen and woollen cloth, coats, helmets, gloves, stockings, boots, shoes, &c. &c. &c.

N. B. All these articles are found in great abundance in Russia,

and cheaper than in other parts of Europe. The French government may contract for these stores with the directors of the colony of Sarepta, which is at six leagues from Tfaritfin, on the right bank of the Volga: this colony of evangelists, which passes for the richest, and the most industrious, and the most exact in fulfilling its engagement, has its chief seat in Saxony, whence orders are to be obtained that the colony at Sarepta should furnish the above-mentioned equipments.

7th, The hospital magazine provided with all kinds of drugs.

N. B. The hospital may be supplied with drugs by the colony at Sarepta, whose laboratory rivals the imperial laboratory at Moscow, in the quality and in the variety of its drugs.

8th, Magazines of rice, peas, flour, meal, salt meat, butter, wines, brandy, &c. &c.

9th, Flocks of sheep and herds of oxen.

N. B. The salt meats, the butter, the peas, the flour, and the meal, may be procured in Russia; every other article is found in abundance in Persia.

10th, Magazines of fodder, oats, and barley.

N. B. The oats may be procured at Astracan: the country will afford fodder and barley.

*Of the march of the combined army from Astrabad to the borders of the Indus, and of the means of insuring success to the expedition.*

Previous to the disembarkation of the Russians at Astrabad, commissaries from the two governments will be dispatched with the intention of signifying to all the khans, and other little despots of the different countries through which the combined army is to march, "that an army from two of the most powerful

ful



ful nations in the universe is to pass through their territories on their way to India; that the only intention of the expedition is to drive the English from Hindustan, who have enslaved that country, once so celebrated, and so powerful, and so rich in the productions both of art and of nature, as to attract the people of the whole world to participate in the gifts and the favours of every kind with which it had pleased heaven to endow it; that the horrid state of oppression, of misery, and servitude, under which the people of that country at present groaned, had excited the liveliest interest both in France and Russia; that the two governments had resolved, in consequence, to unite their power to enfranchise India from the barbarous and tyrannical yoke of the English nation; that the princes and the people of the different states through which the combined army should traverse, would have nothing to fear from it; that, on the contrary, they are invited to co-operate, by every means in their power, to the accomplishment of so useful and so glorious an enterprize; that the expedition is as just in its design, as it was unjust in Alexander to desire the conquest of the whole world; that the combined army would levy no contributions; that it would purchase by mutual consent, and would pay in ready money for every article necessary for its subsistence; that the severest discipline should be maintained; that the worship, the laws, the customs, the manners and property, and, above all, the women should be respected," &c. &c. &c.

After a similar proclamation, and on the evidence of an indulgent, frank, and loyal conduct, there is no reason to doubt but the khans and the other petty princes will

grant a free passage through their respective states; otherwise, divided as they are among themselves, they would be too weak to make any serious resistance.

The French and Russian commissaries will be accompanied by skilful engineers, who will take topographical plans of the countries through which the combined army is to pass: they will indicate on these maps the different points of encampment, the rivers to be passed, and the towns adjacent to the march of the army; they will take care to notice the different passes where the transportation of the baggage, of the artillery, and of the provisions, may meet with any difficulty, and the means of surmounting the impediments to be encountered.

These commissaries will treat with the khans, the princes, and individuals, for the supply of provisions, baggage waggons, &c. &c.

They will be empowered to ask for and attain hostages, and to sign treaties.

As soon as the first French division shall have reached Astrabad, the first Russian division is to begin its march; the other divisions of the combined army are to follow in succession, at the distance of five or six leagues, and will keep up a communication with each other by small detachments of the Cossacks.

A corps composed of from five to six thousand Cossacks, with some regular light horsemen, will form the vanguard; the lighters and pontoons should be close behind it; the van will project the bridges over the rivers, protect them from being approached, and will provide for the safety of the army in case of treachery or any other accident.

The French government will intrust to the commander in chief of the expedition, various arms from the



the manufactory at Versailles, such as guns, carbines, pistols, fabres, &c. &c. ; vases and other articles of porcelain from the manufactory at Seves ; watches and clocks made by the most skilful Parisian artists ; handsome mirrors ; the finest cloths of France of different colours, such as scarlet, crimson, green, and blue, which are the favourite colours of the people of Asia ; Persians ; velvets ; cloth of gold and silver ; laces of gold and silver, and silks from Lyons ; Goblin tapestry, &c. &c.

All these articles, wisely distributed among the princes of the country, and presented with that grace and elegance of manner so natural to the French, will induce the people to have the highest consideration for the munificence, the industry, and the power of the nation, and ultimately to open with it a commercial correspondence.

A select number of learned men and artists in all kinds of works of ingenuity, are to form a part of this glorious expedition. The government will intrust to them the maps and plans at present extant of the different countries which the combined army will traverse, as well as the memoirs and the most esteemed works which treat of those countries. Aeronauts and artificers will be also very necessary. To inspire those people with the highest idea both of France and Russia, it may be thought fit, before the army and the head-quarters be removed from Astrabad, to give them some brilliant entertainment, accompanied by some military evolutions similar to those celebrated at Paris in commemoration of some remarkable event or memorable epoch.

Things thus disposed of, there is no doubt of the enterprize taking a favourable termination ; though its success will depend on the intelli-

gence, the zeal, the bravery, and the fidelity of the chiefs to whom the government will intrust the execution of the project.

As soon as the combined army shall have reached the borders of the Indus, it should *commence its military operations.*

N. B. The money of Europe which is of the greatest currency, and most esteemed in Persia and in India, is the sequin of Venice, the ducat of Holland and Hungary, the imperial and the rouble of Russia.

*Objections to the expedition answered.*

*1st Objection.* Are there a sufficient number of boats to embark an army of thirty-five thousand men and to carry it to the mouth of the Danube ?

*Answer.* It will not be difficult to collect a sufficient number of boats ; if it be, the army will go over land as far as Ibrahimof, a port of the Danube in the principality of Walachia, and as far as Galatz, another port in the same river in the principality of Moldavia ; then the French army will embark on vessels previously provided and sent by Russia, and will continue its voyage.

*2d Objection.* The grand signior will not consent to the descent of a French army down the Danube, and he will oppose its embarkation from any territory belonging to the Ottoman empire.

*Answer.* Paul First will oblige the Porte to comply with his desires ; and his superior forces will awe the divan into respect for his will.

*3d Objection.* Are there sufficient transports in the Black Sea for the conveyance of the army ; has Paul First a sufficient number at his disposal ?

*Answer.* The emperor of Russia



can collect easily, in the ports of the Black Sea, more than three hundred sail of transports and vessels of all sizes; the whole world is acquainted with the increase of his merchantmen in the Black Sea.

*4th Objection.* Would not the convoy, when it had left the Danube, be in danger of being annoyed or dispersed by the English fleet under the command of Lord Keith, who, on the report of this expedition passing the Dardanells, would enter the Black Sea, to prevent the egress of the French army, and to destroy it?

*Answer.* If Lord Keith will pass the streights, and the Turks will not oppose him, Paul I. will oppose him; and he possesses means for his opposition more efficacious than are suspected.

*5th Objection.* The combined army being united at Astrabad, how can it reach India through a country so uncultivated, so divested of resources, and obliged to march from Astrabad to the frontiers of Hindustan, a distance of three hundred leagues?

*Answer.* The country is not wild and uncultivated; the route has been for a long time open and practicable; the caravans usually travel from Astrabad to the frontiers of Hindustan in thirty-five or forty days. The country is not inconvenienced by whirlwinds of sand, like Arabia and Libya; it is continually intersected by rivers; there is sufficient forage; rice is in great abundance, and is the chief food of the inhabitants; the country is stored with oxen, sheep, and game; and there is great variety of delicious fruit.

The only reasonable objection that can be made, is to the length of the march. But that objection ought not to prevent the project

from being put in execution. The French army is desirous of glory, brave, patient, and indefatigable; its courage and its perseverance, and the wisdom of its officers, will surmount whatever obstacles they may have to encounter.

An historical fact corroborates this assertion. In the years 1739 and 1740, Nadir Shah, or Thomas-Couli-Khan, left Delhi, with a numerous army, on an expedition against Persia and the borders of the Caspian Sea: he passed by Candahar, Ferah, Herat, Mochehed, and he arrived at Astrabad: all these cities were then considerable; and, though they have fallen from their former splendor, there are yet vestiges of their former opulence.

That which was accomplished by an Asiatic army in the years 1739 and 1740, there will be no doubt of the possibility of executing with a French and Russian army at the present day!

The cities above-mentioned will form the principal points of communication between Hindustan, Russia, and France: in order to facilitate their communication, it will be necessary to establish an army post-office; and to employ the Cossacks in that department, who are the fittest persons for such service.

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\* \* This magnificent project is much better adapted to cherish the spirit of military romance, with which the French people are so strongly infected, than to give any just cause of alarm to the government of England. Our Indian empire is naturally an object of jealousy to all the other nations of Europe, and particularly so to France; but we conceive this jealousy has not yet acquired sufficient power over the understanding and common



common prudence of any intelligent statesman, to induce him to adopt a project, the execution of which must necessarily be attended with so much certain loss, and in which there is only a bare possibility of ultimate success. The author of this project must be as ignorant of the policy of European courts, as he is of the geography and the nations of that part of Asia through which he proposes to march, if he imagines that the Emperor of Russia would be prevailed on to join France in any expedition, of which the advantages were not immediate and evident. Were the success of the project as probable as he seems to consider it, we doubt whether even Paul I. would have been induced to embark in it. But we have no doubt that if he had formed an alliance with France for such an object, Austria, as well as the Porte, would have opposed the march of the French army. But these are difficulties which our projector has not thought it necessary to consider. He takes it for granted that Russia will join France in this scheme for the conquest of Hindustan; and that Austria and the Porte, awed by so formidable an alliance, will permit the French army to proceed to the mouth of the Danube. Here our author admits that the embarkation of the troops on board the transports prepared by Russia for their reception in the Euxine, may be opposed by the English fleet; but he gets over this difficulty, by informing us, that the Emperor of Russia possesses *more efficacious means than are suspected, of counteracting* the operations of an English fleet! We suspect the French army would not overcome the difficulty quite so easily. Having discomfited the English fleet, our author proceeds up the Euxine and

the sea of Azof to Tajanroc, which place, he thinks, the transports may reach in sixteen days; though it is well known to every person acquainted with the navigation of those seas, that *three weeks* would be a quick passage for a single ship, and that consequently a fleet of that size would probably not perform it in less than five weeks. From Tajanroc to Astracan he allows only 29 days; and the same length of time for the voyage down the Caspian to Astrabad. But had he been more conversant with the geography of those countries, the navigation of the Caspian, and the embarkation and debarkation of armies, he would have been satisfied that an army of 30,000 men, with baggage, artillery, &c. could not be conveyed in double that time from Tajanroc to Astrabad. On the junction of the French and Russians at this place, the combined army is to be provided by Russia with every necessary for its march from thence to the banks of the Indus, which, our author supposes, may be accomplished in forty-five days, *without meeting any opposition*. The only reasonable objection which, *he thinks*, can be made to this part of the project, is the *length of the march*. We shall point out to him some other objections, very important in themselves, and calculated to give great additional force to the one he has mentioned. Of the physical, but still more of the political state of the countries situated between the Caspian and the Indus, our author betrays a surprising degree of ignorance. These countries are not, as he imagines, continually intersected by rivers; neither are they in a high state of cultivation, producing great abundance of rice, and plentifully stocked with oxen, sheep,



and game. On the contrary, they are, for the most part, ill watered, sterile, and unproductive. The whole of that part of Khorasan through which the army must pass, from the Mufadoramium mountains to the city of Herat, is a barren plain of 230 miles across, cultivated only in a few places, and thinly interspersed with villages. The inhabitants of these are so scantily supplied with water, that at one or two of them Mr. Forster (the most accurate of our modern travellers,) could with difficulty procure for himself and his party a sufficient quantity to quench their thirst. The greatest part of the way from Herat to Candahar, presents the same obstacles to the march of an army. "Great part of this country," says Mr. Forster, "exhibits to the fatigued eye one vast sterile plain, without rivers, wood, or scarcely a place of human habitation." It is therefore evident, that unless the French and Russians could carry their water and provisions along with them, they would lose two-thirds of their numbers before they reached Candahar; and that the other third would arrive there in a condition little able to sustain the attack of a vigorous enemy: And we do not believe the Russians could procure at Astrabad, and in the neighbouring districts, even with the assistance of Aga Mahommed Khan, with whom they are connected, such a vast number of camels and bullocks as would be requisite to convey the baggage, artillery, provisions, and water, for an army of 70,000 men, from the shores of the Caspian to Candahar, a distance of 600 miles.

With regard to the opposition likely to be made to the march of the army in Khorasan and Candahar, our projector imagines that "the

*khans and petty despots* who inhabit the country between the Caspian and the Indus, may easily be awed or bribed into friendship. It seems strange his not knowing that before they get to the banks of the Indus, they must pass through the centre of Afghanistan, the country of Zemaun Shah, at present the most powerful and warlike prince in Asia. This prince has always an army of 100,000 foot, and 50,000 horse, ready to take the field. It is true that he has threatened, for these some years back, to march with this army against the English provinces in Hindustan. But it is also true that, though he would invade Hindustan on motives of personal interest, and with an immediate view to his own aggrandizement, he would certainly allow no European power to share his conquests. He might, perhaps, be induced to receive 5000 or 6000 Frenchmen as auxiliaries; but a large army of Europeans would naturally excite his jealousy, and he would oppose them, as if they came with the avowed intention of invading his own country. The cautious policy pursued by Hyder Ally Khan, in the alliances which formed with the French, should teach them that no Mahommedan prince of any sagacity will ever be induced to join them in any hostile scheme against the British empire in India, unless he be allowed to possess the preponderating influence in the alliance: Still less would he admit an European army into his dominions. Hence, then, it is manifest, that in carrying this project into execution, the combined army, after encountering the natural obstacles we have already pointed out in the march from Astrabad to Candahar, will, upon its arrival there, be obliged to subdue the



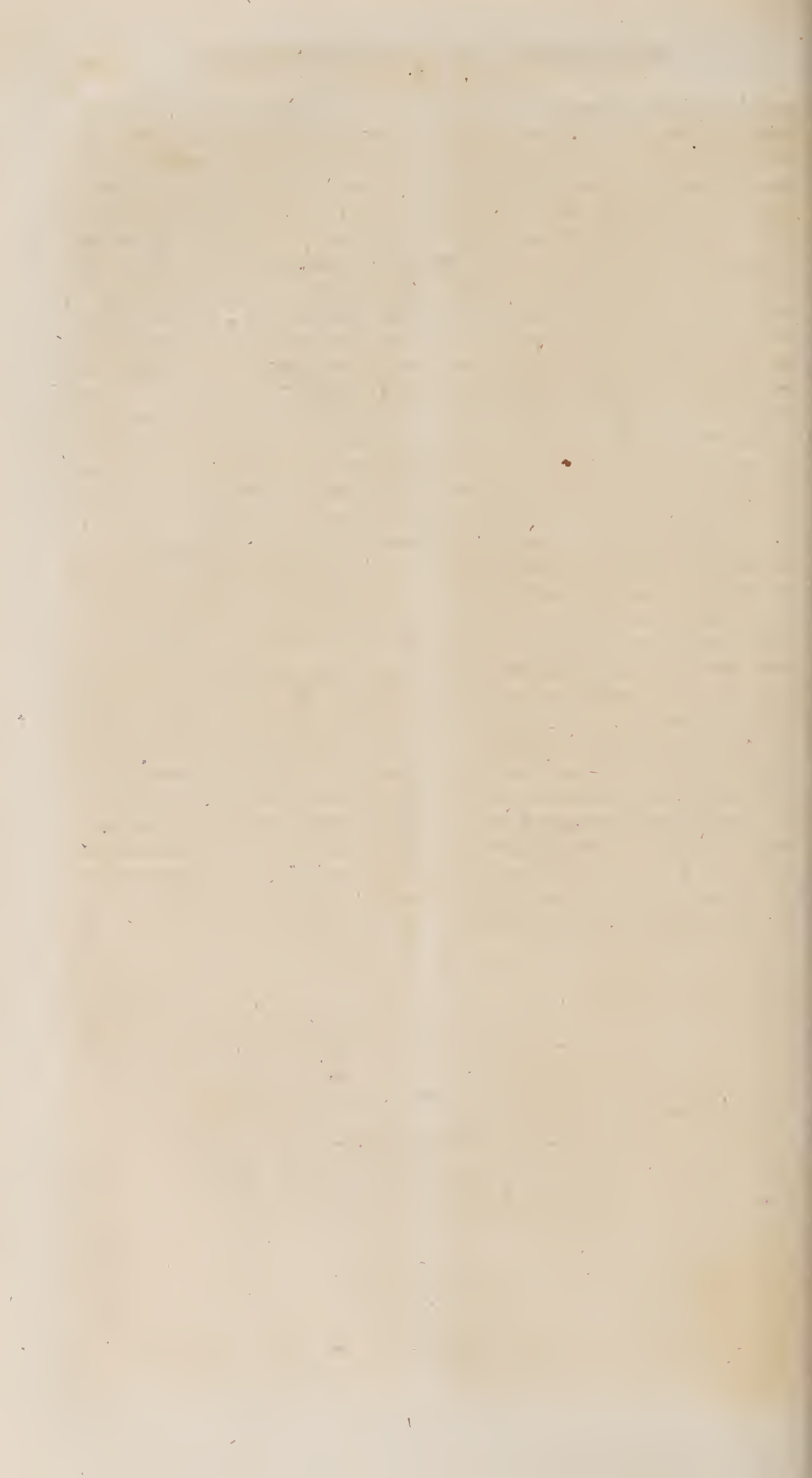
most formidable potentate in Asia before it can pass into Hindustan. We shall, however, suppose that the skill and intrepidity of French officers and soldiers may reduce Zemaun Shah to obedience in the course of one campaign, yet they have another enemy, through whose country they must pass, before they reach the English dependencies. On their crossing the Indus, they immediately enter the Panjab, the country of the Seiks, a brave and hardy race, whose business is war and plunder, and whose mode of warfare precludes the possibility of conquering them. This people are, for several reasons, attached to the interests of the English; and their having repulsed Zemaun Shah, with great loss, in two attempts which he has lately made to invade their country, affords sufficient evidence of their military strength. Of their mode of warfare the French will be able to form a correct idea, when they are told that it exactly resembles that at present carried on by Touffaint and his negroes in St. Domingo. If, therefore, the French and Russians entered their country, they would avoid a general action; but they would cut off all supplies,

hang upon their flanks and rear, and, by keeping up a continual engagement, so much reduce their numbers, and retard their progress, that by the time they arrived in the Duab, which is 400 miles from the Indus, a well disciplined English army, consisting of 35,000 men, prepared to receive them, would, we apprehend, without any great difficulty, put a period to their march.

We have been thus minute and particular in commenting on this grand project, because we know there are several people in this country, so ill informed as to believe it to be practicable.—ED.

On Wednesday, Sept. 2, 1801, a court of directors was held at the India House, when CHARLES MILLS, esq. was elected chairman, in the room of D. SCOTT, esq. who resigned that situation. JOHN ROBERTS, esq. was elected deputy chairman. This gentleman served the office of chairman in the year 1776. Messrs. ROBERT MACURE and JOHN HILLMAN were sworn in as first and second assistant to the Company's surveyor of shipping.







# STATE PAPERS.

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## PAPERS RESPECTING THE TRADE BETWEEN INDIA AND EUROPE.

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No. 1.

LETTER *from the Rt. Hon. HENRY  
DUNDAS to the CHAIRMAN.*

Somerset-place, April 2, 1800.

SIR,

THE subject of this letter is the question of Private-Trade and India-built Shipping, on which I am anxious to lay my sentiments before the Court, in order to attract their early attention to a decision upon it; believing that, from the state in which the question is now left, much mischief results to the interests both of the East-India Company and of the Public at large. I feel the more anxious to come forward on this subject, because it is impossible for me not to observe a shyness on all hands to come to the discussion: and I am not surpris'd at it; because, so far as my reading or observation goes, there never was any question where those who differ upon it went into such opposite extremes, as those have done who have taken an active part in the agitation of it. This very circumstance emboldens me to step forward in the manner I am now doing; because, it being my lot to agree in the extreme of none of the opinions which have been held out to the public consideration, I am the more likely

to suggest some proper medium between those extremes, which may bring together the discordant sentiments which are entertained upon it.

In the first place, I set out with disclaiming being a party to those opinions which rest upon any general attack of the monopoly of the East India Company, either as to the government or commerce of India. My sentiments, in that respect, remain exactly the same as they were when I moved the renewal of the charter in 1793; and, if any thing, I am still more confirm'd in the principles I brought forward at that time. That a direct interference by government in the affairs of India is necessary for their stability and uniformity, I am more and more convinced; but that the ostensible form of government, with all its consequent extent and detail of patronage, must remain as it now is, I am persuaded will never be called in question by any but those who may be dispos'd to sacrifice the freedom and security of our constitution to their own personal aggrandizement and ill-directed ambition. I remain equally satisfis'd as to the propriety of continuing a monopoly of the trade in the hands of the East-India Company. Those



who maintain the reverse, appear to me to be misled by general theories, without attending to the peculiar circumstances of the trade they are treating of. Viewing it even as a mere commercial question, I believe this proposition to be a sound one; and if the trade were laid open, the supposed advantages thence arising are at best very problematical, and would certainly be very precarious and short-lived. It is, however, totally to forget the question, to treat it as a mere commercial one. The same principles which prove the necessity of the present form and mode of Indian government, evince the necessity of the monopoly of trade. The government and the trade are interwoven together; and we have only to recur to a very recent experience, to learn the immense advantages which have flowed from that connection of government and trade. By the commercial capital of the Company at home, acting in connection with the public revenues under their administration abroad, they have mutually aided and administered to the wants of each other; and the result has been the fortunate achievement of those brilliant events, upon the success of which depended the existence of the government, the territorial wealth, and the trade of India.

You will observe, Sir, that it is not my intention at present to argue those topics at large, but merely to state the principles I hold upon such topics as may appear to be connected with the subject I wish to bring more particularly under your consideration.

With the same view it is that I find it necessary to say a few words upon the subject of what is called the Shipping Interest of the East-India Company. Upon that subject there seems to be a greater abuse of

terms, and a more palpable confusion of ideas, than upon almost any other part of this complicated question; in so far as any person is loud in declaiming against the abuse of that great interest being confined exclusively to a few hands, who, by such a monopoly, might have it in their power to dictate such terms as they pleased to the East-India Company. On the subject of freights, I am as prepared as any man to join in crying down that abuse: But I am equally adverse to the sentiments of those who contend, that the great interest of the Company's trade is to be left to the chance of the market at large; and that the extent of the freight is, either wholly or primarily, to be the exclusive object of the Company's attention. I am decisively of opinion, that, both on views of public policy and commercial security, the same description of ships should be continued in the Company's service, built under the same inspection and regulations, fitted and found, in every circumstance, in the same respectable way they have hitherto been; and, though every partiality and lavish extravagance is to be avoided, a freight fully adequate to secure those advantages ought not to be churlishly withheld. To what extent of shipping of this description the Company ought to go, will be the subject of more minute discussion in a subsequent part of this letter.

Having, I trust, made myself distinctly understood on those leading points, I proceed next to state, what I hold to be equally uncontrovertible, that although the Legislature has, for the wisest purposes, given a monopoly of trade to the East-India Company, it is a monopoly attended with these two material circumstances: 1st, That the exportable produce of India exceeds what at present



present the capital of the East-India Company is capable of embracing :  
2d, That the monopoly of the East-India Company does not rest on principles of colonial exclusion ; for the trade to and from India is open to the subjects of other countries in amity with Great-Britain. We must therefore accurately attend to the considerations which naturally result from those last-mentioned circumstances.

If it be true that the trade to be carried on by the East-India Company must of necessity be limited by the extent of their capital, the natural question is, what is to become of the remainder of it? Is it to be left exclusively to foreign nations? or, is the monopoly of the Company to be so modified in the exercise of it, as to open this surplus market to the capital of British subjects? This is a mere question of policy, to be decided on principles of expediency and sound discretion, upon a due attention to all the considerations which enter into the discussion of it: And although nothing could be more invidious and impolitic than to attempt to apply the principles of colonial exclusion to other independent nations; nothing, certainly, can be more just or natural than that those nations who trade to India, should trade there on their own capitals; and that the capital of the British subjects resident in India should be brought home to this country in the manner most beneficial to their own interests, and to that of the mother country, where it is desirable all that capital should ultimately settle. This proposition, then, clearly points out the true appropriation of the surplus produce of India. When I state this, I am at the same time free to declare, that I totally disapprove of attempting to accomplish this by penal re-

strictive statutes. All such ever have been, and ever will be, nugatory, when resorted to for such a purpose: Trade never can be regulated or directed by any other certain rule than the interest of those concerned in it; but it is so much the interest and natural bent of a British subject to send his fortune to that country which gave him birth, and where he means to close his days, that nothing but the most unnatural and impolitic restraints can suggest to him a desire to do otherwise.

But, obvious as this principle may appear to be, it requires accurate attention in the application of it to the subject in question. If I am asked, whether, in stating this principle, I mean that the trade to and from India, in the common use of the terms, ought to be free and open to all his Majesty's subjects in India? I answer distinctly in the negative. The nature of the Indian manufacturer, and the immemorial habits of the manufacturers, exclude the practical application of so indefinite a principle to the export trade from India. The manufacturer of the finer and more valuable fabrics of India, have always been produced by advances from the government, or individuals, for whose behoof those fabrics are manufactured; and if the dealing with those manufacturers was to be laid open to the uncontrolled competition of every individual, the consequence would be a boundless scene of confusion and fraud, and, ultimately, the ruin of the manufacturers themselves. It is unnecessary for me to detail this part of the subject at any length; because it is so clearly and ably explained in a letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Court of Directors, dated 1st November 1788, that I have only to refer



refer you and the Court to the careful perusal of it. The whole of it is worthy of your serious attention; but paragraphs 24 to 31 inclusive, are those to which I particularly refer, as bearing on the present question. It is not the purpose of the present letter to point out what the precise regulations ought to be; but it is obvious, that those employed in the agency of such a trade should be controlled by such regulations as may be requisite to secure, both to the Company itself, and to other individuals, the full benefit of those advances they have made to the manufacturers of Indian fabrics.

It is immediately connected with the observations last offered to consider, by what agency is the trade of individuals in India to be carried on? If this question was to be decided on the principles of an open and free trade, the answer to the question would be, that every individual should send out, or employ, any agent he thought best to manage his own business: But, from what I have already stated on the former point, you will anticipate my opinion on this, namely, that no agent should be employed in India, or permitted to reside there, except with the license of the East-India Company, and subject to the control of such regulations as the habits, prejudices and trade of the country may render expedient. In addition to every other consideration, arising out of the peculiar nature of the trade and manners of the country, there is one decisive circumstance against the tolerance of every unlicensed adventurer in India. It would rapidly, though insensibly, lead to the settlement and colonization of the worst kind of adventurers taking root in that country, than which there could not be a more fatal blow to the permanence

of the British power and pre-eminence in India. No principle ought ever to be tolerated or acted upon, that does not proceed on the basis of India being considered as the temporary residence of a great British establishment for the good government of the country, upon steady and uniform principles; and of a large British factory for the beneficial management of its trade, upon rules applicable to the state and manners of the country.

From these premises the conclusion I draw is, that the surplus produce of India, beyond what the appropriated capital of the East-India Company can bring home, should be considered as the means of transferring the fortunes of the servants in India to Great-Britain; and that the commerce should be managed there, either by the parties themselves interested in it, or by their agents acting under the license, and subject to the control and regulations of the East-India Company.

The question which naturally follows is, by what mode of conveyance is that trade to be brought home? I answer, by the India-built shipping. Upon the policy and beneficial tendency of this measure, I have only to refer you to the unanimous opinion of all your ablest servants in India, who have, from time to time, and in the most explicit terms, pointed out to you the expediency of this indulgence, both with a view to a just attention to the interests of your servants in India, and with a view to make Britain the great emporium of the trade of Asia. Indeed nothing has hindered your servants abroad, sanctioned by the express advice of your Board of Trade, from acting upon these principles at different times, but the great quantity of unemployed shipping



shipping sent out by the East-India Company. I trust henceforward you will see the wisdom of desisting from such a wasteful system. If you fix the capital you mean to apply to investment, and accurately direct your servants to provide that investment, there can be no occasion for any extra shipping: your investment and shipping will correspond accurately together, and your commerce be systematically conducted. I mean, in a separate letter, to treat of what the amount of that investment ought to be, and what are the means by which it is to be provided: at present I mean only to state, that whatever the regular investment is, it ought to be brought home in the regular home-built ships, to which I have referred in the beginning of this letter. If any accident shall befall any of those ships in their outward passage, or if any circumstances exist to render it expedient for you to bring home bulky goods, or any other articles of commerce from India, a discretion should be left with your Governments abroad to supply that deficiency from the shipping to be found in India: but it ought to be adopted and adhered to as an invariable rule, that the regular shipping to be sent from this country should be in exact proportion to the amount of the investment expected home.

When I am thus adding the concurrence of my opinion to the weight of authority which the proposition derives from the unanimous sentiments of your most intelligent servants in India, I am only adhering to the principles I detailed when I moved the renewal of your charter in 1793. It was upon an application of those principles that the provision was made in the act of Parliament, directing the East-India Company to appropriate 3000 tons

annually to the private-trade to and from India. Although I proposed that measure, I should be uncandid if I did not fairly acknowledge, that experience has proved it to be inadequate to the purposes for which it was intended. If the object had been only to try an experiment how far individuals were not more competent to the export of British produce and manufactures than the East-India Company, no other objection would lie against the measure, except what may be supposed to arise from the dearness of freight at which the East-India Company could afford to give shipping of that description. But in so far as the provision went to secure the transfer of the capital of our servants in India to this country through the medium of trade, it is clearly ascertained that the measure was a nugatory one. I need not enter into an explanation of the reasons, for they are so distinctly and unanswerably stated, both in the correspondence of your Board of Trade at Bengal, and in the memorials presented by the Merchants at Calcutta to your Supreme Government in India, that I have only to refer you to the perusal of these documents, in proof of the inutility of that provision in the act of 1793. I am therefore clear that clause in the act ought to be repealed, and the Company relieved from the obligation it imposes upon them; and, in place thereof, a power given to your Governments abroad to allow the British subjects resident in India to bring home their funds to Britain in the shipping of the country. I see, in the records of the Company abroad, it is suggested, that those ships should be contracted for by the Government, and re-freighted to the individuals. I don't exactly perceive what be-



nefit arises from the Government having that kind of interference in the business; but if there is any good reason for it, there is not certainly any material objection against it: but it is material to attend to; and of course regulations will be made as to the time of sailing, and other circumstances of detail, connected with the safe execution of the measure.

It may, perhaps, be objected, that this proposition is injurious to the regular shipping of the East-India Company, for the preservation of which system I have already given so decided an opinion. The answer to this objection is twofold—First, in point of fact it will not diminish their shipping a single ton; for the East-India Company would not, if the measure was not adopted, send out a single ship more: they ought and will send out as much of the regular British-built India shipping as is necessary to bring home the whole of their investment, and they will act improvidently if they send out one ton more: the only effect of this measure not being adopted, would be to extend the trade and shipping of other nations, but in no respect to add to the regular shipping of the East-India Company. In the next place, those interested in the regular shipping of the East-India Company would do well to consider the benefits they already enjoy, in place of endeavouring to cramp and check the just pretensions of others: they ought to recollect the rapid progress they have made from the time of the Commutation Act; and, above all, they ought to recollect, that it has always been considered as a very problematical question, how far, consistent with the national interests, so much of the ship-timber of the country ought to be appro-

priated to its commercial concerns, in the manner practised by the builders of India shipping? I am one of those who think there are reasons of public expediency, connected with the very interest on which the objection is founded, which ought to prevent any principle of that kind being inconsiderately acted upon: but one of the material grounds upon which I am disposed to think that the objection I have referred to ought to be well weighed before it is given way to, arises from the reflection, that we have a national resource in India, which ought to lead to the reverse of any invidious or unjust discouragement being given to the ship-building of India.

In some of the many speculations I have heard, and the publications I have perused, on this subject, it is usual to ask, in a tone of complaint, if it is not unjust, and unfair, that the merchants and shipping of this country, other than the shipping of the East-India Company, should be excluded from a participation of that trade which is allowed to the subjects of foreign nations? The statement, at first sight, may appear plausible; but when examined to the bottom, it has no solidity: in truth, it is only another mode of objecting to the monopoly of the East India Company. If there are reasons of sound policy why the Legislature has decided that the Indian trade should be carried on by a monopoly, it is because, viewing the interests of the public as one aggregate, it is of opinion, that those interests are best cared for by that mode of conducting the trade. Those, therefore, who state this objection, being themselves part of that whole, are, in common with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, reaping the benefit of that influx of national



national wealth and capital which the East-India trade, so conducted, brings into the national stock. They cannot, therefore, more than others, because their occupation happens to be that of merchants or ship-owners, complain of being injured by the means which the wisdom of Parliament has devised for introducing that flow of wealth into the kingdom.—The case is totally different with regard to the subjects of foreign nations: they are not the objects of the care of the British Legislature; neither are their interests at all in the view of its provisions: they reap no benefit, but the reverse, from the growing wealth and prosperity of the British empire; and therefore are in no respect on a footing of comparison with any of the subjects of this country, to whom the restraints of the Company's charter, for the reasons already assigned, do with perfect propriety apply.

It is quite a separate question, how far it would be right to hold our Indian possessions upon principles of colonial monopoly; and it would be deviating from the strict matter of the objection to enter into that discussion in this place. It is sufficient, in point of fact, to observe, in answer to the merchants and ship owners, that it is thought expedient for the interests of the empire at large, that the East-India possessions should not be regulated on the principles of colonial exclusion; and, therefore, no part of the subjects of Great-Britain can be permitted to set up a separate interest of their own against that general policy. If the colonial principle was to be applied to the Indian territories, it would not advance, by one step, that separate interest set up by the merchants and ship-owners to whom I now refer.

Another turn is given to this objection, in the mouth of the same objectors; and it is asked, why, at least, should not the merchants and ship-owners, subjects of his Majesty resident in Britain, have the same indulgences which are contended for by his Majesty's subjects resident in India? The answer is plain and conclusive—that, in contending for this indulgence to the British subjects resident in India, I am contending for a material national interest, which is no other than this, that their fortunes, capitals created in India, should be transferred from that country to this, in a manner most beneficial for themselves and the kingdom at large, in place of being transferred through the medium of commerce by foreigners, and thereby adding to the wealth, capital, and navigation of foreign countries.—There is not a single circumstance in which this applies to the case of merchants in this country. It might be proved, if necessary, that the only effect of giving such an indulgence to the merchants resident in this country, would be a temptation to withdraw a part of the capital of the country from a more profitable trade, and more beneficial application of it, in order to divert it to another trade, less profitable to themselves, and less beneficial to the public. Without, therefore, one single reason, either of private justice or public policy, it would be introducing a rival capital in India against the remittance-trade of the East-India Company, and in competition likewise with those individuals whose capitals, by the proposed indulgence, it is wished to transfer to Great-Britain.

It is argued, that the extension of this indulgence to the British merchants would be an additional en-



couragement to the export of British manufactures. I need only observe, that the argument proceeds on an erroneous view of the subject. The export-trade to India can never be extended in any degree proportionate to the wealth and population of the Indian Empire; neither can the returns upon it be very profitable to individuals. Those who attend to the manners, the manufactures, the food, the raiment, the moral and religious prejudices of that country, can be at no loss to trace the causes why this proposition must be a true one. The importance of that immense empire to this country is rather to be estimated by the great annual addition it makes to the wealth and capital of the kingdom, than by any eminent advantages which the manufactures of the country can derive from the consumption of the natives of India. I do not mean to say, that the exports from this country to India have not been very considerably increased of late years; and I make no doubt, that, from recent circumstances, they may be still considerably increased: But the prospect, from the causes I have already referred to, must always be a limited one; and I am positive that the shipping and exertions of the East-India Company, joined to the returned cargoes of those ships who bring home the private-trade of India, is more than adequate to any present or future increase of export-trade that this country can look to upon any rational ground of hope. In this view, therefore, the British merchants are equally mistaken in supposing that there is any national interest implicated in their attempt to break in upon the monopoly of the Company, as they are in supposing that any material benefit would accrue to themselves individually.

In some of the collections of papers I have read upon the subject of private trade, I have observed a difference of opinion entertained, to what places in India it has been or ought to be allowed. I am at a loss to discover the grounds of this controversy. If individuals are to be allowed to bring goods from India in India shipping, and to carry back goods to India in the same shipping, I cannot see the ground for restraining them in coming from or returning to any part in India.

In like manner, with regard to agents, provided they are licensed by the Company, and subject themselves to the control of the regulations which the Company may see cause to establish for the conduct of agents in India, I see no reason why those agents may not be permitted to exercise their agency for behoof of their constituents in any of the territories of India. I state this with regard even to agency exercised for behoof of foreigners trading to India. It is clearly beneficial for the interests of India, in every point of view, that foreigners should rather employ British agents residing under protection of the Company in India, than that these foreign nations should establish agents of their own in any part of India. In the former case, they are under the control of the Company, and bound to adhere to such rules as the Company may think proper to lay down for the conduct of agency; but there can exist no such control or restraint over the agents of the other description.

With regard to the agents to be employed at home to manage the private trade of individuals from India, and to take care of their interest in the cargoes of the returning ships, I do not see the use of any interference by the Company.



pany. The great interest to be attended to on the part of the Company is, that no goods come from India that are not deposited in the Company's warehouses, and that the goods so imported are exposed at the Company's sales, agreeable to the rules prescribed for that purpose.

This letter has extended to a length far beyond what I intended or expected; but I was desirous to have my opinion, on all the points connected with the subject, distinctly understood: and I shall less regret the trouble I have given you in the perusal of so long a letter, if I shall be successful in calling your attention to a speedy and final decision of the question, which has been too long in discussion, from the very discordant opinions and opposite extremes which have appeared in the agitation of it.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient  
humble servant,

HENRY DUNDAS.

*The CHAIRMAN of the East-  
India Company.*

No. 2.

REPORT of the SPECIAL COMMITTEE to whose consideration the Letter from Mr. DUNDAS was referred.

I. Your committee have proceeded to the discussion of the subject referred to their consideration, under a deep impression of its great importance, not only in itself, but as involving a variety of important interests and relations. The preceding agitation of it had led the individuals, now forming your committee, in common with the other members of the court, to regard it with very serious attention; and they have since endeavoured, in some measure, to qualify themselves for the performance of the task assigned

to them, by diligent inquiry and reflection; seeking to obtain from all the sources of information within their reach, a comprehensive knowledge of facts and opinions relating to this subject, and fairly to appreciate their nature and import, that thus they might be assisted in forming intelligent and just conclusions.

With this design, your committee have perused a great variety of writings, which they will beg leave to class under distinct heads, referring to the margin for a more particular enumeration of them. 1st A voluminous collection of records of the government-general of Bengal from the year 1785 to the year 1799, which contain numerous applications and proposals from the free merchants of that presidency, and the other British settlements, for indulgences and enlargements in the private-trade between India and Britain; with the sentiments and proceedings of the Company's commercial servants and the supreme board, in relation to that and other subjects of commercial policy. 2d. Applications made directly to the court here, in behalf of the free merchants of India, and of the merchants of London, for systematic admission, with ships of their own, into the commerce and navigation between India and Great Britain, and for the indefinite extension of that commerce; under which head may be ranked the motion brought forward last year, in a general court of proprietors, on this subject; without adverting particularly to works not immediately addressed to the court, but calculated to influence the public mind respecting the conduct of the Company, and the extent and appropriation of the Indian commerce; points which they profess to discuss. 3d. A letter



letter from the Right Hon. Henry Dundas to the court of directors, dated 2d April 1800, wherein he delineates the leading principles and views, by which the trade of the Company and of individuals from India, and the intercourse between that country and Great Britain, ought to be regulated.

Another letter, which the same Right Honourable Gentleman was pleased to address to one of the members of the court, and now of your committee, in consequence of some observations which that member had made on the question of enlarging the private-trade from India.

In this great diversity of materials, your committee have before them the merchants of India proposing their own objects, and the arguments which support them: they see, also, how far, and with what views for the public advantage, those objects were favoured by the Company's governments abroad. The writings with which the cause of the free merchants has been seconded in this country, and the proposal which another set of merchants in London have grafted upon it, displayed the vast consequences to which the principles and reasonings, whereon commercial enlargements in India have been urged, may be pushed, both in theory and practice; the observation of which has suggested to your committee the necessity of previously examining, with care and foresight, the nature and tendency of every proposed innovation of the nature in question; since innovation once admitted cannot easily be set aside, but rather has the property of acquiring, in every step it proceeds, an increased impulse towards further advancement.

In the letters from the president of the board of control, your committee have the satisfaction of see-

ing the main outlines of Indian policy, traced with (as they conceive) equal energy and justness, and with a liberality which must command respect and applause. The propositions these letters contain, for adjusting the objects and the limits of private-trade, will, both on account of the authority, and the public views from which they proceed, eminently engage the attention of your committee; though it may previously be necessary to review distinctly the principles and opinions maintained in other quarters, respecting the commerce and connection between India and Britain.

In availing themselves of all these materials for the assistance of their judgment, it will be the duty of your committee to aim at ascertaining what, on the whole, will be for the true interest of the Company and that of the Nation, which, in their opinion, are not at variance with each other, but indeed the same, and as such they will be regarded in this report.

Besides these numerous documents, your committee have received written opinions on the present subject from several of their own members; for though in the meetings of your committee the prominent parts of the question before them were discussed *vivâ voce*, and, it may be hoped, with general elucidation; yet, as in a subject of so much complexity it was not easy thus to introduce and keep in view every pertinent topic, with its due relation to the whole, it was agreed, that those gentlemen who might be disposed to treat of the question at length, with its bearings and dependencies, should deliver their sentiments upon it in writing. The minutes, noted in the margin, were in consequence brought forward; and



and your committee must beg leave to refer to them, as containing much supplementary detail, and larger illustrations of a variety of relative topics, than will well consist with the proper structure of such a report as, in their opinion, they ought to submit to the court.

II. To avoid the confusion and indistinctness that might ensue from a diffusive treatment of all particulars, your committee conceive it should be their business, and it will accordingly be their endeavour, to present, with clearness, a succinct view of the great points on which the just decision of the present question depends, and of the conclusions which result from a fair consideration of them.

In order to execute this design, it will be expedient, as a preliminary, to take a short retrospect of the privileges which have been already conceded to individuals in the trade of India, with the reasons for which they were accorded; then to state the claims now advanced, and the grounds and principles, professed or implied, on which they stand: after which your committee will proceed to examine those grounds and principles, with the consequences to which they lead; and under this head, will consider, among other things, what relates to the commerce of British India with Europe and America, the amount of that commerce, and its distribution to different countries; the Indian capital applicable to it; the share of it which Great Britain ought to attract to her own ports; the nature of the ability which British India possesses for extending its produce and exports, and the policy of promoting, indefinitely, such an extension; which last point will lead to the consideration of the true principles of policy, by which the dependency of India on Great Bri-

tain should be maintained, and the commerce and intercourse between the two countries carried on.

The *facts* which, it is hoped, will thus be ascertained respecting the actual state of the foreign commerce of British India, and the manner in which any large augmentation of it is practicable, with the *principles*, political and commercial, which would regulate our Indian system, will, in the opinion of your committee, constitute those great points by which the extent and the mode of any farther enlargements in favour of individuals should be governed and determined.

III. It may be proper to recollect, that the original source of the interest which British residents in India have obtained in the trade between that country and Europe, is to be traced to the Company's acquisition of territorial dominion in the East. Before that æra, the number of those residents was small; they were confined solely to commercial pursuits; and the few moderate fortunes, which in a slow course of years, were to be remitted home, easily found a conveyance by the bills of the Company. The vast wealth which poured into the coffers of individuals upon the ascendancy of the English power in India, at the same time that their number, in consequence of this great change, rapidly increased there, soon overflowed the usual channel of remittance through the Company, who not having immediately adjusted their measures to the policy which this new situation of things ought to have dictated, had it been regarded as permanent, nor indeed being well able, at first, to invest in goods, even the great revenues which came into their own hands, many of the fortunes acquired by individuals found their



way into Europe by foreign channels; and these channels being once opened for the remittance of British property, have ever since continued to serve in a greater or less degree, for the same end, though the modes have varied. Foreigners, at first, gave bills on Europe for the money advanced them in India, with which money they purchased the investment that carried on their Indian trade, and provided the funds for the payment of those bills; but in process of time, British resident merchants, not confining themselves solely to the original object of paper remittance, became, clandestinely and unlawfully, parties in the trade carried on to foreign Europe, and at length, as is supposed, in many adventures, the real though concealed principals; in which cases remittance was rather the medium of trade than the primary motive: so that they, in fact, came to stand in the place where foreigners, who first received the fortunes of British subjects for bills on Europe, had stood; and thus was the monopoly of the Company grossly invaded, and the trade of foreign Europe from India greatly carried on with British capital, which was an issue so little consonant to the protection and prosperity enjoyed by British residents through the government of the Company, that, to trace it to its remote cause, is certainly not to make any sufficient apology for it. Prohibitions were enacted, but they did not prevent the continuance of it; and the example of laws, inefficient and disregarded, became a new evil. To remedy both these abuses, was one professed object of the act of 1793, which renewed the Company's charter; and it proposed to do this by abrogating the former prohibitory laws, and permitting British residents in India

not only to act for foreigners, but to export from thence, annually, a certain quantity of goods in the Company's ships. It was intended by this last new privilege, to furnish a legal and patriotic channel for the trade which the fortunes of British residents carried on from India to foreign Europe, by admitting that trade directly into the Thames. It is true that, at the period here spoken of, large channels of remittance, by bills on the Company, were open; and it was sufficiently obvious, that British residents, who had been carrying on a traffic in violation of the laws and their engagements with the Company, had not thereby merited new privileges; but this consideration was absorbed in the national object of bringing a trade, which it was found difficult to suppress, immediately to our own ports. Yet even in the way of establishing this privilege, the free merchants of India were regarded rather as secondary than as principal objects; for it was primarily conceded to the manufacturers of Britain, who were allowed to send their productions in the Company's ships to India for sale, and to bring back the proceeds in Indian goods; and the permission to lade home such goods, was then also extended to British subjects residing in India. But the manufacturers have made so little use of it to the present day, that they need not be further considered in this privilege, which rests, therefore, almost wholly with the residents abroad. The extent of it was 3000 tons annually, with a proviso for the augmentation of this quantity if such augmentation should be found necessary. Thus, for the first time, individuals were admitted, by law, into a participation of the trading privileges of the Company, by being allowed



lowed to send goods for sale in the Company's ships.

IV. In proceeding to an account of what the free merchants now demand, it is fair to state, that they do not appear ever to have been satisfied with the concessions of the act of 1793. The causes of their discontent will presently be seen; and the measures they require, in the way of remedy, are, that they be allowed to send their own goods, on their own ships, from India to this country, and in like manner to carry returns from this country to India; in both cases taking a license from the Company, dealing in the assortments of goods permitted by the act of 1793, and passing all their imports here through the Company's warehouses, to be sold at their sales; also to subject their ships to the general regulations of the Company, in respect to discipline on board, and the conduct of the navigation between India and Europe; but those ships to be dispatched at the periods chosen by the owners, without let or hindrance; to be allowed to trade from port to port in India; and even, instead of being freighted to the Company, and relet on the same terms to the individuals choosing to load goods on them, as has hitherto been usual in any cases of permission to private ships, to be left in this respect entirely between the owners and the shippers.

Some advocates here for the free merchants explicitly advance views of enlargement, which, if they may be said to be virtually deducible from the propositions of the merchants, are nevertheless not avowed, and probably not intended by them. These advocates urge, in terms that seem to have no limit or qualification, the encouragement of British enterprise and capital in the trade of the east; and that British subjects, as

such, and the natives of our possessions, shall have such a freedom in the trade of India, as foreign Europeans enjoy; that is, be permitted to send, at pleasure, to their own country, through the channel of the Company, their own goods and their own ships. They propose, moreover, that a regular conveyance, overland, for the speediest transmission of the correspondence of both, be furnished; and that the new system of enlargement, with every facility and encouragement on the part of the Company and the State, be established by law. The merchants in London have in more general terms proposed, that their ships shall, in like manner, be allowed to navigate to and from British India, carrying all such goods as the Company do not exclusively reserve for themselves.

V. The grounds and reasons on which the free merchants prefer the claims which have now been stated, are in substance these: First, in respect to the Company's ships, that the tonnage accorded to them in those ships do not answer the design of the Legislature in granting it, and defeats the objects they must necessarily have in view as merchants, because the rate of freight in the Company's ships is so extremely high that many species of goods cannot bear it. Those ships, also, are, in consequence of the warlike and political operations, which make a part of the Company's system, so uncertain in the times of their arrival and departure, and subject to so many deviations in their voyages; the times, too, at which private goods are required to be ready for them are so inconvenient, and the whole quantity of tonnage so limited, and so little adequate to the wants which may occasionally arise, that merchants are exceedingly disconcerted and dis-



discouraged in forming their speculations, neither knowing what quantity of tonnage they may depend on, nor when it will arrive, nor when the ships that do arrive may again fail, nor whither they may be intermediately destined; and if extra ships are allotted for the transport of their goods, though the rate of freight be less, the cost of insurance is higher, and the other disadvantages nearly the same: from all which circumstances they are rendered quite uncertain what provision to make of goods, or how to form their arrangements in taking up money and drawing bills on Europe, and regulating their insurances with the most safety and advantage; whence, in conclusion, it happens, that they are frequently left, at the end of a season, with goods on their hands, which either must remain in their warehouses till another season, or be sold to foreigners, (at least shipped to foreign ports,) to them anifest loss of this country.

Another head of complaint among them, though less explicitly stated, is, that foreign Europeans enjoy greater privileges in British India than they do who are natives of the governing State: "Foreigners," say they, "come into the British territories without restraint, and they export ships and goods at pleasure to their own country, and even to all the states of foreign Europe and America; whilst we, subjects of Britain, are destitute of such privileges, restrained from sending our ships to our own country, deprived of freedom in our commercial speculations, and, in territories belonging to that country, are degraded below the state of aliens."

It is represented by the free merchants, in the third place, That the objects they propose are calculated

directly and greatly to promote the benefit of British India, and of the sovereign state, by increasing the produce and exports of the one; the imports, duties, exports, and profits of the other; the shipping and navigation of both: That the Company cannot take off all the export produce of their territories, much of which also is now carried away by foreigners; whereas nearly the whole, both of these exports, and of the surplus not wanted by the Company, might be brought by the ships of British residents, if licensed, into the Thames, to the entire extinction of the clandestine trade: That, moreover, the productions of those territories, particularly indigo, sugar, cotton, and other bulky articles, are capable of being exceedingly extended and improved, if sufficient encouragement were given to that end: And in proof of these positions, the merchants adduce the rapid increase in the exports from India to this country, since the liberty given by the act of 1793, notwithstanding all the disadvantages which have cramped the freedom of commercial enterprise; whence it is inferred, that the trade is, in its own nature, progressive, and, if permitted to expand freely, would soon become highly important to the nation.

Some of the advocates for the same cause on this side have gone much farther in their reasoning, as well as in their views, than the free merchants themselves. Those advocates charge the Company with having designedly obstructed the operation of the act of 1793: with having followed a narrow jealous policy, which, by preventing the capital and enterprise of British residents from being freely employed in the direct trade of England, has thrown it into foreign channels, whereby a fatal rival-



rivalship against ourselves has been nourished; the clandestine and neutral trade from India, in particular the trade of America with that country, has been most alarmingly increased; and even the Indian trade of our enemies, the French and Dutch, which a contrary conduct might have extinguished, has been upholden: so that Great Britain is thus, by the preposterous policy of the Company, in danger of losing the carrying-trade of India, and the maritime ascendancy she has obtained over other nations; whereas, say those advocates, if free scope were given to the enterprize of British merchants, if they were allowed to employ their resources in the direct trade from India to Britain, nearly the whole commerce of the East might centre in, or pass through, the Thames; and they add, that it was the spirit and design of the provisions of 1793 to produce these effects. The privileges thus proposed, are said to be the *natural right* of British subjects, and of the natives of our Indian possessions. The capital which may be employed in the export trade of that country is asserted to be immense, and the capabilities of the country for exportable produce of many valuable sorts unbounded.

VJ. Your committee having thus exhibited what they conceive to be, in substance, the requisitions of the free merchants, with the arguments urged in support of them, and also the more extensive speculations with which they have been followed up here, will proceed to make their observations on the whole.

And first, with respect to the Company's ships.—During war, a state in which we have been ever since the act of 1793 passed, the regular course of commercial operations must every where be more or

less interrupted, whilst the expence of freight and demurrage will be greatly enhanced; and the safety of the Company's fleets, as well as the military expeditions and political objects that occur in such a period, doubtless expose the voyages of their ships to delays, changes, and uncertainties. The commerce of the Company has greatly suffered from these causes, and individuals who have embarked property in their ships, have no doubt shared in their inconveniences: but the Company have gone upon no design of obstructing the fair operation of the act of 1793, as their proceedings will testify; nor could they make the greater objects of their complex system bend to private interests; yet in the article of freight they have generally favoured these interests, charging individuals considerably less than they have themselves specifically paid for the goods of those individuals to the ship-owners. And if the merchants were, during war, to lade on ships entirely in their own management, those ships must be subject to detentions for convoy both out and home, or incur a proportionably higher charge for insurance, and greater hazard of capture, by which the expeditions would be frustrated.

Nevertheless, after making these proper distinctions, your committee are ready to allow, that much uncertainty, in the times of arrival and departure of ships, and in respect to procuring freight on them, with long detention and circuitous routes, may naturally and justly be a ground of objection with individuals, who are required to depend on them for freight; and that it is fit all inconveniences of this kind should be remedied, though it will not follow that there is no other remedy but that which the merchants propose.

And



And here your committee feel themselves obliged, in justice to the subject before them, to state, what they find from the proceedings of the Bengal government, that the proposal of the merchants to employ their own ships in the transport of their goods from India, did not originate merely from experience of the inconveniences resulting from their being confined to the Company's ships, nor had for its sole object a better mode of conveying their goods; but proceeded in part from a desire, which seems to have been cherished as early as the last renewal of the charter, of introducing Indian ships into the navigation to Britain, with a distinct view to the profit to be obtained by employing such shipping in that new channel: for various applications appear on the Bengal records, from owners of Indian ships therein specified, admitting that those ships were built on the speculation of their being employed in the trade to Europe, stating the loss to which disappointment would expose the owners; and requesting either that the ships may be taken up by the Company, or that individuals may be allowed to freight goods on them to Britain; and in other places, the wish of those exporters of goods, who are also ship-owners, to prefer their own ships, although freight might be had on the Company's, is acknowledged, and acknowledged to arise from the profit and advantage expected by them as owners. Thus the scheme of employing private ships is not, on the part of the merchants, purely an auxiliary expedient for facilitating the transfer of British property in goods to this country. The transfer of goods is, indeed, the object originally and principally insisted on: it is the strongest ground on which the court could be required

to relinquish part of their privileges. But the merchants of London, who have lately claimed a share in any new enlargement that may be conceded to individuals, do not even place their application on this ground; and though the merchants of India so often urge the policy of bringing the produce of the east into the Thames, this transfer is not the *sole end*, and the employment of Indian ships merely the *means*; but in part the transfer is the *means*, and the ships the *end*.

VII. With respect to the alleged inferiority of the condition of British subjects in our territories, compared with that of foreign Europeans, it is an objection which a brief explanation will answer; but the implied principle on which it rests may deserve serious attention.

The rights of several European nations to commercial establishments in those countries of Hindustân now subject to our government, existed and were enjoyed long before we acquired territorial power there, and have ever since been exercised by the subjects and the flags of those nations, except as the fate of war has, in particular instances, suspended or extinguished them. Our acquisition of territorial power, though we did not employ it to divest foreigners of their privileges, brought them, however, gradually into more dependence upon us for the provision of their investments: so that at length, finding, in Bengal particularly, a greater facility in transacting their business at our settlements than at their own, some of them began to bring their ships directly to our ports; and as thus their dependence on us would be increased, and the duties on their goods, with their expenditures whilst in harbour, centre with us, it was evidently good policy to encourage them



them in this practice, which therefore received the sanction of the supreme government, and of the authorities at home. It was about that time (some years after the peace of 1782) that the ships of several states which had no settlements in India, as the American, Tuscan, and Genoese, began to resort thither, particularly to Bengal; and as they might, if refused entrance into our ports, have proceeded to those of the French, Dutch, Danes, or Portuguese, it was but an extension of the same principle of policy, which recommended our admitting the flags of these powers, to admit also flags of other countries in amity with us; and the French and Dutch possessions on the continent having since fallen into our hands, besides an increased foreign resort at our other ports, Calcutta has become the seat of almost the whole export trade of Bengal.

These changes, with the greater security derived from our government, have indeed increased the number of foreigners in the trade; for single ships, of countries holding no footing of their own in India, now visit its shores, with a confidence and safety which the protection of joint companies and factories could never give in the time of the Moguls. But still these changes are only other forms of exercising rights which existed under the native government; and British merchants, far from suffering injury by them, find in the transfer of the business of foreigners to our ports, one of the causes of the elevation at which they have arrived since our accession to territorial power; for they are the main agents in the transaction of all that business; and instead of being now, in *any* respect, worse, their condition is, in *every* respect, raised: they possess, far the greater

part of the trade of the Indian seas; they carry on extensive manufactures in the interior of our provinces, they have in their hands the trade formed by the remittance of British fortunes from India. Many who were in that country, under the discredit of entering into it irregularly, and the suspicion of forwarding an illicit traffic, have been relieved from those depressing circumstances, by receiving licenses of residence, and by the indulgences of the act of 1793. That act, besides its other benefits, invested them with a valuable privilege in the trade to England, through the Company's ships, which was a new and very important concession. They now desire to send their own ships and their own goods to England, without any other material limitation, except that of passing them through the channel of the Company: and this is, in effect, to desire the opening of the trade altogether; for it is not to be imagined, that if such a concession were made in favour of one class of subjects, the rest would not claim it likewise. Nay, the advocates of the free merchants already contend, that it is the right of British subjects as such. The merchants of London, in their application to participate in any intended enlargements, follow up this argument practically; and the question, therefore, thus brought forward, is not merely whether the Company, in its commercial capacity, shall, though remaining a corporate body, be divested of its most valuable exclusive privileges, but whether this country shall carry on its trade to India on the same principle it trades to its American colonies, and, by multiplying communications and intercourses, open the way to the gradual colonization of Europeans in its Eastern possessions, contrary to the



policy hitherto adopted by the legislature?

Of the wisdom of this policy there will be occasion to say something hereafter; but it will be proper to note here, why the danger apprehended from the unrestrained intercourse of our own subjects is not to be dreaded, from the permission which foreigners have to visit the country. *It is because we are the governing Power.* We have already great establishments of Europeans there, civil and military; our flourishing settlements attract multitudes not in the service; the connections, public and individual, already subsisting between that country and this, send continually fresh supplies thither; the number of uncovenanted British subjects has very considerably increased there in the last twenty years; new enlargements of the intercourse, it is obvious, would exceedingly augment their number; the vast capital and shipping of this country, with the natural relations subsisting between it and India, all peculiar to itself, could at once pour in tides of men and money there: the sanction of any public acts at home would, of course, dispose the governments abroad to afford the commercial encouragements there, which would correspond with the spirit of enlargement adopted here; the public opinion of a great European society, formed in this spirit, would have an influence on the sentiments of those governments, through the medium of natives; also lands might be extensively occupied by Europeans; and the *genius* of this system, without any formed plan, would gradually and insensibly antiquate the present one, and become impatient for all the rights of British colonists; to give or to refuse which would then be a most mo-

mentous question. With respect to all these points, the circumstances of foreign Europeans are very different. In the territories ruled by us they have only circumscribed factories: they are not allowed to spread themselves in the country; they can have none of its honours or internal advantages; the numbers, capital, and influence of our own people, keep them from much share in the maritime trade of India; their numbers and their actions are watched with jealousy by our governments; their capitals are small; they are not one body moved by one mind, but detached and fluctuating parties, issuing from nations distant and discordant from each other; they form not themselves into distinct societies, but come, as already observed, chiefly to our ports; and in a word, whilst common care is observed on our part, they can have neither number, nor concert, nor means, nor, above all, any *growing principle of strength*, that can become formidable to us.

VIII. The trade of foreigners to our Indian possessions is a topic naturally connected with that which has just been discussed. Some late writings, in insisting strongly on the dangerous growth and tendency of that trade, (a point which will be examined hereafter,) seem to imply, that it should be the policy of this country, as much as possible, to draw the whole commerce of India to its own ports. A proposition of this import, loosely taken up, may lead to very erroneous conclusions. Certainly we ought to observe the nature and progress of the intercourse of foreigners with our possessions with vigilant attention; but we cannot, without some adequate provocation on their part, in justice, seek to deprive them of the rights they have acquired to a share in the  
Indian



Indian trade: and if we had the power of accomplishing such an object, it would not be our true interest to use that power; for, were we to exclude them from the shores of India, it is obvious that, in return, they would prohibit the entrance of the productions of that country into their ports; and thus the trade which we had sought to engross, would, in fact, be lost, both to Britain, and to the British possessions. The true and fair line of policy, with respect to foreigners, seems to be, to allow them to supply their own wants of Indian commodities, purchasing them with their own funds; but to prevent them, as much as possible, from trading upon British capital; and always to exact from them due order and submission, in the countries belonging to us, where they come to traffic.

With respect to an idea lately advanced, that the Company might and ought to have attracted the productions of the Indian possessions, still in the hands of our enemies, into the channel of our own trade to this country; it is so unsupported by fact, probability, or policy, that your committee deem it unnecessary to go into any serious discussion of it. There appears no reason for believing the assertion on which this idea proceeds, that the trade carried on with Europe, from the Indian settlements in the hands of the French, Dutch, and Spaniards, has increased during the war, and has been nourished by the impolicy of the Company. That trade, as every one knows, flourished long before the present times: it flourished in a greater degree than it does now, as it naturally would, when the mother countries were far more commercial than they are at present, and when our fleets did not render the navigation of the world nearly impractica-

ble to our enemies. No conceivable measures of commercial policy within the power of the Company could have farther depressed that trade; and to bring that trade to our ports, had the thing been practicable, would indeed have been to nourish it most unwisely.

Your committee will next proceed to state what they find respecting the nature and amount of the trade of foreigners with British India, concerning which such alarming representations have been made. And as, in order to judge more intelligently of this article, the extent of the private trade carried on directly between our own country and our Indian possessions should also be known, this, which is separately a necessary head of inquiry, will be introduced at the same time. These together will furnish, as far as informations go, a view of the whole trade carried on, both by foreigners and British individuals, (that is, excluding the Company's commerce,) between British India on one side, and Europe and America on the other; and the view to be thus given will, in the opinion of your committee, form a very material part of this report.

The view will not, indeed, be complete, because no authenticated accounts are obtainable of the private and foreign trade which has been carried on from the presidencies of Madras and Bombay; but in Bengal, on the contrary, a luminous and correct register has of late years been kept, by order of government, of all the exports and imports of Calcutta, the great emporium of that country, and indeed (excepting the Danish settlement of Serampore, where some business is still done, of which there are also particulars from equal authority,) the sole port: and as Bengal, with the adjacent allied provinces,



far transcends the other presidencies in population and wealth, in rich productions for commerce, and is the attractive centre of our power in the East, it may be concluded, that an accurate account of its foreign trade will go far to furnish us with all the grounds of reasoning neces-

sary for political purposes in the present case. In this opinion, your committee, without resorting to any informations of inferior authority, submit to the court the following collective views, formed from the public register above-mentioned.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNTS of the IMPORTS and EXPORTS, in Foreign and Private Trade, (that is, exclusive of the Trade of the English East India Company,) to and from all Parts of Europe and America, from the Years 1705-6 to 1798-9, both inclusive, being the latest Accounts received.

	IMPORTS—CALCUTTA.				EXPORTS—CALCUTTA.				
	Total in Four Years.		Annual Average.		Total in 4 Years.	Medium per Annum.	Bal. of each, deducting Imports.		
	Goods.	Bullion.	Goods.	Bullion.					Total.
London - - Rupees.	5,542,677	1,791,019	7,333,696	1,835,669	447,755	1,833,424	24,567,473	6,141,868	4,308,444
Copenhagen - - -	240,550	118,036	1,058,586	235,137	29,509	261,646	3,164,456	791,114	526,468
Hamburgh - - -	1,659,735	325,692	1,985,427	414,933	81,423	496,356	3,055,002	763,750	267,394
Lisbon - - - - -	333,084	2,108,386	2,441,470	83,271	527,096	610,367	4,618,772	1,154,693	544,326
Leghorn - - - - -	74,190	-	74,190	18,547	-	18,547	97,781	24,445	5,898
America - - - - -	1,396,568	3,377,203	4,773,571	349,092	844,301	1,193,393	7,724,730	1,931,182	737,789
Deduct London	9,946,604	7,720,336	17,666,940	2,486,659	1,930,084	4,416,735	43,228,214	10,807,052	6,390,319
Rs.	5,542,677	1,791,019	7,333,696	1,385,669	447,755	1,833,424	24,567,473	6,141,868	4,308,444
Rs.	4,403,927	5,929,317	10,333,244	1,100,980	1,483,229	2,583,311	18,660,741	4,665,184	2,081,875
Ald Serampore *, from the authority of the Reporter of External Commerce	903,720	1,215,480	2,119,200	225,930	303,870	629,800	2,328,000	957,000	427,200
Rs.	5,307,647	7,144,797	12,452,444	1,326,910	1,786,199	2,213,111	22,488,741	5,622,184	2,500,075

\* Which may be supposed to have been consigned chiefly to Copenhagen.



	IMPORTS into CALCUTTA, In Private and Foreign Trade.			EXPORTS from CALCUTTA, In Private and Foreign Trade.			BALANCE of EXPORTS above IMPORTS.	
	From London.	From Foreign Europe and America.	Total Imports.	To London.	To Foreign Europe and America.	Total Exports.	London.	Foreign Parts.
1795-6	- - - Rs.	2,273,161	5,568,789	8,408,800	6,681,864	15,090,664	6,135,639	3,386,236
1796-7	- - -	1,783,002	4,455,727	5,079,310	5,762,458	10,841,768	3,296,308	3,089,733
1797-8	- - -	1,534,219	3,520,361	6,971,529	3,883,737	10,855,266	5,437,310	1,897,595
1798-9	- - -	1,743,314	4,122,063	4,107,834	2,332,682	6,440,516	2,364,520	over imported, 46,067

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT to shew the Amount of the Private and Foreign Trade in each of the above Years.

	IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
	London.	Europe and America.	Total.	London.	Europe and America.	Total.
1795-6	Lacks . . . . . 22	33	55	Lacks . . . . . 84	66	150
1796-7	18	26	44	50	57	107
1797-8	15	20	35	69	38	107
1798-9	17	24	41	41	23	64



These accounts will be found, on attentive inspection, to afford detailed information of the private and foreign exports and imports in the whole and in respect to each of the heads, namely, the ports of London, Foreign Europe, and America, distinguishing their several proportions; also shewing the proportion of imports brought in bullion by each, the excess of the exports to each place above its imports, and the total excess of the exports above the imports; likewise the variations in exports and imports in *each* of the *four* years, which shew their annual *increase* or *decrease*.

From all these particulars the following facts are derived:

The total medium of foreign and private exports of Bengal, *per annum*, to London direct, is - - - - 6,100,000

To Foreign Europe and America, whether on neutral or clandestine account, - - 5,600,000

11,700,000

If to this sum of private and foreign exports be added the English East-India Company's, which is about, *per annum*, - - - - 10,000,000

The total exports of Bengal, public and private, will be - - - - Rupees 21,700,000

And it will hence result,

I. That the Company's export trade to Europe is *nearly one-half* of all the foreign exports of Bengal to Britain, Foreign Europe, and America.

II. That the direct *legal trade* of individuals, to London exceeds all the *neutral and clandestine trade* taken together.

III. That Foreign Europeans and Americans, whether trading on their own account, or covering the clandestine trade of British subjects to their ports, have very little more than *one-fourth* of the foreign export trade of Bengal, the *other three-*

*fourths* centering, as just stated, on public or private account in London.

IV. The exports from Bengal, on private and foreign account, to Europe and America, exceed the imports on the same accounts, from those places, in the sum of 6,817,519 rupees.

Of this excess, London receives, on private account, - 4,308,444  
Foreign Europe and America, - - - - - 2,509,075

Rupees 6,817,519

These sums, which Bengal pays on the balance to individuals and foreigners, must be presumed to be the acquisitions of British residents; because the natives neither adventure themselves in foreign trade, nor lend to others for this purpose to any extent, and resident foreigners have little property to remit. According to this fair conclusion, therefore, the fortunes remitted by British residents, in goods, directly to London, on an average of these four years, amount in round numbers to 4,300,000 rupees; and the fortunes they have either remitted through foreigners, or lent to them, appear to be, *per annum*, 2,500,000 rupees.

V. London does not pay a *third* of the amount it receives from Bengal on private account, by the amount it carries thither, the bullion included in which does not exceed a tenth of what it receives. Foreigners pay to Bengal *above half* of the amount they carry away, and of this half the *greater part* is bullion; that is, *more than a fourth of their exports* is paid in bullion. London, however, carries *more goods* to Bengal than all Foreign Europe and America; and it carries *more goods* than *specie*: Foreigners carry more *specie* than goods.

VI.



VI. The ancient practice of exporting silver from the West to India, appears of late years to have considerably revived. The imports into Bengal in the last four years, appear to have been about eighty-nine lacks of rupees, of which seventy-one lacks were from Foreign Europe and America.

VII. That in the course of the four years of which the accounts are here exhibited, there has been a *progressive decrease* in the exports from Bengal to Foreign Europe and America. This may be more concisely represented in the following view :

	IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.			
	London.	Eur. & Amer.	Total.	London.	Eur. & Amer.	Total.	
1795-6	22	32	55	84	66	150	} Lacks.
1796-7	18	26	44	50	57	108	
1797-8	15	20	35	69	38	108	
1798-9	17	24	41	41	23	64	

VIII. It will also be seen, from the larger accounts above abstracted, that America, and the foreign ports of Europe, have not maintained the same relative proportion of this trade in each year; but that the proportions of their exports have varied in the following manner :

	1795-6	1796-7	1797-8	1798-9
The American exports were - Lacks	19	25	20	11
Which leaves for Foreign Europe -	47	32	18	12
	66	57	38	23
	—	—	—	—

These well authenticated facts disprove and discredit all the assertions which have been so long and confidently advanced, of the great extent of the *foreign and clandestine trade of India*, and of the *progressive*

*increase* of that trade. Both positions appear to be alike groundless, since of the total exports of Bengal to Europe and America, amounting to Rs. 21,700,000, only 5,600,000 go to foreign parts. Of that sum, the really neutral trade appears to be 3,100,000, and the clandestine trade carried on under foreign colours, 2,500,000. This is upon an average of four years, of which the latter years are in amount of exports the least.

That the exports of Bengal to foreign Europe and America, taken together, have not, on the whole, increased in the last thirty years, there is also reason to believe, from a comparison of its former trade at the present and at former periods: and that the clandestine trade has greatly decreased, there is positive evidence, both from the vast increase of remittances in bills and goods directly to this country, whilst the standard of British acquisitions in India has had no increase, but rather the contrary; and from the present little amount of that trade.

Thus the main argument, on which extensive enlargements of the privileges of British individuals have been pressed, namely, the alarming increase of foreign and clandestine trade, completely fails.

IX. Another argument urged to the same end remains now to be considered; the improvement of the productive powers, and the export commerce of our Indian possessions. These objects, the free merchants believe, will be promoted by the measures they propose. More than one opinion which has come before your committee, represents the capabilities of those territories as prodigiously great, and nothing to be wanting for turning them to the happiest purposes, but



the removal of restraints. This is a subject that particularly merits attention; for to the interests of our Indian dominions, with which the interests of the sovereign state are now so much united, hardly any thing can be more important than a proper system of political economy. It may, however, be observed, in proceeding to this head, that the merchants, in resorting to it, lost sight of the ground upon which the privilege of sending goods to this country was conceded to them by the act of 1793, namely, the remittance of British fortunes, and thereby the annihilation of the clandestine trade. They propose, now, objects of much greater magnitude. In the reasonings used by some of the free merchants, it has been said, *that the surplus produce of British India, which the Company's commerce cannot take off, should be left to the industry of other traders.* Such a position may be understood to imply, that the Company wish to prevent the exportation of what they do not themselves require, or that the produce of that country remains on hand for want of sale; and when applied more particularly to infer that the surplus produce should be brought immediately to Britain, it does not discriminate the *bona fide* foreign trade with India, which ought to be permitted. But as the produce of every country must, in the course of things, bear a certain proportion or relation to the demand made for it, so there appears no reason to doubt, that the productions of British India, fit for the European market, whether raised by its own native stock of capital, or occasionally supplied by importations of bullion from Foreign Europe and America, (which is a precarious thing, and quite distinct, in its nature and consequences, from

the transfer of private capitals from the sovereign British state to the dependent Asiatic state,) have usually had a current vent into one or other of the channels of trade now open with that country; that hence the alleged difficulties of conveying goods by the Company's ships, have not prevented the disposal of all the produce which the capital of the country raised.

But if this position were to convey any such idea as that the Company desired to limit the productions and exports of their possessions to what they themselves can invest, it would be most unjust. The admission of ships of all friendly nations to their ports, the indulgences given to British subjects before the act of 1793, the privileges of that act, and the large importations these subjects have made here since, all serve to confute such a notion. It is the principle of the Company to give free scope to the internal powers of their territories, in agriculture and manufactures, and a free vent, by exportation, to the commodities thus raised. They, therefore, long before the act of 1793, encouraged the culture of indigo, which, from being no article of export, is now produced in such quantity, and of such excellence, as to supply nearly the demands of all Europe. They also gave various encouragements to the culture of sugar, and other articles, new as imports from India into this country. Indigo is become one of the grand staples of the Indian trade, and, with sugar, has been the chief cause of the increase in the sale amount of privileged goods for some late years. But the indefinite terms in which the improvement of British India is now urged in some writings, will comprehend principles of a very different kind from that which has just been stated:

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and a clear understanding on this head, as well as respecting the means which British India possesses for foreign commerce, is become necessary: for the whole of the system by which the commerce and the government of India should be regulated, is involved in this inquiry.

It is sufficiently known, that India, under Asiatic sovereigns, never had any capital of its own applied to the European commerce. The great body of the people of that country have always been, and still continue, averse to distant and hazardous enterprises, especially by sea. Their genius and their means have ever mainly turned into the channels of domestic industry, little adventuring even upon coasting voyages. From the remotest times of which we have account, down to our own days, the manufactures of India, fit for the European market, were set on foot by money imported into that country. Since the period of British acquisitions there, this order has been reversed. The tribute of India, and the gains of British individuals, have furnished the capital of the exports to Europe, from at least all the territories possessed by this country; but besides that tribute and those gains, there is, at this day, no capital in those territories applicable to an extension of their exports to Europe: and the vent of European manufactures there, is limited by physical and moral causes. If it were practicable for us to take off, and India to supply, ten times the quantity of produce we now receive from it, that country would not increase its consumption of our manufactures in any proportion. After, then, India has paid by her commodities for her limited purchases of European manufactures, there remains with her no other

means of an export trade to Europe, but the public and private British funds above-mentioned; for those which resident foreigners may acquire by trade hardly merit any attention. The public funds, or the tribute by which chiefly the Company's commerce is carried on, need not be further noticed, since the inquiry is about enlarging the trading privileges of private merchants. It is evident, that there are no means of doing this upon any great scale, consonant to the ideas held out of improving our possessions, but by capital transferred thither in bullion from this country. The first question, then, to be determined, is, whether it would be good policy thus to employ any large portion of the commercial capital of Great Britain, either in addition to all that it has already laid out in its plantations and colonies in the American states and in Europe, or by withdrawing such portion from some other branch of trade nearer home, in which it must be now engaged? for it cannot be supposed that any considerable part of the national stock lies dormant and useless.

It is to be observed, that with regard to old staple articles of import from India, such as piece goods and raw-silk, which are of great value in proportion to their bulk, the present scale of importation into Europe seems nearly equal to the vent for them; and as, from the largeness of that importation, and other causes, the profit on these articles is very moderate, there could be no encouragement, on that score, to increase the importation; nor, as the law has left it optional with the Company to permit individuals to trade in piece goods to this country, could the court be expected to extend the participation they now give



give to private merchants in that article, because a great increase in the importation would only make it a losing one to both parties. And indeed the merchants themselves, in their plans of enlargement, profess to look chiefly to articles new or lately introduced in the imports from India, most of which are generally bulky in proportion to their value. These articles are *Indigo*, *Cotton*, *Sugar*, and *Coffee*.

Upon the probability of advantage from largely speculating in any of those articles, your committee will beg leave to make some remarks.

*Indigo*, as has been observed above, is already carried to an extent, that nearly suffices for the consumption of all Europe. The Company, after advancing the funds to give a solid establishment to this manufacture, left the whole trade in it to individuals, for whom it is brought home in the Company's ships, usually at a war freight of only 22l. 10s. per ton, which is less than they pay the ship owners; and being comparatively of small bulk for its value, can no great way enhance the occasion for private tonnage. The undertakers in it have actually suffered severely from too rapid an increase in the manufacture, and too eager a competition: to push this article, therefore, further at present, by encouraging new adventurers in it, would be unjust to those who are yet hardly emerging from their difficulties; and on the general principles of trade, it would be evidently impolitic: but if, on fair investigation, any further reasonable encouragement shall be found necessary for the culture of this article, or for bringing it to Europe, there can be no difficulty in according to it.

The article of *Cotton* is liable to such sudden and great variations in the price, that it is natural the home manufacturers should turn their thoughts occasionally towards India for a supply. At one time, these manufacturers were clamorous with the Company to import the raw material for their use: but the court of directors very wisely declined their request; at the same time they manifested the desire, which has always distinguished the liberal principles of the Company, to contribute towards the prosperity of every part of the kingdom, by offering those manufacturers free permission to send ships to India, to import cotton from thence for their account; but this they declined. The truth is, that, in consequence of the astonishingly rapid increase of the demand for cotton goods, there must, at intervals, be a want of the raw material, arising from particular circumstances chiefly occasioned by the war; but as the produce of the raw material has increased, and is still increasing, in the southern parts of the American States, in the West-Indies, in Brazil, and, above all, in Dutch Guyana, now settled by British planters, the cotton of India cannot succeed, the rate of freight being always too high, except on some very extraordinary occasions. Further, the cotton which has been imported here from the East is not the produce of British India. A considerable quantity of that cotton is required to give employment to the manufacturers in the Company's provinces, where enough is not raised for the demand; and a large quantity of it, also, is every year sent to China, as a means of providing the Company's investment of teas. In former times the cotton was imported from Bombay, where it was collected from  
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the various districts in that quarter, to Bengal, to the coast of Coromandel, and some part to China. At present, and for some years, none has been imported into Bengal from the Bombay side of India by sea; but on a reference to the Bengal register of exports, before quoted, your committee find very large imports into the Company's possessions in Bengal from the upper provinces; which imports, they have reason to believe, may have been produced in those districts that furnish part of the large export of cotton from Bombay: and your committee are more confirmed in this opinion, from the very advanced price to which they find this article has risen in Bengal. On the other hand, if, from the vast importation of cotton from so many quarters, part of it is again exported, it may deserve consideration, whether we ought thus to minister to the support of foreign manufactures which affect our own. On the whole, therefore, your committee must submit, whether it would be proper, on the part of the Company, especially with the chance of aiding a foreign rivalship, to encourage the importation here, of an article not the produce of British India, especially when attended with injury to the subjects of the Company, depending upon them for support; and materially interfering with their China trade, which, whether considered as profitable to the Company, or yielding a large revenue to the State, must be regarded as of the first consequence.

*Sugar* is an article which the Company have been at pains to encourage; but the prices here are known to have been variable and precarious; and from the experience hitherto acquired, in a time of war, indeed, when high freights have

prevailed, it does not appear to be a commodity which, unless changes are supposed in other parts of the world, and in the duties on home consumption here, promises to produce, on any large scale of importation, a sure or adequate profit. On the finer sorts which the Company have imported they have gained a little, on the coarser there has been a loss; and from the present state of the trade in this article, in the great European market and in India, your committee do not see the inducements which the Indian merchants can have to embark largely in it, unless the procuring of freight for their ships be a leading consideration, which is a very distinct object, that has yet no title to the attention of the court, as will be shewn hereafter.

*Coffee.* The trade in this commodity has been very great, and not much understood. The coffee imported here from the East is almost wholly the produce of Java; little, if any, from the British dominions. In consequence of the war, the produce of several years had accumulated. The Dutch India Company, therefore, sent ships under the Danish flag for a considerable part; but the larger proportion was brought to Europe, circuitously, by Americans, and of course sold at the Company's sale. In the appendix will be found a list of the ships, with their cargoes, which were sold by the Company in the preceding season, whereby it will appear, that a very small part, if any, is the produce of British India.

Your committee have observed, among the articles imported by individuals, that of salt-petre, as forming one of the commodities, without which there cannot well be



be an assorted cargo. This being both of high political importance, and essentially necessary in various manufactures in this country, the supply should, in no degree, be permitted to individuals. The Company have always taken care to provide for every demand; but if the private traders are allowed to deal in it, as an article which is bulky, and of little value; and they, from the fall of price in Europe, or other causes, should cease to provide the requisite quantity for properly loading their ships, the Company might not only suffer loss in the first instance, but the public be materially disappointed.

X. Your committee having made these specific remarks on the principal articles, which, it is understood, would supply the new enlargements proposed in the Indian trade, will beg leave to proceed to some further observations, which have relation to the influence those enlargements, though they should be far short of what sanguine speculation has conceived, may have on the investment of the Company. And first, with respect to the supply of funds. From the heavy expences incurred by the Company in the course of the present war, there remains, in effect, at present, little or no surplus revenue to aid the provision of investment; therefore the requisite funds must be furnished by the proceeds of the exports from this country, and by money received for bills on the court of directors. Those exports, it is sufficiently known, supply but a small proportion of the advance which the investment demands; especially at the present juncture, when bullion is not procurable at any price, and a bar is put to the exportation of copper

beyond a small limited quantity. On the money, therefore, of individuals abroad, in exchange for bills on the court, the Company must depend for the provision of the greatest part of the investment; and when it is considered, that the fortunes of most of those individuals have been accumulated from the very ample allowances granted by the Company, and that every fortune has been acquired under their protection, it cannot be deemed an unreasonable hope, that they should have a preference over other persons, who now come forward as rivals to that very body, whose protection and fostering care has enabled them to become what they are. It is from their competition for money that the Company's difficulties to borrow in the time of war, and the rate of interest on their loans, have been aggravated. The higher terms, on the other hand, which the Company have thus been obliged to give, have raised the price of money to individuals, who complain hereof in their turn; but surely, if the preference commercially due to the Company were out of question, the safety of the whole, which is intimately connected with the Company's ability to raise supplies for the exigencies of necessary war, has a better right to be considered than the convenience of a part.

Secondly, with respect to the freedom and extent of the Company's purchases. It seems to be an idea entertained by some, that the excessive freight and charges of the Company's commerce, incapacitate them from attempting any profitable speculations on mercantile principles, especially where competition is to be encountered; that they lose on various articles of the Indian trade, and that their main use, in a commercial view, is to serve as the channel



channel of the Eastern tribute ; and therefore, that all new attempts will be best conducted by the enterprise and economy of individuals. These ideas go to deprive the Company of all commercial freedom, and may even be extended to a formal partition of the Indian trade ; the old staples to be left to the Company, and the new articles to private merchants : but your committee feel themselves warranted to maintain, that the Company ship their goods in India at a less aggregate of cost and charges than individuals do, and realize the proceeds here at a less expence, saving only in the article of freight on the regular ships, which may be reduced, with respect to coarse articles, by hiring ships of inferior equipment ; and though, amidst the fluctuations of war, the Company may occasionally lose by some articles, there are various reasons why they should not immediately strike such articles out of their investment : and it will still be true, that by their resources and numerous establishments, they have great advantages over private persons, in all attempts, either to introduce new articles, or extend the provision of them ; for they have only to avail themselves of institutions already existing ; whereas private merchants must, for these ends, in many cases, form new establishments. It is without sufficient foundation, therefore, that the superior capabilities of individuals for striking out new branches of trade have been insisted on ; and whilst so many arguments have been industriously used to obtain new privileges for private traders, that there has been such a tendency shewn to reduce the Company to a mere routine of bringing home the tribute in a few old staples. It is fit they should possess full as much

freedom as private merchants have, in managing and ordering their commercial affairs, to the extent of the funds and the credit which they may fairly apply to commercial purposes, without increasing the present high scale of Indian debt. And if it should be occasionally found expedient for them, either with a view of profit, which in particular junctures may accrue, or to furnish a saving tonnage for their ships, to make an extraordinary provision of new articles, it will not only be their duty to do so, but they may do it with greater advantage than individuals can ; for, if there be any new methods by which they can increase their commercial gains, the vast expences incurred in warlike operations require they should be adopted ; and at a time when the Company have straitened themselves in achieving conquests highly beneficial to the nation, they have least reason to conclude, that they shall be expected to make any undue sacrifices of their privileges.

Thirdly, with regard to the competition which a great enlargement of private trade may occasion in the Indian commerce. That the law of every market should be a free permission for those who enter into it to buy and sell, need not be disputed ; but it is a question not of commercial principle, but of the policy of states, whether their subjects shall be encouraged to enter into competition with each other at any particular foreign market. There can be no doubt, that a great increase of demand and of purchases in India, would enhance the cost of commodities there ; and that a like increase in the quantities sold here, though this mart should be the largest, would, on the whole, lower the proceeds. The consequence from



from both branches of competition would, therefore, be evident and direct disadvantage to this country, and disadvantage not to be compensated, in this case, by the extent of the trade.

Upon the whole, then, of this part of the subject, there is not, in the opinion of your committee, such a rational certainty of mercantile profit to individuals, from largely increasing the importation of these new articles, (for the hope of profit by freight is not an admitted plea,) as ought to induce them to embark in such speculations, in the face of a strong rivalry to most of the articles from the produce of other countries: and where there is little appearance of benefit, the inconveniences of disturbing the established order of things should not be encountered.

XI. But the grand objection, of a commercial nature, to this new trade is, that a considerable capital must be transferred from Great-Britain to carry it on. In one of the papers from Bengal it is hypothetically stated, that in a few years the export of sugar from that country might be raised to 100,000 tons. Doubtless, in a vast extent of fertile soil, stretching from the sea almost to Delhi, it may be possible to carry the culture of sugar, and various other articles, to very great length; and persons unacquainted with the circumstances of that country, might imagine, from reading such a statement, that the main thing to be done was only to open the doors wide enough for exportation. The fact, however, is, that four or five millions sterling from this country must be furnished, to pay for the first cost, and the transportation of that quantity of sugar, for Bengal has no such fund of its own applicable to any

purpose of that kind; and the same observation must be applied to any large extension of other new articles.

The first point to be decided here, therefore, is, whether the nation ought to embark its capital in such a trade? This is a question of commercial policy, interesting to the public, who ought to know the concern they have in it; and a question on which it belongs to the legislature to determine. If there are reasons for withdrawing part of the capital employed in raising produce in some other dependences of the empire, and for encouraging preferably the productions of India, these reasons, doubtless, ought to be heard; but this new business should not be plunged into without examining and understanding its nature and consequences; and, in the opinion of your committee, unless there are some special motives for the preference just mentioned, or unless where some imperious exigency arises, it would be utterly impolitic to transplant much of the capital of Great Britain to carry on the agriculture and manufactures of that remote region.

XII. But your committee must believe, that the proposed enlargements would involve a consequence still more serious, on which they have already touched, in considering the claim of British subjects to a like freedom with foreigners in the Indian trade. This claim is, in other words, the present question. If, instead of carrying on the intercourse, commercial and political, of this country and its Indian dependences through one great channel, the East-India Company, which has so much contributed to preserve a vast people in their original habits of submission, the ships of British indi-



individuals were permitted to go and come at pleasure, a great change in the political circumstances of British India must, from the nature of things, be expected. Hitherto the want of an expensive legal channel to India, and the difficulties of getting into employment in our dominions, (for native governments invite only desperate military adventurers,) have prevented a great influx of British subjects into them, though foreign ships have been open to those who could afford to pay them, and our governments have chosen rather to license persons who had found means to settle themselves there, than to force them from all their concerns. But the proposed system would, at once, confer both right and employment on multitudes; and it is from an institution communicating these encouragements, that, in the opinion of your committee, danger is to be apprehended. The residence of a limited number of Europeans in our provinces, as things at present are, is not a ground of any alarm, provided that number can be kept from increasing; but in the proposed system there would be a principle of progressive increase, and this, your committee fear, might justly be considered as the first principle of a colonial system.

A continual course of detached commercial adventurers would entail the residence of greater numbers of Europeans abroad; many others would be tempted to resort thither, in the hope of establishing themselves; gradually, in consequence of these changes, they would be enabled to strike out new modes of employment, and spread themselves in the country. Even now, the society of merchants in India discover a wish to be emancipated from every material restraint: that spirit would

live, and be more powerful in the larger society. Governments, then, would find it a new and arduous task to maintain order and subordination. Every port in India would be accustomed to the visits of adventuring Europeans; connections between them and the country powers could hardly be prevented; part might go into the service of those powers; all could not expect fortunes to return; and those who saw no prospect of this kind would naturally commence colonization. That the rights and usages of our native subjects might not be encroached upon in this progress, that these people, though passive, might not be at length exasperated, and that they might not, from example, gradually lose their habits of submission to government, no man can be warranted to deny: nor is it less probable, that a vast mass of native subjects, thus put into a new state of agitation, a numerous European community progressively enlarging its views with its importance, and the combinations of Indian politics influenced by, and influencing these circumstances, might render it extremely difficult for this country to maintain, in that remote quarter, a government sufficiently strong and energetic to contain all these interests within their due bounds.

XIII. For these reasons, the inquiry concerning the principle by which our Indian possessions may be best preserved, though it appertain to the present subject, need not be a long one. That system cannot be best which, by the adoption of colonial principles of free ingress and residence, would expose us to all the hazards just described, and, through them, to the loss of the Indian empire. The legislature has already determined to maintain the dependency of that empire, not on colonial



lonial principles, but through the medium of that body by which it was acquired, the East-India Company, who are therefore constituted the sole national organ for its local government, and its communication with this country. The rights of that Company, who, through a long succession of years, sustained alone the expences and perils which ended in the acquisition of territorial dominion, have not been sacrificed to the unfounded claims set up for every British subject as such, to enter into the free enjoyment of what had cost them so much. The advantages of a sure and great commerce, of a large tribute, of a dominion maintained by its own resources, have not been staked, in following uncertain theories, which could only be tried at the risk of losing what was possessed: and experience, as well as sound reason, demonstrates the wisdom of this system.

XIV. If then, in respect of facts, it be true that the foreign trade of India, either carried on by our enemies or by neutral nations, or clandestinely under their colours by our own subjects, is not progressively increasing; that nations in amity with us, and already trading to India, ought to be allowed to continue to trade on their own account for the supply of their own wants; and that India has no capital within itself, for effecting the great enlargements of its exports now proposed: if it be also true, in respect of *principles*, that it would be impolitic in this country to transplant any considerable portion of its capital to India, for extending the agriculture and manufactures of that distant dependency, and yet more impolitic to open the way for British colonization there; the conclusion resulting from the whole is, that the only object for which the Company, or the

Nation, can now justly be called on to make new provisions in favour of individuals, is that of bringing directly into this country the remainder of the trade yet carried on clandestinely by British subjects, with the removal of any inconveniences which now obstruct the ready and easy transportation of the whole trade, which can be carried on by the fortunes of British residents in India, directly to the port of London.

Those individuals, who, thriving under the protection of the Company, still abet that clandestine trade, certainly act neither worthily nor gratefully, nor do they entitle themselves to new privileges. The Company, however, desirous to secure to the nation all the trade carried on from India by the capital of British residents, are willing to adopt such measures as depend on them for bringing directly to the Thames the merchandize which that capital yet conveys, in any form, to foreign ports; but as the comparative rates of duties payable at their ports and in our own, will always be regarded by the proprietors of Indian goods in the direction of their consignments, it seems requisite, in order to secure the object in question, that the duties on the exports of goods from India, or the duties on Indian goods imported into this country, undergo still further modification.

XV. Your committee reflecting on the various positions which have of late years been advanced, to impugn either the conduct of the Company, or the established system of Indian policy, were induced to take the present occasion to point out the errors by which those positions, had they still remained uncontradicted, might have misled the public mind.

Of this labour, which they hope will not be unacceptable to the court,  
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a great part would have been needless, if they had confined themselves to the letter of the 2d April last, from the right honourable the president of the board of control, which chiefly fixed the attention of the court in relation to the present subject, as it has been all along first in the consideration of the committee: for between the opinions which are therein delivered and those they entertained, as well respecting the leading principles of Indian government and commerce, as the conclusions to be formed from them, they found, on the whole, so much agreement, as greatly limited the necessity of particular discussion.

On those leading principles your committee have reasoned; and the same general views which are presented by the longer investigation into which the motive just assigned has led them, are with brevity and force exhibited in that letter. It infers from the whole two practical propositions; one concerning the object and measure of the privilege to be given to individuals in the trade from India, the other concerning the mode in which that trade should be brought to this country.

The first is substantially the same which your committee have had in view through the whole of this discussion, and have, they trust, here established, that to bring the fortunes of British residents, not invested in the bills of the Company, directly through the medium of merchandize into the Thames, should be the main object of the privilege to be conceded to individuals; and that this privilege ought not, in reason, to extend beyond the total amount of those fortunes, allowance being always made for returns of British manufactures sent from hence, according to the act of 1793.

The second proposition recom-

mends, that the trade thus constituted shall be permitted to be carried on by Indian ships.

Your committee are aware of the public motives which dispose Mr. Dundas to make the resources of India serviceable to the naval interests of this country; and are, at the same time, persuaded, that the measure which those motives may have more easily inclined him to favour, he means to be perfectly compatible with his own principle of continuing the Company as the one great national organ for the government and commerce of India.

Your committee regard those motives with respect; and in as far as the court can, consistently with the great interest entrusted to them, safely afford the aid of the Company to well-digested views of that kind, the disposition they have ever manifested to benefit the nation may, in such a case, be expected to appear.

Your committee are further ready to grant, that if the occasional admission of Indian ships into this country, or an admission continuing solely in the discretion, and changeable at the option of the Company, were the thing here in question, it would be a matter of comparatively small import, in respect to which the indulgences allowed at different times by the Company, in the course of the last seven years, shew, that they can, at fit seasons, exercise with liberality, privileges which still remain entire to them; but after a very mature and anxious consideration of the present subject, your committee are constrained to state, that they regard the admission of Indian ships, or any class of ships, British or foreign, into a formal systematic participation in the commerce and navigation between Britain and India, with most serious apprehension. They consider it as



involving a latent principle, that may eventually supersede that very system of regulated intercourse with India, which both Mr. Dundas and the court are solicitous to preserve. They are of opinion, moreover, that for the ends proposed, the measure is unnecessary, and that the Company can themselves provide, as your committee will hereafter shew, all the shipping which that end requires, free of every fair objection hitherto made to the occupancy of tonnage provided by them. Impressed with these sentiments, the duty imposed on your committee requires they should declare them; but in doing this, and in proceeding to explain farther the grounds on which they entertain those sentiments, they desire to act in the spirit of men looking only to a public object, and canvassing a measure proposed in a like spirit.

XVI. A systematic admission of any class of ships into the trade between this country and India, would, in the opinion of your committee, virtually form a new society, which having one interest, would, in effect, act with much of the spirit and unity of a joint Company, and a Company whose interest would not perfectly coalesce with those of the present one: standing upon a legal foundation, and possessing a privilege enjoyed by none but the East-India Company, it must at once be invested with a certain degree of importance. The principles common to individuals and societies, self-preservation and advancement, would naturally lead the members of this body into those views and measures, which would be most likely to give it permanence and power. The continuance of its exertions would not depend, altogether, nor perhaps chiefly, on the gain of the commodities carried to and from India.

If commodities brought only prime cost and charges, and yet the ship-owners could make out a profitable employment for their ships, which is avowed to be a leading motive for the present requisitions of the merchants, it might still be their interest to carry on the trade; and the private commerce, now supported by a remittance capital, would thus owe its enlargement to a shipping interest, though a trade which maintained only the ships engaged in it would be one of the least beneficial; and if those ships were Indian, the benefit of it to this country would be indeed small. In bringing to Europe Indian commodities, in which the trade mainly consists, Indian ships would have a clear advantage over others, because the equipment of them could be adjusted with certainty to the number and times of the cargoes procurable, and therefore the comparative probability of the permanence of such a set of ships is the greater.

It would be easy to employ capital belonging to the mother country in building and repairing those ships: thus English merchants might become parties in the concern, and this would, in a certain degree, be the same as if British ships were licensed directly from this country. The necessity of employing ships once built is obvious. The channels of trade in Europe, in a time of peace especially, would not be likely to afford space for this new class; the owners must therefore continue, as long as possible, in a line into which they have once entered, even if difficulties should occur in it; and difficulties would be likely to put the adventurers on seeking whatever further indulgences remained to be granted them. To further indulgences the recognized enjoyment of the first privilege would



would more easily lead; and in this and other views, the probable effects of usage deserve to be considered. What is once established obtains authority in the public mind; and new claims may, with less danger of shocking opinions, be raised upon it. From these causes, the exercise of this new privilege would be likely to be durable, and its operation progressive. One certain effect hereof would be to force a trade from India with a capital not its own. As the numbers concerned in this complex trade of ships and goods increased, so would their power, influence, and connections, in both countries. If inconveniences should be found to result from this institution, great interests formed under the sanction of it would plead against a suppression of it; and it seems entirely probable, that as soon as the privilege to Indian ships was thought to have acquired sufficient solidity, if not before, the merchants of this country would become clamorous for admission into it: nor is it easy to conceive how, after prescription had smoothed the way, and English merchants were known to have become, though unallowably, partners in the Indian ships, their claim could be long resisted; for it could never be maintained, that one British subject residing in London might carry on a trade with India because his ship was built there, whilst another British subject in the same place should be interdicted because his ship was built in the Thames. And, indeed, whenever the trade from India came to be any other than a trade of remittance for the fortunes of British residents, the reason on which Indian merchants only were permitted to carry it on would cease. In a commercial view, the systematic introduction of any class of private ships appears, from

what has been already said, to be unnecessary. As the true interest of the country does not require that it should transfer capital to India to raise a trade there, so it is sufficiently obvious, that there is in India no great capital which wants to exert itself in the European trade; no such general swell in the tide of Indian commerce as seeks a new channel. Far the greater part of the Europeans there have nothing to do with the export trade, which rests chiefly with the houses of agency, in whose hands much of the remittable property of Europeans centers, by which means they are enabled to enter into great speculations; neither is there any surplus of British property there, which the Company cannot convey in ships furnished by themselves, as cheaply and expeditiously as it could be conveyed by private ships: therefore, to privilege a class of ships for the trade of individuals, when the scale of that trade does not require it, would be to introduce an innovation which your committee cannot but regard as a hazardous one, without any adequate cause. Considering, then, that there is no necessity for the proposed measure; that it would be the genius of the new trade, as of all others, to seek its own enlargement; that so many causes would, probably, concur to render it permanent and progressive; that, above all, a constant intercourse by private detached ships, with every part of India, familiarizing European adventurers with that country, Indian sailors with this, would gradually and indefinitely widen the channel of that intercourse, extremely multiply the relations between the two countries, and tend to disturb and shake our government there, to which danger is more likely to arise from our domestic



commerce than from the foreign one; considering all these circumstances, your committee cannot but deprecate the systematic establishment of any class of ships in the trade between India and Britain, as what, in their most serious judgment, would, in its nature and consequences, tend, however the contrary might be meant, to supersede the Company's privileges, and open the way to what all agree ought to be prevented, the colonization of Europeans in our Indian territories, and the dangers connected with that system.

XVII. Besides these objections, which apply to the measure generally, there is one that lies peculiarly against ships whose voyages commence from India, that they will usually be manned, in great part, with lascars or Indian sailors. Men of that race are not, by their physical frame and constitution, fitted for the navigation of cold and boisterous latitudes; their nature and habits are formed to a warm climate, and short and easy voyages performed within the sphere of the periodical winds; they have not strength enough of mind or body to encounter the hardships and perils to which ships are liable in the long and various navigation between India and Europe, especially in the winter storms of our northern seas; nor have they the courage which can be relied on for steady defence against an enemy. To have any considerable portion of the property and trade of this country, therefore, dependent on the energy of men of this stamp, unless on the coasts of India, where they are less exposed to dangers, cannot be adviseable: yet on the employment of Indian sailors the chief freight of Indian ships seems materially to turn; for if these ships, rigged and fitted out

as they are with stores chiefly brought from Europe, were manned with Europeans, receiving wages far higher, and provisioned at much greater cost than lascars, it does not appear how they could be afforded at a lower rate of freight than British bottoms. But this is not all. The native sailors of India, who are chiefly Mahomedans, are, to the disgrace of our national morals, on their arrival here, led into scenes which soon divest them of the respect and awe they had entertained in India for the European character: they are robbed of their little property, and left to wander, ragged and destitute, in the streets; a sight that, whilst it wounds peculiarly the feelings of men connected with India and the Company, raises both the compassion and indignation of the public; the one in favour of those miserable objects, the other against the Company, as if they had drawn the poor creatures into such a state of suffering, or neglected them in it; when in fact, though individuals bring them home, the Company are at great pains and expence to collect, maintain, and return them; but such are the bad habits they acquire, that they often escape from the houses where the Company have them lodged and provided for, and take to a mendicant state, for the chance of obtaining from the pity of passengers new means of vicious indulgence. From causes of this nature, and from exposure to the severity of our winters, not a few have lost their lives, or become incapable of further service. On the continent of Europe, and even in America, where some of these lascars are also now carried, they have no protector as here, and their case must be still more deplorable; so that, instead of a larger introduction into the western world of this feeble race,



it is very seriously to be wished, that before their numbers are thinned by fatigue, climate, and disease, some means were devised for preventing them from leaving their own seas.

The contemptuous reports which they disseminate on their return, cannot fail to have a very unfavourable influence upon the minds of our Asiatic subjects, whose reverence for our character, which has hitherto contributed to maintain our ascendancy in the East, (a reverence, in part, inspired by what they have at a distance seen among a comparatively small society, mostly of the better ranks in India,) will be gradually exchanged for the most degrading conceptions; and if an indignant apprehension of having hitherto rated us too highly, or respected us too much, should once possess them, the effects of it may prove extremely detrimental.

From the waste of life, and other losses attending the employing of this class of sailors, perhaps it may appear at length necessary to resort to European mariners: these, in such case, will flock in greater numbers to India; and hence it may be expected, that colonization will be accelerated there. Indeed, the return of peace might call for this substitution of British seamen, many of whom must then have to seek employment in the merchants' service; and no British heart would wish, that any of the brave men, who had merited so much of their country, should be without bread, whilst the natives of the East brought ships belonging to our own subjects into our ports. Considered, therefore, in a commercial, physical, moral, and political view, the apparent consequences of admitting these Indian sailors largely into our navigation, form a strong additional objection

to the concession of the proposed privilege to any ships manned by them.

XVIII. It will be proper, in this place, to advert to the reasons which induced the Company's governments and servants abroad to countenance, and, in some instances, to recommend the applications of the free merchants in India for leave to send goods here in their own ships. They were chiefly these: to direct to this country, in preference to foreign ports, all the merchandize which could be supposed to be in the disposal of British individuals, and so to prevent the growth of foreign trade; to assist in reducing the freights paid by the Company, immediately before and after the commencement of the present war, for their regular ships, which reduction, it was hoped, would be forwarded by the introduction of a class of cheap ships between India and Europe; to promote the industry and export trade of India, and thereby to augment the sources of its revenue, and to increase the commerce and government customs of this country.

With regard to these objects, all, doubtless, laudable in themselves, and sought from public motives, it may be observed, that the reduction of the Company's freights has been some time accomplished: that the court have been, on their part, also desirous to bring all the property of British residents, invested in goods, directly to our ports: and that the measures now to be proposed will, in the opinion of your committee, amply suffice for this end. The other objects, of preventing the growth of foreign trade, and promoting the produce of our Indian possessions, have been discussed in this report, and your committee have endeavoured to discriminate the true



principles on which they should be followed, and the extent to which they should be fought. Into these enquiries the servants abroad do not seem to have felt themselves called to enter deeply and systematically; nor do they appear to have looked forward to all the probable remote effects, commercial and political, of a progressive increase in the trade and intercourse of individuals between India and Britain. They rather seem to have acted on the view of existing circumstances, and to have recommended the measures which, under those circumstances, they deemed to be, both for public and for individual interests, beneficial and convenient. But as they did not profess to investigate remote consequences, so they certainly do not appear to have proposed or expected, that the discretion of the Company should be taken away in the admission of Indian ships, or that any class of ships should be invested with a permanent systematic participation in the commerce and navigation between India and Britain: and this, in the opinion of your committee, is the great point of importance in the whole of the present subject.

If, therefore, the reasons which they have thought themselves obliged to advance against this new principle should prove satisfactory to the Court, your committee take the liberty to suggest, that they may be submitted to the judgment and candour of Mr. Dundas, who, your committee are persuaded, will not, when he sees no imperious necessity, wish for the adoption of any measure which, immediately, or in its consequences, shall be found materially to trench on the privileges of the Company.

XIX. Your committee will now proceed, in the last place, to pro-

pose the means by which, in their opinion, all the property of British residents in India, at any time invested in goods, together with the returns of manufactures sent from hence, may, with every requisite convenience, be brought directly to this country, without any change in the principles of the present system. It may be difficult to ascertain exactly the annual remittable amount of that property; but in the nature of things it must have a moderate limit, and a considerable part of it is sent home in bills upon the Company. From a general retrospective view, carried back for several of the last years, of the goods consigned from India directly to London, whether on account of British residents, or in return for British manufactures, and of those consignments to foreign ports which may be supposed to have belonged to British subjects, together with the bills drawn on the Company in the same period, the total aggregate of these different branches will probably be rated fully, if estimated about, or somewhat beyond, a million and a half sterling. Of this amount 650,000*l.* may have come in bills; and the whole, therefore, of what has of late been sent from India in goods, either to our own or foreign ports, on account of British residents or British manufactures, on an average of several past years, ending with April 1799, may be taken at a little more than 850,000*l.* per annum; and of this sum about 600,000*l.* comes already into the Thames; the rest, as shewn in a former part of this report, has gone to foreign Europe and America. To encourage the consignment of this remainder, also, to our own ports, and to provide for the more convenient transportation of what already comes here, is, in reality, as your committee



committee apprehend, all that is now to be performed: but to remove every ground for complaint in future, your committee are of opinion, that the Company may at once undertake for the conveyance directly to our ports, in goods, of the whole remittable property of British residents in India, and the whole returns of British manufactures, supposing that no part of either should be sent home in bills on the Company, which, however, is at present, and likely to be at all times hereafter, utterly improbable.

For this end, your committee propose, that the Company shall themselves furnish whatever amount of tonnage shall be wanted for bringing home the private trade, as here described; that they shall supply this tonnage, in ships either wholly destined to bring home that private trade, or whether so destined or not, in ships which shall not be applied to political or warlike purposes, but sail from India directly for the port of London, at fixed periods, and those periods most convenient for the shippers of goods within the fair weather season.

That the rate of freight on those ships shall, during war, be as low as that at which the Indian ships arrived here in the present season are chartered to the Company; and that, in time of peace, the rate shall be proportionably reduced.

That the commodities to be permitted in the private trade, the manner of warehousing and shipping them in India, and receiving and bringing them to the Company's sales here, shall be settled in the spirit of the existing regulations, and with every fair attention to the interest of the private trader.

That a particular class of ships suitable for this service shall be built by the Company, to be manned with

Europeans, and armed so as to make them equal, in point of defence, to the best of the Indian ships which have come to this country; and until those are built, other proper ships to be supplied.

That if at any time the tonnage provided by the Company for private exports shall not be sufficient, it shall be allowable for the governments abroad, on the part of the Company, to freight Indian ships, for the conveyance of such goods as cannot be otherwise accommodated; care being taken that this concession be not strained into an indirect sanction to the ordinary stated employment of those ships, nor as holding forth any expectation of connivance at fictitious pleas for the introduction of them; the sole object of the Company being the ready transportation of private goods, furnished by the capital of British residents, as before mentioned, and the removal of every pretence for complaint on this score.

That no person shall be permitted to embark in this trade, in any form, who has not the license of the Company to reside in India.

Your committee trust, that these propositions make full provision for the removal of all the defects and inconveniences hitherto complained of, in respect to the conveyance of private goods; they provide for the certainty of a sufficient quantity of proper tonnage, for a reasonable rate of freight, for the sailing of the ships at the seasons most convenient for the merchants, and for the direct performance of the voyages, without detention or deviation on account of political or military objects.

If these outlines shall be adopted as the basis of the arrangement to be now made, it will then remain to fill them up with such regulations of detail as shall be found requisite,



in order properly to act upon them, of which a few particulars will be found under the head to be presently mentioned.

XX. Your committee having now, in performance of the duty with which they were charged, brought the task they proposed to themselves to a close, will beg leave to wind up the whole with a set of resolutions, comprehending the principal matters of this report. These resolutions have been agreed upon and passed by your committee; and it will afford them great satisfaction, if, by the means here proposed, or any means proceeding on the same general principles, the momentous question which, from its intricacy and extent, has engaged their attention and that of the court so long, shall be settled once for all.

(Signed) HUGH INGLIS,  
DAVID SCOTT,  
FRANCIS BARING,  
STEPHEN LUSHINGTON,  
ABRAHAM ROBARTS,  
JACOB BOSANQUET,  
JOHN ROBERTS,  
CHARLES GRANT,  
EDWARD PARRY.

*East-India House,*  
27th January 1801.

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No. 3.

MINUTES of the COURT of DIRECTORS, of the 4th February 1801, containing the Resolutions of the Special Committee, adopted by the Court.

At a Court of Directors, held on Wednesday, the 4th February 1801,

The court proceeding to consider further the report from the special committee appointed to take into consideration the letters from the right hon. Henry Dundas, of

the 2d of April and 28th of June 1800, and the resolutions founded thereon, which were submitted to the court on the 27th ultimo;

The report was read, and, on the question, unanimously approved.

The said resolutions were then read; and the court approving thereof,

It was on the question,

I. Resolved unanimously, that in the opinion of this court, the system by which the British possessions in the East are now held and governed, is the system best adapted to secure to the nation the benefits, political and commercial, which are derivable from those possessions; and that the establishment of an open trade between them and Great Britain would not only be subversive of the rights and privileges of the East India Company, but, without ensuring to this country commercial advantages equal to those it now enjoys from them, pave the way for European colonization, and ultimately hazard the loss of those invaluable acquisitions.

II. That it is therefore equally the interest of the Nation, and the duty of the Company, to guard against all principles and measures which, by an indefinite enlargement of the present channel of communication, in their nature tend to the introduction, immediate or gradual, of such an open intercourse, and its probable consequent colonization.

III. That the East-India Company, far from entertaining the erroneous policy of limiting the industry and trade of their provinces to the demands of their own commerce, have given such encouragement to both, as they never received under the native government; so that the ships of all nations in amity with this country



country have free admission there, and the maritime exports from India, exclusive of those for the Company, are now greater than they were at any former period.

IV. That if it were practicable, it would not be expedient to prevent the other European nations, who, by privilege or concession, now trade with British India, from enjoying such a share of that commerce as may serve to supply their own consumption of Indian commodities, and at the same time to bring bullion into our Eastern territories.

V. That the regulations established by the legislature in 1793, with the professed view of extending the exports of this country to India, and bringing directly to it the trade clandestinely carried on by British capital from India to foreign ports in Europe and America, have not been misapplied or evaded by the Company; but that the Company have, as far as consisted with the necessary course of their own affairs, political and commercial, given effect to those regulations, though at a considerable expence to themselves; and that all allegations of the growth of the trade of foreigners with India, and the extension of the clandestine trade from India, by means of any such misapplication on the part of the Company, are unfounded.

VI. That, according to the most authentic information which has appeared on the subject of clandestine trade, particularly the public register of exports and imports kept in Bengal, that trade has not, of late years, increased, but rather diminished; and that the amount of the clandestine trade of Bengal, the centre of our eastern power and commerce, whether the said trade has been fed by that part of the

capital of British residents which was not sent directly to this country, or by any other source, cannot, on an average of four years ending with 1798-9, reasonably be estimated to have exceeded twenty-five lacks of rupees per annum.

VII. That from this important fact, as well as from a variety of other evidence, existing in the recent proceedings of the Company's governments abroad, it may safely be concluded, that any increase which has taken place in the course of the war, in the trade of foreigners with our settlements, is the increase of a trade carried on, *bona fide*, for their own account, and, in a great degree, with specie which they import into India, and pay for the goods they export; and that this is a trade which, in sound policy, ought to be permitted.

VIII. That the trade carried on with Europe from the Indian settlements of our enemies, the French, Dutch, and Spaniards, which is said to have greatly increased through the late mismanagement of the Company, flourished, long before the present times, in a greater degree than it does now, and could not have been depressed by any measures within the Company's power; nor would it be a wise policy, under the notion of bringing that trade to our ports, to nourish, as in fact we thus should, the source whence it proceeds.

IX. That as it is the wish of the Company to give free scope to the native powers of their Indian subjects in agriculture and manufactures, so it is also their wish to exercise the rights and privileges they possess in the government and commerce of India, not in the narrow spirit of rigid monopoly, but liberally to the benefit of the nation at large.



large. They thus, before the last renewal of their charter, occasionally permitted the importation of private goods on their ships, and encouraged the culture and importation of several valuable articles on private account, particularly sugar and indigo, the latter of which has become one of the grand staples of the Indian trade, as both together constitute the chief causes of the increase in the sale amount of privileged goods for some late years: and the Company are still desirous to secure to the nation all the trade which the capital of British residents in India yet carries on from that country to foreign Europe and America.

X. That the only certain considerable capital, which at present exists in British India, for an export trade from that country to Europe, is formed by such part of the savings of British residents in India as is not remitted to England by bills of exchange, of one description or another, on the Company, who now provide so amply in this way for the purpose of transferring the fortunes of individuals; and that the amount of such portion of the savings of British residents as is not sent home by bills on the Company, can never, in the nature of things, exceed a certain moderate limit, which will probably be estimated largely if taken at half a million sterling per annum. Should, indeed, the natives of British India desire to invest any money, *bona fide*, on their own account, in exports from India to Britain, (to which it does not appear that they show much disposition at present,) this may be admitted, under proper regulations, as an addition to the capital of Indian export to Europe; and these two sources, with any circulating property possessed by

British traders and manufacturers in India, not in the service of the Company, which circulating property, in the whole, after allowing for the part of it that ought to be employed in the coasting trade of India, can hardly be imagined to amount to any considerable sum, supply the whole aggregate of the capital of British India applicable to an export trade in articles, either new or old, from that country to Europe.

XI. That if to this aggregate capital, which may be termed the present maximum of the native stock of British India for a trade to Europe, it became a practice to add capital belonging to private residents in Great Britain, and transplanted to India for the purpose of forcing the productions of that country beyond the ability of its own means, this would be the introduction of one of the first principles of the Colonial or West-Indian system; and if it were sanctioned, directly or impliedly, by any public regulation, it would tend greatly to extend the relations and intercourses between those countries and this, as well as to supersede, covertly, if not openly, the prohibition to Europeans not to occupy lands there, which prohibition is already, in a variety of instances, dispensed with; and thus, without any certainty of ultimate commercial benefit to the British empire at large, a change would be commenced in the present system of Indian policy, which is allowed to be the best for the maintenance of those distant possessions.

XII. That as the produce of every country must, in the course of things, bear a certain proportion or relation to the demand made for it, so there appears no reason to doubt, that the productions of British



tish India, fit for the European market, whether raised by its own native stock of capital, as above described, or occasionally quickened by importations of bullion from foreign Europe and America, have usually had a current vent into one or other of the channels of trade now open with that country; that hence the alleged difficulties of conveying goods by the Company's ships have not prevented the disposal of all the produce which the capital of the country raised; and therefore the plea so often urged by persons interested in the private trade, that the Company should permit the surplus produce of the country to be exported, proceeds upon loose erroneous implications; because when used in these general terms, it seems to convey what is not the fact, either that the Company wish to prevent the exportation of what they do not themselves require, or that the produce of the country remains on hand for want of sale; and when applied, more particularly, to infer that the surplus produce should be brought immediately to Britain, it does not discriminate the *bona fide* foreign trade to India which ought to be permitted.

XIII. That as from an early period of the Company's territorial administration, the acquisitions of British subjects in India have, in a greater or less degree, unhappily supported the trade of foreign Europe from the East, and notwithstanding the means which the Company have used, by opening channels for the remittance of private fortunes, both in bills and in goods, directly to this country, that medium of conveyance through foreigners appears to be, in some measure, still employed; this court, following the principles before laid

down, agree in opinion with the right hon. Henry Dundas, as to the expediency of affording to British residents, who may choose to convey their property to Europe in goods, whatever means, in addition to those already subsisting, may be fairly sufficient to induce them to consign those goods immediately to the mother country. And though the court consider the fortunes of British individuals not remitted by bills on the Company, (in which a very large sum is sent home annually,) together with such consignments as European manufacturers and the natives of India may furnish from their own stock, to constitute the total capital of British India, at present applicable to a trade with Europe, (that is, of capital originating in India, contradistinguished from capital transferred thither from Europe,) yet being of opinion, that to remove all colour for complaint on this score, the Company may afford ample means for conveying in goods even the total remittable property of British residents, they offer the following propositions for bringing accordingly the whole trade formed by that aggregate capital, as well as the consignments of European manufactures, directly to the port of London.

1. That, in addition to the quantity of three thousand tons of shipping, now annually allotted to the exports of individuals from India, three, four, or five thousand tons more, or as much as may be wanting, shall be assigned.

2. That the shipping to be thus annually employed shall be wholly applied to the use of private traders, and shall neither be destined nor detained, for political or warlike services, in India, but sail from  
thence



thence directly for the port of London, at fixed periods, within the fair weather season.

3. That the rate of freight from India on those ships shall, during war, be as low as that at which the Indian ships, arrived here in the present season, are chartered to the Company; and in time of peace, the rate of freight shall be proportionably reduced.

4. That all commodities of the produce of the continent, or of the British territories in India, shall be permitted to be laden on those ships, excepting only piece goods, raw-silk, and salt-petre, which shall not be laden unless by special license from the Company, or their governments abroad.

5. That the goods to be exported on private account, be, as now, received into the Company's warehouses in India; and that the same care be taken in assorting them into cargoes, in due proportions of light and heavy goods, according to the deliveries into the warehouses, as is observed in forming the Company's own cargoes.

6. That these goods shall be brought to the Company's warehouses in London, and thence to their sales, in the regular order, subject to the charge of three per cent. now allowed to the Company for landing, warehousing, and selling private goods.

7. That the ships to be employed in this service shall be built for the purpose by the Company, and shall be of the description best calculated for the proposed trade. In the opinion of this court, they may be of the burthen of five hundred tons builder's measurement, or thereabout, and equipped on what is called the dismantled plan; but be manned with Europeans, and armed

so as to make them equal, in point of safety and defence, to the best of the Indian ships which have come to this country. The size and equipment, however, of these ships, may be more minutely considered hereafter; and until they are built, other stout and proper ships, or the regular ships of the Company, as far as they shall be wanted, shall be employed in this service, on the terms before mentioned.

8. That when the private goods provided for exportation from India shall not serve to fill all the ships sent out for them, the Company shall put gruff goods into those ships on their own account.

9. That if, at any time, the tonnage provided by the Company for private exports should not be sufficient for all the goods prepared for exportation, it shall be allowable for the governments abroad, on the part of the Company, to freight Indian ships, for the conveyance of such goods as cannot be otherwise accommodated; care being taken that this concession be not strained beyond its just object, the ready and convenient transportation of private goods furnished by the capitals of British residents, or sent as the returns of British manufactures.

10. That no person shall be admitted to embark in this trade, as principal or agent, who is not licensed by the Company to reside in India.

XIV. That although this court is well convinced of the public views with which the right hon. Henry Dundas has countenanced the idea of bringing the produce of India, exported thence on account of British residents, to this country, on private Indian ships, yet the proposals which have been brought



brought forward by certain descriptions of men, both in India and in England, for the admission of their ships into the trade and navigation between India and Europe, proposals which extend to the establishment of a regular systematic privilege in favour of such ships, appear to this court, when maturely weighed, and followed into all their operations, to involve principles and effects dangerous to the interests both of the Company and of the Nation. In the opinion of this court, the adoption of those proposals would immediately and essentially affect both the system of policy which the legislature has established, for maintaining the connection and communication between this country and British India, and the chartered privileges of the East India Company; and the introduction of any practice of this nature would tend to widen, gradually and indefinitely, the channel of intercourse between India and Britain; to multiply the relations between individuals in the two countries; to pour Europeans of the lower sort into India, and Indian sailors into this country; to lessen, by both these means, the respect for the European character, which has hitherto contributed to maintain our ascendancy in the East; to disturb and shake our government there; and, in a word, to lead progressively, but surely, to colonization.

With respect to the East India Company, the introduction of this practice would set up a certain class of persons, with peculiar privileges, who would, in effect, constitute another Company, having a common interest, and that interest very likely to be understood as opposed to the interest of the old Company,

and hence to generate disputes and hostilities.

With respect to British subjects in general, new rights would thus be established in favour of a few, to which all might think themselves entitled, which many would endeavour openly or clandestinely to share, (invited by the expected profits of freight as well as of trade,) and in the end would unavoidably succeed in sharing; all which, this court fear, would tend, more and more, to throw the communication between the two countries quite open, and to remove that great and effectual medium, the East-India Company, by whom the connection has hitherto been preserved, so much to the benefit of both. And in a commercial view, the introduction of a privilege of this kind is unnecessary, since the true interest of this country does not require that it should transfer capital to India to raise a trade there, since it is sufficiently evident that there is in India itself no great capital which wants to exert itself in the European trade; and since, for the conveyance to this country of the property of British residents invested in merchandize, the Company are willing to make, and this court now propose ample provision. The object of acquiring profit by the freight of ships proposed to be thus introduced, instead of being an argument for their admission, is a strong argument against it; because that object would excite the employment of private ships to and from India, independent of any previous occasion for them, for the transportation of goods, and thus force a trade, in which, sooner or later, merchants in Europe would become parties, and such various competition be  
intro-



introduced, as would necessarily tend to antiquate the present system of regulated monopoly, without any assurance of equal advantage and safety to the political, financial, and commercial interests of this country. And for all these reasons this court cannot but earnestly deprecate the systematic admission of any such privilege as is now required by the above description of persons.

XV. That this court, persuaded the view given in these resolutions of the important subject referred to their consideration, will be justified by the documents that have been before them, some of which, material in themselves, and others only lately arrived from India, they suppose have not yet been perused by the right hon. Mr. Dundas; and persuaded, also, that it is the principle of that right hon. gentleman, fairly to maintain the rights and privileges of the East India Company, as therein consulting the true interest of the Nation, beg to propose a full discussion of this important subject with Mr. Dundas, in the deliberate manner observed at the late renewal of the charter, and do accordingly lay before him the judgment of this court, with all the reasons and authorities on which it is founded.

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No. 4.

*Letter from the Right Honourable HENRY DUNDAS to the CHAIRMAN, dated 21st March 1801.*

Wimbledon, 21st March 1801.

SIR,

I have attentively perused and considered the resolutions which the court of directors unanimously came to on the 4th of February last, respecting the correspondence I have had with them on the subject of the

private trade between India and Europe; and it will not be necessary to trouble you with many additional observations on that subject. The resolutions are distinctly and clearly stated, and the proposition in the last of them, expressing a desire for a free and full discussion of this important subject, is perfectly fair and candid; and the court of directors may rest assured, that upon this, and every other subject connected with their interests, I shall be ready and happy, in every situation, public or private, to give every aid to their deliberations which they may desire to obtain from me.

Upon the first, second, third, fourth, ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth resolutions, I have only to observe, that my opinions entirely accord with the general principles detailed therein.

With regard to the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth, I only pause in giving any opinion, from not having before me the particular documents and materials, establishing the facts upon which those resolutions are founded.

The thirteenth resolution contains the principles and details of the measure, upon which the court of directors are disposed to act; and if the basis upon which the resolution proceeds is admitted to be the best which is applicable to the subject, the details seem aptly devised for the due execution of those principles. But it is upon the principle and basis of the measure which I still have the mortification to find myself in a difference of opinion from those whose integrity and talents I am equally bound to acknowledge; and this radical difference is the more to be regretted, because the great object of solicitude which both parties entertain is precisely the same. We  
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are both strenuously maintaining, that the preservation of the monopoly of the East-India Company is essentially requisite for the security of every important interest connected with our Indian empire; and so deeply am I impressed with the truth of that proposition, I am prepared explicitly to declare, that although the first formation of an East-India Company proceeded upon purely commercial considerations, the magnitude and importance to which the East-India Company has progressively advanced, is now so interwoven with the political interests of the empire, as to create upon my mind a firm conviction, that the maintenance of the monopoly of the East-India Company is even more important to the political interests of the State, than it is to the commercial interests of the Company.

With this conviction so strongly impressed upon my mind, you will give me credit, when I assure you, that I have reviewed my own opinions with the most jealous attention, and that I have weighed, with the most anxious care, the arguments of those who suppose that the system which I have recommended is likely to produce any inconvenience or danger to the rights, privileges, and exclusive interests of the East-India Company; but it is my misfortune to view the subject in an opposite light. If any thing can endanger that monopoly, it is an unnecessary adherence to points not essential for its existence; and, on the other hand, if it is seen and felt by sober, thinking, and wise men, that every facility is given spontaneously, by the Company, which can be given consistently with their commercial interests, and the political welfare of the State, that consideration will present an im-

pregnable rampart against any attack, which at any time either the secret or the avowed enemies of the Company may be disposed to make, against the system of Indian government now established, in connection with the exclusive charter of the East-India Company.

It was my intention to have entered more at large into a detailed consideration of this view of the subject; but since I began to write, I have received, and carefully perused, the letter of the 30th September last, recently transmitted from the government-general of India; and as that letter has, with clearness and perspicuity, ably detailed, and in my opinion demonstrated the grounds of those opinions which I have from time to time taken the liberty of laying before the court of directors upon the subject of Indian trade, I should consider it as an unnecessary waste of time, if I was to trouble you with a repetition of the topics therein stated.

It is scarcely necessary for me to observe, that in all the discussions I have had on the subject with the court of directors, I have not been entitled to exercise any authority in the determination of the subject. It is a subject over which the commissioners for the affairs of India have no controul; and whatever I have stated, or now state, or may hereafter state, must be received from me in my individual capacity; and therefore, if either my reasoning and judgment, or the reasoning of your government abroad, has not the effect of varying the opinion of the court of directors, I trust you will not delay acting upon the principles detailed in the resolutions you have done me the honour to communicate to me; for the worst result that can arise from the discussion is, any further



ther delay in coming to a decision upon it.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient,  
humble servant,

HENRY DUNDAS.

*The Chairman of the East-  
India Company.*

No. 5.

*Letter from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, the 30th September 1800, and received over-land the 2d March 1801.*

Fort William, 30th Sept. 1800.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

1. Having deemed it to be my duty to revert, during the present season, to my plan of the 5th of October 1798, for the encouragement of the private-trade between India and the port of London, I now have the honour to submit to your honourable court, a view of the urgent considerations which have determined me to adopt this temporary arrangement for the current year; and to add the reasons which induce me to hope, that your honourable court will speedily confirm my proceedings, by a permanent system of regulation founded on similar principles.

2. Your orders of the 25th of May 1798 were not received by the governor-general in council until the 29th of October in that year, when the arrangement for the private tonnage of the season of 1798-9 had already been published, and several ships and cargoes had been already provided, according to the terms of the advertisement of the 5th of October 1798. Under such circumstances, it would neither have been just nor expedient to have disturbed that arrangement; but my dispatches in council of the

1st of March, and my separate letter of the 9th of March 1800, will have apprized your honourable court, that I had considered it to be my duty to adhere strictly, in the year 1799-1800, to your orders of the 25th of May 1798; and that, in deference to your authority, I had suspended for the season 1799-1800, the operation of the plan contained in the advertisement of the 5th of October 1798, although my conviction remained unaltered with regard to the expediency and justice of that plan.

3. I entertained a confident expectation, that I should have received, at an early period of the season, the sanction of your honourable court, for reverting to the plan of October 1798, or for adopting some arrangement equally calculated to facilitate and encourage the private trade between India and England; and my letter in council of the 1st of March, as well as my separate letter to your honourable court, of the 9th of March 1800, will have satisfied you of my disposition to await your final determination on this important subject, and to avoid even a temporary departure, without your direct authority, from your orders of the 25th of May 1798.

4. But I have been disappointed in my expectation of receiving an early and seasonable notification of your final commands; and the usual season for exportation from this port to Europe is already opening, under such circumstances as absolutely compel me to adopt a resolution, which my duty and inclination would have induced me to delay.

5. In the dispatch \* from the governor-general in council to your honourable court, dated the 18th instant,

\* Not received.



infant, I had the honour to submit to you a statement of the intended distribution in India of the tonnage provided by you, for conveying the Company's investments of Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay, and those of Ceylon and Fort Marlborough, to England, in the season of 1800-1.

6. From that statement, your honourable court will observe, that the expected amount of the tonnage of 1800-1 is inadequate to the demand in India, and that a large proportion of the gross goods belonging to the Company at this presidency, and nearly \* the whole of the private goods, for which the Company is bound by law to furnish tonnage, cannot be shipped during the season 1800-1 for England, unless ships built in India shall be employed between this port and that of London.

7. The employment of ships built in India between this port and that of London, is therefore no longer merely a question of expediency, or of liberal commercial policy. The deficiency of the tonnage expected from Europe reduces me to the absolute necessity of providing a large proportion of Indian tonnage for the service of the present season, in order to secure the conveyance of the heavy articles of your investment, and to fulfil your legal obligations. The only question on which I retain the power of exercising a free judgment with relation to this subject, is confined to the mode of obtaining the necessary tonnage for these indispensable purposes.

8. In forming my decision on this question, it was also necessary to consider what provision should be

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made for the conveyance to the port of London of such goods as might be provided during the current season, by private British merchants resident in India, beyond the amount of the statutable tonnage of 3000 tons, and by what regulation the exportation of such goods should be governed. The importance and urgency of both these considerations were greatly enhanced by the actual state of the foreign trade of this port.

9. The nature of the case appeared to me to limit my decision to an option between the regulation observed in the season 1799-1800 (conformably to the orders of your honourable court of the 25th May 1798), and the plan contained in the advertisement published by the board of trade, under my orders, on the 5th of October 1798.

10. I have carefully compared the principles, objects, policy, and practical operation of both systems; and I have now the honour to lay before your honourable court the result of that comparison.

11. The orders of your honourable court of the 25th of May 1798, were framed with a view of facilitating and encouraging the private trade between India and England. The primary objects of those orders were, to protect the merchants, not being proprietors of ships, against any undue enhancement of the price of freight by the proprietors of ships, and to prevent persons, being proprietors of ships, and also merchants, from trading to greater advantage than such merchants as might not unite both capacities.

12. From the dispatches of the governor-general in council, dated

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\* The whole of the private goods of this season must be shipped in Indian shipping, with the exception of a small proportion of light goods, which may be employed to assort the cargoes of the extra ships.

N. B. This and the following notes to this letter (except the first note in page 51) are inserted by the governor-general himself in the original.



the 1st March 1800, and from the correspondence to which those dispatches refer, your honourable court will have observed, that your order of the 25th May 1798, was considered by the merchants, for whose benefit it was intended, (particularly by the proprietors of heavy goods) to be extremely prejudicial to their interest.

13. Those orders were received with equal dissatisfaction by the proprietors of ships, who manifested the greatest reluctance to let their ships unconditionally to the Company, although the rate of freight allowed for the ships was comparatively high.

14. The same correspondence affords abundant evidence that the proprietors of ships, and the freighters (possessing no property in ships) considered it to be for their mutual advantage, that they should be left to make their arrangements with each other; both parties appearing equally adverse to the intervention of the Company's agency.

15. Under the plan contained in the advertisement of the 5th October 1798, the proprietors of ships were enabled to make a more perfect assortment of the cargoes, to load their ships in the most advantageous and expeditious manner, to dispatch them at the most favourable periods of the season, and to prevent the loss which (under the plan adopted in conformity to your orders of the 25th of May 1798,) the proprietors of ships sustain, by unavoidable delays in the adjustment of accounts, and in the payment of the freight by the Company in England.

16. The proprietors of ships were enabled, under the plan of October 1798, to afford the freight at a reduced rate, at the same time that they derived a greater profit on that rate, than on the higher rates of

freight fixed by the governor-general in council in 1799-1800, in conformity to your orders of the 25th May 1798.

17. To the merchant who is not proprietor of a ship, the plan contained in the advertisement of the 5th of October 1798, affords the most important advantages: he obtains a considerable reduction in the rate of freight; he is enabled to settle his engagements with the proprietor of the ship, previously to the purchase of goods; to purchase such goods as may be advantageously invested under the existing rates of freight; and to regulate every consignment and draft according to the quantity of the tonnage engaged, to the period of dispatching the goods from India, and to that of their expected arrival in England.

18. The merchant is embarrassed, if compelled, under any modification, to depend on the Company for tonnage, for the arrangement of the rates of freight, or for the distribution of the cargo: he can neither be secure of the requisite quantity of tonnage, nor of the time of dispatching his goods from India, nor of the ship on which they may be laden, nor of the mode in which they may be distributed; and his trade is burthened with an expensive rate of freight, which deprives him of all reasonable expectation of profit.

19. The quantity of tonnage (exclusive of the goods sent in the privileges of the commanders and officers of ships) annually occupied by private goods shipped from this presidency alone, in the several years elapsed subsequent to the act of parliament in 1793, is stated in the following account:

	Tons.
1794-5	2,473
1795-6	5,346
1796-7	4,659



	Tons.
1797-8 - - -	3,787
1798-9 - - -	6,223
1799-1800 - -	7,748

20. The correspondence\* of the board of trade with the governor-general in council, on the subject of the provision of tonnage, has been submitted to the consideration of your honourable court. The reports of that board, with the documents annexed to them, afford abundant proof, that a much larger quantity of private goods would have been shipped for England during the seasons enumerated in the preceding account, (particularly during the year 1799-1800,) if adequate encouragement had been extended to the navigation and commerce of your dominions, in ships built in the ports of India; and if the British merchants resident in India had been assured of permanent indulgence to their trade with the port of London.

21. Upon an average of the six years specified in the preceding account, about 5000 tons of private goods from Bengal alone were annually exported to England; the amount, therefore, of the private goods exported from Bengal alone, during that period of time, has exceeded, by 2000 tons annually, the amount of the tonnage allotted by law for all India. It is to be observed, that a considerable portion of the total amount of these 5000 tons was annually furnished by ships built in India.

22. Exclusively of two ships recently engaged and provided with cargoes, to the amount of 1500 tons, the port of Calcutta now contains above 10,000 tons of shipping, built in India, of a description calculated for the conveyance of cargoes to

England. This tonnage has already been tendered, and is actually at command for that purpose.

23. From the preceding statement, and from the correspondence of the governor-general in council with the board of trade, it is evident, that the wise policy which dictated the clauses of the act of parliament passed in 1793, with respect to the trade of private merchants between India and England, has been to a great degree frustrated by the insufficiency of the tonnage furnished from England, and by the unavoidable expence and inconvenience attending the terms and manner of its provision.

24. From the quantity of private tonnage now at command in the port of Calcutta, from the state of perfection which the act of shipbuilding has already attained in Bengal (promising a still more rapid progress, and supported by abundant and increasing supplies of timber†), it is certain, that this port will always be able to furnish tonnage, to whatever extent may be required, for conveying to the port of London the trade of the private British merchants of Bengal.

25. The considerable amount of tonnage occupied by private goods from Bengal in the years 1795-6, 1798-9, and 1799-1800, compared with the amount occupied by goods of a similar description in the years 1794-5, 1796-7, and 1797-8, affords a satisfactory proof, that the permission granted to individuals of providing their own tonnage, was equally favourable to the interest of the proprietors, and to that of the freighters of the ships.

26. This conclusion is not affected by the large quantity of goods

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\* Not received.

† Large and thriving plantations of teak have been made in Bengal, and the cultivation of that timber is spreading over the whole province.



shipped in 1799-1800, under the arrangement made in conformity to your orders of the 25th of May 1798; for it is well known, that under a confident expectation of enjoying the continued advantages of the plan of 1798, the merchants had considerably extended their provision of goods for the European markets. Many from necessity, others from motives of respect to the laws, shipped their goods on the tonnage provided by the government, while others disposed of their goods to the numerous foreign agents then employed in the port of Calcutta.

27. The quantity of private goods shipped for England in 1799-1800, affords, therefore, an incontrovertible proof of the eagerness and alacrity with which the British merchants, resident in Bengal, provided goods, with a view to embrace the expected opportunity of conveying their trade to London on terms of advantage; but no argument can justly be drawn from the same circumstance, to prove that the continuance of the regulations adopted in 1799-1800, would afford adequate encouragement to the private trade between India and England.

28. The preceding considerations satisfied me, that the plan of hiring ships on the part of the Company, and of re-letting them to the proprietors of ships, leaving the proprietors of ships and the merchants at liberty to settle the terms of freight, is more advantageous both to the proprietors and freighters of ships, than the arrangement adopted under your orders of the 25th of May 1798.

29. In your letter of the 25th May 1798, your honourable court appears to have intimated an opinion, that persons uniting the capacities of proprietors and freighters of ships, may trade from Bengal

to the port of London, to greater advantage than merchants possessing no property in ships. It appears to me, that the difference between the actual charge incurred by merchants, being proprietors of ships, on account of the freight of their goods sent to England in their own ships, and the rate of freight paid by merchants not being proprietors of ships, cannot be deemed a profit derived by the proprietor of a ship on his goods. No person will employ any part of his capital in the purchase of property in ships, without the prospect of deriving an adequate profit on the capital so invested. I am satisfied, that it would not be practicable for the proprietors of ships in this port to maintain an effectual combination for the establishment of enhanced rates of freight. Unless such a combination should be maintained, it is to be presumed, that the profits of the proprietors of ships on their capitals invested in ships, will never exceed, on an average, a reasonable advantage on the amount of those capitals, after defraying all the expences of their ships. This profit must, therefore, be deemed entirely distinct from the profit which the proprietors of ships may derive on their goods conveyed to England in their own ships, and consequently, the proprietors of ships cannot be supposed to possess, in the general course and conduct of their trade, in the purchase, transportation, or sale of their goods, any material advantage over merchants who are not proprietors of ships.

30. Various additional arguments, involving consequences of a more complicated and comprehensive description, appeared to me to demand, not only that I should recur, without delay, to the plan of the 5th of October 1798, but that



that I should respectfully represent to your honourable court, in the most distinct terms, my decided and conscientious conviction, that the permanent establishment of a systematic intercourse between the ports of India and that of London, regulated by principles similar to those adopted by this government in October 1798, is become indispensable to the united and inseparable interests of the Company and of the Nation in India.

31. Under the beneficial influence of the British government in India, combined with the increased demand, both in Europe and in America, for Indian commodities, the produce and manufactures of the British territories in India have increased to an extent far exceeding the amount which the capital applicable to the purchase of the Company's investment can embrace.

32. The wise policy, the just pretensions, and the increasing commercial resources and political power of Great Britain in India, claim for her subjects the largest attainable share in the valuable and extensive commerce of such articles of Indian produce and manufacture, as are necessarily excluded from the Company's investment.

33. A large proportion of this valuable trade is already in the possession of foreign nations; and unless means be immediately adopted for depriving those nations of the undue share which they have obtained in that trade, the most serious consequences are to be apprehended to the combined interests of the English East-India Company, and of the British Nation.

34. In the letter of the governor-general in council of the 1st March 1800, I stated to your honourable court, that the British merchants at this presidency, not having ob-

tained the expected permission to freight their ships to the port of London in the last year, agreeably to the plan adopted in October 1798, goods to a large amount, originally intended for the port of London, had been sold to foreigners in the port of Calcutta, and thus diverted to the channel of the foreign trade. At the same time I transmitted a list of the foreign ships, which either had failed, or were preparing to sail from the port of Calcutta to Europe and America, in the season 1799-1800.

35. The nature and extent of that trade have since undergone a particular investigation. From the accompanying statements, your honourable court will observe, that the trade of America and Portugal with the port of Calcutta alone, in 1799-1800, amounted,

In imports - Sicca Rupees 8,181,005

In exports - - - - - 7,130,372

being an increase in 1799-1800, of the trade carried on in ships bearing American and Portuguese colours, compared with the average of that trade in the three preceding years,

In imports - Sicca Rupees 6,398,678

In exports - - - - - 4,392,768

36. On the other hand, the imports of the British subjects in the year 1799-1800, amounted only to 4,787,101 Sicca rupees, and the exports to 6,766,649.

37. Of the trade carried on in foreign bottoms with the other ports in India from Europe and America, I possess no sufficiently accurate information. It is, however, known to be conducted on a very extensive scale.

38. In the present season, the trade conveyed in foreign bottoms, if left unrestrained, promises to increase beyond even the rapid progress of last year. From the accompanying statement, your ho-



nourable court will observe, that the port of Calcutta, at this early period of the season, contains about 8,500 tons of shipping, under American, Portuguese, and Danish colours.

39. I possess no means of forming an accurate estimate of that proportion of the foreign trade from India to Europe and to America, which is supported by capital actually belonging to the nations under whose flags the ships are navigated.

40. It appears, however, from the statements prepared by the reporter of external commerce, that less than one-fourth of the funds imported by the Americans in 1799-1800, for the purchase of their investments, was brought from America. Of the bullion, 200,000*l.* was imported from London, and the remainder from other parts of Europe, and from the island of Madeira. I have not been able to ascertain the proportion of British capital employed in the trade between India and Portugal. Admitting the whole capital employed in the foreign trade with India to belong to the nations under whose flags the ships are navigated, the undue proportion which they have obtained of that trade, to the injury of the British merchants, demands the most serious attention.

41. The trade conveyed in the foreign ships is conducted with all the advantages of a comparatively low rate of freight, of strict economy in the management of the concern, and of voyages and returns of extraordinary expedition and celerity. The voyage from America

to Calcutta is frequently performed in less than four months. In the last season several American ships disposed of their imports, purchased their cargo for exportation, and left the port within twenty-five, and some within twenty days from the date of their arrival.

42. Under all the existing impediments, and under the uncertainty which has hitherto embarrassed the trade of the British merchants in India, it is impossible that his goods can reach the markets of the continent of Europe, through the channel of the public sales in England, at so low a price as the goods conveyed directly from India to the same markets in foreign bottoms. The Company's sales in England must necessarily be affected by the quantity of Indian goods passing into the markets of the continent of Europe, through the channel of the foreign trade; and the profits of the private British merchant, whose goods are disposed of at the Company's sales, must be proportionably diminished.

43. Although the voyage by which the produce of India is conveyed in foreign ships to Europe may occasionally be circuitous, the superior advantages enumerated in the preceding paragraphs, enable the proprietors of the goods to dispose of them at a lower price than that for which the same descriptions of goods can be brought to the continental markets of Europe, if exported from India by British merchants under the heavy freight, and \* other incumbrances to which their trade is at present subject.

44. It

\* The Portuguese Americans pay only one per cent. on Indian produce imported and re-exported, by the ware-housing act lately passed in Great Britain. Calicoes pay  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , muslin  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the sales, if sold for exportation; all other goods (excepting cotton, spices, bullion, &c. diamonds, precious stones, which pay no duties) pay two per cent. exclusive of the convoy duty, payable by the importers. A reduction of those duties in England is absolutely necessary to complete the system of drawing the private trade of India to the port of London.



44. It must ever be impracticable, if it were justifiable or politic, by any restrictions or penalties on the trade of the British subjects, to prevent the increasing produce and manufactures of India from being conveyed to the markets in Europe, where a demand for such articles shall exist. Such restrictions tend to throw the trade into the hands of foreign nations, and to enable them to supply the markets of Europe, on terms which must equally affect the Company's sales in England. If the same goods which now pass to the continent of Europe through foreign hands were brought to the Company's sales in England, the effect on the general price of articles exposed to sale at the Company's warehouses would be less prejudicial than that now experienced from the sale of those goods in the markets on the continent of Europe. The Company and the private British merchants would equally feel the advantage in the improvement of the general sales in England, and the private trade of India would become a fertile source of wealth and strength to the British nation, instead of contributing to the opulence and aggrandisement of foreign powers.

45. The interests of the Company and of the British Nation are undivided and inseparable with relation to this important question. Every principle of justice and policy demands the extension of the utmost practicable facility to the British merchants in India, for the export from India to the port of London

of the largest possible proportion of the manufactures and produce of India, not required for the Company's investment. Such advantageous terms of freight, and such other benefits should be opened to the British merchants in India, as should not only remove every inducement to conduct the trade through foreign channels, but should enable the British merchants in India to enter into a competition in the markets of Europe with merchants trading in goods of similar produce or manufacture, provided by foreign capital.

46. To foreigners the indulgence may safely be extended, of purchasing with their own capital such part of the manufactures or produce of India, calculated for the European or American markets, as may not be embraced by the capital employed in the purchase of the Company's investment, and of the cargoes of the British merchants resident in India.

47. It is, however, doubtful, whether \* foreign nations would be able to retain any considerable proportion of the trade from India to Europe, were the British merchants in India permitted to avail themselves of their superior means of drawing the whole of the trade to England. Their local knowledge, added to all the advantages necessarily derived from a constant residence on the spot, must always enable them to command a supply of goods, of a better quality, and at a cheaper rate than foreign merchants can obtain. In the conveyance

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\* The Americans obtain Indian goods so much cheaper, by a direct intercourse with India, than they could through the circuitous route of Europe, that they will probably continue to deal largely, even on their own capital, with India. It is now the ordinary practice of the Americans; under the last treaty of commerce, to ship cargoes in India for America, to touch at some port in America, and without transshipping or unloading the goods in America, to proceed directly to Europe, and to dispose of their Indian cargoes in an European port. This practice is, unquestionably, contrary to the treaty of commerce with America,



ance of Indian goods to Europe rests the foreign merchants sole advantage over the British. The superior facility which the foreign merchant enjoys, in this respect, gives him so decided a command over the trade, that he is enabled not only to outbid the British merchant in India, but also to undersell him in the markets of Europe.

48. Were the British merchants in India permitted to provide their own tonnage, as occasion might require, every reason exists to justify a belief, that they would soon possess themselves of nearly the whole of the private export trade from India to Europe, and would render London the universal mart for the manufactures and produce of Asia.

49. If the capital of the merchants in India, and the remittance of the fortunes of individuals, should not supply funds sufficient for the conduct of the whole private export trade from India to Europe, no dangerous consequences could result from applying to this branch of commerce, capital drawn directly from the British empire in Europe.

50. Beneficial consequences of the utmost importance would certainly result to the British empire in India, from any considerable increase of its active capital, which is known not to bear a just proportion to the productive powers of the country.

51. The necessary effect of such an increase of active capital in India, would be to augment the produce and manufactures of your dominions, to the full extent of any possible demand. The high rate of interest on money applied to mercantile purposes, and the charge of the public debt, would consequently be diminished in India; while every source, both of public and private credit, would be proportionably improved.

No possibility appears of any injurious consequences resulting to the British empire in Europe, from an event so advantageous to India. It cannot be supposed that the private trade of India will ever absorb any portion of British capital, which can find more advantageous employment at home. If any portion of British capital be now employed in the American, or Portuguese, or Danish trade with India, the general interests of Great Britain will unquestionably be promoted, by inviting, under increased advantages, the application of the same funds to the trade of the private British merchants, resident within the Company's dominions.

52. From whatever source the capital of the private British trade in India might be derived, the goods would be obtained in India under the same wise, humane, and salutary regulations, now enforced, with respect to the provision of every article of produce or manufacture in this country, either by the Company or by private merchants: Great Britain would enjoy all the advantages of that trade, which is now a source of increasing wealth and strength to foreign nations, and which tends ultimately to introduce foreign intrigue, to establish foreign influence, and to aggrandize foreign power in India.

53. It would be equally unjust and impolitic, to extend any facility to the trade of the British merchants in India, by sacrificing or hazarding the Company's rights and privileges, by injuring its commercial interests, by admitting an indiscriminate and unrestrained commercial intercourse between England and India, or by departing from any of the fundamental principles of policy, which now govern the British establishments in India.

54. It



54. It may be urged, that if a considerable proportion of the goods now exported from India to the continent of Europe by foreigners, were to be imported into England by the British merchants in India, under rates of freight more advantageous than those now paid by the Company, the demand for the Company's goods would be reduced, and the value of the Company's goods would be impaired.

55. It has already been observed, that the public sales of East-Indian goods in England must necessarily be affected by the aggregate quantity of those goods sold in the continental markets of Europe; and that the effect on the sales in England would probably be less prejudicial, and could not be more so, if a larger proportion of the goods provided in India for the European markets, should be imported into England, and sold, in the first instance, at the Company's sales.

56. The long establishment of the Company's factories in India, the skill of its servants, regularly educated for the conduct of those factories, the habitual confidence of the manufacturers in the good faith and integrity of the Company, have secured to the Company so decided a superiority in the provision of the most valuable articles of piece goods and raw silk, that no private merchant, by any practicable reduction of freight, can be enabled to rival the Company in those important articles of its investment.

57. In the first purchase of sugar and other gross goods, the trade of the private British merchant has more nearly reached that of the Company; nor will the Company ever be able to trade advantageously in these articles, unless the govern-

ment in India shall resort to ships built in India, for the conveyance of such goods. The valuable branches of your investment will, it is supposed, be always conveyed with more advantage in your regular ships.

58. If the British merchants should be permitted to employ ships built in India under the plan of October 1798, the Company's gross goods may also be conveyed to England in ships of a similar description, at rates of freight equally advantageous with those paid by the private merchants.\* The Company will therefore derive a considerable benefit in this branch of trade, from encouraging the trade of the private British merchants in India. At present, neither the Company nor the private British merchant can rival foreigners in the markets of Europe, in the less valuable articles of Indian produce and manufactures.

59. It is now evident that the extra tonnage engaged in England by the Company for the service of India, can never be rendered a practicable channel, through which the British private trade of India can contend with foreign adventure. This observation necessarily applies with more force to the regular ships of the Company; although experience has proved those ships to be admirably calculated for the conveyance of the Company's valuable investment.

60. The plan contained in the advertisement of the 5th of October 1798, affords to the British merchants every necessary facility for the conduct of the private trade from India to England, while the important principles of the trade and government of India are preserved from hazard, and sufficient precautions are provided against all the dangers

\* The probable saving to the Company in the present season, by the conveyance of their gross goods in ships built in India, may amount to £.20,000.



the ports of India. Other interests, connected with the building of ships in England, will also derive the profit resulting from the great demand for the articles necessary in the construction and outfit of the ships built in the ports of India; the fact being established, that many of those articles must necessarily be brought from England.

72. On their return to India, these ships, from the moderation of their rates of freight, will afford a most advantageous mode of conveyance, for such of the manufactures of the British empire in Europe as may be demanded in India; consequently the facilities granted to the private trade, and to the ships built in India, will serve to encourage the exportation of British manufactures to Asia, to whatever extent the demand may be enlarged.

73. I have thus carefully revised the plan contained in the advertisement of October 1798, for the encouragement of the trade of the British merchants resident in India with England: I have compared that plan with the arrangement adopted under the orders of your honourable court, of the 25th of May 1798: I have considered the probable effects of any future attempt to provide for the conveyance of the private trade of India to the port of London, either in the Company's regular ships, or in extra ships hired in England; and I have adverted to the comparative practical operation of the systems adopted by this government, in the years 1798-9 and 1799-1800, as it appears on the accounts of the exports and imports of the port of Calcutta in each of those years. I have also submitted to your examination, a combined view of the motives which induce me to revert to the plan of October 1798, for the present season; and to form

an anxious expectation, that my conduct in this proceeding may meet with your approbation and countenance, and may become the foundation of an improved and durable system of intercourse between India and England, under the sanction of your authority.

74. The rapid growth of the foreign trade, during the last season, urgently demanded the immediate interference of your government on the spot: The number of foreign ships actually in the port of Calcutta; the alacrity, enterprise, and skill of the foreign agents, now assiduously employed in providing cargoes, and the necessary inaction and languor of the British private trade, embarrassed by the restraints of the existing law, created a serious apprehension in my mind, that any further delay in the decision of this momentous question might occasion evils, of which the remedy might hereafter become considerably difficult, if not absolutely impracticable. The unrestrained progress of the foreign trade in the present season, added to its great increase during the last, might have established its predominance over the private trade of British subjects, to an extent which no future regulation might have proved sufficient to limit or restrain. The difficulty of diverting this lucrative commerce from the channel into which it had been forced, would naturally be aggravated, in proportion to the length of time during which the trade should continue to flow in that course.

75. Under these serious impressions, and convinced that a prompt decision was demanded, with a degree of exigency equal to the importance of the question at issue, I directed the accompanying notice to be published at Fort William, on the 19th instant; and I ordered the govern-



governments of Fort St. George and Bombay to publish correspondent advertisements at those presidencies, with such modifications as local circumstances may render indispensibly necessary.

76. It will rest with your honourable court to determine whether this plan shall be rendered permanent. A temporary restraint is now applied to the progress of the foreign trade in India during the present season; and a temporary encouragement is granted, for the same period of time, to that of British subjects resident within your dominions. Ample time is thus afforded for the deliberate formation of your final judgment; the result of which I shall await with a respectful, but confident hope, that your wisdom may approve and perpetuate the policy which dictated my orders of the 5th of October 1798, and of the 19th of September 1800; and that your liberality may confirm to all the interests affected by this important measure, the lasting enjoyment of those commercial and political advantages, which it has been my constant endeavour, under your countenance and favour, to cultivate, to improve, and to extend.

I have the honour to be,

Honourable Sirs,

With the greatest respect,

Your most obedient,

And faithful servant,

WELLESLEY.

*The Hon. Court of Directors.*

SECOND REPORT of the SPECIAL COMMITTEE appointed to take into consideration the Letters from the Right Hon. HENRY DUNDAS.

Your committee have considered, with due attention, the two letters, on which the court were pleased, by their reference of the 24th instant,

to require the opinion of your committee, namely;

One from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas to the chairman, dated the 21st March 1801; and

Another from Marquis Wellesley, governor-general of Bengal, to the court of directors, dated the 30th September 1800;

Both on the important question of enlarging the trade of British subjects between India and this country.

The first of these letters is an answer to the report of your committee, dated the 27th of January last, which the court submitted to the consideration of Mr. Dundas.

In that report, your committee endeavoured to take a comprehensive view of the nature, the grounds, the consequences of the enlargement which has been contended for, of the extent to which it might be safe and expedient to carry it, and of the limits which, not merely the rights of the Company, but with more commanding energy, the interests of the empire, required to be prescribed to it.

Upon a subject so momentous, your committee could not but attend, with solicitude, to the opinion of so high an authority as Mr. Dundas; and it is, in the first place, with sincere satisfaction that they see from him, a declaration so well becoming his candour, that the discussion which has been maintained between him and the court of directors, on the subject in question, has not been a controversy about the respective powers of the department of control and of the Company, but rather an argumentative enquiry into the measures which the present situation and claims of the private trade between India and Europe rendered proper for the court to adopt. As he intended to argue,

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Upon a subject so momentous, your committee could not but attend, with solicitude, to the opinion of so high an authority as Mr. Dundas; and it is, in the first place, with sincere satisfaction that they see from him, a declaration so well becoming his candour, that the discussion which has been maintained between him and the court of directors, on the subject in question, has not been a controversy about the respective powers of the department of control and of the Company, but rather an argumentative enquiry into the measures which the present situation and claims of the private trade between India and Europe rendered proper for the court to adopt. As he intended to argue,

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not less for the interest of the Company than of the Nation, in which your committee trust the court have imitated him, by viewing the public good equally with that of their constituents, so he explicitly affirms, that this is a subject over which the commissioners for the affairs of India have no control; and it is therefore his conclusion, that if the court of directors are not convinced, by the reasonings opposed by him and others to the opinion they have formed, it remains only that they immediately act upon that opinion. This instance of correct regard to the rights of the Company, your committee hope may hereafter be instructive to those who, dissatisfied with the exercise of the Company's commercial powers, might naturally be disposed to presume upon their uncertainty or inefficiency.

Your committee also cannot but testify the pleasure they receive, from finding all the great principles asserted in their resolutions of the 27th of January last, as the fittest for the government and preservation of British India, strenuously professed by Mr. Dundas; particularly that the administration of our Indian empire, and the intercourse between it and this country, should be maintained by the great national organ, the East-India Company; that the colonization of Europeans in British India, and all measures leading to it, should be prevented; that the transfer of capital from Great Britain to the East, in the manner capital has been sent to our American colonies, in order to raise produce there, would be the introduction of one of the first principles of the colonial system; and that the *bonâ fide* trade of foreigners with our Indian settlements, should, under due regulations, be permitted.

On the views exhibited in the

same report, of the actual state of the trade of foreigners and British residents in India, and of the conduct of the Company in respect to the latter, Mr. Dundas only pauses in giving any opinion, because he has not before him the documents and materials on which those views were founded.

In a word, none of the principles or facts, advanced in the report of your committee of the 27th January, are controverted by Mr. Dundas. He differs from your committee only in a single point, respecting the application of those principles, in a point of practice; but that, to be sure, a point of very great moment; Whether the systematic establishment of any class of private ships, in the commerce and navigation between Great Britain and India would trench upon those principles, would tend to introduce European colonization in India, and finally endanger the system by which that country is now held to this? Being still an advocate for the stated admission of Indian ships into that commerce and navigation, he is of course persuaded that none of the consequences now mentioned, and before more fully stated, would follow from it.

Your committee have given, in their former report, their reasons at large for very strongly apprehending that such consequences would ensue. Those reasons have not been particularly examined, and they remain unrefuted; nor has any other matter come under the notice of your committee, which at all affects the conclusion they, after mature deliberation, deduced from them.

Hence your committee are unable to alter the opinion they have already delivered to the court. In this momentous case, they conceive that the probability only of great danger is a sufficient objection to  
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the proposed innovations ; and that, in order to render those innovations admissible, it ought to be satisfactorily shewn, that no such danger is at all probable.

Mr. Dundas has referred to the letter of the governor-general of the 30th of September last, as ably detailing and demonstrating the grounds of those opinions which he has stated to the court on the subject of the Indian trade. Your committee have thus had an additional motive for perusing with care a document which the order of court, as well as the authority from which it comes, pointed out to their particular attention; and this attention they have bestowed upon it. Its professed design is, first, to give a view of the urgent considerations which have determined the governor-general to revert, in the way of temporary arrangement, to his plan of October 1798, "for the encouragement of the private trade between India and London," rather than to follow the court's orders on that subject of May 1798; and secondly, to state the reasons which induce him to hope that the court will speedily confirm his proceedings, by a "*permanent system of regulation, founded on similar principles.*"

The court's order of the 5th May 1798, which the governor-general treats as a system, and under that notion of it, considers "its principles, objects, policy, and practical operation," was merely incidental and occasional, arising from a particular fact which came before the court.

The Bengal government had, in the year 1797, allowed two country ships to come to London, laden *on account of the owners*. The court were of opinion, that if the privilege of sending home private ships with cargoes were at all conceded,

it ought to have a general operation; that those who possess ships should not be entitled to load them entirely with their own goods, to the exclusion of other exporters, who had merchandize but not ships: they therefore directed, that when the Bengal government should grant permission to export goods on country vessels, those vessels should be hired by the Company, and freight on them given to all qualified persons applying for it.

This was merely a temporary proviso, looking to one object—the equal participation among all the merchants, in opposition to a monopoly by a few of greater capitals, who were ship-owners, of whatever privilege of private exportation, beyond the statute tonnage, might, at any time, be conceded. It must be well understood, that the court, in giving that temporary order upon a single point, did not mean it as any decision on the whole of this great subject of enlarging the private-trade, but looked forward to a general discussion and adjustment of that subject, which the agitations of it, then commenced, were rendering unavoidable.

Before this order of the court reached Bengal, the governor-general, on the 5th of October 1798, complying with the request of the merchants, permitted them generally to send home private ships and cargoes, as had been done in 1797; the ships being hired to the Company, and relet to the owners. In the following year, having received the court's order, he, in obedience to it, observed the mode of freighting therein prescribed; but against this mode representations were made by the merchants there; and the reasons urged by them, which the governor-general fully adopts, with other considerations, which, he states,



states, appeared to him to enforce a recurrence to his plan of 1798.

Into this first part of the subject, however, either as it may respect the merchants, or as it relates to the temporary measure of the governor-general, your committee do not think themselves, at this time, particularly called to enter. Their immediate concern is with the other and more important part of his letter, which is strenuously to recommend and to urge "the permanent establishment of a systematic intercourse between the ports of India and that of London, regulated by principles similar to those adopted by the Bengal government in October 1798;" that is, not only that the mode of hiring and reletting to the owners, private ships for private cargoes, shall be established, instead of the one enjoined by the Company; but that the permission to send home such ships and cargoes, which had been formerly given occasionally, at the discretion of the Company or their governments, and was always subject to any limitation they might prescribe, shall no longer rest on this footing, but be rendered permanent, or, in other words, become a right, and this without any proposed limitation whatever, as to the extent of the trade.

The court will see at once, that this is the main question discussed through the whole of your committee's report of the 27th January last; a question upon which your committee and the court have come to a resolution, considerably differing from the conclusion which the governor-general deduces from his reasoning, and differing, also, though far less, from the opinion of Mr. Dundas, between whose views and those of the governor-general,

there appear to be some very material discordancies.

The governor-general argues, in support of his proposal, from the inconveniences of the restraints, limitations, and uncertainties, under which the private merchants have hitherto been placed; from the increase of the trade of Calcutta; from the great advantages which would result to British India and the sovereign state, by encouraging the produce, shipping, and exportation of the former, and making the latter the grand mart for all the exports of our Eastern territories. He next represents the trade of foreign nations with our Eastern possessions, as alarmingly increasing; those nations as becoming very formidable commercial rivals to us; the peace and security of our Indian empire as likely to be affected by the intrigues of numerous foreigners resorting thither; and the practicability of reducing foreigners to an inability of doing much in the trade of India, by giving the utmost facility and encouragement to our own merchants.

All these topics have been repeatedly brought before the court, either through the medium of the proceedings of the governments abroad, or of the advocates at home for the free merchants; and they are considered at large in the former report of your committee, who, after a deliberate review of the letter from the governor-general, are unable to discover in it any branch of the subject to which they have not already adverted. Some of the governor-general's arguments are accompanied by new circumstances which demand attention, and all of them are strongly stated; but the objections to the proposed enlargements which he has also noticed, are not, in the opinion of your committee,



mittee, sufficiently weighed, nor duly followed into their consequences. Such being the general matter and scope of the governor-general's letter, and your committee having, in their former report, already mentioned, likewise entered fully into the consideration of those objections to which they have now alluded, it cannot be necessary, did the limited time of the committee permit, to go into a minute discussion of the various reasonings which the governor-general has employed, since that would unavoidably lead your committee over the same ground they have already trodden; and therefore, without intending the smallest failure of respect towards the noble writer of the letter, or any elusion of his arguments, they will confine themselves to a few of those points brought forward by him, which either mark the more material differences between his opinions and those entertained by your committee, or contain such new circumstances as require observation.

I. The opinion of the governor-general appears to differ from the opinion of your committee, in respect to the nature of that trade from British India, which it is now in question to encourage; and also concerning its proper extent.

Your committee have held, that besides allowing for the returns of exported British manufactures, according to the act of 1793, a privilege now hardly claimed, the legitimate and the only considerable object, in enlarging the private trade, ought to be the remittance of the fortunes of British residents. Mr. Dundas has gone upon the same principle in his letter of April 1800. This was the main object of the act of 1793; and in the eleventh reso-

lution, submitted by your committee on the 27th of January last, which has been approved by the court, it is formally stated, that, "if it became a practice to add to the native stock of India, capital belonging to residents in Great Britain, and transplanted for the purpose of forcing the productions of that country beyond the ability of its own means, this would be the introduction of one of the first principles of the Colonial or West Indian system, which it is said, in the first resolution, would ultimately hazard the loss of our possessions."

Mr. Dundas, in his letter of the 21st ultimo, fully accedes to this doctrine. The eleventh resolution, and also the first, are among those, of which he says, "that his opinions entirely accord with the general principles contained in them." The governor-general, on the other hand, in the forty-ninth paragraph of the letter now under consideration, distinctly asserts, "that if the capital of the merchants in India, and the remittance of the fortunes of individuals, should not supply funds sufficient for the conduct of the whole private export trade from India to Europe, no dangerous consequence could result from applying to this branch of commerce, capital drawn directly from the British empire in Europe."

His Lordship goes on, in the following paragraphs, to state what beneficial consequences would result to British India from such an increase of its active capital, as would augment its produce and manufactures; and certainly where it is argued that there could be no dangerous consequence on the one side, and that



that there would be great benefits on the other, the admission of this species of trade must be understood to be clear; nor can it be denied that it seems naturally to flow from the doctrines frequently held from the advocates for enlargement. In another part, also, of the letter, the governor-general argues, “for the extension of the utmost practicable facility to the British merchants in India for export to London;” and to shew that it is not probable any increase of private British trade in India would necessarily produce a proportionate augmentation in the number of British agents resorting thither, he observes, that British merchants there would be “likely to be employed by persons engaged in commercial concerns at home, who might easily conduct their operations with India, through the British subjects established there:” which expression, if it has not reference to the provision of 1793, in favour of British exporting manufacturers, who have hardly ever used their privilege, will imply, that other residents in Britain might become parties in the Indian trade.

Now here is a grand, and even an essential difference in judgment and principle; between the governor-general on the one side, and the court and Mr. Dundas on the other. It must be useless to debate about subordinate details, if this great point be not settled.

This, therefore, is the first question: Whether we may authorise the transfer of British capital, for the purpose of raising produce in our Eastern possessions? This is, in the apprehension of the court and of Mr. Dundas, it is still in the apprehension of your committee also, one of the usual leading principles

of our colonial system. It would, in the opinion of your committee, tend to introduce a colonial system into India: the consequences of it cannot fail to be important: it ought not, therefore, to be precipitately acquiesced in; but before it is acted upon or admitted, both the Company and the Nation ought solemnly to try and determine it, with a deliberate view of all the bearings and probable effects of it. What the effects of it, combined with the other measures of the same system, would be, your committee have in their former report endeavoured to investigate at large.

II. The systematic establishment of any class of private ships in the trade and navigation between India and Britain, which, in respect to Indian ships, the plan of the governor-general involves, is another great principle, in which his opinion is at variance with that of the court. Upon a less extensive scale of enlargement than that for which the governor-general pleads, the court have seen insuperable obstacles to the admission of this article, as has been at length explained by your committee in their former report.

Of the reasons therein stated against it, your committee will, at present, refer to one only,—the high improbability of excluding, for any length of time, British ships and owners, and merchants resident in Britain, from the privilege at first conceded only to Indian ships and residents in India. If this exclusion would be difficult, as your committee have maintained, on the more limited plan of enlargement, which they conceived to be in question, they must be of opinion, that if so great an innovation as is now proposed in our system of Indian policy (a change certainly not with-



in the scope of the act of 1793), were admitted, that exclusion would be impossible; and indeed it would be useless to contend for it; because, if merchants resident in Britain might embark, according to their discretion, in Indian adventures, thro' Indian ships, to the indefinite multiplication of such ships (whether ultimately the nation might, on the whole, be benefited or not by such a new state of things, and all its concomitants,) they might then as well be permitted to employ English ships at once; for it is not the country of the ships, but the enlargement of the channels of communication, with the other considerations, which would follow a systematic establishment of any class of ships that constitutes the essence of the objection to such an establishment.

III. On the subject of the trade and intercourse of foreigners with our Indian possessions, your committee are concerned to find, that the sentiments they entertain do not in all things correspond with those of the governor-general. It is to this head, that the circumstances new to them in his letter, chiefly belong; for he has shewn a very large increase to have taken place, in the year 1799-1800, in the imports of foreigners, especially the Americans and Portuguese, into Bengal, and in their exports from thence. This is, undoubtedly, a matter which well merits attention; but your committee are by no means convinced, that it affords any certain conclusion in favour of the argument which it is brought to support, namely, that the transfer of British capital to India, and the employment of private Indian ships from thence to England, should be

systematically permitted. It will be proper to enter a little into this matter. The merchants in India, and their advocates here, have, for several past years, insisted, in terms very alarming, on the increase of the trade of foreigners. They represented it as vast and as progressive. Your committee have, in their former report, from the most recent authentic statements of the external commerce of Bengal, shewn, that from the year 1795-6 to the year 1798-9 inclusive, the exports of foreigners from Bengal uniformly decreased, and that their imports there almost uniformly decreased also. From the same accounts it likewise appeared, that the amount of the trade of America, which was regarded as the most formidable rival, varied from less to more, and again from more to less: and your committee were warranted in observing further, that the foreign export trade of Bengal did not, in the year 1798, exceed in value what it had been thirty years before. The natural inferences from these facts were, that the amount of the foreign trade was not such as to occasion any alarm; that it was not increasing, and that it fluctuated from year to year; whence, also, it was fair to suppose, that it was still, in some measure, a trade of contingencies, arising in part, no doubt, from the belligerent state of Europe. So far, therefore, the argument from the increase of foreign trade was invalid. But in the year 1799-1800, there appears to have been a real and considerable increase in the trade of America and Portugal. According to the governor-general's statement, their trade, in that year, and the average of it for three preceding years, will stand thus:

‡ E 2

Average



		Imports.	Exports.
Average of the Years	1796-7, 1797-8, and 1798-9,	1,782,327	2,737,604
	1799-1800,	8,181,005	7,130,372
	Excess in 1799-1800,	6,398,678	4,392,768

As, however, there was a progressive decline in the foreign trade in the years 1796-7, 1797-8, and 1798-9, it may be proper also to compare the state of that trade in the years 1795-6 and 1799-1800. In the reports of external commerce it appears thus :

		Imports.		Exports.	
		1795-6.	1799-1800.	1795-6.	1799-1800.
Hamburgh	-	657,431	72,333	1,737,342	61,582
Copenhagen	-	770,136	1,016,474	813,832	956,145
Lisbon	-	1,024,943	4,656,391	2,181,371	3,344,435
America	-	843,118	3,524,644	1,949,319	3,785,937
		<u>R<sup>s</sup> 3,295,628</u>	<u>9,269,812</u>	<u>6,681,864</u>	<u>8,148,029</u>

This view, with some lights thrown on the subject by the reports of external commerce, affords several useful observations.

*First.* The foreign exports of 1799-1800 exceed those of 1795-6 in nearly fifteen lacks of rupees. This is the total increase of the trade, compared with its state five years preceding.

*Second.* The foreign exports of 1795-6 nearly doubled the foreign imports, consequently Bengal paid so much more than it received, and the greater part of the difference was probably British property, sent out of that country by clandestine channels. In 1799-1800, the imports exceeded the exports in about eleven lacks, and this was perhaps the first year in which the balance of foreign trade was thus really in favour of Bengal, or the imports even equal to the exports, since our acquisition of the country.

*Third.* The excess of imports in 1799-1800, compared with 1795-6, is about sixty lacks of rupees; and it appears, that a very large proportion of this sum, probably about three-fourths, was brought into the country in specie, the most advantageous kind of import.

*Fourth.* It is to be collected from the reports of external commerce, that the increased trade of the Portuguese in 1799-1800, arises from the increased demand for India goods in the Brazils, Spain, and Spanish America; and the subjects of the United States appear to augment their trade, partly from the increasing consumption of Indian commodities by the large population of that portion of the American continent, and partly from their supplying some of the West-India islands, and the Spanish settlements in South America, with those commodities. This, therefore, may be presumed to be a *bona fide* trade; and in our present circumstances, or whilst war continues, it is not likely that, if we immediately checked this trade, our importations to London would reach those distant places of consumption. The conveyance from India direct would have so many advantages, as probably to incite a new activity in the clandestine trade from our settlements.

*Fifth.* It has appeared, from what your committee has stated in their preceding and present reports, that the trade of foreigners with India has been liable to great fluctuations in



in the course of this war; and on the whole, therefore, of the view and exposition here given, your committee submit, whether the increase in the foreign trade in one year be of such a nature and amount as to urge to any instant measure of extraordinary magnitude.

But your committee see great reason to doubt, whether, if even the measure now proposed were adopted, the *bona fide* commerce of foreigners with India would thereby be greatly diminished. The advantages with which neutral nations at present carry on that commerce, clearly arise in part from their neutral character. In the expence of shipping, navigating, and insurance, they sail cheaper; and needing no convoys, they perform their voyages more expeditiously. To this is to be added, that the import duties on Indian goods in Portugal, Denmark, and Hamburgh, and, as your committee apprehend, in America also, are more favourable than they are in London. Whilst these circumstances continue, it seems in vain to expect that the home consumption of those countries can be supplied through the medium of London. For what if, by new enlargements, an amount as great as foreigners now carry from India to their own ports were added to the private exports from India to London? It is continually said, that the exportable produce of India may be indefinitely increased; is it not reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the bullion of the Americans and Portuguese would still find the returns they needed of the commodities of that quarter? But this juncture, when, from the extraordinary turn of the war, it has been even feared that all the ports of the continent might be shut against the ships of this country, seems parti-

cularly unpropitious to attempts to attract hither any large portion of the Indian trade carried on by neutral nations. As it is the war which has given the chief advantage to foreigners in that trade, so the return of peace will afford the best opportunity for rectifying whatever may still require regulation.

Although your committee cannot allow the present state of the foreign trade to be of preponderating importance in the vast question now under consideration, yet they are forward to observe, that besides requiring general attention to its progress and variations, several things in it call for the interposition, at a seasonable moment, both of the Government and of the Company. The circuitous trade of the Americans with foreign Europe is a violation of the treaty of commerce, little merited by the great privileges given them in that quarter; the Indian duties also on exports and imports, seem to require new modifications in favour of the London trade; and if these things were duly regulated, and the London import duties on Indian goods brought nearly to the level of the moderate imposts at foreign ports, it appears probable that, with the advantages of peace, the trade of foreigners would be limited to what could be carried on with their own capital; and this, it has been agreed, they should be permitted to enjoy.

But your committee have before observed, and cannot avoid repeating, that if all practical meliorations were effected in favour of British traders in India, and even permission given them to send their own ships to England, it does not appear that, after all, these concessions would infallibly secure to this country the trade of those British residents. The principle relied on for



obtaining that security, is to make it the interest of the merchants to consign their goods hither; but suppose that after every thing practicable is done by the Company and the Government for this end, it should still prove, at times, their interest to address their goods to foreign ports? Notwithstanding what has been said of the superior advantage of sending commodities to the largest market, and to one's native country, conjunctures may arise, especially in the deranged state into which Europe is now brought, when this may not be the most profitable course. What, then, would preserve to the Company and the State the expected benefit of all the sacrifices they should have made? Your committee are at a loss to give a satisfactory solution to this interesting enquiry. They believe the commercial history of the American colonies, now independent, will shew, that no privileges conceded by the mother country to the trade of those colonies, were sufficient to prevent them from often following their own interest, when it led them to forbidden ports. The governor-general has stated in the letter now before your committee, that "it never can be practicable, if it were justifiable or politic, by any restrictions or penalties on the trade of the British subjects, to prevent the increasing produce and manufactures of India from being conveyed to the markets in Europe, where a demand for such articles shall exist." The object of any restrictions that now exist, is not to prevent the exportation of Indian produce to foreign Europe, but to prevent British residents from carrying on that trade for their own account. From the last report, however, for the year 1799-1800, of the external commerce of Bengal, (in which are several passages that call

for observation,) it would appear, that such restrictions are little regarded; for repeated mention is made of the trade of *Anglo-Danes*, or *British subjects*, from Bengal to Copenhagen and Hamburgh. The subject is mentioned openly and familiarly, it would almost seem industriously, in order to bear upon the question of the required enlargements in the trade to London; for, it is said in one place, "that in 1798-9, when British merchants in Calcutta were permitted to load their own ships, or to make their own arrangements for the freight to London, there was not a single bag of sugar or bale of cloth shipped by them to any foreign port; whereas, if such permission had not been granted, the shipments in *Anglo-Danish* vessels would have continued; as merchants in every part of the world will run many risks, sooner than allow their ships to rot in harbour, if employment can be obtained for them." Though it belonged to the office of the reporter to bring the foreign trade, of whatever description, into notice, yet, as in the passage now quoted, (whence by the way, it would seem that to become possessed of ships, may be used as an apology for carrying on the clandestine trade,) and in other similar passages, breaches of the law are brought under the eye of government and of the court, in a manner that seems to imply no expectation of exciting surprize or animadversion; and as a passive acquiescence under publicities of this kind may yet further encourage disregard of the existing laws, which cannot but be inexpedient in any government, your committee submit, whether this matter, and indeed the whole state of the clandestine trade, does not require some attention on the part of the court?



In the former report of your committee, the amount of the clandestine trade of Bengal is stated to have been, on an average of some preceding years, about twenty-five lacs of rupces per annum. This, as the statements exhibited in that report may shew, is to be understood as the annual amount of British fortunes sent home from Bengal by foreign channels, or, in other words, the supply which the remittance of those fortunes gave to the clandestine trade.

But from the last report of external commerce, and from other circumstances, it now appears probable that, of the remaining thirty-one lacs per annum, which your committee stated as the really neutral trade of Bengal, a part may have been carried on with capital furnished by British residents there, or by merchants in London. In as far as this adds to the argument drawn from the amount of the clandestine trade, it subtracts from that which has been urged from the increase of the real trade of foreigners.

In one other point which belongs to this head, your committee feel themselves unable to adopt the sentiments of the governor-general; it is the apprehension he seems to entertain of foreign intrigue and foreign influence, in consequence of the present resort of the ships and adventurers of foreign nations to India. That this is a matter which, in all times, and under all circumstances, should engage the vigilant attention of the Company's governments, is a very clear proposition. To remit watchfulness would be to invite danger, and to maintain it is the only way to keep danger at a distance. But your committee are at a loss to conceive how, in the present state and circumstances of the British Nation,

and of foreign nations in India, there can be so much room for the intrigues of their agents, or so much to be apprehended from them, as in former periods, when they possessed respectable national settlements and governments in India, when they had national representatives, who were owned by the princes of the country, and maintained a political intercourse with them. Now, excepting the spots still occupied by the small states of Portugal and Denmark, the foreign nations of Europe do not possess a foot of land on the continent of Hindostan. Our dominion, on the other hand, is consolidated and extended; and foreigners, in general, are obliged to resort for their commodities to our settlements, and to have their wants supplied through the medium of our subjects. Without national settlements or representation, your committee cannot apprehend that, if due circumspection be observed on our part, political danger is to be feared from them; especially from such nations as the Americans, Danes, and Portuguese, whose domestic circumstances do not favour schemes of obtaining political power in the east. The French alone seem, at present, to be, in this respect, formidable to us; and if they again obtain footing in that country, it will remain for us to employ those precautions which the case shall require.

The resort of foreign military adventurers to India is, unquestionably, a matter of very serious consideration; and the Company and the Nation are highly obliged to Marquis Wellesley for the energy with which he has applied himself to the correction of that evil: but as foreign flags always have had, and must have, access to India, so it does not appear that it can be more easy now for adventurers of



that description to introduce themselves into Hindostan, than it was when the French and Dutch possessed there large establishments, forts, and military of their own.

IV. In the last place, your committee must believe, that there is a very material difference between the views of the governor-general and those of your committee, respecting the consequences which would follow from the proposed system of enlargements.

This is an essential part of the subject, on which your committee have already given their sentiments at large. Unquestionably, the governor-general does not feel those apprehensions they entertain; if he did, his principles, yet more than the stake he has in the welfare of the empire, would withhold him from supporting the projected innovations.

He desires to promote the prosperity of the provinces over which he presides, and is impressed by what appears to be immediately suited to this end; but, from the various important events which have occurred in the short period of his government, and the application of his mind to other studies, he, though acquainted with the general principles of commercial policy, for which the court also maintain a liberal regard, has not perhaps been able to contemplate the effects of the proposed changes in a commercial country like this, with the lights which the position, mercantile experience, and habits of the members of the court of directors, reflect upon it.

Your committee have not a doubt, that the effects of the privileges which are required, would be very great upon the existing system of Indian intercourse and connection, and gradually change the character

of that intercourse. If the required privileges are given to one class of ships, and one class of British subjects, it will be, in the opinion of your committee, even impossible to withhold them long from other classes: or, if these are denied a formal participation, they will soon infuse themselves into the first mass; the keen spirit of commercial enterprize will every way seek to enlarge its liberty, and become impatient under remaining restraints; in which view it is not unimportant to remark, that "to avoid the forms of office at the India House," (the business of which it is impossible to transact without forms,) is already assigned publicly by the reporter of Bengal commerce, as one cause of some late illicit practices. Many things would conspire to antiquate the present establishment; and the genius, in a word, of the commerce thus carried on, must progressively tend, more and more, towards an unrestrained and a colonial system. If it were now proposed to erect another commercial company, the proposal would probably startle every body: but in fact the privilege which is in question would establish an interest of a more formidable nature, and containing a stronger principle of growth than could be involved in the strict constitution of an incorporated society. The gradual increase in numbers, influence, and connections of those who should embark in the trade of India, under the new privileges, has been adverted to in the former report of your committee. Moderate as is, in truth, the whole capital yet engaged in the private trade of British India, we see that those concerned in it, who, a few years ago, had hardly any ostensibility, are now able to make considerable movements,



movements, both in India and in England. It is obvious that the stock of the East India Company, being open to all purchasers, may in time be largely possessed by persons of this description; and that the very complexion and character of the Company, from whom commercial laws for India emanate, may at length be changed. It is not enough, therefore, in treating of this subject, to make a due reservation for the principles of the present India system, and for the rights of the Company; the great point of all is, sedulously to examine how the measures proposed to be adopted, with proper regard to those principles and rights, will operate: nor is it enough to say, that the Company may prevent the perversion of the proposed privileges, or restrain them if they are found inconvenient. It is not, after arming the present spirit of innovation with new powers, that we could expect to be successful against its progress. After men had embarked largely in the new system, and set capitals, ships, and adventures in motion, then would not be the best time to tell them to stop. They would plead the interests they had engaged, and engaged under the sanction of authority. It would be disputed by one part of the Company, whether those things which another part might call inconveniences, were so or not; and, in short, this kind of reasoning puts all to hazard in making the experiment.

In concluding this momentous subject, your committee are induced to offer a few words on the situation in which they find themselves placed, with respect to it, as directors of the Company: and, in expressing their own sentiments, they may venture to assume, that they describe those of the court at large.

No part of the duty of a director is more trying than that which calls him to resist private and personal interests. These are always active and urgent, and apt to combine censure with disappointment. In support of such interests, those to whom they appertain, perhaps many in number, and united together, act immediately in their own persons; whilst the public interest is managed by representation; and the eager assaults of numerous individuals must be chiefly opposed by an internal principle. Prejudices have always existed against the Company, partly from its power or management, and partly, of late years especially, from doctrines of commercial policy, imperfectly understood, or unsuitably applied. The directors have been held to maintain a narrow jealousy of the Company's monopoly, and in that spirit to have opposed the liberal extensions which the public interests required; but they are not conscious of deserving this imputation. They feel, indeed, that it is incumbent on them not to surrender the rights of their constituents, without being convinced that the surrender ought to be made; but they have examined the present question, and have been very much guided, in the determination of it, by considerations of national policy. Such considerations must evidently enter now into all great measures respecting the export commerce of British India. It is painful to the directors to pause upon any schemes that seem to have the prosperity of that country for their object; they sincerely wish it to be flourishing and happy, but also to be safe. The British residents in it, not only those who are actually concerned in its manufactures and commerce, but the servants of the Company, employed as  
public



public functionaries, all desire to see its industry promoted. It is natural they should become interested in the scene immediately before them; it is also laudable: and as the conduct of the court of directors, in the present case, greatly results from considerations less within the sphere of the observation of their servants, it is not impossible that, charged as it will be by others with narrow, timid views, it may appear to them to wear too much of that complexion.

Conscious as those servants are of loyal and affectionate attachment to the mother country, an attachment which the directors are assured is warmly felt, they may think the fears of distant evils visionary, and partake of that sentiment which persons out of the service manifest, for what they may conceive to be a more expanded and magnanimous policy. If this way of thinking should so far infuse itself as to lessen the regard due to the present system of Indian government, of which the court of directors is the supreme executive head, it would be every way unhappy. No material change in that system, if speculation could be carried forward to one, would place the European inhabitants of British India on so desirable a footing, as they live at present under a government of various parts, which operate as checks upon each other. All, indeed, who argue upon public principles, are for the continuance of the present Indian system; the court of directors, however, forms an integral and even essential part of that system. If their administration is discredited, the system itself is affected: and though they must be far, either personally or collectively, from pretending to be exempt from errors; yet the consideration just mentioned

may entitle them to be solicitous that their conduct should not be subjected to unnecessary censure, and thence the authority of the court exposed to derogation; and therefore, although all just freedom of communication is to be encouraged in their servants and governments abroad, it must be extremely inexpedient to have differences of opinion between them and the court, made unnecessarily offensive, either in India or in England. Opposition to the court, in both countries, must thus be strengthened: In public discussions, which arise at home, perhaps the great weight of the Indian administration may be forced into the scale of those with whom the court has to contend; and the delegated and superior authorities, which ought to appear, as much as possible, one power, be placed in opposition to each other; which will manifestly tend to weaken the credit of the latter, and thence the system of which it is a constituent part. Your committee hope to be forgiven if these observations shall appear to be any digression from the question under consideration: they seemed to be connected with that question, of which your committee will only further say, that, in their opinion, it involves in it ultimately the permanence or the gradual supercession of the present system of Indian policy.

HUGH INGLIS,  
D. SCOTT,  
STEPHEN LUSHINGTON,  
JOHN ROBERTS,  
JACOB BOSANQUET,  
ABRAM ROBERTS,  
EDWARD PARRY,  
CHARLES GRANT,  
FRANCIS BARING.

*East India House,  
2d April 1801.*



MR. DUNDAS'S PLAN FOR THE LIQUIDATION OF THE DEBT OF THE  
EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

*Letter from the Right Hon. HENRY DUNDAS, to the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Court of Directors, of the East-India Company, on the Indian Debt.*

*Clarges-street, 30th June 1801.*

GENTLEMEN,

In the explanation of the affairs of the East India Company, which I lately stated to the House of Commons, I gave it as my opinion, that within a very few years after the return of peace, the Indian debt might be reduced within proper limits, by a due combination of the revenues and commerce of the East India Company; that before the expiration of their charter, the sum necessary for the guaranty of their capital will be accumulated; that the additional dividend may be allowed to the proprietors, as provided for by the act renewing their charter; and that a due attention will, at the same time, be paid to the claims of the public for participation, according to the terms of the agreement at the time the charter of the Company was renewed; and the more clearly to elucidate my ideas, I exhibited them in the form of an account, founded on the data pointed out, and stating the conclusions resulting from those data.

Although it was my intention, as usual, to publish the detailed explanations I have been accustomed to state in the committee of the House of Commons, on the day generally appropriated for what is called the *India Budget*, I have been induced to give this separate statement, because it has been suggested to me, that a publication of this nature, not complicated with minute details, but embracing a general view of the prospect of your

affairs, during the continuance of the present charter, may lead to a more speedy and accurate consideration of this important subject.

It is scarcely necessary for me to explain why there is a peculiar propriety in my addressing the following sheets to you. Independent of the respect and attention I owe to the directors and proprietors of the East India Company, and of the deep interest I must at all times take in their concerns, it is obvious, that if my plans are fit to be adopted, or are likely to be attended with the wished-for success, the exertions for that purpose must originate with the East India Company, and those exertions must be continued with a steady and unremitting attention.

The account to which I have just referred is No. I. in the Appendix. The result of the account depends only on its arithmetical accuracy, if the data on which it proceeds are not liable to some fundamental error; it is therefore my first wish to direct your attention to an examination of the leading features of the plan.

They are, 1st. An arrangement abroad, so that a full million from the surplus of the revenues shall, at the commencement, be applicable to the purchase of investments.

2d. That the investments from India and China shall amount, at prime-cost, to four millions annually, in equal proportions.

3d. That during the first four years from this time, the Company shall avail themselves of the power they already have, under the act, for augmenting their capital stock to the extent of two millions, at the rate of half a million annually, which it is supposed will realize one million sterling.



4th. That the additional money so raised shall be applied, exclusively, to the liquidation of the present Indian debt at interest, either by increasing remittances in bullion or export to India to that amount, or by defraying additional bills drawn from India for the same purpose.

5th. That the extinction of this debt, now calculated to amount to fourteen millions sterling, shall be carried on at the rate of one million annually, till the part of it called the decennial loan shall become payable, which is expected to take place on or about the 1807-8; and that the sum then payable on account of Indian debt, which is stated at 35,000*l.* shall be discharged in that year: on which suppositions the debts at interest abroad will then be reduced to 4,500,000*l.*

I shall be under the necessity of troubling you with some explanation on each of these points.

The first requisite is, “an arrangement abroad, so that a full million from the surplus of the revenues shall, at the commencement, be applicable to the purchase of investments.”

The necessity of this requisite being accomplished, will appear from the account I have already referred to, in which, in the second year, credit is taken for the supplying 4,000,000*l.* prime-cost of investment, with a charge on that account on the treasury at home of only 3,000,000*l.* This, of course, proceeds on the supposition of the remaining 1,000,000*l.* being, in that year, supplied from the revenues in India. In the subsequent years, the charge at home for investment is supposed gradually to be decreased below 3,000,000*l.* in proportion as the applicable surplus of revenue in India is increased by savings of the interest of debt discharged; and the progress of this latter operation is

pointed out in the two accounts, No. II. and III. in the Appendix. I am well aware of the difficulty which occurs in the outset of this whole operation, from the present burthened state of your finances in India, and the very large amount of the revenues which are absorbed in the discharge of interest at so high a rate; but this very circumstance is so decisive as to the success of the measure, when once set in motion, that no difficulty is so great that it ought not to be surmounted.

The estimates of the revenues and charges, which I stated to the House of Commons, were drawn up from those transmitted by your governments in India; but in order that I might proceed with as much certainty as possible on this important article of the plan, in addition to the exertions of the accountant of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, I requested the assistance of your very accurate and able officer, Mr. Wright, in order that they might jointly examine and correct the estimates transmitted from abroad, so as to enable me to form the best opinion possible, to what amount you might rely on a surplus in India, as available to the purposes of investment.

The estimate, No. IV. in the Appendix, will exhibit the result of the investigation. It is prepared with great care, and certainly abundant caution; but it is the safest side on which to err: and it would be imprudent, in a matter of so much importance, to build on any surplus that does not appear to be clearly warranted.

The amount is taken at 800,000*l.* which is deficient for the object in view to the amount of 200,000*l.*: but, in truth, this deficiency ought not to be stated at so small a sum as 200,000*l.*; for when you consider that



that part of the commercial charges defrayed in India, amounting to about 180,000*l.* have not been usually included in the estimates, and likewise consider, that other unforeseen circumstances may occur, I do not think that, if you mean to ensure the actual receipt of the sum required, you can safely desist from your exertions, till you have secured in India, for commercial purposes, a sum of not less than 1,200,000*l.*

There are several circumstances which lead me to be confident in my hopes that a sum to that amount will, without any real difficulty, be obtained in India, for the purpose of realizing the prospects which are detailed in the account before you.

In the first place, I can have no doubt, that if you send out positive instructions to your governments abroad, stating the importance of the object in view, considerable additions will be made to the savings pointed out in the corrected estimate of Mr. Wright. This can only be effectually done on the spot: but it will be done, if your servants abroad are impressed with a full conviction that the object you have in view is so far paramount to every other, in the present moment, as to claim their first attention. In this observation I point chiefly at the army extraordinaries, which, from the pressure of the war, and the expensive contests in which you have been engaged, have necessarily amounted to a very large sum, and cannot fail to admit of great reductions, of the details of which at home we cannot be competent judges, but which a vigilant, economical, and firm government on the spot cannot fail to discover and to enforce.

In the second place, it is not impossible that some of those expences, which are, with great propriety, intended to be of a permanent na-

ture, may, without risk, be postponed, till it is finally ascertained that they can be defrayed, without interfering with the sum requisite for investment, according to the plan detailed in the subjoined accounts, No. I, II, and III. In this observation I particularly allude to your military establishments, as last revised. In the orders you sent out some months ago, considerable reductions were made in your military expenditure; and I observe, in the corrected estimate, No. IV. that the saving in consequence is computed at 270,000*l.* These reductions were ordered upon a very accurate examination, and, to the best of my judgment, it would not be proper, in a future permanent arrangement, to make them to a greater extent: but when so great an object is at stake, I should be clearly of opinion, for considering how far any parts of the proposed establishment might be postponed. In the notandum subjoined to the corrected estimate, No. IV. Mr. Wright observes, that if the addition to the artillery could be postponed, it would save 54,000*l.*; but I consider the addition ordered to your artillery establishment to be of such deep importance to the security of your extended Indian empire, that I do not think the saving suggested ought to be adopted. But I think differently with regard to the other notandum; and when so great a saving can be made as 153,000*l.* by keeping the native regiments at 1400 privates, in place of 1600 or 1800, I cannot doubt in advising you to make that reduction. In truth, there is no risk; for, in the case of emergency, the native troops could be recruited with the utmost expedition, to the ultimate proposed establishment, or indeed to any amount.

In these observations you will observe,



observe, that I have confined myself solely to the consideration of military retrenchments. I have done so, because I am convinced that any attempt to make any considerable reduction in your civil establishments would be productive of all the inconveniences attending inadequate allowances to your civil servants. Such a system would lead to all the fatal consequences resulting from the exaction of private unwarranted allowances, which it has been the great object of the present system of Indian administration to annihilate. At the same time, this is no reason why even your civil expences may not merit your attention, to the effect of instructing your governments to refrain from any expenditure of a contingent nature, which would lead to any considerable expence, and respecting which there is no immediate urgency, why it should be executed at the present rather than any future moment. Although, at this distance, I cannot take it upon me to specify all the particular items of expenditure, on which retrenchments may be made, I cannot permit myself to entertain any unreasonable diffidence on the subject, when I look to the state of your expences in India at a former period. I do not carry that reference to an early period, because I am aware that, within these very few years, a large permanent expence was most properly incurred, by the arrangement which took place for rendering the condition of your military servants more comfortable, in a variety of respects. I refer, however, to the charges of all kinds, as they stood in the year 1797-8, and the amount of them was 7,650,654*l.* a sum far inferior to that contained in the estimate now exhibited by your auditor, amounting to 8,851,260*l.* It is

true, that since that period great additions have been made to your territorial possessions, and very considerable additions to your military expenditure are created, in consequence of the very beneficial alliances you have formed with the native powers in India. These considerations, however, do not operate against the probability of what I am endeavouring to establish; for as to addition of territories, it cannot escape observation, that the events which produced those additions have at the same time tended to increase the security of your own possessions, by narrowing their frontier, and annihilating your most powerful and inveterate enemy; and wherever you are obliged to increase your military establishments in consequence of alliances, you have received a subsidy fully adequate to the expence of those subsidiary engagements.

It is proper here to remind you, that, in the observations I have made, to establish the probability of the requisite aid to be derived from a surplus revenue in India, I have taken no credit for the expectations I am entitled to entertain from the increasing prosperity, cultivation, and consequent population, of our Indian territories. Our revenues, for some years, have been in a state of progressive increase, and the same cause must continue to operate in producing the same effects. I shall not indulge myself, at present, in disquisitions of that nature, as it would lead me far beyond the bounds I have prescribed to myself in this address. I state the circumstance, without meaning to draw any other conclusion than what must occur to every body, viz. that the happy change which recent events have produced on our affairs in India, must strengthen and invigorate every



hope and expectation founded on their present state. Every system of beneficial finance, commerce, and economical administration, can now be adopted and pursued, with more steadiness and certainty of success, than it could be under circumstances of precarious security and unremitting anxiety.

Having now stated to you a saving upon your estimates to an amount producing near a million surplus in India, and having likewise stated the prospect of a larger surplus, both from the probability of further retrenchments, and from the almost certainty of a progressive increasing revenue, I might safely leave this part of the proposition, upon what I have already observed: but, to remove all ambiguity on the subject, I think it proper to remind you, that in the end of the year 1803, or beginning of the year 1804, the debt due to the consolidated creditors of the late Nabob of Arcot will be liquidated, so as to set free a sum of not less than 6,21,000 pagodas, amounting, in pounds sterling, to the sum of 248,400*l*. This sum will, of course, be applicable to the discharge of such further debts of the late and present Nabob as are not included in the former arrangement. The East-India Company itself is a creditor to a large amount, and, according to the arrangement suggested by Marquis Wellesley, in his letter to the Nabob, of 24th of April 1799, there can be no doubt that at least one half of the sum so set free will be appropriated to the extinction of the debt due to the Company, and will, of course, to that amount, add to the surplus of the revenues applicable to investment. But this is not all; for, according to the letter I have wrote to you this day, on the subject of the private unconsoli-

dated debts of the late and present Nabob, there seems no doubt that the whole of the 6,21,000 pagodas, already referred to, will be at your disposal, for the purposes of investment. My letter, with its enclosures, points out to you the obvious mode in which this is to be accomplished; and the effect of the transaction, if agreed to by you, will be to give an immediate commercial resource, to the amount of the whole 6,21,000 pagodas, paying to the creditors their debts at home, by such distant instalments as can never prove any inconvenience to your treasury at home, or tend, in any degree, to disturb the substantial benefits to be derived from the measure which I am now endeavouring, with great earnestness, to impress upon your attention. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the effect of the plan will be to put into your pockets the difference between the amount of interest payable to you by the Nabob, and the four per cent. payable by you at home to the creditors, according to the agreement you may make with them in consequence of their proposals; and the only effect it will have upon the whole result of the account is, a diminution on the balances at home, from the period when the instalments agreed upon with the creditors shall become payable; and the aggregate of these payments will, *pro tanto*, create a diminution of the balance stated to accrue at the expiration of the charter.

As I consider this last head to be of the utmost importance to the whole success of the proposition in question, and as so many misapprehensions have appeared, and so many misrepresentations have been held out respecting it, I have thought it my duty to state my ideas upon it at greater length than I at first intended;



tended ; and, upon the whole, I trust I may, with confidence, rest assured in the conviction, that one million sterling will be attainable from the surplus revenues of India, to cooperate with the other commercial resources of the Company, in producing the beneficial results, stated to proceed from those resources of revenue and commerce, judiciously combined together ; and it only remains to remark, that if, after every exertion, and contrary to every rational probability, there should be any deficiency, the inconvenience arising from it to the general object in view, will be obviated by your ordering your government abroad, for the short period that may be necessary, to pay as much of the interest of the debt in India, by bills on the court of Directors, as may be required to secure the object of a million surplus in India, applicable to the purposes of investment. The only consequence of doing so would be, to a very small amount, to diminish the progressive accruing balance of your cash at home ; but your prospect of abundant affluence, in that respect, seems to be so unequivocal, as to admit of no discouragement, in the prosecution of every expedient calculated to ensure the success of this very salutary measure.

The second requisite is, “ that the investments from India and China shall amount, at prime-cost, to four millions annually, in equal proportions.”

This does not require any minute explanation, beyond what appears on the face of the accounts in the Appendix. The difficulty of finding a sufficient sum for the prime-cost of such an investment will chiefly occur in the first year of the operation, when it is requisite, by exports, by bills from India, and by

bullion, to find an aid to your India concerns, to the amount of five millions sterling. The difficulty does not consist in any inadequacy of resources at home to make those exertions, but in the means of sending so large a sum ; and particularly in the means of finding bullion to so great an amount as 2,000,000*l.* to which amount it must be found, if the full five millions requisite for the first year cannot be got through the medium of the other resources to which I have referred. The importance of the object is so great, no exertions ought to be omitted that can surmount the difficulty ; and there is scarcely any expence that ought not to be incurred, rather than endanger a failure of administering the requisite aid to your necessities in India. It would be improper in me, for obvious reasons, to detail what may have occurred to me on the subject. It is, indeed, unnecessary, for I know you will find most able advice on the subject from some of your own number. You will, of course, feel it to be your duty to represent the importance of it, in the most forcible manner, to his Majesty's ministers, who, upon an examination of the particulars I have stated, and fully weighing the very brilliant effects it will produce on the commerce and revenues of the kingdom, cannot fail to be impressed with a full conviction of its being their duty to contribute every aid in their power to set this operation in motion on its first outset, which is, in truth, the period when the chief difficulty will occur.

I now proceed to observe, on the suggestion contained in the two next requisites I have before stated, and I trust I shall have little difficulty in obtaining your concurrence in the two propositions to which I refer : 1st. That it is your duty and



your interest now to make use of the power you possess, under the act of parliament, 37 Geo. III. cap. 31, of augmenting your capital stock, by two millions sterling; and, 2dly, That the money so raised should be invariably applied to the extinction of your debt in India.

The wisdom of this policy is indisputable, both on commercial and political principles. I need not observe to you, who have been sharers with me in the conduct of those transactions which have taken place for some years past, that the principle of our Indian administration has been, so to combine the operations of finance and commerce, as that they may be mutually subservient to each other, by the revenues of India administering to the wants of Leadenhall-street, and on the other hand, the treasury of Leadenhall-street administering to the necessities of India, when the surplus of the revenues of India has become, either partially or totally, inadequate to the demands created by the enormous expences of an extensive and complicated war, joined to the desire of remitting a large and valuable investment from India to Europe.

I have had occasion, more than once, to observe, that although I could, without apprehension, acquiesce in the extension of the Company's credit in India, to an amount unknown before, for the purposes of war and investment; still that operation must have its bounds, and the debt must not be permitted to become so unwieldy, as not to be reducible to its proper scale, within a moderate period after the return of peace. It is impossible, perhaps, with perfect accuracy, to decide the precise point at which the borrowing for the combined purposes of

war and commerce ought to cease; but I believe I do not take a very unsafe criterion, when I contend, that the use of the Company's credit abroad, for the purpose of commerce, ought to cease, when individuals find it for their advantage not to lend, at a moderate interest, and the public cannot, of course, be accommodated, but at a very extravagant rate of interest. I considered the state of the Company's credit in India to have arrived at that point, when I saw the debt growing to a rate of interest at ten or twelve per cent. in place of six or eight, and in addition to that, the creditor stipulating for himself a continuance of that loan, for a defined length of time, and at a high rate of interest, not less than ten per cent.

When, therefore, I saw the amount of debt last year rise to above ten millions, bearing interest, and likely still further to increase, unless put a stop to, I thought it my duty to state to you the propriety of restoring to India, from your treasury at home, a part of that balance, which had found its way into your treasury in England, in consequence of the unprecedented use of your credit in India. It could not be done abruptly; and this led me to state, last year, to the House of Commons, that I was ready to meet the Indian debt, even at the large amount of fourteen millions.

From what I have above stated, it will not be understood that I mean to pledge myself to an opinion, that in any case it is proper for the East-India Company to burthen their revenues in India by the contraction of debt for the purpose of investment. That commerce is the only proper medium by which the excrecent revenues of India can



be conveyed to Britain, admits of no doubt; but it is by no means so clear, that creating a commercial capital, by borrowing at high interest in India, is an expedient measure. It is, however, unnecessary to follow that disquisition further at present, because the estimate you have produced this year is a proof of your acquiescence in the plan of providing the prime-cost for your investment, without creating, at present, any further burthen on the revenues of India.

From what I have already stated, there can be no doubt of my hearty approbation to that measure, so far as it goes; but when it is of such infinite importance to all your future commercial prospects, to recover, as speedily as possible, the great commercial resource you have derived from the surplus revenues of India, from the time of the acquisition of the Dewannee, it surely cannot admit of a doubt, that having so obvious and easy a resource in your hands as that in question, you ought, without delay, to use it for that purpose.

I could expatiate much at large on this proposition, with all its bearings on the commercial prosperity of the East-India Company; but when I consider to whom this letter is addressed, it would be unnecessary waste of your time to enlarge farther on this topic.

The advantages of adopting the suggestion I have taken the liberty of submitting to you, are not less conspicuous in a political, than they are in a commercial view. Your debts in England are already reduced below their level, with a great balance of assets in your favour: judge then, to what a pitch of security your territories in India would be raised, if your revenues were disencumbered, within a short

period, of the burthens which lay upon them. If, before this is done, you were to be engaged in new struggles for the maintenance of that pre-eminence which you have progressively attained, you would be obliged to engage in them with your whole surplus revenues absorbed in the payment of an extravagant rate of interest, and you could not trust to the measure of a further extension of your credit, already stretched to an unprecedented amount; whereas, by extinguishing your Indian debt, you would, in a few years, have the command of a clear surplus of 2,000,000*l.* applicable to the purposes, either of commerce or defence, as might be expedient at the moment; and you would, at the same time, be in possession of your credit entire, which experience has proved may, without danger of being over-stretched, be carried to the amount of fourteen millions sterling. In such circumstances you would be in a situation to bid defiance to the assault of every enemy; for you would be enabled, on the resources of India alone, to maintain a war beyond any term of years that the most gloomy imagination may choose to figure to itself.

With such a statement before you, I am positive, from my long knowledge of you, I would do you much injustice, if I was to entertain any such diffidence, as to think it necessary to dwell longer on the elucidation of the propositions which I have thus briefly endeavoured to enforce.

The last of the data I have stated above, and which follows as a result of the others, is, "That the extinction of the debt shall be carried on at the rate of one million annually, till the part of it termed the decennial loan shall



“ shall become payable, which is  
 “ expected to take place on or  
 “ about the 1807-8. The sum then  
 “ payable is stated at 3,500,000*l*.  
 “ when the debts at interest abroad  
 “ will be reduced to 4,500,000*l*.”

Upon examining the progressive operation of the account, No. I. you will perceive that, from the balance accruing at home, there would be the means of extinguishing the debt at an earlier period than that I have alluded to ; and, in this respect, the plan is open to such alterations and modifications as circumstances may suggest. I have preferred this mode of stating it, as appearing to me the most likely to suit the means of transferring home the debt, in the manner most convenient for the arrangements of government in India, and for the accommodation of the Company's treasury at home. The only part fixed at present, and which cannot be altered without the consent of the creditors interested, is, that the decennial loan, amounting to about 3,500,000*l*. cannot be paid off sooner than the year 1807-8, consistently with the conditions under which it was borrowed.

In like manner, when I mention the debt in India being reduced to 4,500,000*l*. I do not state that as a circumstance essential to the principle of the plan itself. By the appropriation clauses in the act 1793 (Appendix, No. V.) which I subjoin, to prevent the trouble of reference, you will perceive that, at the renewal of the charter, the idea was to reduce the debt in India to 2,000,000*l*. That idea was suggested and adopted, upon the ground that a certain proportion of the debt might, with utility, be left in India, on transferable government securities, at an interest of about six per cent, resembling

India bonds or exchequer bills in this country, and that such a measure would be not only convenient for the circulation of the country, but, in as far as those securities might find their way into the hands of the natives, it would tend to connect their interests more closely with the credit and stability of the British government in India. If those ideas are well-founded, it occurred to me that, in the present extended state of your empire, and pecuniary relations at your different settlements, a sum of 4,500,000*l*. was more proportionate to the objects in view, than the sum of 2,000,000*l*. pointed out in the act 1793.

Indeed I may here in general observe, that in the frame of the account I have presented, I have been guided solely by the principle of elucidating what the progressive balance would be upon the data assumed ; but I do not mean to anticipate what may be the most eligible mode of its appropriation, if the measure shall be found to produce the results I have stated. Some think that no debt at all should be left in India : others are of opinion, (and in which there is much found policy,) that when your affairs are brought into a situation to enable you to do so, it would be wise, after the example of other Indian powers, to have always *dépôt* of treasure in your coffers in India, to the amount of three or four millions sterling, to meet any sudden emergency, and to save you the necessity of having immediate recourse to large loans, in the event of your being compelled to hostilities, by the restless ambition and jealousy of your enemies, either native or European.

But I desist from pursuing, in detail, these or other speculations of a



similar nature. They are foreign to the object of this address, and must be reserved for the wisdom of others, at a future moment, to decide upon. I am of opinion, that if our Indian concerns proceed successfully on the principles and to the results I have detailed, a new arrangement between the Public and the East-India Company will be proper, with a view to the interest of both parties. It is obvious that some arrangement must be necessary, in consequence of the contingent appropriations pointed out in the 111th clause of the act 1793; for if the balance should accumulate in any one year, to so large an amount as to exceed what can be used in that year, for the purposes which the act directs, it could not be allowed to remain as a dead fund; but it would, in my judgment, be wise to apply to parliament, for the power of carrying such surplus as cannot be appropriated to the purposes specified in the act, to an earlier commencement of the accumulation for the guarantee fund, subject to the condition of being at any time applicable to the reduction of the Indian debt, within the limit intended, as rapidly as the means of remitting to India for that purpose can be found. It is obvious, that under the circumstances I have supposed, such an enabling power to the Directors of the East-India Company would be equally beneficial to the public and to the proprietors of India stock.

Having thus explained, as far as appears necessary, the principles of the plan I have presented for your consideration, it still remains that I should take notice of the objections which have been stated, or may occur, against the probable success of it.

In the explanations I have already given, I have had an opportunity of

obviating some of those difficulties; and it does not appear to be necessary, in addressing you, to enter upon any justification of the accuracy of the account, so far as concerns the annual expenditure of each year. That is a subject familiar to you by daily observation, and I make no doubt you will concur with me in thinking, that in the different items of charge I have made ample allowance for every article of expenditure.

Neither does it occur to me, that an objection can be made to any of the items of receipt in each year, unless (as indeed has been stated) it shall be supposed that the sales may not remain at the amount I have estimated. I have taken them at the amount they now are; and I confess, if proper attention be paid to your trade, and no means omitted to ensure and encourage, permanently and on a solid foundation, the commercial intercourse between India and Great-Britain, I can see no reasonable ground of doubt that the sales, on the return of peace, will continue at an amount not below their present level. Many circumstances, both in the internal state of Great-Britain and Ireland, and many considerations arising from a view of the probable state of the commerce of the world, lead me to believe, that at a general peace, any apprehensions on this head will prove unfounded. It is, however, my earnest wish, on the present occasion, to waive every circumstance which may be supposed of doubtful speculation, and therefore, since I heard the observation made, I have prepared an account, similar to the other, proceeding on an amount of sales, so much reduced as to leave no room for doubt. Instead of taking the sales throughout at 7,400,000*l.* as in the account,



No. I. I take them from the supposed return of peace at only 5,550,000*l.* But then, if you suppose a reduced amount of sales, you must, at the same time, suppose a proportionable reduction of the sum necessary to be provided for prime-cost of the goods, which, in that respect, and in the amount of commercial charges of every description, adds facility to the execution of the plan; and although it takes something from the rapidity of success, does not take from its ultimate certainty or importance. The results of those data are pointed out in the account subjoined, No. VI.

It may, probably, be observed, that the account, No. I. proceeds on the supposition of a continuance of peace, during the whole term of your charter, a period of not less than thirteen years. The observation is just, in point of fact; but I am not apprehensive of having the merits of my proposition tried on other data, and the utility of carrying it into execution will still remain indisputable. No one, however anxious in his disposition, however unfavourably inclined he may be to contemplate future prospects, will conceive me sanguine, in supposing that, if fortunately the war should be terminated in the present year, by an honourable and adequate peace, after a contest so long and so exhausting to all the belligerent powers with whom we are engaged, there may be a cessation from hostilities for the short period of seven years; and if that takes place, it gives time for the extinction of the Indian debt, which is the great and primary object of my suggestions: and if, at the end of that period, there should be a renewal of hostilities, that should continue even for the whole period of the charter, it would not annihilate,

and very little impair, the result of the calculations I have submitted to your attention. Even if there are five years war in Europe, experience teaches (and indeed the nature of a continental war in India is such) that you estimate largely, if you suppose, that out of five years of general war, more than three of it operates to the effect of increasing the military expenditure in India. While it does so operate, it of course leads to the consequence of your not being warranted to trust to the full amount of the calculated supply from the revenues of India; but when the war ceases in India itself (notwithstanding its continuance in Europe), the resource from the territorial revenues revives. It is true, that while the war continues in Europe, although it may have ceased in India, the expences of commerce are greatly swelled by the increase of freight, and other circumstances, and therefore they must, in that case, be estimated at the war amount.

These propositions will be best understood by putting them into figures, as I have done the others; and I have therefore prepared two accounts, No. VII. and VIII. of the Appendix, *one* upon the supposition of an investment of four millions of prime-cost, and seven millions four hundred thousand of sales; *the other*, on the supposition of three millions of prime-cost, and five millions five hundred and fifty thousand of sales; and upon the examination of these accounts, you will perceive how little ground there is for your being discouraged from eagerly adopting the proposition I am enforcing, even in the worst view of the result that the most timid imagination can suggest.

I will not trespass longer on your patience. After the most mature con-



consideration I can give the subject in all its bearings and relations, I have a deep-rooted conviction, that your Indian debt is the only formidable enemy your Indian prosperity has to encounter. Subdue it, and you have subdued every thing that ought rationally to be dreaded. If I can inspire your minds with the same enthusiasm on this subject with which my own is animated, I shall rest in confidence, that you will not disregard my parting advice; but, by adopting the means which are in your hands, speedily overcome your Indian debt, and thereby exalt your own characters, by consulting the best interests of your constituents, and the general prosperity of your country. By such an operation, you will practically establish the expediency of the system under which we have been acting together for these seventeen years past, and you will prove to the legislature and to the public, the wisdom of leaving in the hands of the East-India Company, the share they hold in the executive administration of our Indian empire.

I have only further to add, that I should not have troubled you with this address, if I had not felt myself warranted to assure you, that in this and every other measure, calculated to promote the good of the public, and the real interests of the East-India Company, you will meet with the most cordial cooperation of the board over which I lately presided, and at which I have been succeeded by a person, whose amiable manners, and respectable talents, will ensure your confidence and respect, in proportion as they become habitually known to you.

I have the honour to be,

GENTLEMEN,

with great regard,

Your most obedient and

obliged humble servant,

HENRY DUNDAS.

To the Chairman, &c.

APPENDIX. No. I.—ESTIMATE, shewing what may be the Situation of the Cash Concerns of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY, in England, at the Conclusion of their Charter, calculated on the following Principles, viz. *Supposing the Prime Cost of the Investments from India and China to amount, annually, to Four Millions, and the Sales to yield 7,400,000l.; that after the first Year, the Surplus from the Territorial, &c. Revenues shall amount to One Million, and gradually increase, by the Interest on the Debt, (to be extinguished,) &c. till it amounts to Two Millions, the Prime Cost of the Investment being paid from the Surplus Revenue, and from the Proceeds of the Sales; reckoning on an Addition to the Capital Stock at 500,000l. or One Million Sterling, annually, for Four Years; the Charges in the First Year taken on a War, and in the following on a Peace Establishment; reckoning, likewise, on the Liquidation of the Indian Debt, at Interest, taken at Fourteen Millions, so that by the Year 1808-9, it shall be reduced to 4,500,000l.; and finally, shewing the Proceeds, without noticing what may be the Amount for the Participation of the Public.*

RECEIPTS.	1801-2.	1802-3.	1803-4.	1804-5.	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.	1808-9.	1809-10.	1810-11.	1811-12.	1812-13.	1813-14.
Balance of cash	930590	1339816	2126042	3759768	5549994	6422220	7403446	5984672	8265898	1074712	13228350	15709576	18190802
Sales of goods	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000
Profit on private trade	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000
Interest on annuities	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226
Loyalty loan	308000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New capital	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total receipts	9794816	9896042	10682268	12315994	13097220	13978446	14959672	13540898	15822124	18303350	20784576	23265802	25747028



	1801-2.	1802-3.	1803-4.	1804-5.	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.	1808-9.	1809-10.	1810-11.	1811-12.	1812-13.	1813-14.
CUSTOMS	£ 240000	£ 180000	£ 180000	£ 180000	£ 180000	£ 180000	£ 180000	£ 180000	£ 180000	£ 180000	£ 180000	£ 180000	£ 180000
Freight	1500000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000
Charges on goods	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000
Cost of investments, } the part paid in } England	4000000	3000000	2900000	2700000	2600000	2500000	2400000	2200000	2000000	2000000	2000000	2000000	2000000
Dividends	705000	810000	862500	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000
Charges extra	390000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000
Freight extra	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000
Payment of Indian } debt	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	3500000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Officers on furlough	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000
Captains of ships, &c.	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000
Debt to the bank	—	800000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total payments	8455000	7770000	6922500	6775000	6675000	6575000	8975000	5275000	5075000	5075000	5075000	5075000	5075000
Balance remaining	1339816	2126042	3759768	5540994	6422220	7403446	5984672	8265898	10747124	13228350	15709576	18190802	20672028
Total	9794816	9896042	10682268	12315994	13097220	13978446	14959672	13540898	15822124	18303350	20784576	23265802	25747028

N. B. The above Estimate is framed on the Supposition of Peace after the first Year. The Calculations are made without Reference to the Rates of Exchange, or the Price of Bullion.

Some Variation may be expected as to the precise Year in which the Debt would be reduced to the intended Limit. It may take place partly in the Year 1807-8, and partly in 1808-9.



APPENDIX. No. III.—ESTIMATE, shewing the Reduction of the Debt in INDIA, calculated at Fourteen Millions, bearing Interest, by the annual Application of One Million.

Season.	Principal.	Interest at 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ per Cent.
	£	£
April 1801	14000000	1225000
Do.—1801-2	10000000	87500
Do.—1802-3	13000000	1137500
Do.—1803-4	10000000	87500
Do.—1804-5	12000000	1050000
Do.—1805-6	10000000	87500
Do.—1806-7	11000000	962500
Do.—1807-8	10000000	87500
Do.—1807-8 Decennial Loan	10000000	875000
1808	9000000	787500
	10000000	875000
	8000000	at 10
	3500000	pr Ct. 350000
	4500000	350000

The Interest calculated to remain payable on the Debt reduced to 4,500,000*l.* is 350,000*l.* which may be reckoned at about 7*l.* 15*s.* 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* per Cent. The saving of Interest by the Reduction is 875,000*l.*; but if the remaining Debt were to be at Six per Cent. the saving would be 955,000*l.*

APPENDIX. No. II.—ESTIMATE, shewing the Surplus that must be produced in INDIA, in order to effect the Purposes laid down in the general Estimate.

	Surplus Revenue.	Saving by Interest on Debt.	Total.
	£	£	£
1801-2	1000000	—	—
1802-3	1012500	87500	1100000
1803-4	1125000	175000	1300000
1804-5	1137500	262500	1400000
1805-6	1150000	350000	1500000
1806-7	1162500	437500	1600000
1807-8	1275000	525000	1800000
1808-9	1125000	875000	2000000

N. B. If the Debt at Interest is reduced to 4,500,000*l.* and the Rate of Interest to Six per Cent.; the Interest then payable would be 270,000*l.* in which case the Saving would be 955,000*l.*

The above is exclusive of the Amount required for the Commercial Charges, not added to the Invoices.



APPENDIX. No. IV.—ESTIMATE of REVENUES and CHARGES at each Presidency in INDIA, and Total Amount of Net Surplus to arise in the first Year of Peace, on the Supposition of the Revenues continuing to produce as estimated on the latest Materials received from India, and of the Charges being regulated according to the last Instructions, and distinguishing by what Amount, and on what Grounds, the several Charges are expected to be reduced below, or increased above, the Estimate for 1800-1.

REVENUES.

BENGAL.

At 2s. the Current Rupee.

The estimate for 1800-1 makes the total revenues - £.6339200

In this, the subsidy from Oude is taken at 96½ lacks of sicca rupees; but Marquis Wellesley states the full subsidy at 115 lacks. The arrangements were not completed when the estimate was made, the difference may therefore be added, being sicca rupees 18½ lacks, or CR. 214600, at 2s. 214600

6553800

The opium, in the estimate, is said to be taken as last year, but is, in fact, 34000*l.* more. The sale in 1799-1800 was extraordinarily productive; and although some addition in the quantity was expected in 1800-1, it seems prudent, for a continuance, not to take it at a higher sum than last year's sales. Deduct therefore - - - - 34000

As the other articles of the estimate do not seem liable to objection, the Bengal revenue may be calculated at - - - £.6519800

Carry forward - £.6519800

CHARGES.

BENGAL.

At 2s. the Current Rupee.

The charges in the estimate for 1800-1 are stated at £.4422000

In these are included the expence of military stores, at an amount far exceeding the average of former years; and it is presumed a reduction may in future take place of - - - - - £.200000

Also the temporary expence of repairing the fortifications at Futty Ghur, in consequence of the treaty with the vizier - - - - - 30000

50000

£.4372000

A further sum might be deducted, on account of the expence of building the new government house, estimated at 34000*l.* which cannot be a permanent charge; but as the military expences are rather below the probable amount, when the arrangements for Oude are completed, this may be set against it.

Carry forward - £.4372000



Brought forward - £.6519800

Brought forward - £.4372000

REVENUES.

FORT ST. GEORGE.

*At 8s. the Pagoda.*

The revenues, by the estimate for 1800-1, are - £.3273000

In this, the subsidy from the nizam is pagodas 946000; but by the new treaty of October last, he commuted the old subsidy for his share of the territories ceded by, and conquered from Tippoo, in 1792 and 1799, the revenues of which, by Tippoo's accounts, are pagodas 1792000. Those of 1792 are thought to be over-rated in these accounts; but, on the other hand, the revenues of the countries conquered in 1799 are supposed to be much undervalued; and in fact the Company's share, which was to the same amount, has produced double the estimate. The difference between the old subsidy and the revenues of the countries ceded by the nizam, may therefore be added, being pagodas 846000, or - - - - - 338000

The Malabar revenues, now placed under Fort St. George, are not included in the estimate, and the Bombay accounts contain the estimate of two months revenues only. The net revenue for ten months may be calculated at pagodas 300000, or - - - - - 120000

The total revenues may therefore be taken at - - - - - 3731000

Carry forward - £.10250800

CHARGES.

FORT ST. GEORGE.

*At 8s. the Pagoda.*

The charges, by the estimate of 1800-1, are - £.3723000

On the most minute examination of the estimate of military charges, compared with the auditor-general's statement, from which it is taken; after allowing for the increased establishment, and all contingencies, stated by the auditor-general, the estimate appears subject to the following alterations:

The total military charges, including the troops in Malabar and Canara, should be more than in the estimate, by pagodas 344887

In the total are included the following extra expense of Colonel Wellesley's detachment - - - - - 566409  
 Arrears to bullock-owners 1799. - - - - - 59413  
 Extra expense of a secret expedition - - - - - 200000  
 French prisoners - - - - - 28118  
 Extra expense of troops at the Moluccas and Malacca, and supplies to those settlements - - - 306300

This, and the former article, it is supposed, will be discontinued, as charges to the Company, on the return of peace.

Pagodas 1160240  
 The difference is 815353

which will probably be saved in future, being - - - - - 326140

The charges at Fort St. George will then be - - - - - 3396860

Carry forward - £.7768860



Brought forward - £.7768860

CHARGES.

BOMBAY.

At 2s. 3d. the Rupee.

The estimate for 1800-1 is - - - - - £.1052000  
 This includes several items for two years' expence, and does not allow for retrenchments in some departments. The military charges and expence of stores appear over-rated: on the whole, it is thought a deduction may justly be made of - - - - - 52000

BENCOOLEN, PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND, AND ST. HELENA.

The supplies, by the estimate of 1800-1, are - - - - - 82400  
 Total charges - - - - - 8851260  
 Estimated net revenue - - - - - 1695540  
£.10546800

Brought forward - £.10250800

REVENUES.

BOMBAY.

At 2s. 3d. the Rupee.

The revenues, by the estimate for 1800-1, are - - - - - £.300000  
 But in this the revenue of Malabar is included for two months, at a much higher proportion than is warranted by the collections of the former year, when they were at the highest. To allow for this, and a small article of revenue, included for two years, deduct - - - - - £.10000

Some improvements are expected hereafter in the Surat revenue, in consequence of the late arrangement, for which allow - - - - - 6000

4000  
296000  
 Total revenues - £.10546800

Estimated net revenue, brought down

In the accounts of Madras, the expence of Ceylon is estimated at 70000*l.* which will not in future be chargeable to the Company; but from this is to be deducted the revenues of the Dutch settlements, amounting to 24000*l.*; the difference then is - - - - - £.46000  
 The reduction of the military in India, by the court's late orders, is estimated to produce a saving of - - - - - 270000

The net revenue may then be estimated at

From this the interest of the debts is to be defrayed, which cannot be computed at present at less than - - - - - £.2011540  
 But it may be conjectured that part will be paid by bills on the court, under the orders lately sent to India for that purpose. - - - - - 1150000  
 The remaining estimated surplus is - - - - - £.861540  
 But to allow for unforeseen contingencies, it may be better to take it at - - - - - £.800000

The surplus revenue, without reducing the military establishments more than by the orders lately sent out, may thus be estimated at 800000*l.*

If the increase to the artillery, directed by those orders, could be postponed, it would produce a saving of 54000*l.*

If all the native infantry regiments in India were reduced to 1400 privates each, it would be a saving of 153000*l.* per annum.



APPENDIX, No. V.—EXTRACT  
of ACT of 33 Geo. III. Cap. 52, Sec-  
tions 107 to 123.

107. And be it further enacted, That for and during so long time as the said company shall be entitled to the whole, sole and exclusive trade and traffic, in, to and from the East-Indies, and other places within the limits of their charter, subject to the provisions, regulations and limitations in this act contained, the clear profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions and revenues in India, after defraying the charges and expences of collecting the same, shall be applied and disposed of, to and for the uses and purposes hereinafter expressed, in the following order of preference, and to or for no other use or purpose, or in any other manner whatever, any act or acts of Parliament now in force to the contrary notwithstanding; (that is to say), In the *first* place, in defraying all the charges and expences of raising and maintaining the forces, as well European as native, military and marine, on the establishments in India, and of maintaining the forts and garrisons there, and providing warlike and naval stores: *2dly*, In payment of the interest accruing on the debts owing, or which may be hereafter incurred by the said company in India: *3dly*, In defraying the civil and commercial establishments of the said company at their several settlements there: *4thly*, That there shall be issued to the respective commercial boards of the said company, at their several presidencies in India, in such proportions as the court of directors of the said company, with the approbation of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, shall from time to time direct, a sum of not less than one crore of current rupees in every year, to be applied in the provision of the company's investment of goods in India, and in remittances to China for the provision of investment of goods there: And, *5thly*, That as often as any part of the said debts shall be redeemed or discharged in India, or transferred from thence to Great Britain, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said court of directors, with the consent of the said board of commissioners, to increase the annual advancement to the said commercial boards, for the provision of investments in India and China, in the same extent to which the interest of the debts in India shall be reduced by such extinction and transfers respectively, if the trade of the said company from India,

and their remittances to China, shall admit of or require such increase: And, that after the appropriations aforesaid, or sums set apart sufficient to answer and make good the same, the surplus of the said revenues shall be applied to the liquidation of the debts of the said company in India, or to such other uses and purposes as the court of directors, with the approbation of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, shall from time to time direct; any act or acts of Parliament to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

108. And whereas sundry debts incurred in the defence and protection of the British possessions in India, bearing interest, are now due and owing by the said company, there, amounting to seven crores of current rupees, or seven millions of pounds sterling, or thereabouts: And whereas it may be convenient and beneficial to the company's affairs, that the greater part of the said debts should be transferred or remitted to, and paid in Great Britain; and it is therefore expedient, that proper encouragement should be given to the creditors of the said company in India, to transfer and remit the same accordingly: Be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the several governments and presidencies in India, from time to time, to grant bills of exchange upon the court of directors of the said company, payable in Great Britain, at such equitable rates of exchange as shall be, from time to time, directed or authorized by the said court of directors, with the approbation of the said board of commissioners for the affairs of India, for the purposes of transferring and remitting the said debts, in manner aforesaid, incurred by the said company, and now due and owing by them in India, to Great Britain, until the said debts in India shall be reduced to a sum not exceeding two crores of current rupees, or two millions of pounds sterling; and that the said court of directors shall be, and are, by force and virtue of this act, fully authorized and empowered to accept and discharge such bills of exchange accordingly, over and besides such other bills of exchange as the said company could or might lawfully accept and pay, if this act had not been made, and not otherwise, or in any other manner, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

109. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That if the creditors of the said company in India shall decline to accept of and receive such bills of exchange as aforesaid,



aforesaid, in payment or discharge of their said respective debts, or shall not accept the same, to the amount of 500,000*l.* in any year, it shall and may be lawful for the governor-general in council of Fort William and Bengal, or for the governors in council of the several presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, respectively, by the order and authority of the said governor-general in council, to raise a sufficient sum or sums, whereby to make up a remittance for such year, to the amount by which the total of bills of exchange, so accepted by the said creditors, shall fall short of the said sum of 500,000*l.* by loans of and from any other persons willing to advance the same, upon the credit of bills of exchange to be drawn by them upon the said court of directors, at such equitable rates of exchange as shall be authorized and directed in the manner before-mentioned; and that the money so raised in India shall forthwith, upon payment thereof into the proper treasury there, be issued and applied towards the liquidation and discharge of the said debts of the said company in India, and to or for no other use or purpose whatever.

110. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to authorize any of the governments in India to grant bills of exchange, for the purpose of transferring or remitting the said debts from India to Great Britain, to become due and payable within any one year, to be computed from the first day of January in the same year, exceeding in amount the sum of 500,000*l.* unless by the special order and authority of the court of directors of the said company, for that purpose first had and obtained, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

111. And be it further enacted, That during the continuance of the exclusive trade to the said company, the net proceeds of their sales of goods at home, with the duties and allowances arising by private trade, and all other profits of the said company in Great Britain, after providing for the payment of bills of exchange already accepted by the said company, as the same shall become due, and for the current payments of other debts, interest, and other outgoings, charges and expenses of the said company, (their bond-debt always excepted), shall be applied and disposed of in the following manner; (that is to say), 1*st*, In payment of a dividend after the rate of 10*l.* per cent. per

annum, on the present or any future amount of the capital stock of the said company, the first half-year's payment thereof to commence and be made at Midsummer 1793: 2*dly*, In payment of 500,000*l.* per annum, the same to be set apart on the first day of March and the first day of September, half-yearly, in equal portions, and applied in the discharge of bills of exchange drawn or to be drawn in India, for the transfer or remittance of the debts of the said company from thence to Great Britain, for the diminution of such debts, until the same shall be reduced to two crores of current rupees, or two millions of pounds sterling: 3*dly*, In payment of a sum not exceeding 500,000*l.* in every year, into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, to be applied as Parliament shall direct, the same to be set apart for that purpose on the first day of July and the first day of January in every year, by equal portions, and the first half-yearly payment thereof to be made or accounted due on the first day of July 1793: And, if the said funds shall prove insufficient in any year to satisfy such last-mentioned payments into his Majesty's exchequer, that then and in every such case the same shall be made good, except as in this act is otherwise specially provided, out of any surplus which may remain from the said net proceeds in any subsequent year, after the payment of the annual sum of 500,000*l.* into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, becoming due in each year respectively: And that, until the said debts in India shall be reduced to the said amount of two crores of current rupees, or two millions of pounds sterling, the ultimate surplus which shall remain of the said net proceeds, after such payments thereout made as aforesaid, shall and may be, from time to time, set apart and applied in augmentation of the said fund or annual sum of 500,000*l.* a year, hereby appropriated for the reduction of the said debts in India, in and for the reduction thereof, by the discharge of any further bills of exchange to be drawn from thence, either for the transfer and remittance thereof to Great Britain, or for loans of money to be borrowed on the credit of any bills of exchange which shall be granted by the order of the court of directors, to any greater amount than is herein-before limited or directed in that behalf; or otherwise it shall be lawful for the said court of directors to apply any part of the said ultimate surplus of the said net proceeds in the payment of any debts of the said company



pany in Great Britain (the said bond-debt of 1,500,000*l.* only excepted), or to the purchase of any goods, wares, or other merchandize, to be disposed of in India or China, and to appropriate the produce thereof in and towards the more speedy diminution of the said debts in India: And that, when and so soon as the said debts in India shall have been reduced to the amount herein-before limited in respect thereof, and the bond-debt in Great Britain to 1,500,000*l.*, the surplus of the said net proceeds, after providing for the current payments of interest, and other outgoings, charges and expenses of the said company, and of a dividend after the said rate of 10*l.* per cent. per annum, on the said capital stock, and the said annual sum of 500,000*l.* to be paid into the exchequer, and after making good all former deficiencies in the said annual payments, otherwise than as is provided by this act, shall be applied and disposed of in manner following: (that is to say,) One sixth part of the said surplus, computed and adjusted to the first day of March in every year, shall be reserved and retained by the said company for their own use, and applied in augmentation of the dividends on their said capital stock; and that the residue of the said surplus shall be set apart, and from time to time paid by the said company into the Bank of England, within the first week in April in each year, to be there placed to the account of the commissioners appointed by an act of the 26th year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, "An act for vesting certain sums in commissioners, at the end of every quarter of a year, to be by them applied in the reduction of the national debt," until the monies so paid, together with the sums arising by the growing interest thereof, shall have amounted to 12,000,000*l.* sterling; and that, from and after such payments, together with the money so arising by the said growing interest, shall have amounted to the said sum of 12,000,000*l.* sterling, the said surplus shall be, from time to time, paid into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, and be there placed to the account of the consolidated fund, as the property of the public in full right.

112. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That if the debts of the said company in India, after the same shall have been reduced to two crores of current rupces, or 2,000,000*l.* sterling, shall be again increased beyond that amount; or if their bond-debt in Great Britain,

after the same shall have been reduced to 500,000*l.* shall be again increased beyond that sum; then, and so often as either of those cases shall happen, the like appropriations as are herein-before directed or authorized to be made for the reduction of the said present debts, shall again take place and be made for the reduction of the said new debts respectively, until the whole of the debts of the said company in India shall be again reduced to two crores of current rupces, and their bond-debt in Great Britain to 1,500,000*l.*; any thing in this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

113. And be it further enacted, That the governor and company of the bank of England shall raise and keep an account with the said commissioners in their books, to be intituled, "The account of the guarantee fund of the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies;" and that as well as such monies as shall be so paid by the said united company to the said governor and company by virtue of this act, as also the annual dividends or interest to arise therefrom, in manner by this act provided, shall be placed to the said account, and shall be severally and respectively, under the order and direction of the said governor and company of the Bank of England, laid out and invested in the names of the said commissioners, in the purchase of capital stock in any of the redeemable public annuities transferrable at the Bank of England, the same to be transferred to the said commissioners, on account of the said guarantee fund, in the books of the said governor and company of the Bank of England; and that the dividends payable thereon shall, from time to time, be received by the said governor and company of the Bank of England, and be placed to the account of the said commissioners.

114. And be it further enacted, That when and after the monies paid by the said united company to the said governor and company of the Bank, together with the monies received for dividends on the capital stock of annuities purchased therewith, and with the proceeds thereof, shall have amounted to 12,000,000*l.* dividends of the said capital stock of annuities shall, in preference to any other disposition thereof, be subject and liable to make good to the said united company, for and during all such time as they shall continue to trade with a joint stock, any deficiency or deficiencies in their own funds, applicable to the payment of the said dividend of



of 10*l.* per cent. per annum on the capital stock of the said united company, if any such deficiency shall happen in such payment or payments; and that, when there shall be no such deficiency, or being such, after the same shall be made good out of the said dividends, such dividends, or the surplus thereof, shall be deemed to be the property of the public, and shall be paid, when and as often as the same shall arise, by the said governor and company of the Bank of England, into the receipt of the exchequer, and be there carried to the account of the consolidated fund.

115. And be it further enacted, That the capital stock of annuities, wherein, or in the purchase whereof, the said sum of 12,000,000*l.* sterling shall be invested, pursuant to the directions of this act, shall be deemed and considered as a guarantee fund, for the better securing to the said united company their said capital stock, or the value thereof, such value being always computed for that purpose, after the rate of 200*l.* for every 100*l.* of such capital stock; and that if, at the time of the right and title of the said united company to the said whole, sole and exclusive trade (limited as aforesaid), becoming determined, their own funds and assets, real and personal, shall be insufficient to pay and satisfy all their just debts, and to make good to the said company their said capital stock, or the value thereof, computing the same after the said rate of 200*l.* for every 100*l.* of the said stock, that then the said capital stock of annuities, or guarantee fund, shall be deemed and considered, as far as the same shall or may extend for that purpose, to be in the first place, and before any other application thereof, subject and liable to make good to the said company, and their creditors, the deficiency so arising in their own funds and effects for the purpose aforesaid; and that the said capital stock of annuities, or the surplus thereof, after making good such deficiency (if any such there shall be) shall remain and continue as a guarantee fund, for the better securing the capital stock of the said united company, or the value thereof, rating the same as aforesaid, after such determination of their whole, sole and exclusive trade, for so long time as they shall continue to trade with a joint stock, and subject thereto; and after making good all such deficiencies, that the said capital stock of annuities, or so much thereof as shall then remain, shall be and be deemed the property of the public.

116. And be it further enacted, That from and after any money shall be paid by the said united company to the said governor and company of the Bank of England, by virtue of this act, an account shall be made to the last day of January in every year, by the governor and company of the Bank of England, of all sums which shall have been paid to them by the said united company, or carried into their books on account of the said commissioners, under or by virtue of this act, and also of all sums of capital stock of annuities, which, in pursuance hereof, shall have been purchased in the names of the said commissioners, with the interest accruing thereupon, and of the application of the same, respectively; which account the said governor and company of the Bank of England are hereby required to lay before both houses of Parliament, on or before the 15th day of February immediately following, if Parliament shall be then sitting; and if Parliament shall not then be sitting, then within 14 days after the commencement of the then next session of Parliament.

117. And be it further enacted, That the security or securities given, or hereafter to be given, by the cashier or cashiers of the governor and company of the Bank of England, for the due performance of their trust, in pursuance of a clause for that purpose contained in the said act of the 26th year of his Majesty's reign, shall extend; and be deemed in law to extend, to their due performance of the trust by this act reposed in the said cashier or cashiers, respectively.

118. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That such reasonable allowances shall be made to the said governor and company of the Bank of England and their cashier or cashiers, in respect of their services, labour, and expenses, in the performance of the trusts hereby reposed in them, as the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, or the high treasurer for the time being, shall in that behalf direct, the same to be paid or retained out of the annual dividends or proceeds of the capital stock of annuities to be purchased under the authority of this act, any thing herein-contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

119. And be it further enacted, That the said united company and their successors shall, and they are hereby directed and required to pay into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, and into the Bank of England, the several and respective sums of money by this act directed to be paid



paid by them, at or within the times, and in the manner and form aforesaid, and according to the true intent and meaning of this act; and if the said united company or their successors shall make failure in any payment hereby appointed to be made by them into the said receipt of the exchequer, or into the Bank of England, according to the tenor and true meaning hereof, that then and in any such case the money whereof such failure in payment shall be made, shall and may be recovered from the said united company and their successors to his Majesty's use, by action of debt, or upon the case, bill, suit, or information, in any of his Majesty's courts of record at Westminster, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed, or any more than one imparlance; in which action, bill, suit, or information, it shall be lawful to declare, that the united company of merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, are indebted to his Majesty in the monies of which they shall have made default in payment, according to the form of this act, and have not paid the same; which declaration shall be sufficient, and in or upon such action, bill, plaint or information, there shall be further recovered for his Majesty's use, against the said company and their successors, damages after the rate of 15*l.* per cent. per annum, for the respective monies so unpaid contrary to this act, together with full costs of suit; and the said united company and their successors, and all their stock and funds, and all other their real and personal property and estate, lands and tenements, whatever and wherever, shall be and are hereby made subject and liable to the payment of the said monies and damages, with the full costs of suit.

120. And be it further enacted, That the said united company and their successors shall, upon payment of the several sums by this act directed to be made into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, and into the Bank of England respectively, be fully exonerated, acquitted, and discharged, as against his Majesty, his heirs and successors, from all writs, actions, suits, damages, and proceedings, for or on account of the respective sums which shall be so paid by the said company; and in order that no difficulty or dispute may arise in respect thereof, a certificate shall be made, without fee or reward, for the ascertaining the amount of every distinct sum by the said company paid into the receipt of the exchequer, and into the Bank of England respectively, by

virtue of this act, at the time of the payment thereof, specifying the amount of the sum or sums so paid, and the day of payment of the same; which certificate in respect of monies paid into the receipt of the exchequer, shall be signed by the auditor of the receipt of the exchequer, the clerk of the pells, and one of the tellers, or in their absence, by their respective deputies attending at the said receipt; and for monies paid into the Bank of England, such certificate shall be signed by one of the chief cashiers of the said Bank of England, severally and respectively, at the time of payment of such money; and the several certificates, so signed, shall be delivered to the said company, or their chief treasurer or cashier, and shall be good and sufficient evidence in law, as against his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, for the payment of the sum or sums therein expressed and specified.

121. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That if the making payment of any sum or sums into the receipt of the exchequer, or into the Bank of England, respectively, at or within the time or times appointed by this act for that purpose, will be attended with material inconvenience or embarrassment to the affairs of the said company, then and in every such case the court of directors of the said company shall and are hereby required to present the same, and the circumstances thereof, to the high treasurer or commissioners of the treasury for the time being, who shall forthwith examine into and consider of such representation; and thereupon it shall and may be lawful for the said high treasurer or commissioners of the treasury, if he or they shall see cause, to postpone or suspend the payment of the sum or sums, so accruing or accrued due as aforesaid, for such reasonable time, and upon such terms and conditions, as to him or them shall appear reasonable and expedient; and that the payment of the said sum or sums shall accordingly be postponed or suspended, and no penalty or damages shall be incurred or incurable in the mean time, by reason of the non-payment thereof, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding; provided always, That there be laid before both houses of Parliament, within 14 days after the making such order, if Parliament shall be then sitting, or otherwise within the first 14 sitting days of the then next session of Parliament, a copy of the said order, and of the representation of the said court of directors,



directors, whereon the same shall have been granted.

122. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That if it shall happen that, by any extraordinary expences incurred in time of war, or preparations for war, or from circumstances incidental to war, the aforesaid net proceeds shall fall short (after payment or provision made for the said dividend of 10*l.* per cent. and the said 500,000*l.* per annum, for the reduction of the said debt in India), of making payment to the exchequer of the said 500,000*l.* per annum, for the use of the public, then and so often as the same shall happen, the deficiency or deficiencies in the said last-mentioned payments shall not be made good out of the surplus of any future year or years, to impede the accumulation of the said guarantee fund, not exceeding 12,000,000*l.* payable into the exchequer; but that the amount of all deficiencies so happening and occasioned, shall be deemed as a debt to be made good to the public upon the determination of the exclusive trade of the said company, in the event only of their general assets, consisting of monies in their treasuries, securities for money, ships, goods,

wares, and merchandize, and other their live and dead stock, producing or amounting in value to more than sufficient for the payment of all the just debts of the said company, and of making good to the said company the value of their capital stock, rated at 200*l.* for every 100*l.* of such stock; but that after payment or provision made for the said debts and capital stock as aforesaid, the surplus or excess of the said general assets shall be applied in the making good the amount of the said deficiencies; as far as the same will extend, in preference to any other application thereof; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

123. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That the appropriation made by this act of the clear profits of the said territorial acquisitions and revenues in India shall not extend, or be construed to extend, to prejudice or affect the rights of the public, or of the said united company, respecting the said territorial acquisitions and revenues, beyond the further term by this act granted to the said united company, under the limitations thereof, in the sole and exclusive trade to the East-Indies and parts aforesaid.



APPENDIX. No. VI.—ESTIMATE, shewing what may be the Situation of the Cash Concerns of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY, in England, at the Conclusion of their Charter, calculated on the following Principles, viz. Supposing, after the first Year, the Prime-Cost of the Investments from India and China to amount, annually, to Three Millions, and the Sales to yield 5,550,000*l.*; that the Surplus from the Territorial, &c. Revenues, shall amount to One Million, and gradually increase, by the Interest on the Debt (to be extinguished), &c. till it amounts to Two Millions, the Prime-Cost of the Investment being paid from the Surplus Revenue, and from the Proceeds of the Sales, reckoning on an Addition to the Capital Stock at 500,000*l.* or One Million Sterling annually for four Years; the Charges in the first Year taken on a War, and in the following on a Peace Establishment; reckoning likewise, on the Liquidation of the Indian Debt at Interest, taken at Fourteen Millions, so that by the Year 1808-9 it shall be reduced to 4,500,000*l.*; and finally, shewing the Proceeds, without noticing what may be the Amount for the Participation of the Public.

## RECEIPTS.

	1801-2.	1802-3.	1803-4.	1804-5.	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.	1808-9.	1809-10.	1810-11.	1811-12.	1812-13.	1813-14.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Balance of cash - -	930590	1339816	1663542	2834768	4153494	4572220	5090946	3209672	5028398	7047124	9065850	11084576	13103302
Sales of goods - -	7400000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000
Profit on private trade	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000
Interest on annuities	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226
Loyalty loan - -	308000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New capital - -	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>Total receipts -</b>	<b>9794816</b>	<b>8046042</b>	<b>8369768</b>	<b>9540994</b>	<b>9859720</b>	<b>10278446</b>	<b>10797172</b>	<b>8915898</b>	<b>10734624</b>	<b>12753350</b>	<b>14772076</b>	<b>16790802</b>	<b>18809528</b>



PAYMENTS.

	1801-2.	1802-3.	1803-4.	1804-5.	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.	1808-9.	1809-10.	1810-11.	1811-12.	1812-13.	1813-14.
Customs - - - - -	£. 240000	135000	135000	135000	135000	135000	135000	135000	135000	135000	135000	135000	135000
Freight - - - - -	1500000	750000	750000	750000	750000	750000	750000	750000	750000	750000	750000	750000	750000
Charges on goods -	370000	277500	277500	277500	277500	277500	277500	277500	277500	277500	277500	277500	277500
Cost of investments, } the part paid in } England - - - - -	4000000	2000000	1900000	1700000	1600000	1500000	1400000	1200000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000
Dividends - - - - -	705000	810000	862500	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000
Charges extra - - -	390000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000
Freight extra - - -	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000
Payment of Indian } debt - - - - - }	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	3500000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Officers on furlough } Captains of ships, &c. }	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000
Debt to the Bank -	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000
Total payments -	8455000	6382500	5535000	5387500	5287500	5187500	7587500	3887500	3687500	3687500	3687500	3687500	3687500
Balance remaining -	1339816	1663542	2834768	4153494	4572220	5090946	3209672	5028398	7047124	9065850	11084576	13103302	15122028
Total - - - - -	9794816	8046042	8369768	9540994	9859720	10278446	10797172	8915898	10734624	12753350	14772076	16790802	18809528

N. B. The above Estimate is framed on the supposition of Peace after the first Year. The Calculations are made without Reference to the Rates of Exchange, or the Price of Bullion.

Some Variation may be expected as to the precise Year in which the Debt would be reduced to the intended Limit. It may take place partly in the Year 1807-8, and partly in 1808-9.



APPENDIX. No. VII.—ESTIMATE, shewing what may be the Situation of the Cash Concerns of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY in England, at the Conclusion of their Charter, calculated on the following Principles, viz. Supposing the Prime-Cost of the Investments from India and China to amount, annually, to Four Millions, and the Sales to yield 7,400,000l.; that after the first Year, the Surplus from the Territorial, &c. Revenues shall amount to One Million, and gradually increase, by the Interest on the Debt (to be extinguished), &c. till it amounts to Two Millions; the Prime-Cost of the Investment being paid from the Surplus Revenue, and from the Proceeds of the Sales; reckoning on an Addition to the Capital Stock at 500,000l. or One Million Sterling annually for Four Years; the Home Charges in the first Year being taken on a War Establishment, in the Seven following on a Peace Establishment, and in the Five last again on a War Establishment; reckoning likewise on the Liquidation of the Indian Debt at Interest, taken at Fourteen Millions, so that, by the Year 1808-9, it shall be reduced to 4,500,000l.; and finally, shewing the Proceeds, without noticing what may be the Amount for the Participation of the Public.

N. B. The Figures in small Type exhibit what might be the further Effect of an Indian War, by absorbing a great Part of the Surplus Revenues of the Years 1809-10, 1810-11, and 1811-12.

	PEACE.										WAR.		
	1801-2.	1802-3.	1803-4.	1804-5.	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.	1808-9.	1809-10.	1810-11.	1811-12.	1812-13.	1813-14.
RECEIPTS.													
Balance of cash - -	£. 930590	£. 1339816	£. 2126042	£. 3759768	£. 5549994	£. 6422220	£. 7403446	£. 5984672	£. 8265898	£. 10217124	£. 9,217,124	£. 14119576	£. 16070802
Sales of goods - -	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000	7400000
Profit on private trade	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000	1200000
Interest on annuities	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226
Loyalty loan - -	308000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New capital - -	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total receipts -	9794816	9896042	10682268	12315994	13097220	13978446	14959672	13540898	15822124	17773350	19724576	21675802	23627028
										16,773,350	16,724,576	17,675,802	19,627,028



PAYMENTS.	PEACE.						WAR.					
	1802-3.	1803-4.	1804-5.	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.	1808-9.	1809-10.	1810-11.	1811-12.	1812-13.	1813-14.
Customs - - - -	£. 180000	£. 180000	£. 180000	£. 180000	£. 180000	£. 180000	£. 180000	£. 180000	£. 180000	£. 180000	£. 180000	£. 180000
Freight - - - -	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1500000	1500000	1500000	1500000	1500000
Charges on goods -	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000	370000
Cost of investments, the part paid in } England - - - - }	3000000	2900000	2700000	2600000	2500000	2400000	2200000	2000000	2000000	2000000	2000000	2000000
Dividends - - - -	810000	862500	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000
Charges extra - - -	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	390000	390000	390000	390000	390000
Freight extra - - -	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000
Payment of Indian } debt - - - - }	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	3500000	-	-	-	-	-	-
Officers on furlough	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000
Captains of ships, &c.	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000
Debt to the bank -	800000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total payments - -	7770000	6922500	6775000	6675000	6575000	8975000	5275000	5605000	5605000	6,605,000	5605000	5605000
Balance remaining -	1339816	3759768	5540994	6422220	7403446	5984672	8265898	10217124	12168350	14119576	16070802	18022028
Total - - - -	9794816	10682268	12315994	13097220	13978446	14959672	13540898	9,217,124	9,168,350	10,119,576	12,070,802	14,022,028

N. B. The Calculations are made without Reference to Rates of Exchange, or the Price of Bullion.

Some Variation may be expected as to the precise Year in which the Debt would be reduced to the intended Limit. It may take place partly in the Year 1807-8, and partly in 1808-9.

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APPENDIX. No. VIII.—ESTIMATE, shewing what may be the Situation of the Cash Concerns of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY, in England, at the Conclusion of their Charter, calculated on the following Principles, viz. Supposing, after the first Year, the Prime Cost of the Investments from India and China to amount, annually, to Three Millions, and the Sales to yield 5,550,000l.; that the Surplus from the Territorial, &c. Revenues shall amount to One Million, and gradually increase, by the Interest on the Debt, (to be extinguished,) &c. till it amounts to Two Millions, the Prime Cost of the Investment being paid from the Surplus Revenue, and from the Proceeds of the Sales; reckoning on an Addition to the Capital Stock at 500,000l. or One Million Sterling annually for Four Years; the Home Charges in the First Year taken on a War Establishment, in the Seven following on a Peace Establishment; and in the Five last again on a War Establishment; reckoning likewise on the Liquidation of the Indian Debt, at Interest, taken at Fourteen Millions, so that by the Year 1808-9, it shall be reduced to 4,500,000l.; and finally, shewing the Proceeds, without noticing what may be the Amount for the Participation of the Public.

N. B. The Figures in small Type exhibit what might be the further Effect of an Indian War, by absorbing a great Part of the Surplus Revenues of the Years 1809-10, 1810-11, and 1811-12.

	PEACE.										WAR.			
	1801-2.	1802-3.	1803-4.	1804-5.	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.	1808-9.	1809-10.	1810-11.	1811-12.	1812-13.	1813-14.	
RECEIPTS:														
Balance of cash - -	£. 930590	£. 1339816	£. 1663512	£. 2834768	£. 4153494	£. 4572220	£. 5090946	£. 3209672	£. 5028398	£. 6642124	£. 8255850	£. 9869576	£. 11483302	
Sales of goods - -	7400000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	5550000	
Profit on private trade	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	120000	
Interest on annuities	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	36226	
Loyalty loan - -	308000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
New capital - -	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Total receipts	9794816	8046042	8369768	9540994	9859720	10278446	10797172	8915898	10734624	12348350	13969076	15575802	17189528	
										11,348,350	10,962,076	11,575,802	13,189,528	



	PEACE.										WAR.			
	1801-2.	1802-3.	1803-4.	1804-5.	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.	1808-9.	1809-10.	1810-11.	1811-12.	1812-13.	1813-14.	
<b>PAYMENTS.</b>														
Customs - - -	£. 240000	135000	135000	135000	135000	135000	135000	135000	135000	135000	135000	135000	135000	
Freight - - -	1500000	750000	750000	750000	750000	750000	750000	750000	1125000	1125000	1125000	1125000	1125000	
Charges on goods -	370000	277500	277500	277500	277500	277500	277500	277500	277500	277500	277500	277500	277500	
Cost of investments, } the part paid in } England - - -	4000000	2000000	1900000	1700000	1600000	1500000	1400000	1200000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	
Dividends - - -	705000	810000	862500	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	915000	
Charges extra - - -	390000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	360000	390000	390000	390000	390000	390000	
Freight extra - - -	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	
++ Payment of Indian } debt - - -	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	1000000	3500000	-	-	-	-	-	-	
G Officers on furlough } + Captains of ships, &c. }	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	
Debt to the Bank -	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	
	-	800000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total payments -	8455000	6382500	5535000	5387500	5287500	5187500	7587500	3887500	4092500	4092500	4092500	4092500	4092500	
Balance remaining -	1339816	1663542	2834768	4153494	4572220	5090946	3209672	5028398	6642124	8255850	9869576	11483302	13097028	
Total - - -	9794816	8046042	8369768	9540994	9859720	10278446	10797172	8915898	10734624	12348350	13962076	15575802	17189528	

N. B. The Calculations are made without Reference to the Rates of Exchange, or the Price of Bullion.

Some Variation may be expected as to the precise Year in which the Debt would be reduced to the intended Limit. It may take place partly in the Year 1807-8, and partly in 1808-9.



FURTHER PAPERS RESPECTING THE TRADE BETWEEN INDIA  
AND EUROPE.

The following papers contain the whole of the proceedings of the board of commissioners, and the court of directors, down to the end of the year 1801, respecting the important question under discussion, Whether or not the English merchants resident in India shall be allowed to send their goods to the port of London in their own ships? The remainder of the papers which the court of directors have published for the use of the proprietors of India stock, being written subsequent to the 1st of January 1802, we must necessarily reserve for our Register for that year.

At a court of directors, held on Thursday the 21st of May 1801:

The chairman from the special committee appointed to consider several letters from the right hon. Henry Dundas, &c. laying before the court the draft of a letter for Bengal, in the commercial department, prepared in consequence of the court's resolutions of the 4th February last, respecting the trade between India and Europe;

The same was read, and unanimously approved.

At a general court of the united Company of merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, held at their house, in Leadenhall-street, on Thursday, 28th May 1801, at twelve o'clock at noon:

The chairman acquainted the court, that it was summoned on special affairs, in consequence of a letter signed by forty-three proprietors: and proposing that the said letter should be read,

The same was read accordingly, being as follows, *viz.*

*To the Hon. the Court of Directors for Affairs of the United East-India Company.*

GENTLEMEN,

We, being proprietors of East-India stock, duly qualified according to law, request that a general court may be summoned on special affairs, at which we shall submit to the consideration of the court, whether it is not

expedient to obtain further information respecting the trade between India and Europe, in order to form an intelligent, just, and final conclusion on that subject.

We remain,

With respect,

Gentlemen,

Your very obedient,

humble servants,

" W. M. Maland,	" Thos. Henchman,
" Thomas Jones,	" A. E. Impey,
" J. A. Clarke,	" Geo. Johnson,
" P. Craufurd Bruce,	" Edm. Boehm,
" J. Prinsep,	" Dan. Nantes,
" James Amos,	" Arch. Paxton,
" Chas. Cockerell,	" John Tayler,
" William Lennox,	" Geo. Durant,
" Gab. Gillett,	" J. Spalding,
" Geo. Powney,	" G. Hartwell,
" Chas. Morris,	" Arth. Shakspear,
" J. H. Casamaijor,	" W. Remington,
" Philip Barton,	" Thos. C. Warner,
" C. Lambert,	" Thos. Burne, jun.
" Thos. Gordon,	" Edw. Warner, jun.
" P. Johnston,	" A. F. Haldiman,
" P. Moore,	" James Arthur,
" J. Stephenson,	" John Lubbock,
" R. Stuart,	" Rich. Tuckwell,
" R. Williamson,	" William Pulteney.
" Kinnaird,	

It was then moved,—“ That this court is highly sensible of the very great importance of the general trade between India and Europe to the political and commercial interests of Great-Britain, as well as of the East-India Company: that they lament the wide difference of the opinions entertained on this subject, by the court of directors on the one side, and the late president of the board of commissioners and the governor-general of India on the other;



other; and, anxious that the measure finally to be adopted may be formed on the fullest information and maturest deliberation, and thinking it may essentially conduce to that desirable end, if the court were assisted by the wisdom and experience of the late governors-general of India, they recommend to the court of directors to transmit a copy of the printed papers to Marquis Cornwallis, Earl Macartney, Lord Teignmouth, Sir John Macpherson, and Warren Hastings, esq. with a request that they will severally favour the Company with a communication of their advice and opinion on the subject of them."

An amendment to the foregoing motion being made, by omitting all the words after the word *That*, in order to introduce the following *viz.* "This court do confirm the unanimous resolutions of the court of directors of the 4th February last; and that the court of directors do, without delay, act upon the principles detailed in those resolutions."

And the question being put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question," the same was declared from the chair to have passed in the negative.

Whereupon a division being demanded, and tellers appointed, the court divided accordingly, and the tellers reported the number to be, for the question, 80; against it, 135.

Then the same was declared from the chair to have passed in the negative.

It was then moved, "That the amendment stand part of the question:"—And the question thereon being put, the same was carried in the affirmative.

A ballot on the question, as amended, being then demanded by

the under-mentioned proprietors, *viz.*

James Law, Thomas Henschman,  
George Johnstone, Arthur E. Impey,  
Robert Macfarlane, Samuel P. Cockerell,  
Edward Maxwell, Peter Lawrie, and  
George Durant, Peter Moore,

It was resolved, that the said question, standing as follows, *viz.* "That this court do confirm the unanimous resolutions of the court of directors of the 4th of February last; and that the court of directors do, without delay, act upon the principles detailed in those resolutions," be put by the ballot at this house, on Friday the 5th of June next, from eleven o'clock in the forenoon until six in the evening.

The court then on the question adjourned.

At a court of directors, held on Wednesday the 28th May 1801:

Draft of an advertisement, giving notice that a general court will be held at this house on Friday the 5th June next, from eleven o'clock in the forenoon till six in the evening, to ballot on the following question, *viz.* "That this court do confirm unanimous resolutions of the court of directors of the 4th February last; and that the court of directors do, without delay, act upon the principles detailed in these resolutions," was read and approved.

At a court of directors, held on Friday, 29th May 1801:

An address to the proprietors, on the subject of the proceedings of the general court held the 28th instant, was read, unanimously approved, and signed.

*Ordered,* That the same be published in the newspapers, and printed, and sent to the proprietors.

At a court of directors, held on Monday, 1st June 1801:

The



The chairman acquainting the court, that, at the desire of several directors, he had been induced to withhold from publication the address to the proprietors approved at the last court, and had summoned a meeting of the directors this day, specially for the purpose of taking the same into further consideration;

It was agreed to withdraw the said address:

And draft of an address to the proprietors, proposed to be substituted in lieu thereof, was read, approved, and signed, being as follows, *viz.*

*“ To the Proprietors of East-India Stock.*

“ LADIES and GENTLEMEN,

“ An appeal has been made to a general court by forty-three proprietors, against the decision of the court of directors, when the conduct of your executive body was approved by a very considerable majority. We should have been satisfied if the business had rested there; but a ballot has been demanded, which makes it our indispensable duty, not only to state briefly the nature of the question, but to explain the motives of some of those who have been concerned in bringing it forward.

“ On a former occasion, when the Company applied for a renewal of their charter, they experienced some difficulty, and even opposition, from the public at large; but after a full discussion and mature deliberation, every wise and impartial person was satisfied, that India ought not to become a colony, and that it could only be administered in a safe and beneficial manner, politically as well as commercially, through the medium of an exclusive Company. After various contending, and even opposite interests, had thus acquiesced in this general prin-

ple, judge of our surprize, to find forty-three proprietors come forward, to contend for what had been yielded by the public at large; and still more, to find that a considerable part of them, agents to the merchants in India, were personally interested in the decision of the question.

“ The demand for a general court was after we had produced a report, in defence of the rights, and even the existence of the Company, which all the ingenuity of the gentlemen who called the court, stimulated by the personal interest in the question which many of them possessed, has not been able to impeach, they therefore attempted a very extraordinary measure, namely, that of calling for the opinions of the high and respectable characters now resident in Europe, who have formerly been governors-general in India. This proposal was, however, negatived in the general court of proprietors.

“ Such a reference would, in fact, have been an arbitration between the constituent and the executive bodies, extremely invidious to the great and respectable characters whose names were mentioned on the occasion, unconstitutional in itself, and would have degraded the dignity of the proprietors, who alone possess the power of deciding, at the same time that it would have proved humiliating to ourselves, after we had sought for information from every competent source.

“ The pretence was, to bring home the surplus produce of India, in order to conceal, if not its real object, at least its prominent feature. But this veil is completely drawn aside, in a letter from the first merchant at Calcutta to the board of trade, at a time when the merchants were not only encouraged



to send their goods to Europe, but ships were offered to convey the same. He says: 'It is true, that the Company offer us tonnage for goods at this time; but the great subject is, being permitted to send them on our own ships, by which means we obtain the profit of freight, and have an opportunity of being otherwise serviceable to our friends.—

“ Shall British ships, hired by the Company, and sent to India for the express purpose of bringing home the private trade, return with short cargoes, in order to gratify the interests and the patronage of individuals? Experience induces us to believe, that the owners of British ships need not fear a contest with those of India in regular times.— Whilst our seamen are chiefly employed against the enemies of the country, their wages are high, and Lascars will be found at a much cheaper rate; but will you suffer British seamen to be deprived of their bread for this reason, and for the emolument of persons resident in India? On the other hand, will it be endured, to see those wretched objects, who perish every winter from the inclemency of the climate, and other causes, increase to an indefinite number? Their place must be supplied, on the returning voyage, by Europeans, who may quit their ships, and fill India with the worst kind of adventurers, when Lascars will again be substituted at a lower rate of wages. A moment's reflection is sufficient to perceive, that the return of the few remaining Lascars to India, emaciated in their health, and depraved in their minds, must prejudice the British name and character in the eyes of the natives; and this prejudice, the manner, and conduct of the European seamen, carried out in

Indian ships, and left in the country, must greatly increase.

“ Every consideration, therefore, of humanity, as well as policy, combine to prevent the progress of evils, which will gradually introduce the colonial system, and thereby sap the foundation of our Indian empire.

“ The views of Mr. Dundas, on the renewal of the charter, were to furnish the means of exporting British manufactures to the fullest extent, to bring raw materials from India, to open full scope to the remittance of fortunes from India, and finally, to crush or bring to the river Thames, the clandestine trade. The Company now offer, without any limit as to the extent, British ships to convey manufactures to India, and to bring raw materials from thence. If the fortunes to be remitted home were double or treble the amount, the Company would gladly receive the same in India, to be paid for in Europe; so that there only remains the clandestine trade as to which the least doubt can exist. On this subject, the court, in their report, trust they have demonstrated, beyond the possibility of contradiction, the very small insignificant amount employed in this manner, compared with the vast trade which has grown up under the auspices of the Company, and even with the private or privileged trade of individuals to and from India. It is on this point, however, the parties interested have raised a clamour; and having access to persons in power, an impression has been made, and opinions produced, on which they found their pretensions. It is remarkable, that amongst all the voluminous papers which have appeared previous to the labours of the committee, not a complete document can be found, and very rarely the slightest argument, in defence



fence of the rights of the Company, or stating the dangerous consequences which must result from the indulgences, for which the merchants in India and their agents at home contend.

“ We may, therefore, venture to assert, that the Company have scrupulously fulfilled their part of the engagement on the renewal of the charter; that they have been forward, on every occasion, to extend, in the most liberal manner, every concession and facility consistent with a *regulated monopoly*, which either government or the public can desire: they therefore trust, that as they have strained indulgence to so large an extent, those rights and privileges, which have been granted for the preservation of their remaining exclusive trade, will not be wrested from them to gratify a very few individuals; in short, that the rights of the Company, sanctioned by the Legislature for the advantage of the Nation, shall serve for more extensive purposes than to cover an actual monopoly of the trade to India, for the benefit of Indian agents and Indian ships, which are the real objects of the parties.

On the whole, we trust the views of the directors will be found to rest, not upon partial grounds and exclusive rights alone, but upon great national foundations. We cannot, however, attempt to convey to you, in a short address, all the facts and arguments which attach to this momentous question, still less to explain the extensive and dangerous consequences which would flow from the pretensions of the merchants in India, their agents and friends, and which, we are persuaded, will, by degrees (if admitted), prove fatal to the British empire there, and terminate in the destruction of the Company. We

must therefore refer to our report on the occasion; and trust that your votes *for the question*, on the ballot, will enable us to defend the rights and existence of the Company, against a most powerful and dangerous combination.

“ We have the honour to be,

“ Ladies and Gentlemen,

“ Your most faithful, and

“ obliged humble servants,

“ P. Le Mesurier, D. Scott, *Chairman*,

“ John Manship, C. Mills, *Dep. Chair.*

“ T. Theo. Metcalf, F. Baring,

“ Thomas Parry, W. Bensley,

“ Edward Parry, Jacob Bofanquet,

“ Abraham Roberts, J. Smith Burges,

“ John Roberts, Joseph Cotton,

“ George Tatem, Lionel Darell,

“ G. W. Thelluffon, W. Elphinstone,

“ R. Thornton, Simon Fraser,

“ John Travers, John Hunter,

“ S. Williams, Hugh Inglis.”

*Ordered*, That the foregoing address be published in the newspapers, and printed, and sent to the proprietors.

At a court of directors, held on Wednesday, 3d June 1801:

On reading a letter from the right hon. the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, (*Vide Appendix No. I.*) dated the 2d instant, stating the reasons for their opinion, that the paragraphs relative to the private trade proposed by the court to be sent to Bengal, should not make a part of the dispatches now about to be transmitted to India, that the commissioners may be enabled to consider the subject more maturely, and to apply to it that degree of investigation which its importance evidently demands;

It was moved, and on the question,

*Resolved*, That a deputation from this court, consisting of the chairman, deputy chairman, Sir Francis Baring, bart. Jacob Bofanquet, esq. and Hugh Inglis, esq. be requested to wait upon the right hon. the president



president of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, and to communicate with him upon the subject of the letter above-mentioned.

A note from the hon. William Brodrick, dated the 2d instant, being read, requesting to be furnished with the accounts under-mentioned, for the information of the board of commissioners, *viz.*

An account of the amount of bills drawn from India and China, from 30th April 1795, to 30th April 1800, distinguishing each year, and the amount of bills from China and from India, either on account of the bond-debts or other purposes;

An estimate of the cost of private trade and privilege goods imported from India, and sold in the sales of March and September 1796, to September sale 1800, distinguishing each year;

An estimate of the cost of private goods shipped for India in the season of 1794 to the season 1798 inclusive, distinguishing each year;

An account of the sale amount of goods from India, sold on the Company's account, and on private account, in the sales of March and September 1793, to March and September 1800, distinguishing each year;

An account of the prime cost, sale amount, profit and loss per cent. on the company's goods from India, sold in the March and September sales 1787, to March and September 1800, distinguishing each year:

*Ordered,* That the said lists of accounts be referred to the consideration of the committee of accounts.

At a court of directors, held on Friday, 5th June 1801:

The following letter was read, *viz.*

From the right hon. lord Lewisham, president of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, dated the ———, stating, in reply to the chairman's letter, (*Vide Appendix, No. II.*) of the 3d instant, that he is at present confined

to his house at Blackheath by illness, which prevents him receiving in town, on Friday next, the deputation appointed by the court on the 3d instant to wait on his lordship.

At a general court, held on Friday, 5th June 1801:

The court being met to receive the votes that may be brought in this day, for the determination of the question resolved on the 28th ult. to be this day put by the ballot;

The under-mentioned proprietors were appointed scrutineers, to examine the said votes, and to report the determination of the question, *viz.* Alexander Champion, George Durant, John Prinsep, and Richard Twining, esquires.

At six o'clock, the glasses being finally closed, were delivered to the scrutineers; and about eight the same evening, the hon. W. Elphinstone in the chair, George Durant, esq. chairman of the scrutineers, delivered in their report, which was read, being as follows, *viz.*

“East-India House, 5th June 1801.

“We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, being appointed by the general court of the united Company of merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, to examine the votes delivered in this day, for the determination by ballot of the following question, *viz.* That this court do confirm the unanimous resolutions of the court of directors of the 4th of February last, and that the court of directors do, without delay, act upon the principles detailed in those resolutions.”

“And being also appointed to report the number of votes for and against the said question, have accordingly examined the same, and find

“For



- “ For the question . . . 809  
 “ Against it . . . . . 234  
 “ Majority . . . ——— 575  
 “ GEORGE DURANT,  
 “ RICHARD TWINING,  
 “ ALEXANDER CHAMPION,  
 “ JOHN PRINSEP.”

Whereupon the same was declared from the chair; and the court then, on the question, adjourned.

At a court of directors, held on Wednesday, 10th June 1801:

A note from Mr. Brodrick, dated the 5th instant, requesting, by direction of the board, to be furnished with copies of the written opinions given by some members of the special committee, relative to the trade between India and Europe, was read.

Draft of the secretary's letter to Mr. Brodrick in reply, (*Vide Appendix, No. V.*) was read and approved.

The chairman acquainted the court, that the deputy, Sir Francis Baring, Sir Hugh Inglis, Mr. Bosanquet, and himself, had waited on the right hon. lord Lewisham, agreeably to the court's resolution of the 3d instant; and that the result was, that his lordship had not been able to make up his mind on the subject, but that it should have his earliest consideration.

At a court of directors, held on Wednesday, 17th June 1801:

The following note was read from Mr. Brodrick, (*Vide Appendix, No. III.*) dated the 10th instant, requesting that the several accounts and estimates, applied for by him on the 2d instant, may, if possible, be sent to the board on the following day at one o'clock, as some of the commissioners, who have expressed a wish to see them,

will be at the office for that purpose.

Draft of the secretary's note to Mr. Brodrick in reply, (*Vide Appendix, No. IV.*) dated the same day, was read and approved.

The following orders from the hon. house of commons being laid before the court, *viz.*

“ Veneris, 12<sup>o</sup> Die Junii 1801.

“ *Ordered,* That there be laid before this house, a copy of the papers concerning the trade between India and Europe, printed by order of the court of directors of the India Company, and laid before the court of proprietors of India stock on the 28th of May last.

“ *Ordered,* That there be laid before this house a copy of the paragraphs lately transmitted by the directors of the East-India Company to the commissioners for the affairs of India, as intended to be sent out to the governor and council of Fort William, on the subject of the trade by British subjects between India and Europe, together with the answer returned by the said commissioners.

“ *Ordered,* That there be laid before this house a copy of the proceedings of a general court of proprietors of India stock, held on the 28th of May last, together with the result of the ballot on a question then adopted.

“ *Ordered,* That there be laid before this house a copy of a memorial of certain merchants and agents in London, delivered to the commissioners for the affairs of India, dated 8th June 1801, concerning the trade between India and Europe.

“ *Ordered,* That there be laid before this house a copy of a memorial from the directors of the East-India Company to the treasury, dated 7th May 1797, on the subject of regulating the duties on East-



East-India goods, together with copies of the papers thereunto annexed.

“ J. LEY, *Cl. D. Dom. Com.*”

The chairman acquainted the court, that the above orders had been complied with, except the fourth, no such papers as the memorial therein mentioned having ever been in the Company's possession, and which has accordingly been stated to the house.

At a general court, held on Wednesday, 24th June 1801 :

The under-mentioned papers having been presented to the house of commons, the same were, in conformity to the 5th section of the 1st chapter of the bye-laws, laid before the court, and the titles thereof were read, *viz.*

A paper entitled “ Particular items of the gross sum of 2,672,440*l.* set forth in the account (No. 24) presented to the honourable house of commons on the 8th day of May last, from the East-India Company, as a debt due from Government to the said Company.”

“ Copy of the papers concerning the trade between India and Europe, printed by order of the court of directors of the East-India Company, and laid before the court of proprietors of India stock on the 28th May 1801.”

“ Copy of the paragraphs lately transmitted by the directors of the East-India Company to the commissioners for the affairs of India, as intended to be sent out to the governor in council of Fort William, on the subject of the trade by British subjects between India and Europe, together with the answer returned by the said commissioners.”

“ Copy of the proceedings of a general court of proprietors of India stock, held on the 28th May 1801,

together with the result of the ballot on a question then adopted.”

“ Copy of a memorial from the directors of the East-India Company to the lords of the treasury, dated the 7th May 1797, on the subject of regulating the duties on East-India goods, together with copies of the papers thereunto annexed.”

The chairman then declared it to be a quarterly court, summoned in pursuance of the Company's charter; and no further business offering, the court on the question adjourned.

At a court of directors, held on Wednesday, 24th June 1801 :

A letter from the hon. William Brodrick, (*Vide Appendix, No. VII.*) dated the 20th instant, was read, stating that the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, since their letter of the 2d instant, have had draft, No. 159, under their consideration: but as various papers respecting the private trade with India have been laid before the house of commons, preparatory to an investigation of the subject, which it is the obvious intention of parliament to enter upon early in the ensuing session, they feel it inconsistent with their sense of public duty, by any intermediate step, to anticipate the decision of the legislature on a question of such magnitude, and so closely connected with the maritime strength of the country; and that they therefore have directed him to signify to the court, that they withhold their approbation from the draft proposed.

The letter to Bengal in the public department, dated the 25th May 1798, was read; also

A letter from the late deputy chairman, David Scott, esq. (*Vide Appendix, No. VIII.*) dated the 27th January last, to the special  
com-



committee to whose consideration several letters from the right hon. Henry Dundas were referred.

*Ordered*, That the letter from the hon. William Brodrick, now read, be referred to the consideration of the said special committee.

On a motion, *Resolved*, That Joseph Cotton, esq. be a member of the said special committee.

At a court of directors, held on Thursday, 25th June 1801 :

The chairman acquainted the court, that the special committee to whose consideration the letter from the hon. William Brodrick, dated the 20th instant, was referred, have deliberated thereon ; and the committee being unanimously of opinion, that the business is of so much importance as to require further consideration, they have agreed to adjourn the further consideration thereof till Wednesday next.

At a court of directors, held on Wednesday, 1st July 1801 :

The chairman from the special committee submitting to the court draft of a letter (*Vide Appendix*, No. IX.) to the hon. William Brodrick, in reply to his letter of the 20th of last month ; the same was read, and unanimously approved.

At a court of directors, held on Wednesday, 15th July 1801 :

A letter from the hon. William Brodrick, (*Vide Appendix*, No. X.) dated the 14th instant, being read, stating the reasons which induce the board of commissioners for the affairs of India to persevere in withholding their approbation from the paragraphs respecting private trade, contained in the draft, No. 159 ;

*Ordered*, That the said letter be referred to the consideration of the special committee appointed to con-

sider several letters from the right hon. Henry Dundas.

The chairman from the special committee appointed to take into consideration several letters from the right hon. Henry Dundas, laying before the court draft of a letter to the hon. William Brodrick, (*Vide Appendix*, No. XI.) in reply to his letter of the 14th instant ; also,

Circular clauses in the commercial department (*Vide Appendix*, No. XII.) referred to therein ;

The same were read and approved.

At a court of directors, held on Wednesday, 22d July 1801 :

A letter from the hon. William Brodrick, (*Vide Appendix*, No. XIII.) dated the 21st instant, returning the draft No. 159, (*Vide Appendix*, No. XIV.) approved by order of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, with the exception of the second and fourth paragraphs, and stating the grounds upon which the board disapproved those paragraphs, was also read ;

And draft of a letter to Mr. Brodrick, (*Vide Appendix*, No. XV.) in reply, transmitting amended paragraphs, was read and approved.

At a court of directors, held on Wednesday, 5th August 1801 :

A letter from the right hon. Henry Addington, (*Vide Appendix*, No. XVI.) dated the 31st ultimo, was read, stating, having learnt, from a printed advertisement, that the court propose to contract for the building of ships in this country, for the service of the Company, to an extent far beyond what can be deemed necessary for the purposes of their regular trade, he is induced, by a strong sense of public duty, to represent



represent to the court the inexpediency of entering into such contracts, until the very important subject, which has recently occasioned a correspondence between the commissioners for the affairs of India and the court of directors, has undergone the investigation and discussion which it may be presumed will take place in the ensuing session of parliament.

A letter from the hon. William Brodrick, (*Vide Appendix*, No. XVII.) dated the 4th instant, was also read, stating, that the board of commissioners for the affairs of India think it necessary that the court of directors should explicitly understand, that, however much it may be their wish that their ideas of the interests of the East-India Company and of the public (interests, in their opinion, inseparable) should coincide with those of the court, they are by no means disposed, for the sake of securing that coincidence, to relinquish any points by which they think those interests may be materially promoted: that they dare not shew a marked contempt for what may be the opinion of the legislature: that they dare not risk the adoption of measures which may counteract the regulations of parliament in a matter of great public importance, where they have the power of resisting them: that they have too much regard for what they conceive to be the real interests of the East-India Company, to give their approbation to any measures which may expose the Company to public obloquy, and awaken prejudices, now perhaps dormant in the breasts of a few individuals, but which may eventually, if revived, extend themselves even within the walls of parliament: that they are aware that paragraphs may be worded in such a manner, as, by

bringing them within the letter of the act of 1793, may prevent their giving them a decided rejection, even where they cannot approve; and that they are ready to concur where the law points out to them the path of their duty, but that no law can oblige them to approve; and that they do not hesitate to declare, that it is their opinion that, in the present circumstances, it is not expedient that any paragraphs whatever, respecting the private trade, should be sent out to India: that as, however, it is possible that, in this respect, they may not obtain the concurrence of the court of directors, they return them the paragraphs so corrected as to leave the question entirely open for future arrangement and discussion; and that they are determined that no powers which the legislature has vested in them shall remain unexercised, to prevent any attempts to fetter such future discussion.

The paragraphs amended by the board of commissioners, (*Vide Appendix*, No. XVIII.) and inclosed in Mr. Brodrick's letter, were also read.

*Ordered*, That the said letters and paragraphs be taken into consideration on Friday the 14th inst.

At a court of directors, held on Friday, 14th August 1801:

The court, pursuant to order of the 5th instant, proceeding to take into consideration the letter from the right hon. Henry Addington, (*Vide Appendix*, No. XVI.) dated the 31st ultimo, and the letter from the hon. William Brodrick, (*Vide Appendix*, No. XVII.) dated the 4th instant;

The chairman laid before the court the under-mentioned correspondence upon the subjects, stated in the said letters, *viz.*



Letter from Lord Lewisham, (now Earl of Dartmouth), (*Vide Appendix*, No. XIX.) to the chairman, dated the 21st July last.

Copy of a letter from the chairman (*Vide Appendix*, No. XX.) to the right hon. Henry Addington, dated the 11th instant.

Copy of a letter from the chairman (*Vide Appendix*, No. XXI.) to Lord Dartmouth, dated the 12th instant.

A letter from Mr. Addington (*Vide Appendix*, No. XXII.) to the chairman, dated the 13th instant; and

A letter from Lord Dartmouth (*Vide Appendix*, No. XXIII.) to the chairman, dated this day.

On a motion, *Ordered*, That the letters from the right hon. Henry Addington and the Hon. William Brodrick, read in court on the 5th instant, be referred to the special committee appointed to consider several letters from Mr. Dundas.

At a court of directors, held on Thursday, 24th September 1801:

The court, proceeding to take into consideration the report from the committee of shipping which was read the 16th instant, recommending that the ships therein mentioned be taken up for the Company's service.

Letter from Mr. Meheux, (*Vide Appendix*, No. XXIV.) dated the 18th instant, requesting, by order of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, to be furnished with a copy of the above report, and all papers immediately connected with the subject, was read; also, draft of the secretary's reply thereto, (*Vide Appendix*, No. XXV.) and the court's advertisement for engaging ships for the Company's service, dated the 22d of July last.

It was moved, and, on the ques-

tion, *Resolved*, That the above-mentioned report of the committee of shipping be recommitted, and that the further number of ships to be taken up for five or six voyages do not exceed six.

At a court of directors, held on Wednesday, 30th Sept. 1801:

On reading a letter from the Earl of Dartmouth, dated the 29th instant, referring to the court's consideration, previously to their coming to a decision upon the subject of the shipping which it is now in their contemplation to engage, two papers contained in his lordship's letter, *viz.*

Copy of a memorial presented to the president and commissioners for the affairs of India, on the part of the merchants whose names are thereunto annexed, being agents for persons residing in the East-Indies, dated the 25th instant, stating their apprehensions, that the ships of an inferior class, tendered in consequence of the court's advertisement of the 22d of July last, are intended to be appropriated ultimately to the conveyance of the goods of individuals, and stating the grounds upon which they pray the board's interference to prevent the adoption of that system; also,

Copy of a letter to Lord Dartmouth from the managing owners of several ships of 800 tons and under, in the regular service of the East-India Company, dated the 25th instant, contending that the establishment of a new class of ships for the Company's constant service, under the head of extra ships, is in express contradiction to the provisions of the act of the 39th of his Majesty's reign; and that the late contracts of the court of directors for five ships for eight voyages are illegal,



illegal, of course void, and that they ought to be annulled.

*Ordered,* That the said letter from the Earl of Dartmouth, and the memorial and letter enclosed therein, be referred to the special committee appointed to consider several letters from the right hon. Henry Dundas, to examine and report.

At a court of directors, held on Friday, 2d October 1801 :

The chairman from the committee of shipping laid before the court the opinion of the company's standing counsel, (*Vide Appendix, No. XXVI.*) dated this day, upon a case prepared by the Company's solicitor, as to the description of ships upon which tonnage is to be allotted for the private trade to be carried out under the act of the 33d Geo. III. cap. 52, and as to the manner regulated by the act of the 39th Geo. III. cap. 89, for hiring and taking up ships for the Company's service, and the same was read.

And it being agreed to omit the *Juliana* in the list of ships recommended by the committee of shipping, in the report above-mentioned, to be taken up for the Company's service; it was, on the question, *Resolved by the ballot unanimously,* That the under-mentioned ships be taken up for the Company's service, at the freights under-mentioned, and in every respect agreeably to the terms and conditions prescribed for this description of ships, and dated the 29th of July last, *viz.*

New ship, building at Ipswich by Mr. Woolmore, 550 tons, 12*l.* 19*s.* per ton for six voyages.

New ship, ditto Liverpool, by Mr. Clay, 600 tons, 13*l.* 15*s.* ditto.

New ship *Tottenham*, building at Stockton by Mr. Wigram, 520 tons, 14*l.* ditto.

*Fame*, 520 tons, 14*l.* ditto.

New ship, building by Mr. Temple, 560 tons, 14*l.* ditto.

*Ordered,* That the case, with the above-mentioned opinion of the Company's standing counsel, be referred to the consideration of the special committee appointed to consider several letters from the right hon. Henry Dundas.

At a court of directors, held on Wednesday, 7th October 1801 :

The chairman from the special committee laying before the court draft of a letter to the Earl of Dartmouth, (*Vide Appendix, No. XXVII.*) in reply to his Lordship's letter of the 29th ultimo, the same was read and approved.

At a secret court of directors, held on Monday, 9th November 1801 :

The chairman acquainted the court, that himself and the deputy had waited upon the chancellor of the exchequer on Friday last the 6th instant, under the idea of Sir William Pulteney's immediately introducing the subject of the private trade in the House of Commons.

The chairman, after relating the substance of what passed on the occasion, acquainted the court, that after the above conference he received a letter from Sir William Pulteney, (*Vide Appendix, No. XXVIII.*) signifying his intention of giving notice in the House of Commons this day, of a motion he should make on Wednesday, concerning the East-India Company, the said letter was read; likewise, a letter from the chairman (*Vide Appendix, No. XXIX.*) to the chancellor of the exchequer, dated the 7th instant, in consequence of the above letter from Sir William Pulteney.

The chairman then acquainted the court, that he had received a letter from Nicholas Vansittart, Esq.



(*Vide Appendix*, No. XXX.) dated at the Treasury, this morning, informing him that Mr. Addington had prevailed on Sir William Pulteney to defer his notice of a motion relative to Indian affairs.

Draft of a letter from the chairman, (*Vide Appendix*, No. XXXI.) in reply, was read, and unanimously approved.

At a secret court of directors, held on Tuesday, 17th November 1801 :

The chairman acquainted the court, that the committee had prepared certain propositions to serve as the basis of an arrangement respecting the trade of individuals with India, which were now submitted to the court.

The said propositions were then read and unanimously approved.

And the chairman was requested to transmit copies of the same to the chancellor of the exchequer and to the Earl of Dartmouth, the said propositions being as follows, *viz.*

1. That in addition to the quantity of 3000 tons of shipping, now annually allotted to the exports of individuals from India, three, four, or five thousand tons more, or as much as may be wanted, shall be assigned.

2. That the shipping to be thus annually employed shall be wholly applied to the use of private traders, and shall neither be destined nor detained for political or warlike services in India, but sail from thence directly for the port of London, at fixed periods within the fair weather season.

3. That all commodities of the produce of the continent or of the British territories in India, shall be permitted to be laden on those ships; excepting only piece goods, which shall not be laden, unless by special

license from the Company or their governments abroad, and saltpetre, which any of the governments in India shall have the power to prohibit or restrain.

4. That the goods to be exported on private account be, as now, received into the Company's warehouses in India; and that the same care be taken in affording them into cargoes, in due proportions of light and heavy goods, according to the deliveries into the warehouses, as is observed in forming the Company's own cargoes.

5. That these goods shall be brought to the Company's warehouses in London, and thence to their sales, in the regular order, subject to the charge of three per cent. now allowed to the Company, for landing, warehousing, and selling private goods.

6. That when the private goods provided for exportation from India shall not serve to fill all the ships sent out for them, the Company shall put gruff goods into those ships on their own account.

7. That no person shall be permitted to embark in this trade, as principal or agent, except such as may lawfully engage therein, according to the provisions of the act of the 33d Geo. III. chap. 52.

8. That the ships to be employed in this service shall be built for the purpose, either in Great-Britain or India, the Company contracting with those who may undertake to build or be the owners of them for their service eight voyages; and that the construction of them shall be agreeable to a plan already adopted by the Company in England for ships intended to carry their own gruff goods.

9. That in order to ascertain the rates at which ships of this construction, built of teak, can be obtained



tained for eight voyages certain in India, the court will authorize their governments there immediately to advertise for such a number of ships of the above description as are likely to be required, and to engage them for the Company, provided the freight demanded shall not exceed the rate of those lately contracted for in England.

10. Or ships already built in India may be tendered to the governments in India for two or more voyages, for the purpose of carrying the private trade, if they shall not exceed the rate of peace freight actually paid by the Company for ships of the like description this season, and provided they are in all respects approved by their master attendants, or other proper officers in India; provided that nothing herein contained shall be construed to make void any contract or agreement, into which the Company may have already entered, or to prevent the Company from taking up hereafter, or contracting to build ships in Great-Britain, on equal or more advantageous terms than those of India.

11. That the above ships shall be relet by the Company, without profit, to such merchants as may be disposed to export goods to India, or to import goods from India, as above described, charging to the exporter and importer, respectively, such proportion only of the total freight for the voyage as shall be due, according to the proportion established by the act of the 33d Geo. III. chap. 52.

At a secret court of directors, held on Tuesday, 24th November 1801:

The chairman acquainted the court, that a further communication had taken place between the special committee and Mr. Vansittart, who

had very obligingly attended the committee at this house, upon the subject of the arrangement to be formed respecting the trade of individuals with India, and that, in consequence thereof, the chairman and deputy are to wait upon the chancellor of the exchequer tomorrow.

The chairman laid before the court a letter from lord Dartmouth, (*Vide Appendix*, No. XXXII.) dated the 20th instant, acknowledging the receipt of the propositions agreed to by the court on the 17th instant, and expressing his lordship's earnest wish, that they may tend to such an accommodation as shall be to the mutual advantage of the East-India Company and the Public.

At a secret court of directors, held on Wednesday, 25th November 1801:

The chairman acquainted the court, that the deputy and himself waited on the chancellor of the exchequer this morning, and that at the conference some amendments were proposed to be made to a paper, containing the sentiments of the special committee, which the Chairs were yesterday desired to state to Mr. Addington.

The said paper, as amended, was then read and approved, being as follows, *viz.*

“ The committee conceive, that the propositions herewith enclosed, are calculated to meet the wishes of his majesty's ministers, and to form the basis of a final and satisfactory arrangement. But as much depends on the manner in which this arrangement shall be made known in India, the committee presume that the best mode in which it can be done will be by paragraphs to India, to be approved by the board of commissioners. In these the court



will acquaint marquis Wellesley, that they confirm the agreement which he has made with the owners of Indian ships taken up for the Red Sea, for one voyage to Europe, and that the same, at the discretion of marquis Wellesley, be extended to all the ships engaged in that service, provided they, or the ships built to replace such as may have been lost or disabled, leave India before the 1st April 1803. But as his lordship cannot have received in India the whole of the information necessary to enable him to form a correct judgment on the subject, which is of a most extensive nature, the committee, in consenting to confirm the contracts entered into, cannot agree to extend the principle in the manner before proposed by his lordship; and the court will therefore direct, that no other teak or Indian-built ships shall be employed on a voyage for Europe, except under and in conformity with the eleven resolutions, sanctioned by the court of directors on the 17th instant."

And the chairman and deputy were requested to transmit a copy of the above paper to the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer.

At a court of directors, held on Thursday, 26th November 1801:

The chairman acquainted the court, that sir William Pulteney having yesterday made a motion in the house of commons, for the appointment of a committee to take into consideration the papers laid before parliament, respecting the trade between Great-Britain and the East-Indies, the chancellor of the exchequer had moved the previous question thereon, and that the previous question was carried in the negative without a division.

At a court of directors, held on Wednesday, 2d December 1801:

The chairman laid before the court the proceedings of the secret courts of directors of the under-mentioned dates, and the same were approved, *viz.* the 9th, 17th, 24th, and 25th November, already entered from page 25 to 28.

At a court of directors, held on Tuesday, 22d December 1801:

The court referring to their proceedings respecting the proposed arrangement for the privilege trade with India, as stated on the minutes of court of the 2d instant,

*Resolved,* That the said minutes, together with the several papers therein referred to, lie for the inspection of the proprietors of East-India stock, and also such papers as were laid before the house of commons under their order of the 12th June last.

#### APPENDIX.

No. I.—*Letter from the Board of Commissioners.*

Whitehall, 2d June 1801.

GENTLEMEN,

We have read with attention the accompanying paragraphs relative to the private trade, proposed by the court of directors to be sent to their presidency at Fort William.

Though the paragraphs are denominated commercial, and may be therefore supposed not to be within the exercise of the powers of the commissioners for the affairs of India, yet the proposition, extended as it is, fixing permanently and finally the condition of the private trade, and confining it solely to British ships, appears to us to involve in it much more than merely commercial considerations, and to embrace points of great political import-



importance, which may, in their consequences, deeply affect the interests of the state.

Upon the general question great difference of opinion has existed among those who cannot be regarded but as of the most unquestionable authority, and whose minds had been long turned to consider the subject with the attention it deserved. The present governor-general, as well as the late president of the board of control, to whose ability and experience the greatest deference is due, have impressed a conviction entirely adverse to that of the court.

Under these circumstances, and the obvious necessity of consulting the sentiments of other departments of his majesty's government, we must decline giving, on the instant, any definitive judgment on a question of such magnitude; and we are of opinion, that these paragraphs should not make a part of the dispatches now about to be transmitted to India, that we may be enabled to consider the subject more maturely, and to apply to it that degree of investigation which its importance evidently demands.

We have the honour to be,  
Gentlemen,

Your most obedient,  
humble servants,

(Signed, by order of the board of commissioners  
for the affairs of India)

W. BRODRICK.

The Hon. Court of Directors of  
the East-India Company.

No. II.—*Letter from the Chairman  
to Lord LEWISHAM.*

East-India House, 3d June 1801.

MY LORD,

In consequence of a letter which the court of directors have received of yesterday's date, respecting the private trade between Great-Britain and India, they have deputed the

following gentlemen to wait upon your lordship: Mr. Mills the deputy chairman, sir Francis Baring, Mr. Bosanquet, Mr. Inglis, and myself. If Friday, at any hour after twelve, would suit your lordship, it would be particularly convenient to us. Your lordship will be kind enough to favour us with an interview as soon as agreeable to you.

I have the honour to be, &c:

D. SCOTT.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Visc. Lewisham, &c.

No. III.—*Note from Mr. BRODRICK to the Secretary.*

Mr. Brodrick presents his compliments to Mr. Ramsay, and reminds him of the several accounts and estimates applied for on the 2d instant, and requests that he will, if possible, cause them to be sent to the board by one o'clock to-morrow, as some of the commissioners, who have expressed a wish to see them, will be at the office for that purpose.

Whitehall, 10th June 1801.

No. IV.—*Note from the Secretary to Mr. BRODRICK.*

Mr. Ramsay presents his compliments to Mr. Brodrick, and begs to acquaint him, that his letter, applying for several accounts and estimates, is referred to the committee of accounts, who have not yet reported on it; Mr. Brodrick will therefore perceive, that it is not in Mr. Ramsay's power to furnish him with the papers as desired.

East-India House, 10th June 1801.

No. V.—*Letter from the Secretary to Mr. BRODRICK.*

East-India House, 10th June 1801.

SIR,

I am ordered by the court of directors of the East-India Company to acknowledge the receipt of your

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note of the 5th instant, and to inform you, in answer thereto, that the papers therein mentioned had only for their object a free and full interchange of sentiments amongst the members of the special committee, preparatory to their laying their opinions upon the important matters referred to them before the court at large; that they made no part of their report to the court of the 27th January last, and have never been made use of to influence the decision of the court upon that subject. The papers, therefore, are considered by the members, whose signatures they bear, as well as by the court at large, as private papers.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WM. RAMSAY, *Sec.*

*The Hon. William Brodrick.*

No. VI.—*Letter from the Secretary to Mr. BRODRICK.*

East-India House, 12th June 1801.

SIR,

In consequence of your note to me of the 2d instant, requesting to be furnished with several accounts for the information of the right hon. the commissioners for the affairs of India, I am ordered to transmit to you,

An account of the amount of bills drawn from India and China, from the 30th April 1795 to the 30th April 1800;

An account of the sale amount of goods from India, sold on the company's account and on private account, in the sales of March and September 1793 to March and September 1800, distinguishing each year; and

An account of the prime-cost, sale amount, and profit per cent. on the company's goods from India, sold in the March and September sales 1787, and March and September sales 1800, distinguishing each year.

I am further ordered to acquaint you, that there are no documents in this house, from which the cost of

private imports or exports can be ascertained.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WM. RAMSAY, *Sec.*

*The Hon. William Brodrick.*

No. VII.—*Letter from Mr. BRODRICK.*

Whitehall, 20th June 1801.

GENTLEMEN,

The board of commissioners for the affairs of India, since their letter to you of the 2d of June, have had your draft, No. 139, under their consideration; but as various papers respecting the private trade with India have been laid before the house of commons, preparatory to an investigation of the subject, which it is the obvious intention of parliament to enter upon early in the ensuing session, they feel it inconsistent with their sense of public duty, by any intermediate step, to anticipate the decision of the legislature, on a question of such magnitude, and so closely connected with the maritime strength of the country; and they therefore have directed me to signify to you, that they withhold their approbation from the draft proposed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WM. BRODRICK.

*The Hon. Court of Directors of the East-India Company.*

No. VIII.—*Letter from the late Deputy Chairman (D. SCOTT, Esq.) addressed to the Special Committee*

East-India House, Jan. 27, 1801.

GENTLEMEN,

As the report and resolutions on the subject of private trade, which are now before the committee, differ materially, in some points, from opinions which I have more than once given in writing, I hope, for the purpose of preventing my being hereafter



hereafter accused of inconsistency, owing to misapprehension, I shall be forgiven if I state the reason for my putting my name to them this day.

Independent of my opinions having ever coincided with the great outlines of those very able papers, as touching the rights and privileges of the East-India Company, I have signed them, not only from conceiving it my duty as deputy chairman, but also from that deference to the better judgment of this committee, which I trust I shall always observe.

I have the honour to be, &c.

D. SCOTT.

No. IX.—*Letter from the Secretary to Mr. BRODRICK.*

East-India House, 2d July 1801.

SIR,

The court of directors have received your letter of the 20th of June, by which they observe that the board of commissioners for the affairs of India are pleased to withhold their approbation of the paragraphs respecting the private trade of individuals.

If by these terms the board mean to prohibit the transmission of the paragraphs to India, the court take the liberty of representing, that such prohibition appears to them not to be within the legal exercise of the powers delegated to the board by the act of 1793, and the acquiescence of the court would, in its consequences, sweep away all the exclusive privileges of the East-India Company. It was for the sole purpose of protecting those privileges that the authority of the board of commissioners was limited to the control over the civil and military government of India, and the management of its revenues.

The act of 1793, which passed after the fullest and most deliberate

discussion, has defined, with great accuracy, the rights which were reserved to private traders. Subject to such express reservations, the exclusive right of trading to and from India is granted for a limited time to the Company, and to such persons as shall be *licensed* by them. It is impossible, therefore, that the legislature could mean to vest in the board of commissioners a power, which, by prohibiting the orders necessary to vindicate the rights of the Company on subjects purely commercial, may at pleasure annihilate the exclusive commerce so granted. The paragraphs in question are not only, in the opinion of the court of directors, purely commercial, and do not relate to the civil and military government or revenues of India, but they are moreover wholly confined to a voluntary, temporary, and conditional dereliction of the legal commercial rights of the Company in favour of private traders, which rights secured by law, and by the plighted faith of parliament, cannot be exercised by individuals, except under the express voluntary *license* of the Company.

The court must therefore insist most strenuously, in behalf of their constituents, on the right of sending these paragraphs to India. At the same time they would feel great concern to trespass, even inadvertently, on the just authority vested in the board of commissioners; for which reason, the court request that the board will be pleased to point out what parts of the paragraphs they deem not commercial, and which may therefore be considered as falling within the legal exercise of their power, in order that the court may be enabled to remove every reasonable objection, for the purpose of transmitting to India, without



without further delay, their orders on the subject above-mentioned.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. RAMSAY, *Sec.*

*The Hon. William Brodrick.*

No. X.—*Letter from Mr. BRODRICK.*

Whitehall, 14th July 1801.

GENTLEMEN,

It was the intention of the board in their former letters, without entering into the question of right, to express the opinion which they had entertained, that, in the present circumstances, it would be neither necessary nor expedient to adopt the regulations proposed with regard to the private trade of individuals, and they consequently thought themselves called upon, by the duty they owe the public, to withhold their approbation from the paragraphs which had, for their object, finally and decisively to regulate the manner in which that trade should in future be conducted. The board are fully convinced of the necessity of maintaining unimpaired the exclusive commerce of India in the hands of the Company. They do not pretend to, nor would they accept any powers, which might enable them to annihilate, or even infringe the exclusive right of trading to and from India, which the wisdom of the legislature has vested in the India Company. The board do not think themselves called upon to enter minutely into the subject of the different paragraphs of the dispatch proposed to be sent to India. Considering the weighty opinions which have been stated upon this subject, they think it sufficient to express a strong doubt how far paragraphs can be considered as simply and purely commercial, the immediate effect of which may be to prevent the public enjoying the full

advantages of the immense resource which it is contended the forests of India may afford to the maritime strength and commerce of Great-Britain, at a time when the great and increasing scarcity and dearness of the materials for ship-building threaten the most serious detriment to both. As it is, however, the understood intention of parliament fully to investigate the subject, and certain steps preparatory thereto having already been taken in the House of Commons, the board are induced to persevere in withholding their approbation from paragraphs, by which the manner of carrying on the private trade of individuals may be affected.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WM. BRODRICK.

*The Hon. Court of Directors.*

No. XI.—*Letter from the Secretary to Mr. BRODRICK.*

East-India House, 16th July 1801.

SIR,

The court of directors observe, with great regret, that the board of commissioners persist in withholding their approbation from the paragraphs which relate to the private trade, and which, in the opinion of the court of directors, are purely commercial.

As much time has elapsed, and as the conduct of the governor-general in India operates in a manner hostile to the rights of the Company, in regard to its exclusive trade, the court of directors think it absolutely necessary that some instructions should be transmitted to India forthwith, in order to preserve those rights, which cannot be impaired without a violation of the exclusive commerce of India in the hands of the Company, which the board of commissioners disclaim any attempt to annihilate, or even to infringe.

With



With this view the court of directors have prepared the enclosed paragraphs, which they conceive cannot be objected to.

The court think it will be clearly proved, by the accounts drawing out for the inspection of parliament, that the opinion which the commissioners have formed upon the subject of India shipping is totally unfounded; but they beg leave to add, that if government shall notwithstanding be of opinion that it would be expedient to build in India for the public service, the court of directors will contribute their best assistance thereto, under proper regulations, which may be settled hereafter.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. RAMSAY, Sec.

*The Hon. William Brodrick.*

No. XII.—*Proposed Paragraphs for India, approved in Court, 15th July 1801.*

No. 159.—*Bengal.—Commercial. (Circular.)*

1. For some time past we have had under our serious consideration the letter from our governor-general, dated the 30th September 1800, as well as the subject at large of the private trade with India.

2. It was our intention to have conveyed to you by this dispatch the reasons, very amply detailed, which induce us to disapprove of the plan suggested by the governor-general for the future conduct of this trade; those reasons, together with the opinions we entertain on the subject, have been submitted to our constituents, and received their approbation in a most decisive, unequivocal manner.

3. In consequence of a motion in parliament, papers have been delivered to the House of Commons, and we are informed that it is intended to bring the subject before

the House in the ensuing session. We shall therefore forbear, for the present, to enter into the consideration of the question in the manner we had proposed; but deeming it essential, under such circumstances, to be watchful over the rights and privileges of the Company, we direct our different presidencies in India not to suffer any part of the exclusive trade, to which the Company are entitled by the act of 1793, to be infringed; and we likewise direct, that until they receive further instructions from us, they strictly confine the trade and intercourse of individuals with this country, to the privileges conceded to them by the said act of 1793.

4. To these plain and simple directions we require and expect the most implicit obedience to be paid.

No. XIII.—*Letter from Mr. BRODRICK.*

Whitehall, 21st July 1801.

GENTLEMEN,

It is certainly very far from the intention of the board to arrogate to themselves any right of interference with the court of directors, in matters that are purely commercial; and it is their decided opinion, that the regulation of all such matters cannot be better placed than in the hands to which it has been committed by the wisdom of the legislature. If it had been clear to the board that the important business in agitation between the court of directors and the board had been simply of a commercial nature, no difference of opinion could possibly have subsisted between them on this point.

The board think it necessary to observe, that though in their last letter they expressed a strong doubt, and referred to weighty opinions, they have never given a decided opinion of their own upon the subject in discussion.

Under



Under the present circumstances, they conceive that it would be unnecessary to send out any paragraphs, the tendency of which might be to occasion uneasiness in the mind of the governor-general, who has no doubt acted, upon this occasion, in the manner which he conceived would be most to the advantage of his employers. It is on this account that they object to the second and fourth of the proposed paragraphs. With regard to the others, as they leave the private trade of individuals to and from India open to the future discussion of parliament, and have simply for their object to direct the governments in India to adhere to the regulations of the act of 1793, the board are very happy not to find themselves restrained, by their sense of public duty, from giving their consent to the transmission of them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. BRODRICK.

*The Hon. Court of Directors.*

No. XIV.—*Draft Paragraphs proposed by the Court of Directors to be sent to their Presidencies of Fort William in Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay.*

No. 159.—*Commercial Department.*

1. For some time past we have had under our serious consideration the letter from our governor-general, dated the 30th September 1800, as well as the subject at large of the private trade with India.

2. It was our intention to have conveyed to you, by this dispatch, the reasons, very amply detailed, which induce us to disapprove of the plan suggested by the governor-general for the future conduct of this trade. Those reasons, together with the opinions we entertain on the subject, have been submitted to our constituents, and received their

*approbation in a most decisive, unequivocal manner.*

3. But in consequence of a motion in parliament, papers have been delivered to the house of commons, and we are informed that it is intended to bring the subject before the house in the ensuing session; we shall therefore forbear, for the present, to enter into the consideration of the question in the manner we had proposed: but deeming it essential, under such circumstances, to be watchful over the rights and privileges of the Company, we direct our different presidencies in India not to suffer any part of the exclusive trade, to which the Company are entitled by the act of 1793, to be infringed; and we likewise direct, that, until they receive further instructions from us, they strictly confine the trade and intercourse of individuals with this country, to the privileges conceded to them by the said act of 1793.

4. *To these plain and simple directions we require and direct the most implicit obedience to be paid.*

W. RAMSAY, Sec.  
East-India House, 16th July 1801.

Whitehall, 21st July 1801.

Approved by order of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, with the exception of the second and fourth paragraphs.

W. BRODRICK.

No. XV.—*Letter from the Secretary to Mr. BRODRICK.*

East-India House, 23d July 1801.

SIR,

The court of directors, whilst they express their great concern that any circumstance should arise to occasion a difference of opinion between the right honourable the board of commissioners and the court, receive with much satisfaction the board's



board's assurance, that they do not wish to interfere in matters that are purely commercial, and that it is their decided opinion, that the regulation of all such matters cannot be better placed than in the hands to which it has been committed by the wisdom of the legislature.

On this ground, it was the intention of the court of directors to convey to the governor-general their marked disapprobation of his conduct as a subject purely commercial, and which conduct, if persisted in, the court think would operate to the destruction of the Company's exclusive trade. They now send an amended draft of paragraphs proposed to be transmitted, and which the court hope the board of commissioners will not hesitate to approve: the more so, as this part of the question is personal, and attaches solely to the commercial, and not to the political conduct of marquis Wellesley.

If, however, the board are still desirous that the paragraph which relates to the governor-general shall be omitted, the court of directors are ready to acquiesce, under a reservation, that such acquiescence shall not be construed to impeach the rights and privileges of the Company, and also under a firm persuasion that the presidencies in India will manifest a strict obedience to the orders intended to be transmitted, not to suffer any part of the exclusive trade, to which the Company are entitled by the act of 1793, to be infringed, and strictly to confine the trade and intercourse of individuals with this country to the privileges extended to them by the said act of 1793.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WM. RAMSAY, Sec.

*The Hon. Wm. Brodrick.*

*Part of the second paragraph proposed to be restored.*

It was our intention to have conveyed to you by this dispatch the reasons, very amply detailed, which induce us to disapprove of the plan suggested by the governor-general, for the future conduct of this trade.

No. XVI. — *Letter from Mr.*  
ADDINGTON.

Downing-street, 31st July 1801.

GENTLEMEN,

Having learnt from a printed advertisement, that the court of directors propose to contract for the building of ships in this country, for the service of the East-India Company, to an extent far beyond what can be deemed necessary for the purposes of their regular trade, I am induced, by a strong sense of public duty, to represent to you the inexpediency of entering into such contracts, until the very important subject, which has recently occasioned a correspondence between the commissioners for the affairs of India and your court, has undergone the investigation and discussion, which, it may be presumed, will take place in the ensuing session of parliament.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY ADDINGTON.

*The Hon. Court of Directors.*

No. XVII. — *Letter from Mr.*  
BRODRICK, *including Draft,*  
*No. 165, amended by the Board.*

Whitehall, 4th August 1801.

GENTLEMEN,

The board think it necessary, that the court of directors should explicitly understand, that however much it may be their wish, that their ideas of the interests of the East-India Company and of the public (interests, in their opinion, inseparable,) should coincide with those



those of the court of directors, they are by no means disposed, for the sake of securing that coincidence, to relinquish any points, by which they think those interests may be materially promoted. They dare not shew a marked contempt for what may be the opinion of the legislature; they dare not risk the adoption of measures which may counteract the regulations of parliament in a matter of great public importance, where they have the power of resisting them. They have too much regard for what they conceive to be the real interests of the East-India Company, to give their approbation to any measures which may expose the Company to public obloquy, and awaken prejudices, now perhaps dormant, in the breasts of a few individuals, but which may eventually, if revived, extend themselves even within the walls of parliament. They are aware that paragraphs may be worded in such a manner as, by bringing them within the letter of the act of 1793,

may prevent their giving them a decided rejection, even where they cannot approve; and they are ready to concur where the law points out to them the path of their duty, but no law can oblige them to approve. And they do not hesitate to declare, that it is their opinion, that, in the present circumstances, it is not expedient that any paragraphs whatever, respecting the private trade, should be sent out to India: as, however, it is possible, that in this respect they may not obtain the concurrence of the court of directors, they return them the paragraphs so corrected as to leave the question entirely open for future arrangement and discussion; and they are determined that no powers which the legislature has vested in them, shall remain unexercised, to prevent any attempts to fetter such future discussion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. BRÖDRICK.

*The Hon. Court of Directors of  
the East-India Company.*

No. XVIII.—*Draft Paragraphs proposed by the Court of Directors to be sent to their Presidency at Fort William in Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay.*

No. 165.—*Commercial Department.*

N. B. The paragraphs proposed by the Court are in Italicks—those substituted by the Board are in Roman type.

No. 1. *For some time past, we have had under our serious consideration, the letter from our governor-general, dated 30th September 1800, as well as the subject at large of the private trade with India.*

2. It was our intention to have conveyed to you by this dispatch, our sentiments at large upon this important subject; but in consequence of a motion in parliament, papers have been delivered to the house of commons, and we are informed, that it is intended to bring the subject before the house in the ensuing session. We likewise understand, that there are parts of this subject which his majesty's ministers

2. *It was our intention to have conveyed to you by this dispatch the reasons, very amply detailed, which induce us to disapprove of the plan suggested by the governor-general, for the future conduct of this trade.*

3. *But in consequence of a motion in parliament, papers have been delivered to the house of commons; and we are informed that it is intended to bring the subject before the*



ministers conceive to be materially connected with the naval interest of the kingdom, and that probably considerations of that nature may lead to some arrangements with the East-India Company. Under these circumstances, we forbear, for the present, from sending any detailed directions upon the subject of private trade; but shall not fail, at the earliest possible moment, to furnish you with our opinions, and explicit directions for your conduct, to which of course we shall expect your implicit obedience.

East-India House, 23d July 1801.

Whitehall, 4th August 1801.

Approved, after cancelling the second and third paragraphs, and substituting one in their place, by order of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India.

W. BRODRICK.

No. XIX. — *Letter from Lord LEWISHAM to the Chairman, read in Court 14th August 1801.*

Whitehall, 21st July 1801.

SIR,

I cannot return the paragraphs upon the private trade, without expressing my individual happiness in having it in my power to concur with the court of directors in the object of those paragraphs.

It has been, I assure you, a matter of great regret to myself, to have felt myself called upon to differ in opinion with the court upon the subject. The proceedings instituted by the house of commons to bring the business of the private trade before them, were nearly coeval with my appointment to the office I have now the honour to hold;

*the house in the ensuing session. We shall therefore forbear, for the present, to enter into the consideration of the question, in the manner we had proposed; but deeming it essential, under such circumstances, to be watchful over the rights and privileges of the Company, we direct our different presidencies in India, not to suffer any part of the exclusive trade, to which the Company are entitled by the act of 1793, to be infringed; and we likewise direct, that, until they receive further instructions from us, they strictly confine the trade and intercourse of individuals with this country, to the privileges conceded to them by the said act of 1793.*

W. RAMSAY, Sec.

and in all the steps I have been compelled to take, I have ever had it in my view, and have found myself restrained by the consideration, that the subject is to undergo a discussion before a higher and more powerful tribunal than the board at which I preside. Allow me now to express my strong conviction, that the discretion of the court will induce them not to adopt any further measures upon this subject, which may anticipate the future proceedings of parliament. I am the more grounded in this expectation, from a thorough persuasion that the legislature will never be induced to adopt any measures which may have a tendency to invade the charter of the East-India Company, or to disturb that general system upon which the affairs of India have been so prosperously conducted.

I have the honour to be, &c.

LEWISHAM.

*The Hon. Chairman of the East-India Company.*

No.



No. XX.—*Letter from the Chairman to the Right Hon. HENRY ADDINGTON, dated 11th August 1801—Read in Court 14th August 1801.*

The difference in opinion between the commissioners for the affairs of India and the court of directors, respecting the transmission of paragraphs to Bengal, on the subject of private trade, has lately assumed such an appearance, as, when taken into view with your letter of the 31st ultimo, gives me real uneasiness.

To the harmony which has hitherto subsisted between these two boards may be ascribed, in a great degree, the prosperity which has attended the affairs of the East-India Company, and without such harmony between them I fear there cannot be expected long that degree of cordiality which at present subsists within the court of directors, or as is necessary for the purpose of carrying on the business well.

Situated, sir, as you know the Company to have been for some years, with an immense increasing debt abroad, owing to an expenditure far beyond their revenue; and if even (as is the fact), since the destruction of our most formidable enemy in India, and our acquirement of such rich and extensive possessions, the increased revenue falls short of our disbursements, you may believe that the united efforts of the court must be necessary to find out and apply a proper remedy. In consequence of the above alarming situation, and seeing the prospect of an actual failure of resources for furnishing the usual investments, unless immediate relief could be given, my attention has been for some months almost continually engrossed on planning radical improvements in our expenditure abroad.

So far has this been successful, that I can already see within our reach at least half a million sterling per annum of practicable and proper reduction. Of this I flatter myself with laying before the court tomorrow to the amount of about 250,000*l.* and which, I am confident, if nothing else shall occur to divert their attention, will, as soon as it has had their consideration, be carried into immediate execution.

Upon this part of the retrenchments I have now before me the decided approval of the first opinions in the kingdom. As soon as opinions of similar high authority can be obtained upon the other 250,000*l.* the accounts of which are more complex, I cannot doubt but they will be equally favourable; and, after the court has had them under their consideration, that they will also be put into immediate execution. The steps that are about to be taken for rendering our native cavalry and European artillery in India, (which have lately been considerably increased,) more efficient than they have ever been, and this without in future weakening our European infantry, as has been until now the case, by selecting all the best men therefrom for these particular corps, are leading on fast to this desirable object.

A variety of other matters most important for giving permanent security to our now extensive possessions, are at present in such a favourable train, that I am sure, sir, you would make great sacrifices, sooner than allow any difficulty to impede their progress, which you could with propriety prevent.

In regard to your letter of the 31st ultimo, if the court shall agree to take up no more ships of 800 tons, in the first instance, than are required



quired to keep up their regular establishment, and no more extra ships, in the second instance, than may be immediately necessary for bringing home their own gruff cargoes, I trust you will agree to the expediency of their entering into such contracts. The idea of advertising for a smaller description of ships than is usual for the Company's regular trade, of a different construction, and for eight voyages, is certainly novel; but although, under the present circumstances, you may deem it inexpedient for the Company to take up such ships, yet as the advertisement has gone abroad, I submit to you, whether it might not be proper to act upon it to the extent of one or two ships, if only for the purpose of obtaining a knowledge of the rate of freight at which such ships can be procured, in case of their being wanted in future? The difficulty in which the court was involved on Wednesday last in consequence, and the anxiety I felt to get the above-mentioned reductions matured for their consideration, before their attention could be arrested by other subjects, made me request them to put off the discussion of your letter of the 31st of July, and that of the commissioners, until Friday next. If you acquiesce in what I have proposed as to the advertisement, it might probably, as far as it went, satisfy the court on that point; but I find from lord Dartmouth, there can be no alteration expected in the opinion of the commissioners, on the subject of sending out the paragraphs.

Under all circumstances, as it appears to me that this misunderstanding, respecting the advertisement and the paragraphs, grows merely out of the question of private trade, I can myself see no

prospect of being able to discharge my duty, either with that benefit to the public, which, from the station I have the honour of holding, they have a right to expect, or in any manner satisfactory to the court, unless the extent of your wishes, in regard to this subject, shall be made known to them, and that at as early a period as possible. If administration have determined on the extent of the concession required, it certainly would be gratifying to the court to know what that extent is; because, if the difference could be accommodated without the question going into parliament, it would save much unnecessary trouble. If this would be gratifying to the court, it certainly would be more particularly so to me, owing to the present singularity of my situation as chairman. In that quality, as organ of the court, I have, according to usage, appeared to profess the same opinions as the court; and indeed, in the general court of proprietors, upon the same principle, have supported them, although I have differed from the majority of the court of directors on some material points in this question; and of course, if it comes into parliament, from my duty there being paramount to all others, it may be impossible for me to withhold my real sentiments on the occasion.

Under this view of the subject, I should feel it proper, previous to the meeting of parliament, to submit to the discretion of the court of directors, whether it might not be more desirable for them to elect another chairman in my room, who, from being of the same opinion with the majority on this question, might manage it more to their satisfaction than I could pretend to do; and if they did think so, I should from



choice resign the chair, as soon as the very important matters stated in this letter are accomplished. The question of private trade seems to have been, though without intention, a legacy from the former board of commissioners to the present board; for though the late president had repeatedly given his opinion upon it, yet, until sir William Pulteney's motion in the house of commons, it never can be said to have come fairly into discussion between the two boards. I have made this latter remark, in case of its being supposed that it was possible for me to mean any reflection on the noble lord who now presides at that board, and who, from the official intercourse which I have already had with his lordship, I without hesitation say, will, in my humble opinion, do great credit to that high station. In the conferences at which I have been present, he has shewn every inclination to accommodate, and, indeed, in a private letter to me as chairman of the ———, which in justice to him I took the liberty of communicating to a secret court, he certainly gave such unequivocal proofs of his earnest desire to preserve harmony as could not be misunderstood. When I look to so short an acquaintance in public business having convinced me of this disposition in Lord Dartmouth, and when I look to these dispositions in you, Sir, which your long services in a public life must have brought home to the conviction of every man who has had the honour of serving in the different parliaments, in which, with so much benefit to the public and credit to yourself, you so ably presided, I am confident that you will not be surpris'd if I flatter myself with every good and conciliatory effect arising from this let-

ter which existing circumstances will admit of. At all events, if his lordship and you could so far favour me, as to give me, for the information of the court, the clear outline of the concession which is required from them, it could have no bad effect; but if, on the contrary, it is such as may lead the court to propose opening a conference, reconciliation might be effected, and, in consequence, the adjustment of this great question be amicably adjusted.

The deputy, Mr. Mills, at present absent, is as anxious as myself on the subjects of reduction and reform.

No. XXI.—*Letter from the Chairman to Lord DARTMOUTH, dated 12th August 1801.*

MY LORD,

It is impossible for me to express the uneasiness which the late appearance of misunderstanding between the board of commissioners and the court of directors has brought upon my mind.

The interviews which I have had with your lordship (few as they have been), have convinced me of your strong desire to preserve harmony, and on the part of the court a similar desire, I hope, cannot be doubted. As your lordship, however, is decidedly of opinion that there can be no reasonable expectation of the commissioners altering their sentiments as to the paragraphs for India, and as it appears to me that further correspondence, instead of drawing the boards closer together, may have a contrary tendency, unless some satisfactory explanation takes place upon the subject of those paragraphs, I trust your lordship will forgive me, if I express a hope that the question of private trade may be brought out of its present



present obscurity, and that the court may have the satisfaction of knowing the extent of the concession which your lordship conceives it necessary for the court to make. As no bad consequence can be produced from such an eclaireissement, but on the contrary, if the court, upon being put in possession of the clear outline and extent of the proposed concession, see an opening for conferences on the subject, the most happy anticipation of the extinction of all difference may follow the adjustment of this great question, and this without the disagreeable necessity of its being brought into parliament.

As the subject of this letter is equally applicable to Mr. Addington, and I have written him fully thereon, and as I wish that not only the situation of the court, but also the very singular one in which I stand as chairman, should be likewise perfectly known to you, I hope you will forgive me for enclosing a copy of my letter to Mr. A.

I do it, my lord, with at least this satisfaction to myself, that after having revolved the subject in my mind ever since Wednesday last, and after having viewed it in all its different bearings, I propose the only possible mode by which accommodation seems to me attainable.

No. XXII.—*Letter from Mr. ADDINGTON to the Chairman.*

Wimbledon, 13th August 1801.

SIR,

From the pressure of other business, I am induced to confine myself, at present, to those parts of your letter, received last night, which appear to require immediate attention.

I had good reason to believe that the additional shipping, for which

the court of directors had offered to contract, were not intended solely for the purposes which you have now described; and accordingly I thought it incumbent upon me to represent to the court the inexpediency, as it appeared to me, of a measure, which I feared might have the effect of embarrassing the proceedings of parliament, and of eventually laying the foundation of a claim upon the public. If, however, it should be agreed that the additional shipping is only to be made use of in the manner mentioned in your last letter, my objections will be removed.

With respect to the main question, I am really not yet sufficiently informed to have made up my mind to any other opinion, than that timber produced in India may be so applied to the purpose of ship-building in that country, as to lead to consequences highly important and advantageous to the commercial and political interests of the united kingdom.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY ADDINGTON.

*The Hon. Chairman of the  
East-India Company.*

No. XXIII.—*Letter from Lord DARTMOUTH to the Chairman.*

Blackheath, 14th August 1801.

SIR,

That any appearance of a misunderstanding should subsist between the court of directors and the board of commissioners cannot possibly be a subject of greater uneasiness to you than it is to me. It has ever been my opinion, that the important interests severally committed to our charge can alone be administered to the advantage of the Company and of the Public, by an amicable co-operation between the two boards. And I flatter myself that I shall obtain



from you full credit, when I assure you, that it is not the most agreeable circumstance attending my situation, to have inherited (together with the office I hold), any thing like a disagreement with the court of directors. Believe me, Sir, it is perfectly adverse to my habits and inclinations to be engaged in such a contest as that in which I find myself involved: a contest which nothing but the most decided conviction that the time I have adopted is clearly marked out to me by the duty I owe the Public and the Company would induce me to maintain, but from which, whilst under the influence of that conviction, I cannot shrink.

It is most sincerely my wish that it were in my power, at the present moment, to bring forward any proposal, which, by serving as a basis for conferences on the subject, might have a tendency to extinguish all difference, by the adjustment of this great question; but I confess that it does not appear to me that that can now be done. The business (I think) must be brought on in parliament; and I have no hesitation in declaring it to be my opinion, that parliament and the public will not now be satisfied, without such a participation in the trade of India, as can only be obtained by allowing that portion of it, which the Company's investments cannot embrace, to be sent home by the British merchants resident in India, upon ships built in that country.

Though it form no part of the letter I had the honour to receive from you (and to which this is an answer), there is another subject to which, on the present occasion, I cannot but advert, in a letter from

you to Mr. Addington (the substance of which has been communicated to me.) You hint at an intention of resigning the honourable situation which (with so much credit to yourself and advantage to the Company) you now hold. Allow me, Sir, to say, that I should, on every account, and at any time, most sincerely regret that you should find yourself under the necessity of taking such a step, but more particularly so at the present moment. I have often expressed to you my anxiety that such a system of radical reform should be introduced, as, by reducing the enormous expenditure in India, should put the disbursements of the Company in that country upon a par with their revenues. It is a matter of the highest satisfaction to myself to observe, that your assiduous and patriotic exertions have already provided and laid before the court a system of reduction, to the annual amount of 250,000*l.* one half only of what you intend to propose. I own I cannot but think it material to the interests of the public and your constituents, that you should remain in your present situation, till the court should have given the finishing stroke to what you have so happily begun, and the work of reduction shall be completed.

I propose accompanying my family to Ramsgate on Monday; but should I receive information from you that it could in any degree accommodate the court, I shall, with the utmost readiness, suspend my intention.

I have the honour to be, &c.

DARTMOUTH.

*The Hon. Chairman of the  
East-India Company.*



No. XXIV.—*Letter from Mr. MEHEUX.*  
Whitehall, Sept. 18, 1801.

SIR,

I am directed by the board of commissioners for the affairs of India to request that you will be pleased, as soon as possible, to send to me, for their information, copies of the whole proceedings of the committee of shipping, held on or about Wednesday last, for the purpose of taking into consideration the tender of ships of five and six hundred tons, to bring home gross goods and the tonnage of individuals, with their decision thereon, and all papers immediately connected with the subject. I am, Sir, &c.

JOHN MEHEUX.

*William Ramsay, Esq.*

No. XXV.—*Letter from the Secretary to Mr. MEHEUX.*

East-India House, Sept. 19, 1801.

SIR,

In consequence of your letter of yesterday's date, requesting, by direction of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, to be furnished with copies of the papers therein mentioned, I herewith transmit you the following, *viz.*

Copy of the report of the committee of warehouses, dated 8th July 1801.

Copy of the report of the committee of shipping, dated the same day.

Extract of the minutes of the court of directors, of the same date.

Copy of the report of the committee of shipping, dated 28th August 1801.

Extract of the minutes of the court of directors, of the same date.

Copy of the report of the committee of correspondence, dated 9th September 1801.

Extract of the minutes of the court of directors, of the same date.

Copy of the report of the committee of shipping, of the 16th September 1801.

Extract of the minutes of the court of directors, of the same date.

I am, Sir, &c.

WILLIAM RAMSAY, *Sec.*

*John Meheux, Esq.*

No. XXVI.—*Opinion of the Company's Standing Counsel as to the Description of Ships to be allotted for Private Trade Tonnage.*

CASE

*For the East-India Company.*

Please to refer to such parts of the act of 33 Geo. III. cap. 52, as relate to private trade, to be carried on to and from India on board the Company's ships; also to the act of 39 Geo. III. cap. 89, regulating the manner in which the Company are to hire and take up ships for their service.

Your opinion is requested,

1st. Whether the Company are obliged to allot tonnage on board their fully equipped ships for the private trade to be carried on under the act of 33 Geo. III.; or whether they may allot any fit tonnage, such as they use for their own goods, of a description similar to what private traders may tender for conveyance?

2d. Whether the Company may enter into contracts for ships for their service for eight voyages?

3d. Whether the Company may enter into contracts for ready-built ships for their service for six or more voyages; or whether they can only contract for ships to be built specially for their service?

4th. Whether, in cases of unforeseen exigency, the Company may hire ships for less than six voyages?

The act of the 33d Geo. III. requires the Company to furnish a certain quantity of shipping for the use of private traders, but does not prescribe the quality of the ships, or the manner in which these ships shall be equipped. In every undefined obligation, justice requires that the duty shall be fulfilled with integrity, according to its nature.



The ships allotted to individuals must be such as, in the best judgment of the Company, appear well adapted to the particular service. It is impossible to do more than state the general rule; but it seems to me, the fair and best rule which can be prescribed is for the Company to act towards individuals as they act for themselves, and to appropriate for the trade of individuals the same ships on which they load goods of the like nature and quality, for the same voyages, on the account and risk of the Company. The subsequent act, made for a different purpose, appears to me to make no change in the obligation of the Company towards private traders, but was intended to render permanent the principles of economy, which the Company had embraced, to prevent unnecessary expenditure in contracts for their shipping.

To render intelligible the opinion I have formed on this subject, under the act 39 Geo. III. it may be useful to premise, that the Company, like every individual, have a right to form contracts for ships of the size, quality, and equipped in such a manner, and during such a period, as to them may appear best adapted to their own purposes, except so far as they are restrained by positive law. The positive law restrains the Company from employing in their regular service ships, unless contracted for to serve in trade and warfare, or in any other service, for six voyages. Regular service is here used, I apprehend, as contradistinguished from occasional service; the object of the provision being to require the contract should extend to six voyages, from an apprehension that the persons contracting with the Company would furnish ships on lower freight, if assured that their ships

would remain in the service of the Company, as long as the ships might probably continue in a state fit to be so employed. I think, therefore, that the Company may contract for eight voyages, which is only extending the principle further than the law requires.

I am of opinion, also, that this act does not restrain the Company from contracting for ready built ships for six or more voyages; and in proof that such restraint was not in contemplation of the legislature, I shall only observe, that the contrary construction of the act would have excluded many ships, at the time understood to be, or actually engaged in the service of the Company, few of which were, at that time, contracted for or hired for a longer period than one voyage.

I am of opinion, likewise, that the Company may, in cases of unforeseen exigency, hire ships for less than six voyages. The case of unforeseen exigency is expressly excepted in the act; because, to have extended the restraint to such a case, would not only have often impeded the public service, but have defeated the object of this law, the principle of which is to lessen the expenditure in shipping, as it would have obliged the Company to extend their contracts beyond what their service required, and increased, consequently, the expenditure in this article, by engaging an unnecessary number of ships in the service. The case of unforeseen exigency, as I understand it, means an occasional, or temporary, as opposed to a permanent want of shipping, which can be provided for in the manner prescribed by law.

GEORGE ROUS.

October 2, 1801.



No. XXVII. — *Letter from the Chairman to Lord DARTMOUTH.*

East India House, 7th Oct. 1801.

MY LORD,

I have laid before the court of directors your lordship's letter, dated the 29th ultimo, enclosing a copy of a memorial presented to the president and commissioners for the affairs of India, on the part of the merchants, whose names are thereunto annexed, being agents for persons residing in the East-Indies; and likewise a copy of a letter from several ship-owners, who conceive themselves aggrieved by the court's intention to take up ships of the burthen of from 500 to 600 tons, to carry out the exports of the present season, and to bring from India such gross goods as may offer there.

As the subject is purely commercial, the court are at a loss to guess why those persons should address the president of the board of commissioners upon this occasion. At the same time, I am directed to express to your lordship the high sense which the court of directors entertain of the obliging manner in which you have been pleased to make the communication, and the desire of the court to manifest their respect for your lordship, by furnishing every information which may be desired relative to the affairs of the East-India Company.

After what has lately occurred, it cannot be surprising that expectations and imaginary claims should be converted into rights, in the opinion of these parties. Encouragement to encroach upon the exclusive trade of the Company will naturally excite further attempts for that purpose. Nearly all the parties who have signed the letter in question, and who are very few in number, compared with the large

mass of owners of ships of 800 tons, were competitors themselves for building ships of 500 or 600 tons; but when their offers were refused by the court, as being too dear, then, and not before, they came forward to remonstrate against the present plan. Some of these persons are also owners of small ships, actually employed in the service of the Company; so that their conduct, on the present occasion, must appear still more extraordinary.

On the renewal of the charter in 1793, stipulations were made to encourage the export of the manufactures and produce of Great-Britain, and the court of directors have exerted their utmost endeavours to promote and increase that object. After employing every ship of 800 tons, and every other ship that has any claim on the Company, they have not room or tonnage for the exports to India. In this predicament, after employing every ship of 800 tons that is at home, the court have advertised for ships to carry out the remainder of the exports for India. The persons who have signed the letter to your lordship resist this proceeding, under the circumstances I have described. It is evident they are supported by the Indian agents, who, by checking the Company's exports, would experience a greater increase of their own.

But the resources of the Company in India require every aid, and the produce of the exports from Europe is indispensable to enable the Company to purchase in India the homeward cargoes.

The objects of the Company, in introducing small ships, were to obviate an objection, on the part of government, to the consumption of timber of a large size, to furnish tonnage to private traders at the



lowest rate of freight, and to enable the Company to export some articles of British manufacture and produce which will not bear a high rate of freight. It should seem, from the papers now before the court, that private traders claim a right to tonnage in the ships of 800 tons, although contrary to their own interest, and to their constant arguments in favour of a cheap rate of freight.

It cannot escape your lordship's observation, that attempts are now made by the private traders to obstruct the Company in their endeavours to fulfill the object which they themselves profess to have in view, and by the very mode which they propose for accomplishing it, namely, that of bringing, by reduced freights, to this country, the largest possible share of the trade of India.

The court, however, not admitting the legal obligation, have no objection to give private traders their choice of the two descriptions of ships, if signified in proper time, as the Company will find no difficulty to occupy the small ships with gruff goods, and thereby to avail themselves of the cheapest rate of freight.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES MILLS.

*The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Dartmouth, &c.*

No. XXVIII.—*Letter from Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY to the Chairman.*

London, 6th November 1801.

SIR,

I intended this day to give notice in the house of commons of my intention to make the motion concerning the East-India Company, which the lateness of the season obliged me last session to postpone. The house, however, adjourned before I went down, and was not to

return, as had been intended, after presenting the address to day to his majesty. I cannot therefore give notice before Monday; and as I intend to propose Wednesday next for my motion, I think it right to acquaint you, for the information of the directors, that no inconvenience may arise from my being prevented to day from giving the notice I intended.

I am, Sir, &c.

WILLIAM PULTENEY.

*Charles Mills, Esq.*

*Chairman of the E. I. Company.*

No. XXIX.—*Letter from the Chairman to Mr. ADDINGTON.*

Mansfield-street, 7th November 1801.

SIR,

I yesterday evening received an intimation from sir William Pulteney, of his intention to give notice in the house of commons on Monday, that he should, on the Wednesday following, make a motion on the subject of East-India affairs.

Were I to consult my own personal ease, I should rejoice that the very complicated subject, the claims of private traders to and from India, were to be discussed in the house of commons, of which I have not the honour to be a member; but as chairman of the East-India Company, I have felt it my duty to press on your attention how impossible it appears, that any satisfactory result can be the consequence of such a mode of proceeding. To undefined claims, urged before the legislature, on the ground of political expediency, the East-India Company, I apprehend, are compelled to oppose their rights, founded on a deliberate compact with the public, after a laborious and minute discussion confirmed by parliament. The rights of private traders, and also the mode in which these



these rights shall be enjoyed, form a part of this compact, and these stipulations are minutely detailed and ratified by the act of 1793. If these should be violated without the consent or concurrence of the East-India Company, I profess myself at a loss to conceive how any rights can remain to them, or to other bodies of men dependent upon the public faith. The exclusive trade to and from India has been secured to the Company for a limited period by the plighted faith of parliament, subject to limitations and restrictions minutely specified in the act of 1793. These were adopted under the impressions of public interests and private rights, which ministers and parliament received at that period, the term is not at present half expired; and if, from a different view of public or private interests, the rights of the Company may be narrowed, they may also be overturned; and it must be understood in future, that those who form compacts with the state, hold what they have understood to be rights during the good pleasure of parliament.

You, sir, who must be strongly impressed with the great exertions made by the Company, and a large expenditure of their property incurred during the arduous contest in which this nation has been engaged, will, I flatter myself, concur in thinking that the first dawn of peace and of opening prospect of re-establishment to their affairs, necessarily deranged by their efforts in the public service, is a time rather ungraciously chosen for this attempt. I need not suggest to your enlightened mind the danger which may result to the government of India, now become so important a part of the empire, by a

too curious inquisition into the present state of their affairs, just emerging from the distress of an eight years war.

At the same time I am sensible that the East-India Company are strongly implicated with the public government of the country, and that it may appear equally ungracious on their part to oppose legal rights in the rigid letter of their compact to any reasonable change which the public interest may seem to require; but it cannot escape your observation, that the changes made on such a principle must be the result of mutual and friendly discussion; and I believe I speak the sentiments of the court of directors, in professing myself ready to concur in any measure which may, after discussion, appear consistent with the higher and more important public interest, the safety and security of the British possessions in India, while the government of these possessions shall be conducted on the present plan, which I presume to think wisely chosen by the legislature, the financial property of the Company must be essential to their safety; and this cannot exist, if the beneficial commerce shall be transferred to others, and the burthens only thrown upon the Company.

I cannot close this letter, without returning you my thanks for the candid and even friendly manner in which you have been pleased to receive my observations, in the various conversations with which I have been honoured; if, therefore, I again presume to trouble you, I request it may be attributed to its true cause, the anxiety which my public situation inspires, and to a sincere desire that any arrangements which the public interest may really require, should not be impeded by  
the



the manner in which the business shall be conducted.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES MILLS.

*The Rt. Hon. Henry Addington, &c.*

No. XXX. — *Letter from Mr. VANSITTART to the Chairman.* (Secret.)

Treasury, Monday morn. 9th Nov. 1801.

DEAR SIR,

I am desired by Mr. Addington to inform you that he has prevailed on Sir Wm. Pulteney to defer his notice of a motion relative to Indian affairs; and to add, that he is very seriously engaged in the consideration of this important subject, and hopes to find both parties disposed to such an arrangement as may prevent the necessity of any public discussion.

I am, dear Sir, &c.

N. VANSITTART.

*Charles Mills, Esq.*

No. XXXI. — *Letter from the Chairman to Mr. VANSITTART.* (Secret.)

East-India House, 9th Nov. 1801.

DEAR SIR,

I have received the favour of your letter which has been communicated to a secret court of directors. And I must beg you to return my thanks to Mr. Addington, for the part he has taken in prevailing upon Sir Wm. Pulteney to postpone his mo-

tion relative to India affairs, as every view of the subject carries conviction to my mind, that no satisfactory result can be the effect of an adverse proceeding. It is impossible not to feel great satisfaction in the assurance, that Mr. Addington is himself seriously engaged in the consideration of this important subject; and I think I may venture to assure him, that the court of directors feel disposed, as they always have been, to such a reasonable arrangement as may prevent a public discussion.

I am, dear Sir, &c.

CHARLES MILLS.

*Nicholas Vansittart, Esq.*

No. XXXII. — *Letter from Lord DARTMOUTH to the Chairman.*

Blackheath, 20th Nov. 1801.

SIR,

I received yesterday the favour of your letter accompanying the propositions agreed to as the basis of an arrangement for the private trade; and I assure you that it is my most earnest wish that they may lead to such an accommodation as shall be to the mutual advantage of the East-India Company and the public parties, whose interests, rightly considered, I conceive to be inseparable.

I am, Sir, &c.

DARTMOUTH.

*Charles Mills, Esq.*



## PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT

RELATIVE TO THE

## AFFAIRS OF INDIA,

DURING THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE EIGHTEENTH PARLIAMENT  
OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1801.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, *June 12*

Sir W. PULTENEY rose, in pursuance of his notice, to move for the production of certain papers relative to the trade of the East-India Company. He made some observations on the rise and progress of that trade, and of the different regulations under which it had been placed, from the earliest period of our establishment in that country. The trade, he remarked, was now open to all foreigners; he did not disapprove of the permission thus granted to them, because it tended to increase and encourage the commerce of the Company. He was only at a loss to see why it was not extended to the subjects of the British government as well as to foreigners. The latter were, by that privilege, enabled to come into competition with the Company itself, and to injure it in the market in the sale of several articles. In the objection urged against extending this privilege to British subjects at large, namely, that it would tend to the accumulation of British capital in India, from whence it would not return, and that it would tend to erect India into a colony so great as to endanger its connection with and dependence upon Great Britain, he confessed that he could not discover any very great weight. The arguments, however, it was not in his contemplation at

present to discuss. They embraced much matter both of political and commercial controversy. At present he should confine himself to move for certain papers, which contained information of a nature to enlighten and to regulate that discussion which he trusted would seriously take place in the ensuing session of parliament. The hon. baronet concluded by moving, "That there be laid before the house copies of the several papers relative to the trade between India and Europe, which had been printed by order of the East-India Company for the use and information of the proprietors of India stock."

Some verbal amendments were afterwards made in this motion.

Sir F. BARING then rose in defence of the directors. The allowing of ships built in India to import goods into this country, he contended, would be ruinous to the Company, and detrimental to the Empire at large. He urged the discouragement which would be given to British shipping, the danger of colonization, and the injustice of invading the Company's charter. [We are brief in our notice of the remarks of the hon. baronet, as his arguments are all to be found in the address of the directors on this subject to their constituents.]

Mr. DUNDAS spoke in reply, and with uncommon animation. He declared himself as much alive



to the interests of the East-India Company as was the hon. baronet. If by such a measure he thought that they were to suffer, he would resist it to the utmost of his power. He was formerly convinced that the monopoly of the Company was necessary, and that on the permanence of the present form of government in India, depended all the advantages which we might reasonably expect from that valuable country. He now thought that those were not the true friends of the Company who held the language of the hon. baronet, which must tend to render it universally odious. There was not a man in this country, he was convinced, so bold as to ask upon such ground for a renewal of the Company's charter. The shipping of this country, he was equally certain, could not be injured by the measure proposed. It was not against the navigation act, as that allowed every country to import into Great Britain its own produce in its own shipping. Why then should this privilege be withheld from India? Was it because it was a province of our mighty empire, and that whatever increases its prosperity serves to add to, and fortify our own? The right hon. gentleman here stated the substance of the dispatch of the directors, which the board of control had forbidden to be sent to India, with the ground of that prohibition. He was so far from feeling any jealousy with respect to the admission of India ships into our ports, that he still hoped to see our dock-yards filled with *ships of war* built in that country. Since our commerce had increased beyond the means of carrying it on, he, for one, could not see the policy of diminishing those means. He had thought long and deliberately on

this subject, and was now riveted to the opinions which he expressed. He was extremely sorry that he had differed with the directors; but he had the satisfaction to know, that though all their names stood upon the report, yet some of the most intelligent of them agreed in sentiment with him. But if all had been unanimous on a policy so illiberal, it still should have had his resistance. There were others fully as able as himself to form an impartial and a disinterested opinion on the affairs of India. All the most enlightened and best informed servants of the Company were for the trade being laid open. The late and the present governors-general, amongst others, were of this opinion. He threw out some hints as to some of the directors opposing the measure, merely as *ship-owners*, and censured their efforts to raise a clamour against it, amongst men who were similarly concerned. The fear of aggrandizing our colony, and the other arguments of the hon. baronet, he treated as unworthy of notice. It gave him pain, he said, to see the Company thus deluded, and thus to stand upon the tiptoe of their privileges. The proprietors should recollect, that over-zealous friends often prove to be the most dangerous of enemies.

Mr. THORNTON was apprehensive least a door should be opened to an invasion on the rights of the Company, as it might never again be shut whilst any thing remained to the Company worth taking. He observed, that nearly an equal number of the court of directors was decidedly against the measure.

Mr. PITT said, that in his judgment there could not be the slightest objection to the motion before the house. The public had a right to



be minutely informed of every thing relating to the affairs of the East-India Company. The question involved points of the utmost importance, and that gentlemen should be enabled to discuss it in the next session of parliament, they should of course be put in possession of every necessary document. The hon. baronet had said, that he himself should be a gainer by the measure. He did not see how this could be, unless the measure was beneficial to the British merchant and to British commerce. The hon. baronet then confessed that his interest as a merchant, and his duty as director, stood completely at variance!

After a few words from Mr. LUSHINGTON, Mr. JOHNSON, and Dr. LAURENCE, the motion was put and carried.

It was afterwards ordered, "that there be laid before the House a copy of the dispatch transmitted by the court of directors to the board of control, and intended to have been sent out to India—a copy of the proceedings at a general court of proprietors, held May 28"—and several other papers of a similar nature.

#### INDIA BUDGET.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House on the accounts lately presented respecting the finances of the East-India Company. Mr. DUNDAS, on this occasion, resumed his usual seat, and addressed the chairman. He had annually laid, for the last seven years, he said, a statement of the affairs of the East-India Company. Upon this task he was now to enter, and he should pursue the line which he had traced out on former occasions. It was his duty, therefore, to give first a statement of the affairs of each settlement, and then

combining these together, to shew the whole amount of the debts, assets, &c. of the Company in India. He should afterwards advert to the state of their affairs at home, and leave it to be seen, from the result of the whole, whether the situation of the Company was improving or becoming worse. The minuteness of detail which was necessary upon former occasions would not now be required, as the accounts were perfectly accurate, and not liable to any comment whatever. He felt some satisfaction in observing the thinness of the Houses to which he had of late years addressed himself on this subject. In 1783 and 1784 the word "India" could not be mentioned without crowding the House, and filling every bench. This spirit of party was of long continuance. Of late, however, the prosperous state of the Company's affairs had left no doubt of the wisdom of its government, and his statements had met with no opposition. He had reason therefore to congratulate himself on the manner in which he was now attended to. [There were about sixty members present.]

The accounts which he had to present were under *three* different heads.

In the *first* instance, they stated the average amount of the revenue and expenditure of the Company for the last three years.

*Secondly*, The estimates of the last compared with the result of the present year.

And, *thirdly*, The estimates of the present year, which were at a future day to be compared with the result.

The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to read the several accounts as follows :



ABSTRACT OF STATEMENTS RELATIVE TO THE ACCOUNTS OF THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

BENGAL 1801.

Current rupee at 2s.

Revenues No. 1. Aver. 1797-8 to 1799-1800	- - - -	£. 6,147,031
More than average last drawn		266,944
No. 3. Estimated for 1799-1800	- - - -	6,196,733
Actual amount	- - - -	6,504,738
More than estimate	- - - -	308,005
Charges No. 3. Estimated for 1799-1800	- - - -	4,157,553
Actual amount	- - - -	4,332,991
More than estimate	- - - -	175,438
Deduct excess of charge from excess of revenue, the net revenue is more than estimated		132,567

Estimates 1800-1801.

And the net revenue for 1799-1800 is	- - - -	2,171,747
Revenues No. 1	- - - -	6,399,204
Charges No. 2	- - - -	4,422,048
Net revenue	- - - -	1,917,156
Revenues estimated less than 1799-1800	- - - -	165,534
Charges ditto more than ditto		89,057
Net revenue estimated for 1800-1801 less than preceding year	- - - -	254,591

MADRAS.

Pagodas at 8s.

Revenues No. 4. Average 1797-8 to 1799-1800, exclusive of Ceylon generally, and Myfore in the last year	- - - -	1,968,815
More than average last drawn	- - - -	97,363
No. 6, estimated for 1799-1800	- - - -	2,507,594
Actual amount	- - - -	2,822,536
More than estimate	- - - -	314,942
Charges. Estimated for 1799-1800	- - - -	2,739,230
Actual amount	- - - -	2,132,919
More than estimate	- - - -	398,689
Deducting excess of revenue from excess of charge, the net charge is more than estimated	- - - -	78,747

And the net charge of the year 1799-1800 is - - - - 310,383

Estimates 1800-1801.

Revenues No. 4	- - - -	3,273,071
Charges No. 5	- - - -	2,723,112
Net charge	- - - -	450,041
Revenues estimated more than actual 1799-1800	- - - -	450,535
Charges ditto more than ditto		590,193
Net charge for 1800-1801, estimated more than the preceding year	- - - -	139,658

BOMBAY.

Rupee at 2s. 3d.

Revenues No. 7. Average 1797-8 to 1799-1800	- - - -	376,146
More than average last drawn		33,342
Estimated for 1799-1800	- - - -	368,366
Actual amount	- - - -	415,663
More than estimate	- - - -	47,279
Charges. Estimated for 1799-1800	- - - -	1,450,476
Actual amount	- - - -	1,495,270
More than estimate	- - - -	44,794
Deduct the excess of charge from the excess of revenue, and the net charge is less than estimated	- - - -	2,503
And the net charge of the year 1799-1800 is	- - - -	1,079,607

Estimates 1800-1801.

Revenues No. 7	- - - -	300,475
Charges No. 8	- - - -	1,051,693
Net charge	- - - -	751,218
Revenues estimated less than 1799-1800	- - - -	115,188
Charges ditto ditto ditto	- - - -	443,577
Net charge estimated for 1800-1 less than preceding year	- - - -	328,389

BENCOOLFN AND OTHER SETTLEMENTS.

Spanish dollars at 5s.

Revenues of Fort Marlbro', on average of three years, 1796-7 to 1798-9, the same as stated last year	- - - -	5,539
Charges ditto ditto ditto,	- - - -	113,214
Net charge	- - - -	107,675
Supplies		



Supplies from Bengal to Fort Marlbro', to Penang, &c. estimated for 1799-1800, - 100,920  
Actual amount - - - - 171,363

More than estimated - - - - 70,443

Supplies estimated for 1800-1 - 82,360

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the year 1799-1800 collectively.

Revenues. Bengal 6,504,738  
Madras 2,822,536  
Bombay 415,663

Total revenues - - - - 9,742,937

Charges. Bengal 4,332,991  
Madras 3,132,919  
Bombay 1,495,270

Total charges - - - - 8,961,180

Net revenue of the three presidencies - - - - 781,757

Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c. - - - - 171,363

The remainder is - - - - 610,394

And deducted from interest paid on the debts at

Bengal - 642,818  
Madras - 253,667  
Bombay - 82,371  
978,856

The deficit of revenue from the territories, &c. is - - - - 368,462

And deducted from the amount of sales of imports - - - - 706,495

The remainder - - - - 338,033

Is the amount applicable to the purposes of commerce.

Amount advanced for the purchase of investments, payments of commercial charges, and in aid of China investment.

At Bengal - 1,197,764  
Madras - 851,483  
Bombay - 315,993  
Bencoolen - 30,504

Total advance for investment 2,395,744

Cargoes invoiced from India to Europe in 1799-1800, with charges - - - - 2,168 302

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the estimates 1800-1 collectively.

Revenues. Bengal 6,329,204  
Madras 3,273,071  
Bombay 300,475

Total revenues - - - - 9,912,750

Charges. Bengal 4,422,048  
Madras 3,723,112  
Bombay 1,051,693

Total charges - - - - 9,196,853

Net estimated revenue of the three presidencies - - - - 715,897

Deduct supplies to Bencoolen - 82,360

Remainder - - - - 633,537

Deducted from interest on debts No. 16 - - - - 1,082,042

Shows the net deficiency of the revenues from the territories to be - - - - 448,505

Which deducted from the estimated account of sales of imports No. 15 - - - - 591,975

The remainder is - - - - 143,470

And is the amount estimated to be applicable in the year 1800-1 to purchase of investments, payments of commercial charges, &c.

HOME ACCOUNTS.

Aggregate amount of sales 1800-1 - - - - 10,323,452

More than last year 162,842

Excess on the Company's goods alone 234,314

Excess on private trade goods - 45,112

Deficiency on neutral property - - 116,584

The sale of the Company's goods estimated at - - 6,675,000

Actually amounted to - - 7,382,849

Being more than estimated - 927,041

The receipts of the sales of the Company's goods estimated at 6,201,000

Actually amounted to - - 7,382,849

Being more than estimated - 1,181,849

Charges and profit on private trade estimated at - - - 100,000

Actually amounted to - - - 133,429

Being more than estimated - 33,429

GENERAL RESULT.

Although the actual receipts have fallen short of the estimated upwards of 800,000l. from a disappointment in an expected payment from government, and from deferring the disposal of the loyalty loan; and although the



payments have been exceeded by an enlarged supply to India, yet the very favourable produce from the sales of goods, and the extension of time for liquidation of the debts to the Bank, have so operated, that the balance of cash estimated to be, on the 1st March 1801, against the Company in - - - - - 368,013  
 Actually proved to be in their favour to the amount of - 930,590

Being more favourable than estimated by - - - - - 1,298,603

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount stated last year - 12,995,526  
 Amount this year by No. 16 14,640,402  
 Increase - - - - - 1,644,876

Debts transferred in the year No. 17 - - - - - 345,307

Debts bearing interest.

Amount last year - - - - 10,190,528  
 Amount this year - - - - 12,301,570

Increase of debts bearing interest - - - - - 2,111,042

Amount of interest payable by the accounts of last year - 915,687

Amount of interest payable this year by No. 16 - - - - 1,082,042

Increase of interest payable annually - - - - - 166,355

ASSETS IN INDIA,

Consisting of cash, goods, stores, &c. last year - - - - 10,259,107

Do. do. do. by the present statements No. 21 - - - 11,569,553

Increase of assets - - - - 1,310,446

Deduct increase of assets from increase of debts, the state of the Company's affairs will appear worse by - - - - 334,430

Estimate 1801-2.

Receipt for sale of Company's goods - - - - - 7,161,918

RESULT.

The estimated result of the cash transactions of this year is, after calculating on payments on account of India and China, in an amount exceeding four millions, and for the discharge of debts to the

Bank, without reckoning in any extraordinary aids to the receipts, the balance on 1st March 1802 is expected to be in favour of the Company 486,731

DEBTS AT HOME.

On 1st of March 1800 - - 5,830,222  
 On 1st of March 1801 - - 5,393,989

Decrease - - - - - 436,233

ASSETS AT HOME AND AFLOAT.

On 1st March 1800 - - 16,185,950  
 On 1st March 1801 - - 15,404,736

Decrease - - - - - 781,214

Deducting decrease of debts from decrease of assets, the state of the concern at home is worse in this year by - 344,981

CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

Balance at China last year against - - - - 220,022

Balance in China, by the present accounts, in favour 1,226,079

Better this year at China - - - - 1,446,101

Balance at St. Helena in favour, Sept. 30 1798 - - - - 62,235

Ditto, ditto, Sept. 30, 1799 - - - - 58,366

Worse at St. Helena by the present accounts - - - - 3,869

Net improvements at China and St. Helena - - - 1,442,232

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debts in India - 1,644,876  
 Decrease of debts at home - 436,233

Net increase of debts - - 1,208,643

Increase of assets in India - - - - 1,310,446

Decrease of assets at home - - - - 781,214

Increase - - - - 529,232

Add net improved balance at China and St. Helena as follows—



China - - - -	1,446 101	
Deduct St. Helena - -	3,869	
	<hr/>	
	1,442,232	
	<hr/>	
Total increase of assets - -	1,971,464	
Deducting the above increase of debts from the increase of assets, an improvement would appear to have been made in the state of the Company's affairs in the course of the year to the amount of - -	762,821	
But the following sums remain to be deducted for bills on account of India, adjusted in No. 24, but not included by No. 16, or in that at home by No. 23 - -	319,915	
For the value of cargoes to India included in the home assets, but arrived so as to form part of the stock there on the 30th April 1800 - - - -	280,441	
	<hr/>	
	672,356	
	<hr/>	
The remaining total - - -	90,465	

is the amount in which the general state of the whole concern has amended during the last year, subject, however, to such adjustments as may result from the settlement of the accounts between Government and the Company.

Mr. DUNDAS, after concluding this perspicuous and satisfactory statement, said, that he at one time intended to have founded on it certain resolutions, but, on a nearer consideration, it had struck him that he should not be acting in a candid or manly manner, were he not to explain the means by which he proposed, that the flattering views which he had held forth in the last session of parliament, should be realized. He should first remind the house of what he had then said. [Here the right hon. gentleman read a long extract from his speech of last year.] The expectations which he then held out, he now felt no doubt,

would be accomplished; and he owed it to the public, to the government, and to his successors, to state explicitly in what manner he thought they would be fulfilled. He desired to be indulged, in the first instance, whilst making a few general observations. In the years 1793-4, the affairs of the East-India Company were in such a state of disorder and embarrassment, that many were of opinion that the Company must be absolutely dissolved. Others were inclined to believe, that, by introducing a clearness into the concerns of the Company, by laying a state of its affairs regularly before the public, and by adhering to a strict economy, it might be rescued from its difficulties, and in time established in independence and prosperity. Those that were of the latter opinion procured their plan to be adopted; sunshine soon succeeded chaos, and from that time to the present, the politics and commerce of the Company had flourished even beyond the hope of its most sanguine well-wishers. From the wise councils and brilliant exploits of the Marquis Cornwallis, and of the present governor general, all our enemies in that quarter had been subdued, and our possessions in India placed upon the basis of perfect security. The event, no doubt, most to be rejoiced at, was the fall of Tippoo Suldaun. Whilst that restless tyrant was alive, confidence could not have existed, and all that could have been expected was an armed truce. He had even checked the agriculture of the Company's possessions, and in every way obstructed their improvement. Every seditious Polygar and Circar was led to revolt, relying on Tippoo for assistance. The Nizam of the Decan, from a dangerous enemy, had lately been converted into an



useful ally, and now paid a large body of British troops employed to defend him. The prosperity of the country, in consequence of these changes, had advanced with the greatest rapidity, and the hope of its continuance was built on the surest foundation. Vigilance might still be necessary, but vigilance would not be sufficient. He advised his successors to keep a watchful eye on our great rival in Europe, and on the events which may take place in Persia, and towards the source of the Indus, and, if they did this, he could assure them that they had nothing more to apprehend. The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to give the outline of his plan. Notwithstanding the many disadvantages, he observed, with which the Company had to encounter for the last eleven years, the state of its affairs had been greatly meliorated. He did not think, therefore, that he spoke too sanguinely, when he said, that he was not afraid to meet an Indian debt of fourteen millions sterling. He did not hesitate now to declare, that, within the term of its charter, it had the means of discharging the whole of this debt, to accumulate the sum which it was required by act of parliament to have as a guaranty for the fulfilment of its engagements, and to pay to the public the sum which it had engaged to pay in consideration of the renewal of its charter. It was his purpose to recommend to the Company to borrow, on the conclusion of peace, the sum of ten millions, for the purpose of liquidating its Indian debt. He knew that there were objections to this plan, but there were none, in his opinion, which could not easily be obviated. He then stated the following heads of the plan, on which, he said, he founded his reliance. In the *first*

place, by arrangements to be made abroad, one million annually is to be saved from the revenues of the Company, and applied to the purpose of investments. *Secondly*, investments are to be made every year to the amount of four millions in India and China, in equal proportions. In the *third* place, the Company is to avail itself, within the space of four years, of the power which it has by its charter to encrease its capital stock by 2,500,000*l.* to be advanced annually. *Fourthly*, the proceeds of the sales at Leadenhall street are to be employed to reduce the debt in India: and *lastly*, this plan is to go on until the debt is reduced to 4,500,000*l.* a sum as low as it can be reduced to with safety. The right hon. gentleman then entered into the consideration of each of these particulars, shewing the practicability of each of them, and the certainty of their joint operation. By the year 1809, he stated, the whole of this plan might be accomplished. He dwelt with great force on the advantages which would be derived from the reduction of the Company's debts. The great, and the only enemy we had to fear in India, was the Indian debt. After this was discharged, ~~our~~ empire in the East would be founded on an immoveable basis, and no enemy could contend with us in that quarter of the world. We could there keep on foot an immense army for five or six years, without being more embarrassed than we are at present; and even then we should have an unlimited credit arising from the good faith which we had previously shewn. It gave him no small consolation, on his retiring from office, to be able to give such an account of his administration, and to hold out such pleasing prospects.



spects. Having concluded this statement of his plan for meliorating the finances of India, he proceeded to observe, that a plan, which was calculated to produce so great a revolution within the space of a few years, would be likely to excite not merely surprize, but incredulity. But when the *data* on which it was founded were fairly laid before the public, he was convinced that they would do away every possible objection to the accuracy of the statement. He had fondly looked forward to a period of peace for giving effect to his scheme; but though, from various circumstances, he was not himself to carry it into execution, he rejoiced in the prospect which offered itself to his successors in office. He would rejoice in their joy, and participate in the pleasure

of their success. He knew not whether he should live to see the plan carried to perfection, but he should never cease to reflect with satisfaction on eighteen years of his life, employed in contributing to so great a national object, and in exerting every means in his power to promote the national prosperity. He would lay his head down in tranquillity on the pillow of death, in the prospect of leaving this scheme in the hands of those upright and able persons who were to be employed to the same important public end.

Some conversation on the price of freight took place across the table between Mr. Dundas and Sir F. Baring.

The resolutions were then put, and agreed to.



## PROCEEDINGS AT THE INDIA HOUSE,

*From the 28th May 1801, to the end of December following.*

THURSDAY, *May 28, 1801.*

This day a general court was held, when the chairman explained, that the proprietors were called together in consequence of a letter subscribed by forty-three proprietors, requiring a general court to be convened for special purposes.

The letter was read by the clerk, and was as follows :

“ We, being proprietors of East-India stock, duly qualified according to law, request that a general court may be summoned on special affairs, at which we shall submit to the consideration of the court, whether it is not expedient to obtain further information respecting the trade between India and Europe, in order to form an intelligent, just, and final conclusion on that subject.”

(Signed by Mr. HENCHMAN, Mr. IMPEY, Mr. DURANT, and forty other Proprietors.)

Mr. HENCHMAN rose and said, before he entered into the business of the day he must ask a question of the chairman, which was very important in its nature, and that was, Whether the court of directors had held any further proceedings on this subject since the papers were printed? and if so, what those proceedings were?

The Chairman answered, that a letter was prepared to be sent out to the governor-general of India to carry the resolutions of the directors into effect.

Mr. HENCHMAN then asked, whether that letter had passed as unanimously as the resolutions had done?

Mr. INGLIS (late chairman) said, the chairman was not to be cate-

chised in that manner, nor was it very respectful to the executive body for one individual proprietor to put questions of that nature.

Mr. HENCHMAN said, he was not in the habit of doing any thing in that court or elsewhere, that violated the rules of decorum, or could be deemed disrespectful to any man or set of men; but that it was material to know, whether the letter was voted unanimously or not. But notwithstanding the observation just made by the honourable director, he must take the liberty of asking one question more, and that was, whether the letter was agreed to, and transmitted to the board since the application was made to the general court?

The Chairman said, it had. The letter having only been sent to the board of commissioners on Thursday or Friday last,

Mr. HENCHMAN then said, he begged the proprietors would take notice, that after a general court had been summoned upon the subject, the directors had met and agreed to carry their own resolutions into effect, signed a letter to the governor-general, and transmitted it to the India board for their approbation.

Mr. ELPHINSTONE said, the paragraphs were not sent to the India board for their approbation, but merely for their information.

The Chairman said, all letters intended to be sent out to India by the directors were usually transmitted to the India board, in order that



that they might see whether their contents referred only to matters that were purely commercial, or whether they contained any thing of a political nature.

Mr. HENCHMAN went on and said, he begged the proprietors' attention to this matter, because he wished the proprietors to observe, that the directors, who were so anxious about the preservation of their own privileges, had, in this instance, actually infringed the privileges of the proprietors, by doing all in their power to conclude a matter, which the proprietors had expressed a wish to discuss, and a general court had been positively determined to be held for that express purpose. At present, Mr. HENCHMAN said, he would not detain the court longer on the subject, but proceed to the business for which the general court was summoned.

Mr. HENCHMAN began with observing, that the subject he had to bring forward was a subject of the highest importance, not only to the immediate interests of the East-India Company, but the great political interests of the nation. He said, he was always sorry when he found it necessary to appear in opposition to the court of directors, as no man entertained a greater respect for them than he did, but on the present occasion he had the misfortune to differ totally from them. The special committee, in the first section of their report, admit the great importance of the subject, and say, "they have endeavoured to qualify themselves for the task assigned them by diligent enquiry, &c. seeking to obtain from all the sources of information within their reach a comprehensive knowledge of facts and opinions relating to the subject." Would any man who read

those words imagine that the sentiments of those who had served in the highest stations in India, and were likely to be best acquainted with the subject, and most capable of forming a judgment upon it, had not been studiously taken; instead of which it did not appear from the face of the report that they had ever once been consulted. In the house of commons, enquiries were prosecuted in a different manner; after a committee, consisting of the most able and competent men, was formed, they sent for all persons considered to be acquainted with the subject, to attend and be examined, in order that the committee might make themselves as completely masters of the matter under investigation as the nature of the case would admit.

After commenting pointedly upon this, Mr. HENCHMAN said, it appeared to him, from as full a consideration of the subject as he had been able to give it, and an attentive perusal of the report, every paragraph of which he had again and again referred to and deliberated upon, it appeared to him, that before the court of proprietors could be competent to decide, whether the resolutions of the court of directors, come to on the 4th of February, ought or ought not to be sent out to India, in order to be acted upon, more information ought to be obtained upon it, than the directors seemed to have had before them. The true interests of the Company would probably be best consulted in granting what the merchants desired, their being allowed to bring home a greater portion of the surplus produce, which the Company either did not or could not conveniently take into their own hands, viz. the gross goods and raw materials. This would at once in-



crease the trade and revenue of India, because it would secure the bringing the greatest part of that trade into the river Thames; and no man would deny the good policy of bringing all the trade carried on with British capital and credit to London. It had been often said, that although a considerable share of the trade was shipped on foreign bottoms for Europe, British capital was nevertheless employed in that trade to a great amount. If so, how much better would it be for the Company and for the public, if the whole of the British capital were used in freighting ships with goods that would come to sale in Leadenhall-street? At the same time he was willing to admit that foreigners ought to be encouraged as far as their own capital extended, and that was the proper division of the trade agreed on by all parties. One great object of the act of 1793 was to effect this; but that act being novel in its provisions, could only be considered as an experiment; and, after the experience already had of its operation, it was found to require correction, and to call for amendment. Mr. Dundas says expressly in his letter, dated April 2, 1800, that the act has failed, and that "experience has proved that the provision made in the act, directing the East-India Company to appropriate 3000 tons to the private trade to and from India, has proved inadequate to the purposes for which it was intended." The directors themselves say, that there are objections which ought to be remedied. This being the case, it was natural to look for a remedy; and, in every point of view, the employing of India-built ships appeared to be the best and most effectual remedy. This remedy the directors deprecate, and say it will

ruin the Company, open the trade, and lose India. On the other hand, Mr. Dundas and Lord Wellesley say, there is no such danger; but that, on the contrary, many advantages are to be expected from it, and that the Company's rights would still be secured. But in order fully to comprehend the contest concerning the private trade, it was necessary to understand what the merchants really desired; and that was nothing more than the fair execution of the act of 1793, according to its spirit and meaning. He had often heard it said, within those walls and elsewhere, that the allowing the 3000 tons of freight was solely with a view to enable the Company's servants in India to remit home the amount of their private acquisitions; but whoever would take the trouble to refer to the act, would find, that the intent and purpose of the act was not only the remitting the private fortunes of individuals, but the more important object of the advancement of the trade and navigation of these kingdoms, and also the encouraging individuals to engage in the importation of raw materials for the use of our home manufactures. Mr. Henchman read the words of two distinct clauses of the act (87 and 101), which expressly supported his assertion. He added, that it was true that private acquisitions were thought equal to this trade; but contended, that there was no intention of confining it to that alone, but that that was understood to form part of the capital, as far as it would go, and so were the returns for the manufactures and produce of Great Britain, as well as the bullion that might be exported. The next question was, how had the objects above mentioned been encouraged and promoted? The complaints



plaints of the merchants clearly evinced that they had met with difficulties and discouragements, as well on account of the high price of freight in the Company's ships, which would not allow them to import the species of goods in question, as on account of the regulations of the Company. It was, however, generally agreed, that some alteration or other was necessary. The late president of the India board, and their governor-general, both concurred in recommending the allowing of India-built ships to be employed to bring home the India trade. This was as strenuously opposed by the directors, and therefore, as they were at issue upon that point, it was the main question to be decided on. In order to come at possession of the means to enable either the directors or the general court to form a correct judgment, it was necessary to have more advice and fuller information on the subject, and that was at present requested. He should not, therefore, go into a general review of the whole report and all the papers, but confine himself to a few remarks on the leading points.

First, Mr. Henschman said, he must remark, that Mr. Dundas, in his letter of April 2, 1800, takes a clear view of the subject in its various relations, gives his opinions distinctly, states the principles on which they are founded, and strongly recommends the giving a power, by a legislative act, to the Company's government abroad, to allow the British subjects resident in India to bring home the surplus produce of India in India-built ships. The objections capable of being made to which proposition, he answers completely, though he, all through his letter, uniformly contends for the maintenance of the monopoly of the

trade to and from India in the hands of the East-India Company. With respect to the report of the special committee of directors, he could not but lament that no marks of reference were given, which would have rendered it more explicit and intelligible. The directors, in that paper, charge the merchants with wishing to annihilate the Company; a charge for which there is not the smallest foundation. All that the merchants contend for was a regulated trade, which the Company consented to in 1793, as a part of the price of their charter.

It was not easy, he observed, to follow the directors through their statement of imports and exports, and the conclusions with which they are followed up. At first sight, however, it is evident that their account is imperfect; for they make no allowance whatever for the foreign trade of the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, although they are both considerable, and in value amounting possibly on the sale to half a million sterling. It was not candid to determine the balance of this trade at 25 lacks, when information might have easily been collected of the annual amount of the trade of other parts of India, which would have made it amount to a much larger sum; nor is it so very invaluable a document, that the directors have had for their guidance in the Bengal trade. This *luminous and correct register*, as it is called, is a modern institution, and subject, as all institutions are, especially at their outset, to many impositions and inaccuracies.

Instead of being accurate, Mr. Henschman said, he was, upon examination, completely satisfied that it was the very reverse; and he would proceed to shew the grounds of his conviction. In doing so,



he said, he premised that he did not mean any reflection on the ability or the integrity of Mr. Browne. He made no doubt that his calculations and figures were correct, but the materials he had to work upon were not so. Mr. Browne is, by appointment, the reporter of internal and external commerce, and the documents he had to work upon were the returns of imports and exports at the custom-house. By those returns it should appear that the amount of exports, &c. to foreign Europe and America is stated at

	1795-6	1796-7	1797-8	1798-9
Lacks.	66	57	38	23.

Upon examining further, Mr. Henchman said, he adverted to the account of the number of foreign ships that had departed from Calcutta in those seasons, strongly suspecting the accuracy of this report, which is declared to be so *luminous and correct*; he found that the number of these vessels were, in

	1794-5	1796-7	1797-8	1789-9
Lacks.	44	62	65	38.

So that the lading of 44 ships was only 66 lacks, of 62 ships only 67, 65 ships 38 lacks, and, lastly, 38 vessels were only to bring away 23 lacks as their cargo; so that the cargo of each of them would not amount to the sum of 6000*l*. Mr. Henchman said this was a thing impossible.—[One of the directors said, some of the ships must have been coasters, and others went to Batavia without any cargo.]—Mr. Henchman said, that as to ships that went to Batavia, they all carried cargoes with them, consisting of opium and other articles. He did not believe that any of the vessels were coasting vessels; but even if it was so, there were so many more than were necessary for his argument, that a considerable

number even might be struck off. Mr. Henchman here enforced what he had said, by begging the court to take notice, that so many foreign ships should carry away so little of the manufactures and produce of India, by the way of cargoes, to Europe and America, was next to an impossibility. Here Mr. Henchman said, that, if further proofs were wanting, he had a story to relate which would convince the court that this report of imports and exports was as incorrect as he had conceived it to be. He understood that, in the year 1799, it had been discovered, that the head native servant of the customs had been in the constant practice of receiving *douceurs* for permitting goods to pass in and out, import and export, without paying the usual duties. That an enquiry took place, and that the custom-master and his servants were removed from the office; since which, under his successors, the customs have increased in an extraordinary proportion. Mr. Henchman said, he did not know but what it might amount to half as much again, and that would account, in a very great degree, for the extraordinary increase in the foreign trade in the years 1799, 1800, which, by Lord Wellesley's letter, is found stated at between 80 and 90 lacks of rupees; the fact certainly being, that the great deficiency that appears in the preceding years has arisen from the smuggling which had been admitted in collusion with the people of the custom house, to the great prejudice of the Company's revenues. Under such circumstances, how is it possible that this statement of Mr. Browne's can either be *luminous or correct*? And if, Mr. Henchman said, he had made it out satisfactorily to the directors and the



the court, it was not to be wondered at that their report should be so erroneous, and the main foundation upon which they built their reasoning relative to the foreign trade between India and Europe, was entirely cut from under them.

The next matter, Mr. Henchman said, was a very material point indeed with the directors in their report, and that was colonization; a spectre conjured up to haunt and alarm every man who reads the report! This creature of the imagination presented itself in almost every section, and it was not a little curious to observe upon what shallow pretences the phantom was raised. It was among other objections gravely asserted, that if India-built ships were allowed to carry home the private trade, English sailors would not have employ in time of peace. The very reverse of this assertion naturally presented itself as the most probable consequence of the measure contended for. It was well known that it was always desirable to have as many European mariners employed in the navigation of India ships, whether built in India or at home, as possible. A new species of employ would, therefore, be created for British sailors in time of peace, than they might otherwise find; a matter highly important to the national interest! But the next reason assigned was, if possible, still more extraordinary, viz. that the Lascars employed on board the private trade ships would do much mischief in India, by spreading strange reports of the result of their observation of our manners, &c. in England, which might degrade the British in the consideration of the natives of India, and lessen our influence in that quarter of the globe, by suggesting to the people of that country, that at home we were not looked up to

with that respect and profound attention which we exacted from them. Mr. Henchman ridiculed this idea as one of the most absurd and idle that ever was entertained; in the first place, what class of people were these miserable Lascars to mingle with in England, and who were they to impart their crude notions of our manners to in India on their return? If for a single moment the mischief could be seriously apprehended, how happened it that the mischief had not already taken effect? The ships homeward bound had for years been partly navigated by Lascars, who had returned to India, as free from prejudicial notions of their employers as ever. But colonization was at all hazards to be avoided; how in the name of common sense was colonization likely to take place in a country where the government was British, and that government armed with so much authority, that not a single individual European could pass to the interior, or leave Calcutta, without the express permission of the governor in council, an authority strictly exercised at this and in all former periods? Some gentlemen might perhaps look to America, and take alarm at the example of our having established flourishing colonies in that quarter of the globe; but compare the circumstances of the two countries, and they would be found to differ so totally in every point of view, that no analogy whatever would be found to exist. America, an almost unpeopled country when visited by British settlers, the savages resident in the woods and mountains, rude, barbarous, and uncivilized, the soil uncultivated, and no towns or habitations adapted to European customs yet built. Was this the case in India? The British all confined to their



own settlements, and living, as it were, a distinct and separate people from the natives, not only so in consequence of the strict regulations of the British government, but so much did the force of custom and habit prevail, that if an European was to enter the districts occupied by the natives, without permission on public business, they would of themselves give information so that he might be removed. In fine, the word colonization was an empty sound, and meant nothing.

Another objection to opening the private trade in the manner desired, was the competition that, it was said, would arise in that case between the Company and the private traders. This, however, was by no means warranted; for what competition could arise when the trade was distinct? The Company's consisted of whatever goods they thought proper exclusively to trade in, and private traders had a right only to deal in such articles as the Company did not, principally gross and raw materials for the manufactures of this country: but if it was said, in time the private trade might be a powerful competitor of the trade of the Company; that could never happen, because it would always be open to the Company to embrace the whole of any species of trade, and prohibit the private merchant from dealing at all in the article. Indigo, for instance, or any thing else; at all times it was in the power of the Company to resume and make it a part of their own monopoly. It was to be remembered, that besides, if British merchants were not allowed to send home the gross goods, foreigners would have their ships loaded with them, and instead of coming into the port of London, the goods would all go to foreign markets, to

the great prejudice of the Company and the Nation. Mr. Henchman said, that a strong objection was raised in the report to the increase of this trade, because it would lead to the employment of British capital, which the report resists, as being prejudicial to the interests of the nation. Mr. Henchman said, as far as his opinion was made up on this subject, he entertained a different idea; and he was led to doubt very much upon this point, when he reflected upon the state of the remittances the Company were really at present engaged for by bills drawn by the governments of India upon the court of directors. Mr. Henchman observed that the calculation of the directors was to the extent of 1,500,000*l.* for the annual acquirements and savings of British residents in India; and this, after deducting 650,000*l.* for bills, was considered as the amount of what was to come home by private trade. Mr. Henchman said, this surely was a very imperfect statement of the fact; for, if he was not very much misinformed, the Company were engaged to a much larger annual amount in bills. Indeed so much, that the whole million and a half was absorbed by them. He held in his hand a list of those remittances, and he would read it to the court:

On account of the India

debt, - - - - - £.500,000

The trade from India to

China, consisting of cotton, opium, and other articles, produced a very large sum, which was paid into the treasury at Canton for bills on the court of directors. Of those bills there were brought to India and

distributed.



distributed amongst individuals, at least	£.300,000
Another remittance is on account of the interest of the decennial loan; the total is 380,000/.	
but he took only one half	- - - 190,000
Next 25 per cent of the 12 per cent loan	- 250,000
On account of a sinking fund lately established in Bengal to buy up the Company's own bonds, and other paper debts, for which they have resolved to draw on the court of directors, having no other funds applicable to the purpose: say	80,000
For general purposes from Madras and Bombay	200,000
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Making a total of £.1,520,000  
 Besides which it is understood that the court of directors have lately given authority to their governments abroad to draw for one million per annum more. Mr. Henchman said, if these particulars were incorrect, he hoped the directors would state what the case really was. He only stated the particulars, imperfect as they might be, to shew that, according to the reasoning of the directors, no private trade at all ought to be allowed; for, what was very extraordinary, the remittances only by bills from India exceeded all that they allowed could be acquired by the industry or economy of the British merchants or servants of the Company in India. But if this is the case, what is the capital that carries on the trade, at present existing, both to the port of London and foreign ports of Europe? We are told it is British. It cannot be the property of British

residents in India, for they remit more through the Company than they are allowed to acquire. From this state of things, it is evident that the directors are in an error, and a very considerable one, both with respect to the acquisitions and savings of men in India, and the amount of the trade at present carried on between India, Europe, and America. The directors, in speaking of the great increase of tonnage, that is suggested to be possible to be required for this trade, extending even to 100,000 tons, say, it would draw from this country, to great public disadvantage, a capital of at least five millions sterling. This they advance in speaking of the possible increase of the article of sugar. But Mr. Henchman said, can it be any public inconvenience to furnish a capital of five millions? Is it possible the directors could seriously assert that it cannot be done, without being taken from other employment where it is more advantageously engaged? He said, he was speaking before a large body of the merchants of the city of London, and he would put only a single question upon the present occasion. If five millions could not be raised without taking it from some more profitable engagement, how did the minister year after year raise twenty or five and twenty millions for the public service? There were gentlemen behind that bar who understood the matter perfectly, and they well knew that it was the credit and character of the nation that furnished the resources for every enterprise of the public service or of a commercial description.

There was an article very necessary, Mr. Henchman observed, to become the subject of consideration on this occasion; and that was, the state of ship timber both in this country



try and in India. At present, it is well known that oak timber, and all ship-building materials, are extravagantly high in Great Britain; and that the builder's price, which when the war commenced was only 12l. 10s. is now raised to 23l. 10s. per ton. Some years since an alarm was taken by the Ministers of that day upon the effect that the trade of the East-India Company had upon the article of ship timber, and considerable apprehensions were entertained lest the quantity of timber of the size requisite for the royal navy expended in building the Company's ships should so diminish them as to prejudice the national interests. After much discussion of the matter, a bill was brought into Parliament to restrain the Company from building, till the amount of their tonnage was reduced to about 40,000 tons. Notwithstanding which, within the last ten years, the apprehensions of the approaching scarcity of ship timber, in consequence of the rapidly increasing number of ships built for the navy, and for purposes of commerce, became still greater, and a commission was issued, appointing three persons to enquire into the state of the woods and forests, and report upon the same. After full investigation, these commissioners confirmed the public alarm, and reported, that if the consumption of oak timber for ship building kept pace with the increasing prosperity of the country, according to the state of the growing timber, this country would probably experience an early want of great timber, and must rest on some other source than the produce of Great Britain for the support of the navy. No man need be told that the consumption of ship timber had considerably increased since, and it has long since been acknowledged, that the trade of the

country has far outrun its shipping. Under such critical circumstances the directors bring forward their plan for the accommodation of the private merchants with an additional quantity of tonnage of about 30,000 tons. Did it not become a serious consideration, whether 30,000 tons of oak timber should be taken out of the limited quantity of ship timber remaining in the kingdom, and used up, pending the very great demand for building and repairing the ships of the navy in a state of war? and whether it was not absolutely necessary to have recourse to some external reference to supply the Company with the shipping required for the bringing home to the Thames the surplus trade of India? Fortunately their own possessions in the East would furnish them with the wanted supply; the coasts of Malabar were almost covered with extensive forests of teek trees, a species of wood of an excellent and superior quality for ship building. The numberless rivers that run through the Malabar mountains, and descended towards the sea, afforded a ready opportunity of conveying the timber to the dock yards, and places where the ships are built; and add to this, abundance of timber fit for the purpose of ship building, grows on the mountains that border the provinces of Bengal. Lord Wellesley says, "large and thriving plantations of teek have been made in Bengal, and the cultivation of that timber is spreading over the whole province." Would it not, therefore, be bad policy not to avail themselves of this valuable resource? and ought they not to do so, not merely on account of the accommodation and economy of the Company, but on the larger consideration of assisting the public by diminishing the



consumption of so much of the ship timber produced at home, as the Company could avoid without inconvenience to themselves? It was somewhat extraordinary, Mr. Henchman said, that when America was lost to this country, it never occurred to government, that above three hundred ships of one description or other were lost to this country; because, while America was dependent on Great Britain, her ships were registered and entitled to be considered as British-built bottoms. Some means of supplying so large a deficiency in our commercial marine ought to have been looked for.—Having laid considerable stress on the scarcity of ship timber at home, the dear price of ship building in consequence, and the necessity of encouraging of building ships in India, Mr. Henchman said, as many gentlemen, no doubt, would make their observations on the report as well as himself, he was sorry he had detained the court so long, but that he should now proceed to the conclusion of the report, which contained the plan of the court of directors for the conveyance of the goods of the private merchants in future. In the first place, Mr. Henchman begged to ask of the chair, whether the court of directors really meant to build the ships themselves, as was expressed in the report? for it said, “the ships for this purpose shall be built by the Company.”

[Upon which the chairman said, that the intention was to contract for them as they did for their regular ships.]

Mr. Henchman then said, that the general items of the plan were, with very little variation, the same as the merchants had so long been complaining of. The court of directors, indeed, promised, in one of the articles, that these ships shall not

be employed in extra services, but be applied solely to conveying the goods of the merchants to and from India; yet at this very time it is repeated that out of ten ships that have been lately taken up of this description, destined for Bengal, they have already ordered three to take in troops and stores for Bombay. So that it is impossible for the Company, under the public exigencies of their service, to appropriate any particular ships, exclusively, to the use of the merchants.

Mr. Henchman said, he should not detain the court by enumerating many other inconveniences which the merchants had suffered, and under this projected plan would still continue to suffer. He would only press upon the attention of the proprietors one very extraordinary principle, under which this plan was recommended to adoption, and that was, that the Company are to furnish the British tonnage for private merchants as cheap as the India-built ships were freighted last season. Comparing the price the Company pay for the ships they have lately engaged, that is 35l. or 36l. per ton, with the rate at which the India ships sailed, being only 20l. the directors by this proposition bind the Company to a loss of 15l. on every ton of shipping furnished for private trade. If, therefore, the trade should only extend to ten thousand tons, the loss must be 150,000l. per annum, and so in proportion according to the quantity, in peace as well as in war. Mr. Henchman said, he knew it would be argued, as it had been practised, that a loss was sometimes to be incurred for the sake of advantages arising from it in other places; and he could agree in that idea, as far even as the granting four hundred thousand pounds for doing



doing away the right of perpetuity of the captains to the command of the regular ships; but he could not understand what could justify such a proposition as the present, where the expence was to be annual, and to increase as this trade might from time to time be enlarged. Were the proprietors prepared to agree to such an annual loss? With him it was sufficient to induce him to withhold his consent to the plan altogether.

Mr. Henschman here closed his remarks on the report, and proceeded to observe, that the letter of the Marquis of Wellesley did, to his surprise, but to his satisfaction, support the opinions he entertained on the contents of this report, and if he had not discovered by its date that it was a thing impossible, he should have supposed it to have been really an answer to the report itself. If gentlemen would but give it their serious attention, they would no longer entertain doubts and apprehensions respecting the rights and privileges of the Company. They would no longer fear colonization, or that the admission of Indian ships would be the destruction of their own trade, or bring on the loss and ruin of their possessions in India.

On Mr. Dundas's second letter, Mr. Henschman only remarked, that the right hon. gentleman, notwithstanding he complimented the directors on some general principles contained in several of their resolutions, still remained unmoved with respect to the employment of India-built ships, which he had recommended in his letter of the 2d of April; and the right hon. gentleman further adds, that the Marquis of Wellesley's letter "demonstrates the grounds of those opinions, which he had from time to time

"taken the liberty of laying before the court of directors." So that instead of agreeing with the directors, it is evident that Mr. Dundas is convinced that the private trade must be brought from India in India-built shipping. The last paragraph of the right hon. gentleman's letter, it is true, states this subject to be purely commercial; but Mr. Henschman said, he could not clearly see how that matter could be purely commercial, connected as it was with so many different considerations in the report of the court of directors. The court of directors, in their second report, wish to impress an idea of considerable alteration produced by their arguments on the mind of the right hon. the late president, which the papers did not sufficiently authorize, in his humble opinion; it was now in the judgment of the proprietors, and they would form their own sentiments respecting it.

Mr. Henschman said, that after the various objections that he had been under the necessity of taking to the report, he was far from considering himself as able to make up his mind finally on this important subject. He knew, as he had said in the outset, that more very valuable advice and information might be obtained; and all he contended for, therefore, and intreated of the proprietors, was, that they would not come to a final determination till such time as they had availed themselves of the advice and opinion of the late governors of India. He therefore should now submit to the court a motion to that effect:

"Resolved, That this court is highly sensible of the very great importance of the general trade between India and Europe to the political and commercial interest of Great-Britain, as well as of the East-



East-India Company ; that they lament the wide difference of the opinions entertained on the subject by the court of directors on one side, and the late president of the board of commissioners and the governor-general of India on the other ; and, anxious that the measures finally to be adopted may be formed on the fullest information, and maturest deliberation, and thinking it may essentially conduce to that desirable end, if the court were assisted by the wisdom and experience of the late governors-general of India, they recommend to the court of directors to transmit a copy of the printed papers to Marquis Cornwallis, Earl Macartney, Lord Teignmouth, Sir John Macpherson, and Warren Hastings, Esq. with a request that they will severally favour the Company with a communication of their advice and opinion on the subject of them.

Mr. IMPEY seconded the motion.

The Chairman (Mr. D. SCOTT) wished to say a few words ; and first, he must take notice, that it was not usual nor necessary for forty-three proprietors to sign a letter to the chairman and deputy chairman, desiring them to call a general court, &c. &c. the by-law requiring no greater number than *nine* ; but so unusual a circumstance as forty-three coming forward on the occasion, naturally excited some surprise, and called forth a degree of observation that might not otherwise have arisen either in the minds of his worthy colleague and himself, and also of the court of directors. He was far from meaning to cast any reflection on any of the gentlemen who signed that letter ; on the contrary, he knew them to be men of character and reputation, men for whom, personally, he entertained

the highest respect ; but he must be permitted to observe, that when he considered that many of those gentlemen were immediately concerned and interested as merchants or agents in the private trade to and from India, their opinions could not have the same weight with him as those of more impartial and disinterested persons. He could not avoid feeling that they might be acting under some degree of prejudice, and still give a preference to the unanimous opinion of the directors, an opinion formed upon deep reflection, careful investigation, and after full discussion. The hon. proprietor who moved the resolution complained of Mr. Browne's report. There might possibly be some trifling errors in it. He had also laid some stress on the second letter of the right hon. gentleman, late president of the India board. In the letter that right hon. gentleman stated his concurrence of the general principles on which the majority of the resolutions come to by the directors on the 4th of February, expressly declares, that the subject is purely commercial, and not subject to the control of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India ; but the conclusion of the right hon. gentleman's letter is highly deserving the attention of the court, as he emphatically ends his address to the chairman and deputy, with deprecating any further delay in acting on the resolutions as the worst result that can possibly attend the further discussion of the subject.

Mr. IMPEY, who seconded the motion, said, he had concurred with the large and respectable body of proprietors, at whose request the court had been called ; he could not better express their object than in the words of the directors themselves at the beginning of their first report :



report : “ That they fought to obtain, from all the sources of information within their reach, a comprehensive knowledge of facts and opinions relating to this subject, that they might be assisted in forming intelligent and just conclusions.” As this was consonant both to reason and the expressed sentiments of the court of directors, he could scarcely believe it would meet with opposition ; he could scarcely believe any proprietor would persuade the court to give a final opinion on this question, which was admitted to involve the dearest interests of the British empire, before they were assisted with the advice of those great men, to whom we owed our possessions in the East, who were best acquainted with their actual state, and must feel most anxious for their prosperity. He could not think the directors would wish for a blind concurrence in their measures, but would rather desire all possible lights might be thrown on them, that, if they should prove to be erroneous, they might be retracted. It was matter of regret to the proprietors when any wide difference of opinion prevailed between those who had the chief direction of the affairs of the East-India Company ; but on such occasions, it became particularly their duty, as well as interest, to be circumspect, and seek for every possible information and advice before they decided between the contending parties. In this case the directors stood on one side, Mr. Dundas and the governor-general on the other ; as he was bound to admit that the court of directors endeavoured to pursue the interests of the Company and the Public to the best of their judgment, they were bound to make the same admission on their part to Mr. Dundas and Lord Wellesley ; he considered it as an error

in judgment on one side or the other, and wished the opinions of both to be fully investigated before those of either were adopted. He said he should refrain from saying any thing on the main question at present, hoping the motion would not be opposed.

Mr. TWINING rose next, and began with making some observations on the names subscribed to the letter requiring the chairman and deputy chairman to call the court ; and said, that it was impossible not to take notice, that, among those names, there were many gentlemen, however respectable or high in character, who were known to be concerned in the private trade to and from India. The consideration of that circumstance was of itself sufficient to convince gentlemen that the general court had not been called at the instance of proprietors perfectly disinterested, and who had no object in view but the general interests of the East-India Company——

Mr. Twining was called to order by Mr. DURANT, who maintained that it was disorderly, and contrary to all usage, in public assembly, to call the motives of any man, or any set of men, in question ; in a much higher assembly than that court (the House of Commons), let a man bring forward what motion he pleased, it was highly irregular to impute improper motives to him.

The CHAIRMAN said, he conceived the hon. proprietor to have been strictly in order. He had an undoubted right to observe, that the subscribers to the letter were many of them concerned in the private trade, and to consider whether the desire to push their interests might not clash with the general interests of the Company ?

Mr. TWINING resumed his speech,  
and



and said, he intended no disrespect to any of the gentlemen who signed the letter desiring that the general court might be called; he knew them to be men of great character, and entitled to respect; but they would, he hoped, allow him to say, that they were not, of all others, the best entitled to be considered as impartial and independent proprietors, who sought no other object than the promotion of the best interests of the East-India Company. With regard to what he had to offer that day, he thought it necessary to premise, that the general court must not look to him for profound research or abstruse philosophy; he should merely endeavour to convey a few simple ideas, in plain reasoning, limited by common sense. Those who might be supposed to feel themselves interested in the subject of the present motion, appeared to him to resolve themselves into classes: Those who were concerned in the private trade, and were not proprietors; those who were proprietors, and were engaged in the private trade; and those proprietors who had no private interest, but think it would conduce to the advantage of the Company. Had nine gentlemen of the latter class come forward with a letter, requesting a general court to be called on the subject of the private trade, he was free to confess he should have thought the manner of convening the court more respectable, and less liable to suspicion, and the matter, for the discussion of which it was brought forward, better entitled to fair and candid consideration. He owned he had, with some surprise, observed the name of the hon. gentleman who made the motion among the forty-three subscribers to the letter. The report, to which the hon. proprietor had raised so many objections,

was the result of a long and deliberate investigation of the subject, by a special committee of their executive body, who were necessarily led to take advantage of all the information that could be derived from a mass of materials beyond the reach of common proprietors, and whose duty, as directors, plainly pointed out to them that they were bound to support the general interests of the East-India Company, as the paramount object of their attention; they could have no private motive to prejudice their judgment, or bias their opinions; and it was due to them to admit, that, in deciding on a subject so extremely important, they had exercised their best wisdom, and acted most conscientiously. Their decision was obviously calculated to support and ensure the stability of the Company, and to preserve its valuable interests entire. What, on the other hand, was the complexion and character of the objections urged against the report, and the motion which the hon. proprietor had concluded with? Neither more nor less than an avowed charge against the directors for neglect of duty, a palpable innovation on the constitution of the Company, and an attempt to introduce a new and hitherto unheard-of superintending power, to awe and influence their executive body, in whose hands, by the law of England, the direction and management of the commercial concerns of the Company were vested. Is it the interest of the proprietors to abandon the trade of the Company? The general court would do well to pause, before they consented to a motion that would lead ultimately to a surrender of the most valuable rights of the proprietors. He could not allow that the hon. gentleman (who had so politely interrupted him when he first rose), or the hon. mover of the resolution.



resolution before the court, had dealt in fair argument; the latter had certainly displayed much ingenuity, but he had said nothing that brought conviction to his mind, that they might safely continue to confide in their executive body, and leave to them, as the law of the country had done, the free, full, and unembarrassed management and direction of their commercial concerns. Mr. Twining said, he should conclude with moving an amendment, the purport of which was, "That this court do confirm the unanimous resolutions of the court of directors on the 4th of February last; and that the court of directors do, without delay, act upon the principles detailed in those resolutions." — Mr. Twining called upon the court of directors, and all others who were proprietors, to come forward on this occasion, and vote for the amendment, as the only effectual means of maintaining the authority of the executive body, and preserving the rights and privileges of the proprietary.

Mr. CHISHOLME seconded the amendment, which having been read,

Mr. CHISHOLME rose again, and said, he had seconded the amendment, because, though he had often acted with his honourable friend in supporting motions calculated, in his judgment, to promote the interests of the East-India Company, he could not bring his mind to concur in a motion which appeared to him to trench upon the best rights of the Company, through the medium of a direct and unqualified attack on their executive body, whose constitutional functions it aimed at superseding, and investing in other hands. The report, which had been in so many instances objected to by his honourable friend, he had gone through

with every possible degree of attention, and he must declare, that of all the papers he had ever read, (and, considering his time of life, they could not be supposed to be few in number,) he had never met with one more clear and perspicuous in arrangement, more plain and answerable in reasoning, or more satisfactory in its deductions and conclusions, than the report in question. He was ready at all times to give his honourable friend full credit for his great abilities; but he had that day displayed a degree of ingenuity, that, with all deference to his talents, he had not expected from him. He had discovered, what no other honourable proprietor dreamt of, that the late president of the India board, Mr. Dundas, had yet to learn the distinction between that part of the Company's affairs which was *political*, and that which was *commercial*, and that he was ready to teach him. To a man of his plain and simple understanding, Mr. Dundas, in his letter of the 21st of March, appeared to be perfectly master of that distinction; for he says, (speaking of the private trade,) "It is a subject over which the commissioners for the affairs of India have no control;" and he ends that letter with recommending the avoidance of *further delay* in coming to a decision upon it. Mr. Chisholme reasoned upon this as an irrefragable proof, that the late president of the India board entertained a clear and decisive opinion, that the private trade of the Company was purely commercial, and that he earnestly recommended to the directors to use all possible dispatch in acting upon the principles detailed in their resolutions of the 4th of February. He observed, that, in speaking of the danger of colonization in India, his honourable friend had introduced a comparison



parison between colonization in America and colonization in India. In judging of this comparison, gentlemen should recollect the very different state and condition of America, when first resorted to by British subjects, and of India as it now stood. America was found to be a rude, uncleared, uncultivated country, thinly peopled, and that only by hordes of uncivilized savages; it was impossible, in the nature of things, for British settlers to look for safety or support, but from numbers; increasing colonization, therefore, necessarily was encouraged, and an early intercourse established with the West-India islands. It took a long period of time to cultivate and establish colonies along the coast, in the northern provinces especially, and many, many years elapsed, before the states felt themselves sufficiently strong to throw off their dependence on the mother country. What was it that enlightened their minds, and enabled them to assert their independency? It was the gradual approach of literature, the introduction of acquaintance with the dead languages and the classics, the foundation of colleges and universities, and the ready access opened to literature, which introduced philosophy. Hence the youth of America were furnished with education at home; and it is well known that every man finds his mind endeared to the place of his education, and is naturally led to look to his native country as the seat of his future happiness, his comforts, his prospects, and ultimate fame and fortune. Does India stand at this moment in the same situation that America did when first resorted to? Directly the contrary. India is a country rich in soil, genial in climate, extremely populous, unrivalled in manufactures of the most valuable kind, cultivated to an uncommon de-

gree by its natives, who are perfectly civilized, enlightened, and religious. Does not every man see that, if colonization in India were not rigidly guarded against, it would take a much shorter time to enable India to assert her independence than it cost America? Mr. Chisholme strongly reprobated the motion as an attack on their executive body, and an insulting attempt to subject them to receive instructions from their former servants, who had not the same means of acquiring general knowledge in regard to the commercial and sovereign interests of India, that they themselves possessed. For these reasons, among others, Mr. Chisholme said, he had seconded the amendment.

Mr. INGLIS (an American merchant), after speaking for some time on the subject of the private trade, said, he was not an advocate for building ships to be employed in trading to and from India, but he was a warm and anxious friend to building ships in India to be freighted home to Great-Britain, and, on their arrival, added to the British marine, because that would be opening a most valuable influx of national resource, viz. ship-building materials, which had better come home in the shape of a ship than in the rude form of a log; and he was the rather inclined to encourage this system, as the materials for ship-building were so extremely dear in this country. He concluded with declaring that he should vote for the amendment.

Sir STEPHEN LUSHINGTON said, he did not intend to trespass long on the time of the proprietors, but he thought it proper to observe, that the present appeared to him the most extraordinary proceeding that ever he had witnessed in that court. Forty-three individual proprietors, most of them engaged in the private



trade to and from India, to set up their opinions against the judgment of the directors, their executive body, established as such by repeated acts of the legislature. Let the proprietors recollect the weight of the word *unanimity*. The four-and-twenty directors were unanimous. Not only so, but the six new ones, who came in but last month, had carefully examined all the papers on which the twenty-four old directors grounded their opinions, and they fully concurred with them; so that thirty directors, the majority of whom had patiently investigated the subject, considered it again and again in every possible point of view, for many months, (he might say years, as it originated soon after 1793,) were clearly of one opinion, forty-three interested individuals of another. What was it that the resolution that had been moved aimed at, but the setting up of a new board of control to instruct and direct the directors? The existing board of control, when first instituted, had not been so highly relished as to make the proprietors very eager to have a second instituted. Instead of this covert means of attacking the directors, it would have been far more manly to have come forward at once with a motion to dismiss the present directors, as unworthy of further trust, and of the appointment of those in their room, who stood forward on the present occasion, and who, if they once found their way behind that bar, would no doubt introduce a new system of management of the Company's affairs, since the present motion manifested their utter disregard of the rights of the East-India Company. Sir Stephen said, he was not a little amazed to see among the forty-three proprietors who signed the letter requesting the court to be called, the names of many gentle-

men who owed every shilling of their fortunes to the East-India Company. Among them, with equal surprize and regret, he perceived the name of a son of an honourable proprietor, now no more, who had made it one of the chief objects of his life to prove himself the strenuous advocate of the rights and privileges of the Company; a gentleman whose merits as a proprietor, and whose zeal in maintaining their true interests were so universally acknowledged, that he should not think too high a compliment had been paid to his memory if his bust had been the ornament of a niche among those of the honourable men whose statues were placed above their heads. [Lord Clive, General Lawrence, Sir George Pocock, and Sir Eyre Coote.] What then must his regret be to see the son of that honourable proprietor, who had said, on a former occasion, that "he owed every thing he possessed to the Company," joining in and lending countenance to a motion calculated to subvert the rights and constitution of the Company? That honourable proprietor might be considered as the immediate child of the Company; and was his conduct in the instance alluded to a natural return for past favours, or rather for parental kindness? But would that court be led away by an argument, however ingenious, and induced to lose sight of the great national importance of the East-India Company? Would they forget that the wisdom of ages had uniformly shewn that it was the policy of the state to have the trade to the East-Indies carried on by an exclusive monopoly in the hands of the Company? Did gentlemen recollect what a vast engine of revenue the Company was to the government of the empire? Had they forgot the large sums paid in duties of excise and customs; and would



would they on light grounds take a step that might shake the constitution of the Company to its foundation? The report of Bengal imports and exports was ably referred to by the honourable proprietor who moved the resolution; it might, for aught he knew, be in some points erroneous. It was impossible, in matters of that magnitude, to be minutely correct; but whatever errors there might be found in Mr. Brown's report, they could not weaken the authority of so valuable a paper. With regard to the objections made by the honourable gentleman to the report of the special committee of directors, if the able ex-director who drew it, (and who was confined to his house by indisposition,) had been present, he was persuaded every argument that had been advanced by his honourable friend who opened the debate, would have been completely answered and overthrown, notwithstanding the acknowledged abilities of his honourable friend. Sir Stephen added various other arguments against the resolution, and declared he should vote for the amendment.

Mr. JOHNSTONE observed, that after the personal allusion of the hon. Baronet, it was scarcely necessary for him to offer an apology for presenting himself to the notice of the chairman; though his observations would naturally be very short, as the forcible argument of his hon. friend (Mr. Henchman) remained totally unanswered, and was, in fact, unanswerable. The hon. Baronet, after alluding to a deceased relation, in terms which, while they inspired him with pride and satisfaction, demanded his acknowledgments. The hon. Baronet expressed his astonishment that he, whom he justly termed the child of the Company, should unite in an

attack upon its privileges. Mr. Johnstone said, "Sir, I must repeat what I said in this court on a former occasion. The example of that respected relation, and the zeal he ever felt for the Company, taught me to feel an infantine attachment for its rights; and, placed in its service at a very early period of life, and advanced in a degree very far beyond my deserts, I have never ceased to look on the Company with a reverential attachment, matured by years and reflection. If, owing every thing I possess to the Company, I could join in an attempt to invade its rights and endanger its permanence, I should be the most ungrateful of human kind, and deserve the reprobation of every just and good man. But before such insinuations are uttered, let gentlemen shew what right is sought to be invaded, what privilege is attacked. That has not been done by the hon. Baronet—that has not been done by any person in this court; and, indeed, such a charge must astonish every reasoning and dispassionate man, who does not reflect how ready are the executive members of every public body to represent a dissent from their measure as an attack on the vital interests of the community. Sir, it is because I feel that ardent zeal for the interests of the Company, which it is my duty and my pride to feel, that I support this motion. I have ever thought the first and last security for the permanency of this Company to be the impossibility of placing its patronage and authority in any other hands, without overturning the balance of the constitution; for if to the influence of the crown, already so enormously increased, were added the disposal of the revenues of the East-India Company, there would be an end of our



liberties. Standing on such a basis, if, in our conduct, we adopt a liberal and generous policy—if, uninfluenced by that narrow spirit of which all exclusive companies have been accused, we grant such liberal facilities to the trade of India, as shall render London the emporium of eastern commerce, as shall enable this nation to be supplied with the produce of India cheaper than she can be supplied by any other means; then, I say, the safety and permanency of the Company will be perpetual. To do this, is it required that the Company should diminish its investments, should forego any part of its trade? No! All that is asked is merely to be permitted to send to Europe the exuberant produce of India, which the Company cannot purchase, subject to every check, and restraint, and regulation, which can be devised. It is admitted on all hands, even in the report itself, that this produce must come to Europe; and, therefore, the only question is, whether it shall be brought to England in the first instance, or go directly to those parts of the continent where it is to be consumed? In either way, it must enter into competition with the sales of the Company; for it is notorious that the greater part of the purchasers buy with a view to exportation. But if this produce is brought here, the people of England will obtain it cheaper than foreigners, by all the cost and charges attendant on transportation from hence to the continent. But if it goes directly to the continent, and private traders are excluded from sending their goods to England, the nations of the continent will consume the produce of our possessions cheaper than we do. To produce such an event is to hazard the safety of the Company, for

what answer can be opposed to its enemies when they state such a fact?

“ Now, Sir, as to colonization and its dangers. It is evident that, if colonization is attempted, it will be with a view to facilitate the purchase and manufacture of those articles of Indian produce for which there is a demand in Europe. Whether the demands of Europe are to be supplied by the agency of Foreigners or Englishmen, colonisation is equally likely to be attempted; and, therefore, the only question is, whether the attempt can most easily be defeated when made by Foreigners, over whom our Indian government has no legal authority, or when made by Englishmen, over whom the law has granted an unlimited power of control.

“ An honourable friend (Mr. Chisholme) has complimented my honourable friend on the ingenuity he displayed in one part of his argument; but I say that the best and justest tribute that has been paid to his talents is, that the honourable proprietor (Mr. Twining) has not answered any one of his arguments. Of the various facts he stated, and the inferences he drew, not one has that gentleman even attempted to controvert; and whoever calls to mind his talents and ingenuity, so often displayed in this court, must consider his silence as a convincing evidence that the arguments are in themselves unanswerable. He has indeed told us, that the supporters of this measure may be divided into several classes, some of whom he warmly reprehends as chargeable with ingratitude for an attack on the Company, through whose protection they have thrived so greatly; but he likewise neglected to shew in what that attack consisted, and I again challenge every



every gentleman on the same side to explain distinctly in what the attack and the ingratitude consists. When they shall do so, I will with due contrition acknowledge my error; but until it is done, I must be of opinion that some of his observations are not consistent with the candour and fairness he has usually manifested.

“ But, says my honourable friend (Mr. Chisholme), I object to this measure, because it leads to innovation. The utmost latitude of privilege which is desired has subsisted since 1795, has subsisted in a greater or less degree for seven years, without producing any evils, without leading to any infringement on the Company's rights, without proving injurious to the Company's trade. It cannot, therefore, be called an innovation, but has undergone such wholesome trial as should ever precede measures of importance. But the system now proposed is indeed an innovation, an innovation of a most alarming kind, by which the Company proposes to bring to Europe the goods of individuals at a certain and increasing loss. My honourable friend stated, that 10,000 tons of shipping would be required, for which the Company would pay 37*l.* per ton, while they would receive from the merchant 21*l.* being a loss of 160,000*l.*; but the amount of India goods brought home in Indian ships last year was 20,000 tons; so that if the same quantity of goods comes home this year, and the Company do what the report proposes, there will be a loss of 3,20,000*l.* But is this all? No! The loss must increase annually. The report would lead to a belief that the trade of India has not increased; but he who does not shut his eyes against conviction, must be sensible that the use of articles of

Indian produce and manufacture is increasing daily throughout Europe; so that if this system were adhered to for half a century, and the Company annually furnished, at a loss of 16*l.* per ton, all the shipping likely to be required, which is in reality the purport of their undertaking, it is no exaggeration to assert, that the whole territorial revenue would not supply adequate funds for the purpose.”

Sir FRANCIS BARING rose immediately, and warmly repelled the assertion, that the arguments of the hon. mover of the resolution were unanswerable, nor would he allow that the report was liable to the objections that had been made against it. There was not a part of it, which he declared, he was not ready to discuss with the hon. mover, or any other proprietor. The motion was a direct attack upon the executive body, and an infringement of the rights, privileges, and constitution of the East-India Company. Looking at the names of the forty-three proprietors who signed the letter desiring the court to be called, there were among them many who were known to be deeply concerned in the private trade, and from the attempts that have been more than once made to open the trade to and from India, and break that exclusive monopoly that the Company held under the sanction of repeated acts of the legislature, a suspicion could not but arise that some of the subscribers to the letter were more actuated by a wish to promote their own interested views, than that due consideration for the welfare and prosperity of the East-India Company, it was their duty as proprietors to make the rule of their conduct in that court. Why were forty-three gentlemen required to examine into the conduct of the

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directors?



directors? If the majority of those who signed the letter were not actuated by a predominant regard for their own interest, why need more than nine respectable and independent proprietors, all that the bye-law required, have come forward and called upon the chairman and deputy to call a court? Sir Francis reminded gentlemen of the transactions that took place in the year 1793, previous to the passing of the act for renewing the Company's charter. He had at that time the honour to sit in the chair, and he remembered the various negotiations that then took place upon the subject of the private trade. Mr. Dundas then acted under the influence of repeated applications of the East-India agents, and others concerned in that trade. A *carte blanche* was offered to Mr. Dundas as to the quantity of tonnage to be provided by the Company for that object, and after considerable discussions, Mr. Dundas himself fixed the quantity at 3000 tons. Had that quantity been ever occupied? Who was it then that complained? Did the merchants of London in a body? No such thing. They wanted none of the trade; and, two or three years ago, an offer was made to the Manchester manufacturers to send out as many ships as they pleased to Bombay to bring home cotton, but the Manchester people declined the offer; a clear proof that they were not desirous of engaging in that trade. Those who were clamorous for an extension of the tonnage on that account, were those who were immediately engaged in the trade, and had an interest in building teek ships in India. The honourable proprietor who moved the resolution had said a great deal about the foreign trade and the in-

crease of it. It was true that the Portugal trade had of late increased amazingly, and consisted almost wholly in carrying of bullion. Did gentlemen wish to annihilate that trade because it was foreign? With regard to the report, it was unanimously approved by the court of directors, after the most deliberate consideration for months together; and it was a circumstance unparalleled in the history of the Company, that the whole twenty-four directors who had sat at the board during the progress of the investigation of the subject, and also that the six new directors, should concur unanimously in every part of the report. That circumstance was of itself a general answer to all the arguments of his honourable friend who brought the business under discussion in the general court. He might, Sir Francis said, add to this, that it would be nugatory and useless to ask the opinions of their former governors-general on the subject, as they were in possession of those opinions already. Before he sat down, he observed, that it was apparent from Mr. Dundas's letter of the 21st of March, that he was convinced by the arguments of the directors as to the general principles of most of the resolutions come to on the 4th of February; and in the last section of his letter he says expressly, that the private trade "is a subject over which the commissioners for the affairs of India have *no control*;" adding, in the last paragraph of that section, "I trust that you will not delay acting upon the principles detailed in the resolutions you have done me the honour to communicate to me, for the worst result that can arise from its discussion is any further delay in coming to a decision upon it."

Sir



Sir Francis concluded with declaring that he should vote for the amendment.

Mr. JONES ADAIR said, at that late hour of the day he would not detain the house long. He considered the motion to be a direct attack upon the Company's executive body, the gentlemen behind the bar, and, through the means of an attempt to undermine their authority, to violate and infringe the rights and privileges of the East-India Company. The court of directors were legally invested by their charter with the exclusive management of the commercial concerns of the Company, and before that exclusive right was torn from them, more than one act of parliament must be broken through. At any rate, those who wished to make the attempt, were bound to wait till the expiration of the act of 1793, before they ventured to subvert the constitution of the Company, and take upon themselves to direct the directors. With regard to the report of the directors, he thought it did those gentlemen the highest credit, it unanswerably proved the very great attention they had paid to the whole of the subject. It shewed that they had taken it into their consideration on a large and comprehensive view, so as at once to embrace all the different and truly important objects connected with it. So satisfied was he of this, that, Mr. Adair said, at one time his intention had been to have moved the thanks of the general court to their directors; but, upon reflection, he had been induced from making that motion, as it would have precluded the directors from favouring the general court with their sentiments on the report. Mr. Adair took some notice of what had fallen from Mr. Impey, as to the probability of

there being no opposition to the motion. How could the learned gentleman for a moment entertain the idea that the general court would blindly abandon their own interests, and give up their rights and privileges? Mr. Adair also endeavoured to ridicule Mr. Johnstone's having talked of his infantine attachment to the rights and privileges of the East-India Company, observing, that his having been one of the forty-three proprietors, and supported the resolution, manifestly proved that his infantine attachment to the interests of the Company, and his mature conduct as a proprietor, appeared to be at war with each other. Mr. Adair added a few observations on the suspicion to which the signatures to the letter were liable from their known interests and concerns in the private trade. He asked, was it the business of the governor-general to decide, or was it the duty and office of the directors? Mr. Adair concluded with declaring that he should vote for the amendment.

Mr. R. THORNTON (a director) said, he was anxious to declare what seemed to him to be the complexion of the proposition that was suggested. He looked upon it as an attempt to wrench the privileges of the Company from the hands of those that were appointed to guard them, but they had perceived the danger and made every resistance.

Those honourable gentlemen who had called the court, were inconsistent upon their own principles; they did not act in a manly and decisive manner, their aim was to be guessed at, but it was not avowed. Why did they not declare their intentions if they wished to throw the trade open? Their speeches shewed that such was their object, and he did not mean to charge them with dishonourable motives; no doubt, the



the hon. mover and the rest thought it would be for the benefit of the country at large; but he (Mr. Thornton) thought it would not be for the benefit of the public, nor of individuals, except in a temporary point of view, and certainly not for the benefit of the East-India Company. But if they wished to throw the trade open, and saw the eligibility of such a measure, why not avow the propriety of it? The proposition offered for the acceptance of the court mentioned no such thing; it only went to appoint a committee of ex-governors general from India, and thus set aside the directors, to carry on their deliberations, and to execute their duties. These noblemen, and these gentlemen, are certainly well informed men upon the points in question; but if they are to decide, or even to bias and direct such a great general measure, let them at least do that which the court of directors have done; let them meet together, compare their opinions, hold consultations, and strike out some grand result from such conferences.

The honourable mover charges the directors with too much precipitancy, with too hasty a determination, with too rash a judgment: let not this committee of governors general decide more hastily, let them collate and compare; for it is to be acknowledged, that there was a shade of difference among some of the directors, as to this subject, when it was first agitated; but, on full discussion, they all ended at the same point, and arrived at the same conclusions, and the report is sanctioned unanimously. We ought then to give up the India House to those who are now to deliberate on the plan of the honourable gentleman; let us make over to them our clerks, let them examine our re-

ords, let them sit from day to day as the directors have done, and then let them propose the measures fit to be adopted under present circumstances, and I think at last they will come to the same conclusions. But certainly this will not be according to our present constitution, it will form a new board of control, a commercial board of control, which is unacknowledged upon our present system. Mr. Thornton stated, that the value of our Indian possessions, and our trade in those parts was felt and admitted by all the world; in this country, and in that of our most inveterate enemies, the same sentiments prevailed. We made the greatest sacrifices, and had shed the best blood of the country to protect our Indian possessions and the trade of the East; our enemies were struggling to wrest them from us. We were fighting for India in the territory of Egypt. Shall we then put to the risk, in a voluntary manner, that which we defended at so great a sacrifice? Mr. Thornton conceived that, in a few years, we might lose the country if the monopoly was disturbed.

There might be a present gain to a few individuals, but it would end in general loss and in complete disappointment to every party; our enemies only would be likely to profit eventually by such a measure. If the door were opened for a change of our system, it was impossible to calculate what risks might arise, and many dangers might be foreseen and anticipated. At any rate, if gentlemen are disposed to make experiments, Mr. Thornton begged that they would defer them till the expiration of the charter, that no rights might be violated, and that they might not dissolve engagements solemnly entered into; it would be unjust to take away that for which a



due compensation had been given, and which was established on the mutual consent of all parties.

Mr. BENSLEY (a director), in a short speech, defended the report, and said, if the resolution that had been moved was to pass, it would give a death blow to the constitution and interests of the East-India Company; and when he talked of the interests of the East-India Company, he embraced the interests of the Nation, for they were now so interwoven with each other that they were inseparable. Mr. Bensley declared that he should vote for the amendment.

Mr. DURANT said, he felt his character called in question by some reflections that had been thrown out in the course of the debate, respecting the motives of the forty-three gentlemen who signed the letter desiring the chairman and deputy chairman, to call a general court. He had been one who signed that letter, but he would not yield in independence and integrity to any man in that court. Before the court sat, he had told a director, that he did not know which way he should vote; no more did he when he signed the letter, but understood that it was in order to call for more papers, and further information, previous to the proprietors coming to any decision on the resolutions of the court of directors. The motion before the court went to the same point, and therefore it should have his support. Mr. Durant argued in favour of the resolution of his honourable friend, and denied that any of his arguments had been answered, or even attempted. He spoke of the great abilities of his honourable friend, and said, in point of knowledge of business and clear understanding, no man in that court was his superior, few, if any, his equal,

as he had proved that day, by the perspicuous and masterly manner in which he had opened the subject and spoken to every part of it. At the same time the known integrity of his honourable friend set him far above the reach of the loose and illiberal insinuations on the motives of those proprietors who had signed the letter to the chairman and deputy, that had been scattered about that day by those proprietors who in their speech had taken the opposite side of the question, and declared themselves in favour of the amendment.

Sir HUGH INGLIS (late chairman) said, as his sentiments were detailed in the report, it would be unnecessary to trouble the court with a repetition of them, and therefore he should not detain them very long. He would only make a few observations that had occurred to him in consequence of the matters referred to and treated of in the speech of his honourable friend who had moved the resolution. His honourable friend was certainly under some error in respect to the ships that were cleared out from the port of Calcutta. The honourable proprietor could not have to learn, that not only all the ships cleared out at that port did not come to Europe, but that a great number of them were coasting vessels, or vessels bound to some adjacent island, and never quitted the Indian seas. In regard to the great stress that his honourable friend and the learned seconder had both laid on the authority of the governor-general's opinion, he certainly entertained a great respect for Marquis Wellesley, but it was recollected that the Marquis must derive all his information from the residents in Bengal, who were interested in the trade, and consequently his judgment was likely to



to be prejudiced and turned aside from a comprehensive view of the great and leading interests of the Company and the Nation. With regard to the complaints of the merchants, of which so much had been said, would any gentleman undertake to say that the directors had ever withheld permission to export the manufactures of this country, when it was applied for? He could take upon him to assert, that no person would venture to come forward upon such a charge. He asked, how would the directors be able to pay the Company's bills, particularly from India, but by their trade? If the trade was thrown open, men of bad principles might go in their ships to India, and, by spreading their pernicious notions and doctrines abroad on their arrival, might entail the most mischievous effects on their settlements, and ultimately bring down ruin on their authority and government. Another circumstance seemed to have escaped the notice of those who contended against the report, and that the only mode that the Company had of increasing their revenues was by their trade. Sir Hugh added several other observations, all tending to support the reasoning of the report, and to shew that the arguments were inconsiderate or inapplicable.

Mr. PETER MOORE defended the forty-three proprietors who convened the meeting against the severe insinuations of Sir Stephen Lushington and Mr. Robert Thornton, and contended, that, if the honourable mover of the amendment had to form another class, he would place those ex-directors in a class of extravagants. Whatever he might think of the discordant classes of the forty-three, even according to his own definition, they con-

tained all the wholesome ingredients of a good fallad, forming a constitutional union in support of the best interests of the Company, and of the Nation. He should reserve his sentiments for the general discussion: he supported the motion for information and opinions for the benefit of others; he had long consulted the soil and climate of the country, and the bountiful influence of nature, and the subject had occupied his mind many years ago: in the mean time, he should tell those who insinuated that they formed an hostile combination, that whenever they joined them, which soon or late they would, they would find themselves in the most honourable company of independent men, who had the honour and prosperity of the Company and of the Nation as sincerely at heart as any subjects of England. Their opponents, indeed, represented their objects to threaten the overthrow of the Company: he maintained, on the contrary, they were their best friends and supporters: they did not demand what was idly called a disturbance of chartered rights. No such thing! They came forward on the part of the mercantile interests of England with this petition to the court—The vast empire acquired in India yields abundantly more products of mercantile enterprize than the Company choose to avail themselves of: allow us to try our skill and employ our industry in such articles as you reject, at present allowed to foreigners, our rivals or enemies. Licence us in this abandoned commerce, subordinate to your authority, regulations, and controlling jurisdiction. We will implicitly conform to them, pay all your dues, and the duties of the State. This, said Mr. Moore, was reasonable, and the consistent object of



our charter; and while it improved the navigation, brought wealth into the kingdom. The subject was of vast magnitude, both to the Company and to the State; and they were the best friends of both who seconded the measure. And what, said he, will be the result? It will fill the docks of England with shipping, the warehouses of the Company with goods, and replenish their exhausted coffers with money, now so much wanted. It would convert their spare rooms into an opulent custom-house. It would prove a most valuable nursery for seamen, and add great strength to the British navy; improve the legal income, and unite us amongst ourselves in thus prosperously conducting those portions of eastern commerce, at present lost to our nation, but of which our enemies and rivals feel the full value. He contended that the whole ought to be brought into the Thames, either by the Company or individual British merchants. If such were the crimes of those who argued for the measure, Mr. Moore said, he should proudly boast of the guilt.

The deputy chairman (Mr. MILLS) made a short speech, in which, among a few other matters, he said he had sometimes consulted the governor-general, but that he said was no good reason for consulting him or his predecessors on the present occasion, the court of directors being by law the executive body, and fully competent to decide for themselves from the information they had collected from the best sources. Mr. Mills asked why the honourable gentleman had not sent him a copy of his motion, for which he had waited all the morning?

Mr. IMPEY said, he was not surprised that gentlemen who enter-

tained such opinions as the honourable proprietor who spoke last, who thought that the East-India Company should rather have resigned its charter than admitted any of its fellow-subjects to a participation of the Indian trade, and that it ought to consult its own interest alone, without considering that of the nation, should vote for the present amendment. He had seconded the present motion, because he held an opinion directly opposite. He thought no amendment was ever moved in a more extraordinary manner; the honourable mover professed to expect that nothing would be said upon the main question, that a motion would be made for further information only; he himself advanced no one argument upon the main question, and yet his amendment proposed that the main question should, without any further information, be decided. From the manner in which some gentlemen took up the matter, one would think that a conspiracy had been formed to overturn the East-India Company. [*The directors nodded assent.*] Mr. IMPEY said, if this was a conspiracy against the Company, Mr. Dundas and Lord Wellesley were among the conspirators, and before they proceeded further, he wished to add Lord Cornwallis, Lord Macartney, Lord Teignmouth, Sir John Macpherson, and Mr. Hastings, to their number. An honourable baronet had said, the directors had already taken the opinions of the late governor-general on this subject; if they have, why are they not laid before the proprietors? But, says the honourable baronet, they were *ex parte* opinions; we wish to hear what opinions they will give when they have heard both sides of the question. From what the honourable



able baronet said, one would imagine that Mr. Dundas had quite changed his sentiments on this subject, and now thought with the directors. To shew he did not, Mr. Impey read a passage from Mr. Dundas's last letter, in which he expressed his full concurrence with Lord Wellefley. It was the universal cry on the other side, that this was an attack on the exclusive privileges of the Company. Nothing was further from the fact: Mr. Dundas and Lord Wellefley contended, that the Company should be fully secured in the exclusive possession of Indian commerce, as far as their capital would enable them to carry it on; that it would be equally unjust and impolitic to encourage private trade in opposition to them; that the East-India Company's trade ought to be carried on in the regular shipping; that no private merchant or agent should reside or act in India without their licence, and under their regulations; that the private ships, their officers and crews, the passengers, and cargoes they carried, should be directly under their control and inspection; that the private goods should be sold at the Company's sales only, and that the Company should receive duties on them. How, then, could this be fairly called an attack on the Company?

Mr. Impey then entered at large into the question. He stated, that the Company's capital would not embrace half the trade of British India; that the remainder of it was carried on by private individuals, British or foreigners; that a large part of the Indian trade carried on by foreigners was supplied by British capitals; to what amount, or what part of those capitals was drawn from India or from England,

it was impossible to ascertain. The act of 1793 was intended to remedy the evil, but had failed; according to Lord Wellefley's letter, the foreign trade had increased to so astonishing a degree, that, he emphatically said, "it has become essential to the Company's and the Nation's welfare to check it." He stated Mr. Dundas's and Lord Wellefley's argument to be, "that it was more advantageous to the British empire and the Company to encourage British merchants to carry on that surplus trade, which the Company cannot embrace, than to leave it to foreigners; for which purpose it would be wise to remove every temptation to British merchants to vest their capitals in foreign merchandize, and to enable them to rival foreigners in the markets of India and Europe." The directors had laid much stress in their report on some supposed difference in the opinions of Mr. Dundas and Lord Wellefley; perhaps, if they had favoured the proprietors with a sight of their individual written opinions, which they had alluded to, the word "unanimous" would not appear very applicable to them, at least it seemed so from what had fallen from one of the directors (Mr. Thornton). He contended, that there was no essential difference in the opinions of Mr. Dundas and Lord Wellefley; the latter thought much of the capital employed by neutral nations in Indian commerce was drawn directly from England; if the trade was advantageous, and we had a surplus capital applicable to it, it was impossible to prevent that application; whenever peace should be concluded, the British merchant might, if he pleased, cross over to Antwerp, which is declared a free port, domiciliate himself there,



there, and carry on the Indian trade from thence, if we did not by some wise prevention destroy the temptation to it. Mr. Impey contended, that although we could not prohibit foreigners from trading in our Indian ports, that was no reason why we should not endeavour to rival them, or why we should surrender to them the whole Indian commerce of foreign Europe and America; he thought the opinion of the directors on this point favoured more of the narrow spirit of monopoly, than the liberal and emulous spirit of British commerce. Mr. Impey said, a great evil existed in the great increase of foreign trade in India, for which the directors on the one side, and Mr. Dundas and Lord Wellesley on the other, had proposed remedies. The proprietors would judge which was the wisest. The directors proposed to build, or contract for in England, a new fleet of ships, to carry on the private trade, for which they agreed to charge the private merchants no higher freight than that of the India ships in this season. This plan would raise to an exorbitant degree the present immoderate prices of all the articles of ship-building; would be a certain loss to the Company, even at the present rate of 15*l.* a ton; and, after all, would not enable the British merchant to rival the foreigner, from the embarrassments he would be under in his trade, by the interference of the Company. Lord Wellesley and Mr. Dundas proposed, that the British merchant should be allowed, under such restrictions as the Company thinks proper, to employ the India shipping; this would convey his goods at the cheapest possible rate, and enable him at once to rival foreigners in the European market. To this the directors ob-

ject, first—That it would enable the private trade to rival that of the Company, and reduce their commercial profits; he thought it would have no more effect on their commercial profits, than the same trade carried on by foreigners. Secondly—That it would lead to the colonization of India. He thought that impossible, while no Englishman could enter India, or reside there, without the Company's licence, and under the severest restrictions. Thirdly—That the reports of the Lascars employed in the India shipping, when they returned, would destroy all veneration in the East for the British character. He thought no such derogatory reports would be spread by them, or if they were, that the reports of ignorant, common sailors, could have little or no effect. Fourthly—That it would throw British seamen out of employ. He thought it would furnish them more employment, by greatly increasing our trade. Mr. Impey agreed with the directors, that, if probable danger would arise from the measure proposed, it would be a sufficient reason for rejecting it, but it ought not to be rejected upon any idle and improbable speculation of distant evils; whether the evils apprehended by the directors were probable, the late governors-general, who were perfectly versed in the state of India, must be the most competent judges; he wished the proprietors to hear and to weigh what they said. He agreed with the directors, that the interests of the Nation and the Company were inseparably united; the best security for the Company's exclusive rights was, that they were for the benefit of the Public; but if ever the Public should be led to believe that the Company employed their powers



powers and privileges not to protect themselves, but unnecessarily to cramp and fetter the commerce of their fellow-subjects, the foundation on which they stood must be cut from under them. If the proprietors think the measure proposed by Lord Wellesley and Mr. Dundas is an invasion of the Company's exclusive rights, let them, after the fullest information and investigation of the subject, concur with the directors, and thank them for their resistance to that measure; but if they should think the exclusive rights of the Company cannot be probably affected by it, let them not, out of deference for their executive body, however respectable, reject a measure that is obviously for the advantage of the nation.

Mr. BOSANQUET said, it appeared to him to be a question of great indifference, on the present occasion, what the opinions of their former governors-general were: and with regard to the present governor-general, though a most respectable man, and most meritorious servant of the Company, it was to be recollected, that it was through the impropriety of his conduct that the agents and merchants were admitted into what they wanted and now enjoyed. There were, Mr. Bosanquet observed, two parties on the present occasion: the executive body of the Company on the one side, and the agents of those concerned in the private trade on the other. Were gentlemen prepared to say that the birth-right of British seamen was to be bartered away for the sake of admitting India-built ships, manned with Lascars, into the carrying trade? No impartial Englishman could surely so far forget the gratitude due to our brave tars, as to listen to such a proposition with patience. At pre-

sent gentlemen ought to recollect, that all nations were looking up to the East-India Company; they remember the repeal of the penal laws, and if a further opening be given, they will take advantage of it, to the detriment of the interest of the Company and of the Public. He said, some houses in London traded for 400,000l. annually with foreigners, and he would ask those who were eager to obtain a farther enlargement of the private trade, if it was wise to grasp at every thing, and if there was not a point in matters of business and commerce, at which wise and prudent men would wish to stop, because, in so doing, they would best consult their own interest. With regard to additional papers, Mr. Bosanquet said, he for one was willing to give every paper that was useful, or that might be required, but that it ought first to be shewn that they would be useful. After a variety of observations on other points, such as that goods are the means, and ships the end, which ought always to be kept in view, on Mr. Fairlee's Letter, &c. &c. on which Mr. Bosanquet dilated, he mentioned, that if the private trade should require it, the Company should build twenty or thirty ships, or more, for its freight. He nevertheless, before he sat down, took notice that it was difficult at present to find timber enough for the British navy. Mr. Bosanquet, in the course of his speech, said more in reply to the arguments that had been urged in support of the resolution, than had fallen from any other gentleman in the course of the debate; and his speech altogether was of considerable length.

Mr. PRINSEP said, he felt no indecency or impropriety in avowing himself to be personally and



collaterally interested in the main question. He remembered, on a former occasion, when a worthy friend of his (Mr. Lushington,) had been alluded to on a similar accusation, as pressing private interests, under cover of his proprietary privilege; interests which, it had been decided, were inimical to those of the Company; whereas those he espoused had no such tendency, and would sooner or later be admitted: That the honourable proprietor, with a manly and becoming frankness, had avowed the fact, and that the general court had applauded and supported him in the claim. The worthy alderman was a brother of the honourable baronet who had so harshly reprobated the conduct of himself, and those of his fellow-agents, who had, among others, called this court. The honourable baronet might have recollected, that he himself, when in the chair, (in 1799,) had publicly called on proprietors and interested individuals to bring forward their claims, and had promised that the directors would give them their serious and deliberate consideration, and report thereon to a future general court. The honourable baronet, who he was sorry to perceive had quitted the court since he had first offered himself to the chairman's notice, would also recollect, that he (Mr. Prinsep) had accepted the challenge, and had made a pledge that he would detail those claims, and the grounds on which they rested. Mr. Prinsep said, he had, in consequence, addressed a letter to that honourable baronet, explaining the nature and extent of those claims in behalf of individuals, and desired it might be laid before the court of directors. His request had been complied with. He now ap-

peared to the gentlemen behind the bar, to declare, whether that address was not couched in those terms of respect and deference to the executive representatives of the Company, which became an individual proprietor advancing his substantive opinion on a great public question, a question involving the welfare (as it was well said) and perhaps the existence of the Company?

In proof that this was the case, his letter had been honoured with a place in the manuscript appendix to the printed report and proceedings; there would, therefore, be found his recorded opinions on this great question. He was not ashamed of those opinions, nor of the facts and arguments in their support: they would stand a record of the truth or fallacy of his conceptions on the subject. He had come forward as a proprietor, to give reasons for the faith that was in him. He felt no shame or regret for so doing—for having given them at the call of the honourable baronet: He presaged, that some time or other the truth of them would be established, and the measure therein recommended adopted on its principle.

Not an atom of proof had been advanced either against the fact or the reasoning of the honourable proprietor who had opened the debate; no argument could confute them. The directors had decided on evidence not fully before the present court of proprietors; they had decided, but not convinced him—they had produced an unanimous resolution of the whole court to resist these claims, a fact singular in the annals of the Company, on a question of such moment; a fact no less remarkable for its singularity than (he meant no censure on the court of directors) for its discordance with the previously recorded senti-



ments of many members of that court.

The honourable director who had just sat down had accused his brother proprietor of talking against time; he had himself taken up a considerable portion of the time of the court, without convincing Mr. P. upon any of the points at issue. The proprietors at this late hour should not find him intruding on the indulgence they were granting him, by any prolixity. He would endeavour to bring the question to a point which should preclude farther debate. In the first place, for himself, and those abroad, for whom he acted, he avowed a personal motive; he had specifically stated their claims, and he now repeated them to be merely to the enjoyment of that share in the India trade which the Company had either abandoned, or had not the faculty to embrace to enjoy the privilege of sharing it with foreigners. This was their admitted right under the act of 1793. This right, therefore, he never would abandon. Until the directors could shew that the Company had the faculty (not occasional, but permanent and beneficial,) and the positive permission of government, assuredly to that act, of carrying on the whole of the trade with British India, this claim should never lapse. Had the Company the means of so doing? Could the directors say that such was the state of our resources, that we could embrace the whole of British India trade? He found that no answer was to be expected to these questions: for his own part, he had examined into the present situation of the Company. He was convinced they had no such faculty, and indeed he had shuddered at the prospect before them; but at this late hour he should not enter into argu-

ments, though he was nevertheless ready at all times to discuss the business fully. He should not press the matter farther than to repeat, that till it was shewn that the Company had the means of bringing the trade to this country, he would persist in claiming as an inherent right of British subjects under the charter, that individuals should be allowed to enjoy it: it was their birth-right, their privilege; a right in union with the substantial interests of the Company, and with the prosperity of the British nation.

Mr. HENCHMAN rose in reply, and said, Mr. Chairman, it has given me much pain, during the course of this debate, to find those who have opposed the motion I have had the honour to offer, so generally ascribing unworthy motives to the gentlemen who have called this court; some of them, having a private interest as agents for the residents in India, is in my mind an additional reason why they should join in bringing this question to a final and just conclusion: but, Sir, it must be evident to the court, that many, who subscribed the letter, have no other interest than as proprietors of India stock, and I am satisfied they are fully convinced they will promote the true interests of the Company by the part they are taking. For myself I declare solemnly, it is the only interest I have; and therefore I do not think it is very candid in any man to say that I am confederating to destroy the rights and privileges of the Company, because I see the subject before us in a different light from the directors. Sir, the honourable gentleman (Mr. Twining) who has offered you an amendment upon my proposition, certainly has not said much in favour of the report,

nor



nor in answer to those objections I have taken to it: he has principally confined himself to classing the parties who called the court, in order to lessen, if possible, the effect of such a numerous subscription. Where he has placed me, I really do not recollect; but I think he expressed himself surpris'd to find me taking the part I do. Sir, I repeat, that I take it upon conviction, as far as my information goes, that I am right; but I wish for more information, that I may be clear, at least that I form a correct and proper judgment on this important occasion. This the honourable gentleman, by his amendment, is inclined to deny me: but I have not heard from him any reasoning to satisfy my mind; indeed he has apologized for not going at length into the subject. He has offered an amendment to put an end to the discussion, and he has concluded with a very extraordinary call indeed upon you, Sir, and your brother. He has invoked the consul, the proconsul, and the senators, the household troops, pioneers and all, to come forth on the present occasion, and repel what he is pleas'd to call an attack upon the rights of the Company; but which I must consider as a fair and just exertion to put the trade of India on a proper footing, to the great advantage of the Company and the Public. An honourable friend behind me (Mr. Chisholm), equally avoiding the general argument, has amus'd himself and the court, by attributing to me the presumption of teaching Mr. Dundas what is commercial and what is political; he is perfectly welcome to all the benefit such a sarcasm can have on the serious subject under discussion. I expected, I confess, to have heard from him a different sort of address,

and, Sir, I am perfectly easy as to the effect his observation will have respecting myself; because, I trust, my character is not to be guilty of any such presumption, having just common sense enough to be aware of the very humble distance at which I stand from the right honourable the late president, in every instance where judgment is to be exercised.

Another honourable proprietor, (Mr. Inglis, American merchant) after some very judicious observations, has concluded with offering to you a consideration that I trust will not be forgotten. He said, if I understood him right, that the commerce of Great Britain wanted the India-built shipping. I am happy to find so respectable a man agree with me in this main point. Whether they ought to be sold in this country, or ought to be allowed to return to that, is a matter for future consideration, and, in reality, of no consequence; because some British tonnage or other must be employed to bring private trade; and which part it is, whether ships built in India or Europe, seems to me very immaterial to the whole.

An honourable baronet, (Sir Stephen Lushington,) whom I now do not see in his place, has fallen into the general practice of the day, and given his aid to depreciate the characters of those who have called the court, and did suppose would not allow him to condescend to. Sir, I have had the pleasure of knowing the honourable baronet many years; and when he sat on this side of the bar, who was there a more able or a more constant inquisitor into the affairs of the Company? and who would have repelled, with more indignation than himself, any imputation upon the motives that induced him to take one side or the other in a debate before this court? Another



honourable baronet, (Sir Francis Baring,) a friend that I respect and esteem, both for his virtues and his talents; he says, that forty-three gentlemen require to examine into the conduct of the court of directors. The able baronet knows that it is not unreasonable for them to examine into their own affairs, it is the right of the proprietors as established by law, and he surely cannot mean it as an objection against them, because they are forty-three instead of nine, which is the ordinary number. Nor, Sir, is the honourable baronet correct in stating, that I accuse the directors in being hasty in their decision; quite the contrary, I lament their decision has not appeared much earlier; but I hope, after they have taken so long a time to form their opinion, they will not expect the proprietors to determine without some time for deliberation. The honourable baronet also said, that Mr. Dundas was convinced by the arguments of the directors. It is very extraordinary how differently men's minds are formed; I really conceive the very contrary, and that Mr. Dundas differs as much from the directors as he did when he wrote his letter of 2d April 1800; for in his last letter he says, "It is my misfortune to view the subject in a different light, and that the governor-general's letter had demonstrated the grounds of those opinions, which he had from time to time taken the liberty of laying before the court of directors:" the proprietors must judge for themselves, but if words have still their usual meaning, surely the right honourable gentleman is at this moment of opinion that India-built ships should be employed. The honourable baronet has referred to the Portuguese trade, and asked whether that is a

trade which ought to be done away, because it is foreign, when it consists in a great part of bullion carried to our settlements in India? Sir, I cannot answer this question of my honourable friend, but by putting another to him. Will he condescend to give me his opinion, or inform me, whether the greatest part of that bullion is Portuguese or British property? If it is British, I say, the Portuguese should not be allowed to carry on that trade even with English capital; but the British merchant should be enabled to send his treasure immediately from the port of London. The honourable baronet has also told us, as a proof of their engagement to the British merchants, that some time ago, when cotton was scarce, and the Manchester weavers wanted India cotton, the directors agreed to allow the merchants of that town to send out as many ships as they pleased to fetch cotton from Bombay. I shall only observe, that when the directors made this offer, the danger of colonization could not have been so strong upon their minds as they are at present. And lastly, the honourable baronet has taken a very substantial objection to the motion I have had the honour to offer. He says, the directors are already in possession of the opinions of the governors-general. Sir, can it be possible for the directors to have those opinions, and that they are withheld from the proprietors? this is so extraordinary a piece of information that I must beg the court's attention to it.

[Here Sir Francis said, after referring to one of the clerks, that they were among the papers, open to the perusal of the proprietors.]

"If that is all the honourable baronet means, I am satisfied he will allow I am correct in observing, that

that



that those papers contain no opinion on this subject at large. I do not recollect Lord Macartney's name throughout the papers—Lord Cornwallis's and Mr. Hastings's I do, to two short extracts of letters, but not entering generally into the subject. Their opinions are still wanted as to all the great political as well as commercial considerations involved in this question; and I trust the proprietors now understand that no such opinions at present exist. Another honourable director (Mr. R. Thornton,) has said, in the style of so many before him, that this is an attempt of interested men to wrench from the Company their best rights and privileges. What right has that honourable gentleman to tax me with any such unjustifiable motives? It seems, Sir, if we differ from the directors in opinion, our motives must be bad. The criterion is singular. The honourable director, however, has confessed, what I have all along strongly suspected, that there must have been some difference of opinion among the directors themselves; if so, and we had their separate opinions given to the committee, and referred to in the report, we should be better able to judge what sort of unanimity this is, with which they recommend their own plan in opposition to Lord Wellestley's."

[Here Mr. Thornton begged to explain. He said he only admitted that there had been shades of difference in the committee; that there was no material difference of opinion, only some small shades; very small shades of difference, which were not very material.]

Mr. HENCHMAN said, he was willing to accept the honourable director's explanation; he has acknowledged there were differences

of opinion, which, upon so complicated a subject, it was impossible but there must be; and he now had softened it down till the difference became a shadow hardly discernible. "Sir, whatever the differences are, however light the shade, it is material the proprietors should know the differences, in order to assist their judgment; and I am obliged to the honourable gentleman for clearing up this point so much as he has done. I lament, however, exceedingly, another observation which fell from the honourable gentleman; and that was, if I heard him right, that it would degrade the directors to consult the governors-general. Sir, this is a very extraordinary opinion—

[Mr. Thornton again explained, and said, he had asserted only that it would be condescending in the directors.]

"I have no objection to explanation, but I cannot agree, even now, in opinion with the honourable director. Indeed, I feel so very differently on this occasion, and am so little used to conceal what I feel, that I shall make no scruple to express it; and it is, that when I look at the situation and characters of the parties, I can see no condescension in the case; and I will add, because in my conscience I believe it, and meaning not the least offence to any one, that the late governors-general of India, in my opinion, understand the general and real interests of the East-India Company better than any gentleman behind the bar without exception. Can it be condescension to refer to such authorities?

"Another honourable director (Mr. Bosanquet) has also, I am sorry to remark, treated the opinions of these high characters as matters of great indifference, and he has spoken



of the conduct of the present governor-general in still harsher terms; for, as I have his words, he said, the agents and merchants are now in the enjoyment of what they wanted, by the impropriety of the governor-general. Sir, it is very necessary that this point should be explained, and that we should see whether the governor-general deserves this censure. If Marquis Wellesley's letter of the 30th September last is referred to, it will be seen he writes purposely to submit to the committee of directors the very urgent considerations that determined him to adopt the temporary arrangements for the current year, of allowing India-built ships to come to Europe: he tells them, that the tonnage of the year is inadequate to the demand in India; and that unless India-built ships are allowed to go to Europe, much of the Company's gross goods, and all the goods of private merchants, cannot be shipped for London; his lordship also adds, that the resort of foreign ships is unusually large, and that the goods of the private merchants would, under such disappointment, go into the hands of foreigners.

“This state of things I have not heard disputed; I take it therefore to be well established, and if so, where is the impropriety in Marquis Wellesley's conduct? Instead of being censured, surely he is much to be commended. I beg gentlemen will refer to that letter, and I trust the contents of it will have an influence upon the minds of all much in favour of the governor-general's conduct, instead of against it. The honourable director next made use of a favourite appeal to an English audience: he asked, whether the birth-right of British seamen was to be bartered

away by admitting India-built ships manned by Lascars? To which I can readily reply in the negative; and I think I can prove that the admission of India-built ships will be a benefit instead of an injury to them. If these ships are not allowed to come to London, not one additional British-built ship will be employed, for the trade will go into the hands of foreigners, and they will employ their own ships and their own seamen; whereas, if they do come, they will be numerous, and they will be desirous of having in their employ as many British seamen as they can get. Although generally manned with Lascars, they always have English officers; they wish to have petty officers also, and some European seamen; so that every ship of this description will be ready to engage the British seamen, and it will be, as far as it may extend, a new and additional channel of employ for this valuable class of men, instead of its taking from them any means of engagement that are at present open to them. The honourable director, I think, also observed, that all nations were looking up to the East-India Company. I agree most entirely with him, and it is to ascertain what they will at last do with respect to this private trade. They saw, with some apprehension, the repeal of all the penal laws in 1793, because it was the best assurance that the Company would do something effectual to bring all the trade going on with British capital to the port of London; but they have recovered their spirits since they have found the Company unwilling to give the merchants facilities enough to bring their goods to London. Foreigners, at this time, are exceedingly anxious about this question; they know, if those facilities are



are granted, if individual ships are allowed to navigate, there will be an end to the credit and assistance they at present receive from the English merchants in Calcutta, and that they will be reduced to trade on their own capitals. The honourable director, I think, next said, that one house, to his knowledge, traded for 400,000*l.* in a year with foreigners (a proprietor called out No!—but to four times as much as the clandestine trade amounted to, that is by the director's account 250,000*l.*) Mr. H. said, he was satisfied either way; he only noticed the thing to shew that in the minds of some of the directors, the foreign trade carried on by British capital exceeded the sum it was stated at in the report. The honourable director also repeated what is so fully argued in the report, that the India ships are the object in the end, and that the goods are only the means. This had not escaped my attention, but I cannot find by inquiring, I cannot recollect in my own experience, that such a practice is possible in commerce, and especially from India. I speak, however, in the presence of many of the most respectable merchants of London, they will judge whether it is possible for a trade on such principles to exist. I thank the honourable director for another observation that he made, and that was, that this country could not at present supply timber enough for the British navy; yet, Mr. Chairman, the honourable director seriously recommends that the India Company would build twenty, thirty, or forty more ships for additional trade, and to add to that distress for timber which is already felt. Sir, this cannot be of real advantage to the India Company or the Nation; his

majesty's ministers have their eye upon the Company, and will not allow any thing so injurious to take place. They will examine into the resources of ship timber which you have on the Malabar coast; they will call them in aid both to the commerce and the navy of their country; and this circumstance alone, if none other offered, would be grounds sufficient to decide the present question, and to shew that ships built in India, and not in Great Britain, must carry on the surplus trade between the East Indies and the river Thames. This, I am convinced, will at least be effected. I wish it to be done by the Company themselves upon conviction, and I wish them to consult their governors-general to ascertain, whether they are, or are not of opinion, that it can be done without any of those dangers which the report of the directors so alarmingly holds forth—dangers, in my mind, totally void of foundation, and such as the nature of your governments in India must always effectually present?"

The question being now loudly called for, it was put, and the court divided on the original motion of the resolution,

Ayes, - - - 80

Noes, - - - 183

A ballot on the amendment was demanded in the name of nine proprietors.

On Friday, June the 5th, the ballot took place, when the motion of Mr. Henchman was finally lost.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 16, 1801.

A quarterly general court was held this day, when Mr. MILLS (the Chairman) informed the court, that the court of directors had resolved that the dividend on the Company's capital, from the 5th of



June last to the 5th of January next, be five and a half per cent. The question, therefore, that he was to put was, that five and a half per cent be the dividend?

Mr. HENCHMAN said, he did not rise to object to the dividend proposed, but he thought that a proper occasion to notice a report, which was in very general circulation, of an intention to increase the Company's capital, and which, if it had any foundation in truth, he thought it might be injurious to the Company's affairs. Mr. HENCHMAN observed, that although the Company had obtained an act of parliament five years ago, empowering them to increase their capital two millions, yet it was known that they had never used that power; it had lain dormant in the office. He trusted, therefore, that whenever the directors should be about to make use of it, the proprietors would be called upon for their consent; for the Company was now in a very different situation from that in which they stood when the power was given, at which time he had objected to enlarging the capital, and which he should do again, because he thought it the very worst way of raising funds in any case whatever; it was such, in his opinion, as most likely to affect the present dividend, and on that account particularly deserving of attention. It was a mode that became a permanent obligation on the Company; be their situation ever so much improved, they could not get rid of the expence of it. It had many other disadvantages not necessary at present to be enumerated. Mr. HENCHMAN begged only further to say, that, entertaining this opinion, he had turned his mind to other modes of supply, and he had left, a day or two ago, a proposition with

the secretary, for the chairman's perusal, which he had no doubt he must have seen (the chairman allowed that he had); the proposition was to transfer a considerable part of the debt in India to this country, and thereby save half of the charge of Indian interest. Mr. HENCHMAN said he was sorry to notice that it had been too publicly insinuated that he was an enemy to the Company, because he happened to differ upon a great political and commercial subject from the opinion of the directors; but he hoped the court would do him the justice to believe that he never took a part in their affairs but with a view to the prosperity and welfare of the Company, which he had as much at heart as any member belonging to it; and if his present proposition could in any degree be of service to that end, he should feel a particular pleasure in having suggested it.

The CHAIRMAN said, that as the honourable gentleman had set out with declaring that he did not mean to oppose the resolution for the dividend, the question upon that might as well be put: That with regard to the adding two millions to the capital of the Company, no such measure was in the contemplation of the directors at present. The subject of the Indian debt had indeed occupied much of his attention, with respect to the best practicable means of discharging it. He had duly received the paper to which the honourable proprietor had alluded, and he returned him his thanks for the valuable hints it communicated, and should at all times feel himself obliged to the honourable proprietor for the hints he might be pleased to convey to him, on that or any other subject.

Mr. HENCHMAN said, he felt obliged by what had fallen from the chair;



chair; he would leave his proposition with the court of directors, or he would just read the heads of it, if the court would condescend to hear it—(a loud cry of *Read, read!*) Mr. Henchman then read his plan as follows:

**PROPOSITION**

*For the more speedy Transfer of the East-India Company's Debts in India to Great Britain, for the Assistance of the Finances of that Country, and the Reduction of the Charge of Indian Interest.*

I. To establish a fund at the India House, bearing five per cent. per annum interest, payable half-yearly, and transferable by transfer-books.

II. To this fund all persons in India may subscribe Company's bonds, or other paper in circulation, at a certain exchange to be fixed.

III. As the Company's paper in India has different value in the markets in India, according to the tenor and rate of interest, proper consideration to be paid to those circumstances.

IV. That the governor-general in council have power to adjust the rate of exchange.

V. That the rate of exchange be, in the first instance, only settled for three or six months; that, by the result of the trial, it may be either increased or decreased, as may be found expedient.

VI. That transfer certificates shall be granted to those who subscribe, which will bear five per cent. per annum interest from the day of their date, payable at the India House.

VII. That, on production of any such transfer certificate to the proper officer at the India House, an entry of so much stock shall be made accordingly in the transfer-books, in the name of the party.

VIII. That such stock shall be transferable at the office in the same manner as is usual with other public funds.

IX. That the Company shall be bound not to pay off this stock for \_\_\_\_\_ years, and to give \_\_\_\_\_ years notice whenever they may be inclined to pay it off after that period.

X. That the territorial revenue of India, as well as the East-India Company, shall be answerable for this fund.

XI. That the plan shall be published in England, and persons here be invited to subscribe to the fund. All such subscrip-

tions being paid at the India House, and faithfully invested by the court of directors in dollars, and sent to India, to be applied towards the liquidation of the Company's debts, and nothing else. In such cases, the parties would have their names entered on the books here, immediately upon paying their subscriptions.

XII. That private persons in England shall be allowed to send out silver on the Company's ships, freight free, for the purpose of subscribing to this fund in India.

XIII. That a *bonus*, if necessary, may be given to persons in Europe that will subscribe; and that a preference may be given to the proprietors of East-India stock. The amount of these subscriptions may be limited, and the instalments made ealy.

*Arguments in favour of the Proposition.*

I. Persons in India having property to remit to England, will have the means of immediate investment, at five per cent. per annum.

II. The rate of interest being higher than government funds, will be an inducement to engage in this fund.

III. The subscribers will have another inducement by the rate of exchange at which the transfer should be made, which is left to the government in India to decide according to circumstances.

IV. That the rate of exchange should be fixed only for a limited time, that the government may alter it as they may find expedient.

V. Many persons in Europe, in consequence of the peace, and the expected reduction in the price of silver, may be induced to send specie to India for the profit thereon, having such a favourable opportunity of immediate returns by means of this proposed fund.

VI. A plan of this kind, if timely adopted, may do away the necessity of increasing the Company's capital stock.

VII. This is a plan in which no private person can enter into competition with the Company.

VIII. The rise which may be expected in the public funds, will make this fund of increasing value.

IX. This plan saves to the East-India Company all the difference between Indian and British interest; the latter being five per cent. per annum, while the former is eight, ten, and twelve per cent. and some of those securities at considerable discount.

X. This fund may be the means of restoring



storing the public credit of the East-India Company abroad, by a speedier discharge or transfer of their Indian debt.

The question on the dividend was then put and carried.

#### LOSS OF THE KENT INDIAMAN.

The CHAIRMAN said, the next business to be submitted to the consideration of the court was, a resolution of the court of directors on the 4th of November last, which should be read. It was as follows :

“ That it is the opinion of this court, that the commander, officers, and owners of the ship *Kent*, are fully acquitted from all imputation of neglect or misconduct, in respect to the loss of that ship.”

Mr. CHISHOLME said, that before the general court proceeded to a vote upon that resolution, it would be proper that the report of the proceedings in Bengal, respecting the capture of the *Kent* on the 7th of October, should be read.

A report of the part taken by the governor-general, as soon as the news of the loss of the *Kent* arrived at Calcutta, was read, and the proceedings on the inquiry instituted by the committee to whose investigation the matter was referred ; together with the minutes of the marine board upon the subject, and the depositions of Mr. Hall, Mr. Morris, and other persons who were on board when the *Kent* was captured.

It appeared from these papers, that the arms provided for the *Kent* were defective, and unfit for service ; a fact that Captain Rivington could not but be acquainted with, as he had inspected them at Gravesend, and had sent to the armourer to exchange one of the muskets, when he fetched one away, and returned another in lieu of it. That the blades of the cutlasses (which cost but three shillings and sixpence each, including the scabbard) were

made of such bad materials, that they were cut in half by a single stroke of the Frenchmens' sabres. It appeared that there were 2000 stand of arms on board in packages, which were stowed in the hold ; that the captain ordered a rummage to be made, and one of the boxes taken up and brought to him, which he opened and looked at, but that he had it fastened down and stowed away again. It likewise appeared, that the ship, from being overladen, was sunk so deep in the water, that she sailed heavily, and it was difficult to manage her. It was impossible, also, on account of her being sunk so deep in the water, for the crew to open their gun-deck ports, excepting only in very fine weather. That, in fact, it did not appear that they had ever been opened during the voyage, but for a short time in the Bay of Biscay. It became therefore impossible to exercise the men with the guns, and that they had not been exercised with the small arms weekly, as they ought to have been. When the enemy first attacked the *Kent*, she beat her off with her great guns ; but the *Confiance* returned to a second attack, and attempted to board, when it was found that there were not a sufficient number of small arms on board to arm each passenger and person capable of bearing arms, and enable them to co-operate in the defence of the ship. The conduct of Mr. Hall and Mr. Morris, in destroying the private signals after the ship was captured, was highly meritorious, and did these gentlemen great credit. It appeared also that Captain Rivington put the ship into stays when the enemy was close to her, during the action, but that she missed stays, and by that means fell along-side the *Confiance*, which enabled the privateer's people to board



board the *Kent* fore and aft at the same time. Upon the whole, the loss of the ship was to be imputed to the circumstance of the ship's having been injudiciously put into stays, to the want of a sufficient quantity of small arms being on board, and to those that were on board being defective and unfit for service; but that the captain and his officers had fought gallantly in defence of the ship, and so had several of the passengers; and that the captain lost his life bravely fighting to repulse the enemy, whose loss it had since appeared amounted to fourteen killed, and a great number wounded; and that the *Confiance* herself was so much injured in the course of the action, that she must have been taken, if her people had not succeeded in boarding the *Kent*. The minutes of the marine board concluded with recommending to the directors to furnish their ships with better small arms, a larger quantity of them, boarding netting, and other means to enable them to repel every attempt of an enemy to board, and to have two magazines, one fore and the other aft.

Mr. CHISHOLME thought it a surprising matter that the *Kent* should fall into the hands of the enemy, as it had been stated in the papers just read, that there were 2000 stand of arms and a general officer on board, and in all two hundred and ninety-eight persons capable of bearing arms. He would, therefore, confine himself to two questions: Was it admitted behind the bar, that there were 2000 stand of arms and a general officer on board?

Mr. COTTON said, that having been a member of the committee of shipping, he begged to make a few observations relative to the subject under consideration of the court, viz. the loss of the *Kent* East-Indiaman,

off the Sand Heads, in the mouth of the Ganges. It was well known that she was attacked by the *Confiance* privateer, that the *Kent* beat her off on the first attack, and that on her again making up to the *Kent*, the latter gave her a broadside, and did great execution on board the enemy; but Captain Rivington unfortunately putting the *Kent* in stays, she missed stays and swung round, so as to enable the people of the *Confiance* to board her fore and aft at the same moment; that Captain Rivington fought bravely to repel the assailants, but was himself shot from the enemy's round top, almost immediately upon the privateer's crew attempting to board; the loss of the ship, therefore, was to be imputed to the captain's having unfortunately put the ship in stays, and to the circumstance of there not being a sufficient quantity of small arms to enable the passengers to unite in the endeavour to repulse the enemy; such of them as had arms put into their hands behaved very gallantly; several of them, it was lamentable to reflect, had lost their lives in their endeavours to preserve the ship, and many others were severely wounded. The last words of Captain Rivington were, "Do not give up the ship!" It was in proof that Capt. Rivington did examine the arms at Gravesend, and sent to the armourer to come and take such of them back as were insufficient and defective; some of them were taken back, and exchanged for others; but it did certainly appear that the cutlasses were not found, as the blades of them were cut in two by a single stroke of the French sabres. As to any neglect in not having duly exercised the men in the use of the great guns, the fact was, that, in consequence of the number of additional passengers and others



others taken on board out of the *Queen* Indiaman, which was burnt at St. Salvador, and the increased stores, water, &c. necessary to be there shipped for their maintenance, the *Kent* sunk so deep in the water, that it appeared in evidence that the ports of her gun-deck could not safely be opened, except in very fine weather. He owned, when he first heard of the loss of the *Kent*, and the circumstances of her capture, according to the reports of it, as they then reached England, he himself felt great indignation, and thought it highly disgraceful to the British name, as it appeared to cast a stigma on the national character as a powerful maritime state. But when better information came to hand, and he had examined all the papers sent home from Calcutta, he formed a very different opinion respecting the fact. It was to be recollected, that the sort of attack by boarding was a mode of fighting not heard of as a mode ordinarily practised by the French previous to the present war; that it had not been usual to provide the Company's ships with boarding netting, or to have two magazines; and that as to the arms on board, they were stowed in the bottom of the hold, and were sent out for the use of the Company's military in India, and therefore the captain might reasonably doubt whether he would be justified in making use of them, even if they could have been easily got at, when the *Kent* was made ready to fight the *Confiance*. Another consideration, and that of great weight, was, that the sort of enemy they had to contend with were of great practical ferocity, inured to the savage style of warfare a French privateer carried on, and whose onset was so ardent, from the hope of plunder, that they could not be re-

sisted with effect, unless there had been more small arms on board. The captain, his officers, and such passengers as were armed, it was evident had fought most gallantly; and therefore, if any blame was imputable to the captain for putting the ship in stays, it was to be recollected that he had already paid for it with the forfeit of his life. Mr. Cotton said, he was a member of the committee of shipping; if, therefore, any error was imputable to them for not having done more than examine the two witnesses, who had been examined by the committee at Calcutta, appointed by the governor-general to examine them, he must take upon himself a part of the blame. The matter had been already tried at Calcutta, and the result of the inquiry that took place there had been an acquittal; and gentlemen would recollect, that, after a court-martial, or court of inquiry, had once acquitted men, who would be found guilty of criminal conduct if they were convicted, to put them on a second trial was a proceeding never heard of. Regulations were now making to prevent such an accident from arising in future, and therefore it was the less necessary to pursue the inquiry any farther at home, or in that court.

Mr. IMPEY denied that there was any thing in the minutes of the committee of inquiry at Calcutta that could be considered as an acquittal of the captain and officers, and desired that the latter part of the papers might be read again.

They were read again, and Mr. IMPEY asked if the hon. director had found any thing in what had just been repeated, that would bear the construction he had put upon them, in calling the result of an inquiry an acquittal?

Mr.



Mr. COTTON said, he certainly did consider the result of the inquiry the same thing as an acquittal, as the minutes ended with a declaration that the captain and his officers did every thing in their power to repel the enemy, and that he died bravely fighting in defence of the ship, which, with his dying breath, he desired might not be given up to the enemy.

Mr. CHISHOLME rose again, and said, that no distinct answer had yet been given to the questions he had taken the liberty to put to the gentlemen on the other side of the bar, Was it admitted that there were two thousand stand of arms on board the *Kent* when she was captured, and was there a general officer on board? If there was, was that general examined as to the transactions on board the *Kent* when she was captured, and where were they to look for the particulars of his evidence? At present the court had not heard what was become of the general officer?

The CHAIRMAN admitted that there were two thousand stand of arms on board the *Kent*; but as to the general officer, he belonged to the king's staff at Madras, and was only a passenger in the ship; no inquiry had therefore been instituted respecting him, nor was it thought that the committee of inquiry at Calcutta had a right to interrogate him. He added, that it was evident that the captain had fallen in defence of the ship, and that regulations were under consideration of the directors, which would, it was hoped, enable their captains in future to guard against a surprize, and prevent an enemy from boarding an Indiaman.

Mr. JOHNSTONE said, he could not but consider the loss of the *Kent* Indiaman, and the circumstances

attending its loss, as disgraceful to the Company, and dishonourable to the national character. It was, he believed, the single transaction upon the seas that could be said to tarnish the lustre of the British name, and to fix a stain on the fair fame of our arms, in the course of the long war which had happily been recently terminated. In every view it presented a disgustful representation of the most palpable misconduct and neglect; and it was amazing to him, that the court of directors, for whom, generally speaking, no proprietor, he was persuaded, entertained a more profound respect than he did, should have come forward with the resolution then under consideration, and called upon the general court to give it their sanction, without offering the proprietors the smallest atom of evidence in support of it. As far as the examinations taken before the court of inquiry and the marine board at Calcutta went, so far from amounting to an acquittal, as an honourable director had asserted, they conveyed a strong presumption of misconduct and neglect. Mr. Johnstone said, he was as ready to pay due honours to the memory of the deceased as any man. He was convinced that captain Rivington was a man of great bravery, that he made every practicable resistance in the moment of attack, and that he lost his life fighting gallantly in the ship's defence, and in endeavouring to repel the enemy, when Surcouff and his people attempted to board the *Kent*. But was that any answer to the charge to be found in the papers, stating the opinion of the marine board at Calcutta, the members of which imputed the loss of the ship to the badness of the small arms, the small quantity of them, the want of board-



ing netting, and the captain having put the ship into stays while the *Confiance* was making up to her? Ought it to have been left to the experiment of an action to discover that the cutlasses were made of such bad materials, that the French sabres, at a single stroke, cut their blades in half, and that several of their muskets were not proof, and consequently unserviceable? Could any man reasonably expect, that, at such a low price as three shillings and sixpence each, a good well tempered cutlass, together with its scabbard, could be afforded? Another instance of neglect was, that the men could not be exercised with the guns, because the ship was so deep in the water that they could not with safety open their gun-deck ports except in remarkably fine weather, and that the men had not in due manner been exercised and practised in the use of the fire-arms. All these neglects should have been avoided; if they had, and boarding netting had been on board, the ship in all probability would have been saved. Besides, there was general St. John on board at the time of the action, whose evidence, one would naturally suppose, would have been extremely material: but it did not appear that he had been examined either in India or in Great Britain; nay, indeed, the papers that had been read made no more mention of him than if no such man had existed. In short, there were, Mr. Johnstone said, so many extraordinary circumstances connected with the loss of the *Kent*, that he was clearly of opinion that the general court ought not to decide hastily upon it; they ought to have all the papers relative to it before them, in order to enable them to form a correct judgment respecting the resolution now offered for their adoption, and therefore he begged

leave to conclude with moving "that the papers be printed."

Mr. IMPEY seconded the motion.

Mr. COTTON rose again to remind the court, that he had before observed that the cause of the *Kent* sinking so deep in the water was the addition to the freight, arising from the great number of passengers and hands from out of the *Queen* at St. Salvador, when that ship was destroyed by fire, and the additional quantity of water and stores necessarily taken on board to provide for their maintenance on the passage. Twenty-two feet of draft, or twenty-two and a half, was all that the *Kent* made when she sailed from the river; but what she took on board at the Brazils, which he had just stated, caused her to sink so deep in the water that her gun-deck ports could not be opened, or her crew exercised with the great guns: as far, however, as depended on them, they were well served in the action, and did great execution on the *Confiance*, which was greatly wounded in her hull. As to the lading of the ship, when she sailed from Gravesend, she could not be said to leave the river a light ship, as she had 796 tons of the Company's cargo on board, but that she did not appear to be improperly laden when she sailed from England.

Mr. WM. BENSLEY said, that most certainly it belonged to the proprietors to have every information possible on such a subject as the loss of the *Kent*, before they were called upon to confirm the resolution of the court of directors. To deny this would be to do a violence to his feelings, and to his sense of duty to his constituents; but there were circumstances in the loss of the *Kent*, which were already known, that in his mind well warranted the resolution of the court of directors. The second time the *Confiance* returned



turned to the attack, she came determined to make a desperate attempt to board her, and the *Kent's* missing stays unfortunately enabled them to grapple and commence their attempt; it appeared, however, that they met with a brave resistance; and he made no doubt but that they would have been repulsed, and their own ship captured, if there had been boarding netting, or a sufficient quantity of good found cutlasses and musketry on board. It has since come out, that Surcouff had given his men brandy, three several times, previous to their efforts to board; and it was said, that the enemy were encouraged to hazard the attempt by the promise of an hour's plunder. When they succeeded, and got on board, they shewed no quarter, and paid not the smallest respect to persons, but behaved with the utmost cruelty and savageness. They even stabbed the sick in their beds, and robbed all they met of their buckles, clothes, &c. &c. Those who survived were put on board an Arab that hove up, and they had only a little rice and water to live upon for the four days that they were upon their passage to Calcutta. Mr. Morris, the steward, they took with them to the Mauritius. It was clear, from the examinations taken at Calcutta, that the *Kent* fought well. To what end then were gentlemen so eager to pursue the discussion further? Let them for a moment consider what would be the result of it. Did they mean to punish the innocent owners, by forbidding them to build a new ship on the *Kent's* bottom? That there was not boarding netting on board the ship, nor a second magazine of arms, was not to be imputed to the owners as a neglect, because, as had been explained by his honourable friend and colleague (Mr. Cotton), it had not

been usual to provide the Indiamen with boarding netting, and a second magazine, however strongly this melancholy loss of the *Kent*, and so many valuable lives that fell a sacrifice on the occasion, suggested the propriety of so providing them in future. If there had been any error, it must have lain with the captain, who had paid dearly for it with his life; but it was admitted on all hands, that captain Rivington and his officers behaved gallantly, and did their utmost to repel the enemy. He saw therefore no use in raking up the ashes of the dead, and reflecting on the memory of a brave man.

Mr. JOHNSTONE contended that the owners were to blame, because they were bound to provide their ships with proper arms; and it was evident, in the case of the *Kent*, that the small arms were far from being in a serviceable or proper condition; and the owners were expressly held responsible for her being properly equipped by the charter-party under the act of Parliament, which in terms enacted, that when it should appear that the loss of an Indiaman was owing to any misconduct or neglect of the commander, officers, or owners, leave should not be given to them to build a new ship on the bottom so lost. It had been proved that there had been both neglect and misconduct.

Mr. WILLIAMS (a director) said, he had been forty years in the marine service of the Company, and, from his professional knowledge, he was satisfied that every thing had been done to save the ship that was possible. The *Kent* fired her great guns with effect, as long as they could be discharged to any purpose; and when the enemy boarded, it was plain that the captain and officers had made a brave defence. As to there not being more small arms



on board, let gentlemen recollect, that the *Kent* took on board an additional number of passengers at St. Salvador, from the *Queen*, which was burnt there, a circumstance that could not be foreseen when the *Kent* sailed from England. Her own crew consisted of no more than about one hundred and fifty persons; but even if there had been small arms sufficient on board, it was, in his mind, a matter of serious consideration, how far it would be prudent to put arms in the hands of such a number of passengers and other strangers. As to boarding netting, such a thing had never been heard of as necessary to be provided for an Indiaman; and with regard to two magazines, he hoped he should never hear of the ships having more than one, which was fully sufficient. But upon these points professional men were best able to give their opinion, and the gentlemen who had said so much upon the subject did not know what they were about.

Mr. HENCHMAN said, he begged to speak to order. He was very sorry to hear any gentleman, and particularly a director, express himself in the terms the honourable gentleman had done, who had just sat down: surely the proprietors were not to be treated in that manner; and he was the more surprised at it, because he had known the gentleman for many years, and he had always conceived him to be a man of mild and gentle manners, not at all corresponding with the language he had now been using, and which is so very contrary to all usage and order in a public assembly.

Mr. WILLIAMS said, he was not conscious that he had said any thing that could justly give offence, either to the court, or any individual proprietor. What had he said?

Mr. HENCHMAN said, the words the honourable director had used were, that "gentlemen did not know what they were about." He was very sorry such language should be heard in the court—the honourable gentleman, no doubt, would not attempt to defend it.

Mr. WILLIAMS said, he meant merely to say, that they were not professional men, and therefore could not understand what was the usual equipment of an Indiaman.

Mr. WILLIAMS (a proprietor) declared, that he had long known captain Rivington, who had lost his life in the defence of the *Kent*; that a man of more integrity, bravery, and zeal for the service, did not exist.

Mr. HENCHMAN said, he could not but consider this as a case deserving of particular attention. The objection of raking up the ashes of the dead could not be of use, for an act of parliament required a particular mode of proceeding; and therefore, whether the captain of a ship survived the loss of her or not, the examination must be the same: the question was, whether there had been any neglect or misconduct in the owners or commander of the *Kent* during her last voyage on which she was captured? The marine board, and the commissioners of inquiry at Bengal, clearly agreed in much neglect and misconduct—Was it not neglect, not to ascertain whether the small arms were serviceable before they went into action? Was it not neglect, not to get up and keep at hand as many of the Company's arms (of which 2000 stand were on board) as would arm all the passengers and others capable of making use of them? Was it not neglect, never to have fired the arms they had during the voyage? Was it not neglect, or misconduct, to let the ship



ship fail so deep that she could not in fine weather open her gun-deck ports? Was it no neglect, not to buy more arms at St. Salvadore, when so many more people were taken on board? Was it not neglect, that the armourer should not from time to time have put what arms they had in proper order? Although all this appears on the face of the papers, eighteen directors acquit the owner and commander of all neglect and misconduct; and how does the honourable director (Mr. Cotton) defend this judgment? he says, the parties had undergone a trial, and been acquitted at Calcutta, and two trials were unjust: but, on examining the papers, no acquittal appears—an examination had taken place, but they who examined knew this court must try and pronounce judgment; the honourable director knew that also, and if there had been fifty trials, they were useless and improper, because an act of Parliament directs what is to be done in all such cases, or else the proprietors would not have heard a syllable of this matter; and a decision must be given by the directors and the general court, before a new ship can be built. It does not appear, Mr. Chairman, from whence the court of directors have obtained their evidence that no neglect or misconduct occurred. As to the depth of water, it is not fair in that case to say that was a consequence of taking in more people, and water and provisions for them at St. Salvadore, because the water and provisions would have been expended when they got, as they were, to the very end of their voyage; and as the ship's being so deep that she could not open her gun-deck ports, was a complaint from the time of her leaving England, she was then in this improper

condition; the captain was negligent in failing so deeply laden, and the owners in letting her go in such condition; the owners and captain were both negligent in respect to the condition of the arms; and the gunmaker's justification is only a proof that he had served every other ship and the Company as badly. If in this case the owners and captain can be acquitted of all neglect and misconduct, no commander need henceforward be afraid of an inquiry. But the proprietors have not every assistance given them in this inquiry which they ought, for the directors have only given the result of their inquiry, instead of the evidence by which that result is come to. This, Sir, surely is irregular, because the proprietors are by law required to give their opinion whether the judgment of the directors is correct; and how can they do so if they know not the grounds upon which they pronounce it—where is the evidence of the officers they have examined? Mr. Henchman said, he not only thought papers ought to be printed now, but he thought all such papers ought to be printed in future, before the matter came before that court. It must not be considered that cases of this nature are to pass the court as mere matter of form; they are far otherwise, and this instance shewed the necessity of particular attention to them. If ever there appeared neglect, it appeared in this case; and it was curious to hear it advanced as an apology, that now in peace, after eight years war, the directors were making proper rules for the defence of their regular ships; ships for which so much had been paid, because they were so very able to repel an enemy; and it was also said that they had never been used to boarding, although the Triton was



taken by that mode of attack. As to the merits of the officers in destroying the private signals, however much it might be commended, it were better not to have been spoken of so publicly.

Mr. TWINING rose in support of the resolution, the grounds of which he considered as having been fully made out by the examinations and papers that had been read from behind the bar. The question before the court was, he said, of the deepest consequence to the East-India Company, and the court ought to be anxious to bring it to such a conclusion as may best conduce to the Company's interest. It did not appear to him, he said, in the least necessary to print the papers, as they were the proofs of the facts to which the loss of the *Kent* had been owing; a matter, the making of which public to all the world, could be of no possible advantage to the Company's interests, but might be in its consequence highly prejudicial to them. Mr. Twining commented on some part of Mr. Henchman's speech, and among other animadversions said, that if that honourable gentleman's remark was founded, that it would have been as well if nothing had been said of the circumstance of Mr. Hall and Mr. Morris having destroyed the private signals after the ship was taken, surely it would still be more unadvisable to make that fact as public as possible. Mr. Twining said, that the gunmaker's certificate proved that the *Kent* was furnished with small arms of the same quality that the Company's ships were always furnished with; and it appeared from the papers that had been read, that the captain and his officers made a brave and gallant defence of the ship, and did their utmost to repel the enemy;

this had been admitted on all hands; to what end then print the papers, unless it was designed to rake up the ashes of the dead, and, by questioning the acknowledged bravery of the captain and his officers, cast a slur on the courage of the Company's commanders and officers? He should therefore vote against printing the papers, and for the original resolution.

Mr. IMPEY said, I agree, Sir, in many of the observations that have been made by the honourable proprietor who spoke last; I agree that it is a question of the deepest consequence to the East-India Company, and that we should be anxious to bring it to such a conclusion as may conduce most to their interests; but as he has given us no reasons for it, I cannot agree with him that this will best be effected by concurring with the resolution of the court of directors, without knowing the ground of that resolution; on the contrary, with a full knowledge that the facts stated are in direct contradiction to it. An honourable proprietor who spoke earlier in the debate, expressed some indignation, under an idea that a slur was intended to be cast on the courage of the India Company's officers; for myself I disclaim that intention, both generally and in this particular instance; I believe the character of the officers of this Company, for courage, is as high as that of any others in any service in the world; and I believe, that, on the melancholy occasion before us, as much personal bravery was displayed as in the most successful enterprizes of the war: but that is not the question before us. We are told that such arrangements have been made by the court of directors, subsequent to this event, as will preclude the apprehension of a similar



lar calamity occurring in future from the same causes: I am happy to hear the fact, and I applaud the directors for their inclination to acquire wisdom by fatal experience; but neither is that the question before us. The question before us is, Whether the owners, commander, or officers of the *Kent*, were guilty of any neglect or misconduct that operated in conducing to the capture of that vessel: and it is not enough for the owners to say they have been guilty of no personal misconduct; they, as well as every subject of this country, are liable for the acts of those whom they employ to conduct their business; they are answerable to the India Company and the Public, for the persons whom they have chosen to superintend the management and defence of this ship; and if it shall appear that any of the latter have been guilty of neglect or misconduct, the owners must abide the consequences.

It is at all times unpleasant to enter on matters of a personal nature, that involve questions of criminality; because, however cautiously they may be discussed, the feelings of innocent and honourable men may be wounded; nothing but what I consider as an indispensable duty would induce me to say one word on this very delicate subject; and if, in the course of what I shall submit to the court, I shall seem to bear hard on any individual, it will be merely the result of that duty, as I have not the slightest knowledge of any of the parties to the transaction.

In ordinary cases of the loss of ships, I have been accustomed, in common I suppose with most of the proprietors, to acquiesce implicitly in the decisions of the directors, without strictly examining

the grounds of them; knowing that a great public duty was imposed on that court, I concluded that they fulfilled it with due circumspection and diligence, that they entered into a full investigation of the subject before them, that they examined and cross-examined all the parties cognizant of it, that they formed their judgment intelligently and impartially on the result of that evidence, and that they caused it to be reduced to writing, for the guidance of the proprietors, who were finally to confirm their judgment.

But this case of the *Kent* is by no means an ordinary one; and if the public accounts of it are to be believed, I run little risque of contradiction when I state it to be one of the most calamitous and disgraceful events of the late war; it must have been matter, one would imagine, of the most anxious scrutiny with the court of directors, whether the neglect or misconduct of the owners, captain, or officers, had contributed to it: if the evidence went to substantiate any guilt against them, no consideration of private kindness, or false humanity, should operate for a moment to cast a veil before it; if, on the other hand, the evidence went to clear up the imputations against them, as well the private honour and character of the individuals, as the satisfaction of the public, required that it should be fully detailed and published. Let us see, Sir, what the public accounts were, and in stating them I do not mean to lay greater stress on them than they deserve; I know they may be erroneous; I know they may be rebutted by evidence. A regular ship of the Company, fully manned and armed, is attacked in the Bay of Bengal, close to the very sands,



by an enemy's privateer of very inferior force, and beats her off; yet, immediately after, the privateer succeeds in what I may call the desperate attempt of boarding; the crew, though double the number of the assailants, make no adequate resistance; and the passengers, who alone seem to have been resolute to defend themselves, are miserably slaughtered.

To justify the persons concerned in the affair, and to sustain the subsequent resolution of your honourable court, one of the directors (Mr. Cotton) relies on what he calls an acquittal by a competent tribunal appointed to investigate the transaction: Sir, I can find no such acquittal; in fact there was no regular trial in Bengal, of the owners or officers, on which an acquittal could be founded; but I will inform the court what I have found, and let them judge if it amounts to an acquittal, or if not, rather to a condemnation.

When the capture of the *Kent* was yet recent, an examination of the causes of it was referred by Lord Wellesley to the marine board at Calcutta, who appointed a committee of enquiry, consisting chiefly or entirely of professional men, for that purpose. By that committee certain facts have been ascertained and put upon the records of the Company, which, if not contradicted, must go, as I contend, to a full condemnation, instead of an acquittal of the parties. It is stated by that committee, that before the *Kent* left the Thames, she was so deeply laden that she could not in fair weather open her lower port-holes with safety to fire her guns. Was this no neglect or misconduct in the owners, or the commander, or the officers? Nay, I may go farther; was this no neglect or mis-

conduct, if they were apprized of the fact, as they ought to have been, in the committee of shipping of the East-India Company? It is further stated, that the muskets provided for the service of the crew were of so bad a quality as to be utterly unserviceable; that the cutlasses cost but three shillings and sixpence each, and were of so weak a temper as to be cleft asunder by every stroke of the French sabres; that, with a full knowledge of the insufficiency of the arms provided for his crew, the captain stowed away 2000 stand of arms belonging to the Company, which were part of his cargo, in such a part of the ship that they could not be resorted to in case of necessity. Is there no palpable neglect or misconduct in these facts?

When this matter comes to be a subject of enquiry in England, it is referred by the directors very properly to their committee of shipping. As well to satisfy my own mind, as to do justice to the memory of the unfortunate gentlemen (one of whom was a friend of mine) who fell victims to their resolute courage in defence of the ship, I have examined this morning, in your secretary's office, such evidence as the directors have thought fit to lay before the proprietors as the foundation of their resolution, and as a ground for their concurrence and confirmation of it. To my great surprize and sorrow, I found no tittle of evidence whatever to contradict any one of the facts which I have stated before to be recorded by the committee of inquiry in Bengal; the directors merely state, in general, that they have examined certain witnesses, and have come to such a decision.

Among the papers submitted to the court is one of a very curious kind,



kind, which is intended I suppose to rebutt the facts found by the committee of inquiry, relative to the state of the arms; this is a certificate of Mr. Rea, the person by whom those arms were furnished. But, does he deny that the muskets were unserviceable? Does he deny that the cutlasses cost three shillings and sixpence each, and were of a bad temper? Nothing like it. He only asserts that the arms provided for several other ships of the Company, which he enumerates, were precisely of the same quality: so that we have the consolation of knowing that it has been by good fortune only that those other vessels have avoided falling into the hands of the enemy, as the same neglect and misconduct has pervaded the whole service; and this man's certificate, instead of exculpating himself, goes to involve in the same imputations the owners and commanders of all the other ships enumerated, and the inspector of the arms of the East-India Company.

But if, instead of a certificate of so unsatisfactory a nature, this paper had been an affidavit of Mr. Rea, denying in the most positive terms the charge against him; should the directors have been satisfied with the mere written deposition of this man, swearing to exculpate himself? In my opinion it was their duty to have sent for him, to have examined and cross-examined him personally, and to have accurately ascertained, by the strictest inquiry, what was the real state of the arms he had been in the habit of furnishing to the Company and their servants.

I should have hoped, Sir, that the directors would have been anxious to shew that they had scrupulously executed their trust in a case where the honour of the

country at large, the honour of their service, and the justice due to the unfortunate sufferers and their surviving friends so loudly demanded it. But however they may have satisfied themselves on this subject, (for more may have passed in the committee of shipping than is laid before us,) it can hardly, I think, be contended, that we can conscientiously confirm their decision without any evidence, without any knowledge whatever of the ground on which it proceeds. It is not pretended by any one, that the confirmation of the proprietors is merely a formal act, which follows the resolution of the directors of course: on the contrary, it is fully admitted by one of the directors (Mr. Bensley) to be a judicial act, in which we must exercise our judgments on the facts laid before us. We are called on to judge of the credit and effect of evidence: Can we possibly do this, without seeing the whole of that evidence? For my own part, I most sincerely wish that it may finally be found sufficient to support and justify the acquittal pronounced by the directors; but, as it stands at present, I cannot so far compromise the honour of the Country and the Company, or commit such an outrage on the feelings of those to whom the unfortunate sufferers were dear, as to confirm their vote.

Captain SEALY asked, if any complaints had been made of the arms sent out for the use of their army in India?

The Chairman begged to be excused answering.

Mr. WILLIAM BENSLEY rose again and said, that he might not be so conversant in the practice of the courts in Westminster Hall, or the law of evidence, and in examining and cross-examining witnesses,



nesses, as the honourable and learned gentleman who had just sat down; yet certainly he could speak from professional knowledge, having himself been a commander, as to the ship's being sunk so deep in the water. The circumstance of the *Kent's* being so sunk in the water that she could not open her gun-deck ports except in very fine weather, was owing to her being so heavily laden, in consequence of her having taken so many persons on board at Rio de Janeiro, for whose use it was necessary to lay in an additional quantity of water, provisions, and other stores. That was no misconduct either in the commander, officers, or owners. These casual passengers amounted to about 160 persons, who could not be supposed to be of much use in defending the ship. Her force was confined chiefly to her own complement, and they were not able to resist 250 of the enemy, all of them well armed with sabres and pistols, trained in the constant exercise of them, used to a desperate mode of fighting, previously prepared by drams, and animated by a promise of free plunder, to dare any and every thing to obtain possession of the *Kent*; but it had since been well-known, that if they had not succeeded, they and their ship must inevitably have been captured themselves. He assured the general court, that if he did not think his opinion consonant with a conscientious discharge of his trust as a director and a member of the shipping committee, he would not venture to state it. The shipping committee had examined witnesses very scrupulously, and it was upon their evidence that they felt themselves warranted to declare they were satisfied. He thought, therefore, that it would be extremely

unjust to the owners, who certainly were not to blame, to refuse them leave to build a new ship on the bottom of the *Kent*.

Mr. IMPEY replied, that he did not dispute the assertion made by the honourable director, that he executed his trust conscientiously; on the contrary, as he was universally esteemed an honourable man, he had no doubt of the truth of the assertion. But the honourable director had quite mistaken his objection; it was not, that the witnesses had not been examined with sufficient skill by the committee; how they might have been examined then, he was quite ignorant: his objection was, that no evidence whatever had been laid by the directors before the proprietors, to counteract and refute the criminal facts found by the committee of inquiry in Bengal, and justify the acquittal pronounced here.

Mr. R. THORNTON (a director) said, he certainly could not pretend to professional knowledge, but he might nevertheless presume to offer two or three plain observations. It could not be denied him, that a ship of considerable force might be taken by an inferior one, notwithstanding that the crew of the larger ship behaved more gallantly; the late war had afforded various instances of it, since many of the captures made by British cruizers, both by king's ships and privateers, had been made in that manner. He would next observe, that it was indisputable from the papers that had been read, that captain Rivington and his officers did their utmost to repel the enemy, as well before they boarded as when they made the attempt, which it unfortunately turned out they made with too much success. The captain, it was generally admitted, lost his life fighting



fighting gallantly in defence of the ship, and with his last breath desired that the ship might not be given up. So strong an impression had the proof of these facts, as they appeared from the inquiry and examinations taken at Bengal and by the shipping committee at home, made on the court of directors, that they were satisfied no blame was imputable to the owners, the commander and his officers, and had in consequence come to the resolution then under the consideration of the court. What also appeared to him to render it the less necessary to oppose the resolution was, that the directors, in consequence of the recommendation of the marine board at Calcutta, had actually determined on such regulations for giving additional force in future to the Company's ships in time of war, as should be most likely to enable them to guard against surprize, and protect them from the danger to which the *Kent* had been so fatally exposed.

Mr. DURANT said, he had been in the habit of acting with many of the honourable gentlemen near him, but on this question he differed from them altogether. It appeared to him, that, so far from its being necessary or wise to print the papers, and keep up the discussion, the sooner all the circumstances of the loss of the *Kent* were buried in oblivion the better. He had listened to every thing that had been said with all the attention he was master of, and he never listened to a more irksome debate; for what was it but a dull repetition of the lamentable circumstances of a melancholy accident? No variety, no change of reasoning, but the same thing over and over again, from every mouth that was opened: he therefore must repeat, that he ob-

jected to the motion for printing the papers, and was satisfied that it would be most advisable that the whole should be buried in everlasting oblivion.

Mr. COTTON said, in justification of the owners, he begged leave to declare, that when the *Kent* sailed from the Thames, her draught of water was not more than twenty-two feet, but that her being sunk so deep in the water, and not being able to open her gun-deck ports, was in consequence of the addition of passengers, stores, &c. taken on board at St. Salvadore. Mr. Cotton said, the committee of the shipping were particularly anxious to take care that none of their ships drew too much water. That at this very time there were ships in the river unloading part of their freight, in order that they might be lightened, and not draw more than twenty-two feet, so that they might in moderate weather, and indeed in all weather, and in all cases but in a gale of wind, or during a storm, have the free command of their gun-ports.

Mr. HENCHMAN rose to remind the honourable director, that it did not appear from the papers that had been read, that the captain of the *Kent* had ever exercised his men, as they ought to have been exercised, with the great guns and small arms, not merely subsequently to the ship's sailing from the Brazils, where she took on board a number of passengers and stores, but at any period of the whole voyage. He begged leave to ask the honourable director, whether a ship drawing no more than twenty-two feet and a half can open the gun-ports with safety?

Mr. COTTON said, a ship certainly could.



Mr. HENCHMAN then begged leave to ask, whether the honourable director had read the paper of the marine board and committee at Calcutta, to that point, and meant to be understood as discrediting it?

Mr. COTTON said, he did not believe a word of it.

Sir HUGH INGLIS observed, that the papers were always ready for the inspection of the proprietors, even when they were not printed. His honourable friend (Mr. HENCHMAN), he had no doubt had availed himself of them, and other proprietors might do the same before the question should be ultimately decided. Sir Hugh added one or two other observations.

Mr. HENCHMAN said, he certainly had availed himself of the opportunity, but papers were not always allowed to be seen; that when he read the papers, he had asked the secretary what was the other business, that the words *special affairs*, in the advertisement of notice to the court, referred to? And the secretary said, he could not tell him.

The Chairman reminded the court that the question was not then to be decided, but on a subsequent day; he should therefore imagine, that as the papers would be left on the table for the inspection of the proprietors, there could be no occasion to print them.

Mr. HENCHMAN rose again, and said, if he was to understand that in future, whenever such subjects were to be discussed, the proprietors were to be allowed to inspect the papers, not merely as in this case between the day of discussion and the ballot, but previous to the day of discussion, he for one should have no objection to agree to his honourable friend's withdrawing the motion for printing the papers.

This being understood, Mr. Johnstone withdrew his motion.

The question was then put and agreed to.

THANKS TO ADMIRAL LORD KEITH,  
LORD HUTCHINSON, &c. &c.

The Chairman acquainted the court, that there was other business; that having received a letter from two honourable proprietors, Mr. Moore and Mr. Prinsep, informing him that they intended to bring forward a motion of thanks to Lord Keith and Lord Hutchinson, with their respective officers, he had directed the words *special affairs* to be inserted in the advertisement announcing that a general court would that day be held.

Mr. PETER MOORE said, he was happy to turn from a subject of sorrow, affliction, and mourning, of which he had unfortunately drank his full portion, by the loss of a very near relation who had fallen in the defence of the *Kent*, to a subject which he trusted would conduct the meeting to a scene of joy and exultation, and restore the court, as was always his desire, to harmony and unanimity. Satisfied as he was, that however there might be a variance on points of minor consideration, there could only be unanimity where the display of British bravery, valour, and conduct, in the cause of the country, occupied their attention; and he was certain, that the motions which had been read from the chair, on the subject of the glorious triumph of the British arms in Egypt, of which his honourable friend (Mr. Prinsep) and himself had given notice, would be recorded in the annals of history, as the proud triumph of the present, and for the imitation of future generations, sanctioned by the unanimous



nimous applause of the East-India proprietary in general court assembled, as a testimony of their sense of the services which had been rendered by the united efforts of the army and navy employed in this arduous contest, and whose gallant exploits, carrying conquest in Egypt, had restored the convulsed world to tranquillity and repose; and now left us at liberty to value, if we knew how, and to benefit by, the blessings of peace. In framing the motions before the court, Mr. Moore said he had been wholly governed by public records, or facts of notoriety, in simple terms appropriate to the occasion; and he did this with a view to meet the ready acquiescence of the court, and to save both them and himself all unnecessary discussion.

Of the two great personages who had conducted this armament to so glorious a termination, the one was familiar to all; the other, though heretofore employed on various important services, and always accomplishing them with great honour to himself, was nevertheless, on the whole, considered as a new character in the British annals. The noble admiral who commanded the navy on this occasion, had long worn the splendid laurels of manifold successful services to his country, and whose arduous exploits and honourable conduct had long since obtained their wonted applause, and had their intrinsic worth stamped in honour and fame, by his well-deserved exaltation to the British peerage. His last great exploit too, (the capture of the Cape of Good Hope,) was, if possible, still more interesting to the East-India Company, than those which are now the subject of our discussion: of such invaluable considera-

tion was that important acquisition to the nation esteemed, that it was announced in the house of commons by the late minister for India affairs, that the very safety of India depended on it, and the maintenance of it was absolutely necessary to the preservation of our great empire there; and he is reported to have declared in his place, in the most unqualified terms, that any minister who should consent to surrender it, ought to lose his head. Such was the great value of the acquisition to the Nation, such its estimated consequence to the East-India Company; and this acquisition had been accomplished by the noble admiral Lord Keith.

On the present occasion, said Mr. Moore, we behold the noble admiral's exertions in the service of his country, continued with unabated ardour and undiminished success. We bear testimony that the army and navy have accomplished the entire conquest of Egypt, against a very superior force, and under a combination of difficulties the most formidable and discouraging. And what is the evidence of the public record?

“During the course of the long service in which we have been engaged, Lord Keith has, at all times, given me the most able assistance and counsel. The labour and fatigue of the navy have been continued and excessive; it has not been of one day, or of one week, but for months together. In the Bay of Aboukir, on the new inundation, and on the Nile, for 160 miles, they have been employed without intermission, and have submitted to many privations with a cheerfulness and patience highly creditable to them, and advantageous to the public service.”

Thus speaks the public record.

But,



But, it cannot be confined to this occasion, said Mr. Moore, great and glorious as it has been, that we are to appreciate the conduct and exploits of the British navy. Wherever employed, they are sure to carry glory; and seldom or ever have failed to carry conquest also. They have ever done their duty, and always merited the confidence and the warmest applauses of their country. They have proved its safeguard, and are justly the source of its pride and its glory.

Let us now go to the services of the army. The noble general Lord Hutchinson, who gave this brave force the successful direction which ensured conquest, it is true, has not been so long known to us in the light of a great public character, as his noble colleague. But now, he alike dwells in our hearts, and will live in the applause and gratitude of his country, and be the admiration of the world for ever. Wherever Egypt shall be mentioned in times to come, the name of Hutchinson will involuntarily arise to human recollection and applause; and the splendid deeds which he has accomplished, induce posterity to emulate his conduct, to imitate his actions, and struggle to be enrolled with him in the annals of glory.

But, however new the name of this gallant officer to us, and however splendid this last service to his country, said Mr. Moore, it is by no means the first, nor in my mind does it form his greatest claim to its applause and gratitude; in as much as the preservation of a domestic empire from overthrow, anarchy, and destruction, will ever in my mind, said Mr. Moore, have transcendent preference to foreign acquisition, however desirable for the salvation of remote colonial dependencies.

During the late dreadful conflicts in Ireland, this meritorious general officer had the honour to hold very distinguished rank there; and at a period when the infatuation of his countrymen raged in the greatest extreme, he was separately stationed in Galway. Feeling every anxiety with the rulers of Ireland, and moved, as it were, by the influence of filial attachment to his country, he was in every scene the most active, in every place where danger was most prominent, for the suppression of tumult where it had broke out, and for the prevention of it where it threatened. He knew his duty to the state; he felt his attachment to his country, and his countrymen; and he seems to have been the only man who knew how to adopt a middle way to accomplish the great ends in view, viz. to suppress insurrection without destroying the deluded insurgents. He knew his countrymen were to be managed by other means, and that their rulers might easily accomplish by affection and attachment, what coercion could never hope to effect. In a word, the parole on which he acted was the parole of affection and humanity; and such was its fortunate influence, that it soon became the parole of the state under the noble Marquis Cornwallis, who, as we have seen, happily restored order and subordination to Ireland. This, said Mr. Moore, I call the most valuable service that any subject can render to a state; and how it was felt by the grateful inhabitants of Galway, I beg leave to report to you, by reading their own address.

TO GENERAL HUTCHINSON.

“ Sir,

“ The insufficiency of language to communicate the stronger feelings of the heart, was never more fully



fully exemplified than it is by the embarrassment which we at this moment experience. Called upon by no common claims to express our sense of your virtues and your talents, we feel ourselves unable to do justice to the merit of the hero and the patriot. While, Sir, your military appointment in this district was felt and confessed as a general blessing, we had peculiar cause to felicitate ourselves upon an accident which honoured us with your immediate residence. Uniting in your person the powers of private endearment with those qualities which constitute the great public man, you at once commanded our admiration, and won our affections. The services and attentions we have to acknowledge to you, claim some suitable return. And we trust, that we make you no unacceptable offering when we present you with a sword, a symbol emblematic of that profession of which you are so bright an ornament. Accept it, Sir, and with it our devoutest wishes for your glory, your honour, and your happiness. May your successes equal your merit, and foreign aggression and civil discord learn, beneath the power of your arm, to respect justice and to value order.

“ We have the honour, &c. &c.  
(Signed) *Hyacinth Daly*, Mayor.”

Mr. Moore said, he had been desirous of introducing this address to their notice, as they must all have observed, by the public dispatch of this meritorious officer, that the dignified modesty of his own mind is such as to record every merit but his own: to acknowledge merit every where, to be every where just, to pay every lively acknowledgment to the living, and every grateful tribute to the memory of the dead, but wholly

silent as to himself. “ To the army,” says he, “ every thing is due: to me, nothing. It was my fate to succeed a man who created such a spirit, and established such a discipline amongst them, that little has been left for me to perform, except to follow his maxims, and to imitate his conduct.”

When the expedition to the Mediterranean was determined on, and which ultimately directed its course to Egypt, the command of it was first offered to that great officer and statesman, the late general Sir Charles Stewart; in the first instance he desired to have the services of general Hutchinson as second in command, but the Marquis Cornwallis could not spare him. The state of Sir C. Stewart's health preventing his proceeding to the Mediterranean, the command was offered to the late gallant and venerable officer Sir Ralph Abercrombie, under whose command general Hutchinson had acted both in Ireland and Holland, and whose companion he had often been, in difficulty, in danger, in glory. No sooner did that gallant general resolve to put himself at the head of this armament, than his application was made for the services of general Hutchinson. How just their sense of his merit! How well directed the prophetic spirit which apparently dictated the address of the inhabitants of Galway; the happy event which this court, as the honourable chairman has been pleased to say, was rendered special for the purpose of celebrating, bears the most grateful testimony.

Sir, said Mr. Moore, before I draw my conclusion, there is another contemporary class of subjects, of great merit and high estimation, whose services on this occasion I think it is highly becoming



ing in us publicly to acknowledge. I mean the whole class of British subjects in India, who have, during the whole of this war, and on all occasions, rendered very important services to the State and to the Company. When I speak of British subjects in India, said Mr. Moore, I comprise the whole in two divisions; those in the service of the Company, of all denominations, as covenanted servants; and those residing in India, under the licence of the Company. I behold with vast pleasure, from a variety of testimonies of your governors abroad, and from various reports to the house of commons of the late minister for India affairs, and I know it myself as a personal witness, that the British subjects in India have performed the duties of their respective stations with honour and fidelity, and with exemplary attachment and advantage to this as well as the Company's government; and that this empire has not better subjects, nor the world better men; and if proof be looked for, I shall simply desire you to contemplate the vast rich empire which you there possess, and not to lose sight of the origin of the great means for the consideration of which we assemble here; for all which the nation is indebted to the British subjects employed abroad. For the acquisition of that empire you are generally beholden to the British subjects employed in your service, who gave a proper and successful direction to the authorities and powers with which they were invested. But we have also received very important services, and derive great benefits from the licensed British residents in India, by whose uniform voluntary exertions, both in money and personal service, they have on all occasions promoted the

national honour and advantage, and many of the Company's best interests. The servants of the Company certainly acquired the territory; but while their time was employed in maintaining and defending it, and that was sufficient to engross their every service, the licensed residents industriously explored its latent properties, and capabilities, and, by their laudable pursuits, have discovered and improved many great and valuable resources, to the great benefit and emolument of the Company. Many very valuable and disinterested services have they rendered to the East-India Company and to the State, of which, Mr. Moore said, he should mention one or two prominent instances:—It was by the voluntary exertion of the purse of an individual of this description, captain Thomas Mercer, who very disinterestedly rendered many other important services to the governments abroad, that our army under general Sir Eyre Coote had been enabled to march from St. Thomas's Mount against Hyder Ally, so far had he advanced into the Carnatic in the year 1782. And a similar act of prompt, genuine, disinterested patriotism by another respectable British resident, a proprietor of East-India stock, who by his personal credit and exertions supplied the immense sum of twenty lack of rupees (200,000*l.*) and enabled the Company's army under general Meadows to take the field against Tippoo, in the year 1790, and without which supply our army could not have moved, to so low an ebb was the state of the public treasury reduced. These are facts of notoriety, said Mr. Moore, which, with a variety of other important services, weighed so strongly in his mind, as to have influenced

him



him to sketch a motion of approbation and thanks to the British subjects in India; but as it had not been done in time to give notice of it to be classed with the motions before the court, it might be liable to objection, and certainly he would not make any motion of this description, without that previous acquiescence of the executive trust which would insure the unanimity of the court; he would therefore beg leave to hand it to the chair, and, if approved, would proceed further on the grounds of it, and amplify the services it recognized.

[The motion having been perused and considered by the chair and several of the directors, they and many proprietors agreed as to the merit of the persons alluded to; but as it was thought that the motion ought not to be put without more consideration, it was withdrawn.]

Mr. Moore went on and said, that having brought before the court the several active powers engaged in or contributing to the conquest of Egypt, he should only detain them for a very short summary. He begged leave to remind them, that this very important service had been accomplished by a British force very inferior in numbers to the effective strength of the enemy, which is now known to have exceeded 24,000 men. It is true, that they had heard of the grand Vizier's army consisting of 10,000 men, and of the captain Pacha's army consisting of as many more, said to be co-operating with the British; but in truth and in fact those are generally armies in words and reports, and are, if possible, worse than some of the numerous armies of the Great Mogul in ancient times, which a Persian historian very accurately described

as "only fit to destroy food, and create famine." He said he would not take up the time of the court in describing the difficulties, the distresses, and the hardships which our brave forces had sustained, with great and meritorious patience, but which, to speak from written document as he did, he said, fell little short of all the historical plagues of Egypt. It was sufficient to say, that they subdued and forgot them all, the moment they gratified the wishes of their country in subduing the enemy. But let it not escape attention, that as soon as Alexandria had capitulated, the noble general, in the humane spirit of that generous philanthropy, which has uniformly dignified his conduct, and is inseparable from true courage, dispatched emissaries in all directions to save the advancing army of India under the gallant general Baird, from all further distress and harassment possible.

Sir, said Mr. Moore, a few words more, and I make my acknowledgments for your indulgent attention. By this splendid conquest, the enemies of Great Britain are conspicuously furnished with this most awful lesson, that the British army and navy, properly directed, and cordially co-operating, cannot fail in their undertakings, even when surrounded with difficulties disheartening as those peculiar to Egypt: that this happy combination of British energy, in the present instance, triumphantly accomplished those glorious ends which have produced the blessings of peace: and that to the successful operations of the noble general and admiral, and the forces under their command, followed up by the patriotism, wisdom, and laudable moderation of his majesty's present ministers, the world is principally indebted



indebted for its tranquillity and repose. For that peace, which is to fill the coffers of the East-India Company with treasure, and their warehouses with profitable goods; and as the late president of the board of control repeatedly declared to the house of commons, "that as soon as the war expences on freight, demurrage, &c. shall cease, the increased advantages to the Company will exceed one million sterling annually. On the ground of these services to the Nation and to the East-India Company, Mr. Moore submitted his several motions to the disposal of the court, as follow :

"That the thanks of the East-India Company, in general court now assembled, be given to the right honourable general Lord Hutchinson, K. B. commander in chief of the British forces serving in Egypt, for the very eminent services which he has rendered to the East-India Company, by his able and splendid display of military talent in the glorious achievement of the entire conquest of Egypt, by which the brave army under his direction have gratified the warmest wishes of their country.

"That the thanks of this court be given to the officers of the King's and Company's forces employed in the conquest of Egypt, for their military exertions, spirit, and intrepidity, which they manifested in the execution of this most eminent service: and to the non-commissioned officers and privates, for their bravery, perseverance, and military discipline, no less conspicuous in the camp, than their courage in the field, under the most arduous and disheartening difficulties peculiar to the local situation of Egypt.

"That the thanks of the East-India Company, in general court now assembled, be given to admi-

ral the right honourable Lord Keith, K. B. commanding the British navy stationed on the coast of Egypt, for his effectual co-operation with the army employed there, which so essentially contributed to the final success of a glorious campaign."

Mr. PRINSEP said, that in seconding the motion of his honourable friend for thanks to the gallant commander and army, and to the navy, who had effected the expulsion of the French from Egypt, he should have occasion to take up but little of the court's attention; since the lively interest and anxiety of the Nation and of the Company at the early progress and success of the republican arms in that quarter, had sufficiently evinced the importance of the achievements which it was now proposed to acknowledge.

The general court had expressed their gratitude, and in a more substantial manner, to Lord Nelson and other naval commanders, for their signal and indeed unparalleled victories over the enemy's navy in that quarter; it had acknowledged the services of the conquerors of Mysore. The heroes of this day had equally received from their country and from parliament the tribute of well-earned fame; he should therefore, at this late hour, instead of repeating the recent sentiments of lords and commons on this event, content himself with merely referring the court to the high sense entertained in those august assemblies, of those who had delivered British India from the most formidable attack with which it had been ever threatened. The danger from which the noble lord ennobled for this achievement had rescued the Company, might best be illustrated by mentioning a single fact well known to many present in the court, that any power in possession



session of Egypt, and of sufficient force for the expedition, might, by entering the Red Sea with two frigates only, and keeping the shores of it, obtain tonnage sufficient for transporting sixteen thousand men to any part of the Malabar coast, which, at the proper season, they might reach in a voyage of fourteen days from leaving the Straights of Babelmandel.

Such was the escape we had fortunately owed to the steady conduct, valour, and discipline of the British army of India. His honourable friend had already impressed the court with its merits and importance collectively and individually; his own sense of both had induced Mr. Prinsep to come forward to second the motions just read from the chair, though he could have wished the task had fallen to some of his friends around, men whose talents and eloquence were better entitled to the attention of the court, though no eloquence could do justice to the subject.

He was happy in collecting from the expression of an honourable proprietor, Mr. Twining, that the sentiments of the court were unanimous; and he therefore concluded with seconding the four motions.

The motions of thanks were respectively put and agreed to unanimously.

#### PRIVATE TRADE.

Mr. ROCK (a proprietor) said, he wished to ask the Chairman, on this occasion, whether any thing yet had been done by the directors, in pursuance of those resolutions adopted by the court in June last, on the subject of private trade? It appeared from various proceedings, which had become public, that either those resolutions had been given up, or that they were not to be acted upon with that promptitude

which had then been deemed absolutely necessary. As the matter was of great importance to the Company, and Proprietors at large, he begged leave to take this opportunity to ask the Chairman what steps had been taken on the subject?

The CHAIRMAN said, that the subject had occupied a great deal of the attention of the court of directors, but they had not yet completed the discussion, or adopted any final measure.

Mr. HENCHMAN begged to know whether he was to understand, from what had fallen from the chairman, that the measures that were still under the discussion of the court of directors were those expected in consequence of the resolutions of this court on the 28th of May last? At that time a short resolution was proposed by an honourable proprietor, approving of the report and opinions of the directors relative to private trade, and recommending that they should be carried into immediate execution. Mr. Henchman said, he felt obliged to the honourable gentleman for the question he had asked. It was very material for this court to know what the present state of the question was. There appeared, six months ago, in the minds of the directors, and of a majority of the proprietors, a fixed opinion, that there was no further room for discussion—a positive determination was come to, and all inquiry denied; but instead of those resolutions being acted upon, we all know that nothing definitive is yet done; it was therefore the more necessary to inquire into the reasons. If I understood the chairman rightly, he says he has nothing to communicate to the court, although so much time has elapsed, and nothing carried into effect. Does not this court recol-



left how earnestly they were pressed in May last for a decision, and how much was said against delay, as extremely prejudicial to the Company's affairs? Is it not proper this court should know what changes have happened, that this delay is now still allowed of, and no complaints come from the directors? Every body indeed knew that something had been going forward, and what we do know goes to confirm the opinions of many members of this court, that more inquiry was necessary, indeed that it was unavoidable. We know from proceedings in other places, that the orders for India on this subject, as prepared by the directors, were wisely prevented from being sent to India by the interposition of the board of commissioners. It is no secret that interviews have been held with the secretary of the treasury, we know that the subject has been discussed in parliament, yet the directors have nothing to communicate to this court. Indeed what was said in parliament could not be very pleasant to the gentlemen behind the bar; for the chancellor of his majesty's exchequer declared, that the directors had not given those facilities which they ought to the private trade; he disapproved of many parts of their report; he did not agree in their reasoning about colonization, although he allowed that was a subject on which we should be cautious—he treated the argument about Lascars, and their powers of persuasion, as undeserving of notice; he said, the directors should make some concessions in favour of the private trade, and that he had found them inclined to do so; and he then stated, that they had positively engaged to admit the trial of Lord Wellesley's plan for two years. After such a

declaration from such a party, there can be no doubt about the fact—yet will this court sit quiet and hear it said, that there is nothing to communicate to them? Can the honourable proprietor (Mr. Twining), who, upon a cursory view of the papers in the month of May, so early discovered that all further argument on the subject was useless, and that nothing but immediate execution of the plan of the directors was to be tolerated—will he, after making a motion to that effect, and persuading a great majority of the proprietors to join with him, argue that nothing is necessary to be communicated to the court at the end of six months, although he knows those orders have not been executed, and that there is no probability of what he so much approved being carried into execution at all? It is still more extraordinary, that after the chancellor of the exchequer has stated certain fixed concessions to have been made by the directors, that at the expiration of nearly a month the court of directors is not prepared to state to the general court what those concessions are. If the honourable proprietor remains passive under all this, he must allow, at least, that they who contended for delay in May last, and for further inquiry, were not so entirely wrong as he then proclaimed them.

The CHAIRMAN said, that the court of directors were not ashamed of what they had done, nor were they unwilling that their conduct should be submitted to the court of proprietors and to the public. He had not said that the court of directors had not made up their minds. They had made up their minds on the leading principles of the regulations on the subject of private trade, but they had not yet reduced them



them into shape, or decided upon the detail of the provisions. For his part, he had no objection that their proceedings should now be read.

LORD KINNAIRD said, he begged leave to deprecate the discussion of so important a subject in so thin a court. *Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes.* He did not like those sort of questions, where more was meant than met the ear. If gentlemen seriously wished to have the subject again entered upon, and fully discussed, let a regular notice be given of such an intention, and he would readily concur in it; but after so full a court as had been assembled that day, now when only about twenty proprietors remained on that side of the Bar, was it decent or proper to enter upon it? No man was more ready to confess the ability and the candour of his honourable friend who had just sat down (Mr. Henchman). His honourable friend had taken a decisive part, in an open and public manner, on the subject of the private trade. He had read his honourable friend's book with great attention; he admired the ingenuity, the knowledge of the different bearings of the question, and the great talents that it displayed; but it nevertheless had not convinced him. He could not help differing from the conclusions of his honourable friend, respecting the regulations under which the private trade ought to be placed.—The subject was a large and a comprehensive one; and he not only differed from his honourable friend's opinion in relation to it, but from the similar opinion held by some of his nearest and dearest relations and connections. At a proper time, and in due season, he would be ready to meet the arguments of—

Mr. DURANT begged to remind

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the noble lord that he had set out with deprecating any discussion in so thin a court, and yet was himself entering upon a discussion of it. There was no question before the court; and if the noble lord was resolved to pursue his speech, he would insist on speaking after him, and it would be unfair to attempt to stop him.

Mr. ROCK said, that he was somewhat surprised at having heard the chairman declare, that the directors were not ripe for a public declaration of the principles and resolutions on which they meant to proceed, respecting the instructions to be sent out to India on the subject of the private trade, when more than six months ago, they declared they had finally made up their minds, and that the smallest delay would be in the highest degree detrimental to the interests of the Company. Surely, on such an important subject, it was not to be wondered at that the proprietors who had differed from the majority upon the ballot in June last, should wish for some information from the directors themselves, especially when it was matter of general notoriety, that the chancellor of the exchequer had, in his place, read a string of propositions, which he declared to form the basis of an arrangement which the directors were ready to admit.

LORD KINNAIRD said, it was not fair to push the matter further. It was premature to comment on the conduct of the directors till it was under consideration. From every thing that had come to his knowledge, he was satisfied that the conduct of the directors would be found deserving of the approbation and support of the proprietors. He saw no reason why his honourable friend (Mr. Henchman,) should

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take



take any steps to embarrass the directors, for no delay had taken place in adopting regulations on the subject of private trade since the resolutions alluded to. He again spoke with high praise of Mr. Henchman's book respecting the private trade, which he said would, like Andrew Stewart's letters to Lord Mansfield, remain as a monument of extraordinary powers in the conduct of such controversies.

Mr. CHISHOLME expressed a wish that the proceedings of the court of directors on the subject of the private trade since June last, should be laid on the table.

The CHAIRMAN stated, that he had no objections to their being laid on the table.

Mr. TWINING said, that he should take the course most likely to attain the ends which he thought most conducive to the interests of the Company. There was no wonder, therefore, that he did not follow the course which the honourable gentleman (Mr. Henchman), from whom he differed so widely, would recommend. He thought this not the fit time for entering upon the discussion. The court of directors should not allow themselves to be influenced by what had fallen from gentlemen on either side without the Bar. They would no doubt bring the matter in due time before the proprietors, and then he, as well as others, would attend and give their opinions. The directors, however, should not be dictated to respecting the bringing forward of the business.

Mr. IMPEY said, that nothing more was necessary in his mind to shew the propriety of the question asked by Mr. Rock, than what had fallen from the noble lord: that noble lord's name had appeared about six months ago at the head of a

list of proprietors, of whom he (Mr. Impey) was one, and who required more information on the question of the private trade before the final decision of it; yet without any more information whatever being granted, that noble lord has made up his mind, and appears to-day a strenuous advocate of the system of the directors: this change of sentiment must, he presumed, have proceeded from some private sources of knowledge that were not laid open to the proprietors. He was sorry to find that the army with which he had the honour to act had been deserted by their general; but he hoped at least his case would be similar to that of a famous general (General Arnold) in the American war, that he would desert alone, and carry none of his troops with him. That he (Mr. Impey) thought the proprietors had reason to complain in this business, not only that information had been withheld from them, but that they had been misled. An hon. baronet (Sir Stephen Lushington), whose absence he feared was occasioned by indisposition, had relied much, as an argument for the full confidence and approbation of the court of proprietors, on the unanimity of the directors. Another honourable director now present, (Mr. Thornton,) had dwelt on the same topic; he said there might be indeed *shades of difference*, but that in the main the whole of the directors were unanimous in maintaining the principles expressed in Mr. Grant's report. A few days after Mr. Impey heard the same subject discussed and the same topic urged in the House of Commons. "What!" said Mr. Dundas, "do you tell me of your unanimity? me who have read all your written opinions? This may do very well for the court  
of



of proprietors; but *I* know you are not unanimous; *I* know that the highest authority among you, your chairman, is of an opinion diametrically opposite to that of the majority; and though that majority agree in the same conclusion, yet they do it on totally opposite and incompatible principles; some on the principle of excluding private trade altogether, some on one ground, some on another; so that, if accurately examined, this boasted unanimity amounts to nothing." Besides, Sir, another very important fact has happened since the last general court, which in my opinion loudly calls on the directors for information to this court. Your late chairman, whom all of us must respect for his talents, information, and industry, however some may differ from him in opinion, has actually been driven from the chair. Why? because the directors were unanimous? or because there were only shades of difference between them? No; but because the difference of opinion was entire and irreconcilable. I am somewhat curious to hear how that honourable director can explain his notions as to what are shades of difference. But, Sir, since our last meeting, a much more important event has taken place respecting the India Company. This question of the private trade has been twice discussed in parliament: though suspended for some time by what is called a concession on the part of the directors, that suspension is but for a short period; and it is admitted on all hands, that unless the parties interested can agree on some accommodation of their differences, they must be finally arbitrated.

Mr. CHISHOLME said, that there was no question before the court,

and that the debate should not be pursued.

The CHAIRMAN said, that he did not exactly see the drift of the question proposed, and the speeches delivered on it. It seemed to be like filing a bill in Chancery, an attempt to get out something one way or other. He said, that the conduct of the directors was pure, and that it would bear any investigation.

Mr. DURANT again insisted on an adjournment.

Mr. HENCHMAN wished to know what the papers were that would be laid on the table? No answer was given; but it was understood that the proceedings of the court of directors, on the subject of private trade, since the last meeting, should be laid on the table.

#### NEW COLLEGE AT CALCUTTA.

Lord KINNAIRD said, he hoped he might be indulged in a very few words on another subject of very great importance to the Company—a subject which involved a heavy expence, as it was to be on a great scale. The matter was under the consideration of the court of directors, and he made no doubt, from what he had heard, that it would be very properly and prudently decided on, and that they would be supported by the majority of the proprietors. He meant the college that was erecting at Calcutta.

Mr. HENCHMAN rose, and said, the noble lord seemed also to have had more information on this subject than the rest of the proprietors, or else he did not know how he could have made up any opinion respecting it. He then noticed, with great disapprobation, the insinuations and whispers that were circulating against Marquis Wellesley. Mr. HENCHMAN said, this college,



college, as well as other things, were made the grounds of charging the marquis with great extravagance in his administration.—Such a character was not to be attacked in such a manner; the Nation and the Company would recollect the eminent services the noble marquis had performed, and he had no doubt they would have the gratitude to defend his cha-

rafter against such indirect hostility. If there was any reason to be dissatisfied with the Governor-general, let it be fairly stated, and he had not a doubt but it would be properly answered.

The CHAIRMAN said, that the subject had been under the consideration of the court of directors; but as yet they had come to no decision.

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## SUPPLEMENT to the STATE PAPERS.

### PRELIMINARY ARTICLES OF PEACE BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND THE FRENCH REPUBLIC,

*Signed at London, (in English and French,) the 1st of October 1801, the 9th Vendemiaire, Year 10. of the French Republic.*

(Published by Authority.)

HIS Majesty the King of the united Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, being animated with an equal desire of putting an end to the calamities of a destructive war, and of re-establishing union and good understanding between the two countries, have named for this purpose; namely, his Britannic Majesty, the Right Hon. Robert Banks Jenkinson, commonly called Lord Hawkesbury, one of his Britannic Majesty's most honourable privy council, and his principal secretary of state for foreign affairs; and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, Citizen Lewis William Otto, commissary for the exchange of French prisoners in England; who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, have agreed on the following preliminary articles:

ART. I. As soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, sincere friendship shall be re-established between his Britannic Majesty and the French Republic, by sea and by land, in all parts of the world; and in order that all hostilities may cease immediately between the two

powers, and between them and their allies respectively, the necessary instructions shall be sent with the utmost dispatch to the commanders of the sea and land forces of the respective states; and each of the contracting parties engages to grant passports and every facility requisite to accelerate the arrival, and ensure the execution of these orders. It is further agreed, that all conquests which may have been made by either of the contracting parties from the other, or from their respective allies, subsequently to the ratification of the present preliminaries, shall be considered as of no effect, and shall be faithfully comprehended in the restitutions to be made after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

Art. II. His Britannic Majesty shall restore to the French Republic and her allies, namely, to his Catholic Majesty and to the Batavian Republic, all the possessions and colonies occupied or conquered by the English forces in the course of the present war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon, of which island and possessions his Britannic Majesty reserves to himself the full and entire sovereignty.

Art.



Art. III. The port of the Cape of Good Hope shall be open to the commerce and navigation of the two contracting parties, who shall enjoy therein the same advantages.

Art. IV. The island of Malta, with its dependencies, shall be evacuated by the troops of his Britannic Majesty, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. For the purpose of rendering this island completely independent of either of the two contracting parties, it shall be placed under the guarantee and protection of a third power, to be agreed upon in the definitive treaty.

Art. V. Egypt shall be restored to the Sublime Porte, whose territories and possessions shall be preserved entire, such as they existed previously to the present war.

Art. VI. The territories and possessions of her most Faithful Majesty shall likewise be preserved entire.

Art. VII. The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory. The English forces shall in like manner evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and, generally, all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean, or in the Adriatic.

Art. VIII. The Republic of the Seven Islands shall be acknowledged by the French Republic.

Art. IX. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions, stipulated for by the present preliminary articles, shall take place in Europe within one month; in the continent and seas of America and Africa, within three months; and in the continent and seas of Asia, within six months, after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

Art. X. The prisoners made respectively shall, immediately after the exchange of the definitive treaty, all be restored, and without ransom, on paying reciprocally the debts which they may have individually contracted. Discussions having arisen respecting the payment for the maintenance of prisoners of war, the contracting powers reserve this question to be settled by the definitive treaty, according to the law of nations, and in conformity to established usage.

Art. XI. In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which may arise on account of prizes which may be made at sea after the signature of the preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed, that the vessels and effects which may be taken in the British Channel and in the North Seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of the present preliminary arti-

cles, shall be restored on each side; that the term shall be one month from the British Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, whether in the Ocean or in the Mediterranean: two months from the said Canary Islands as far as the Equator; and, lastly, five months in all parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular description of time or place.

Art. XII. All sequestrations imposed by either of the parties on the funded property, revenues, or debts, of any description, belonging to either of the contracting powers, or to their subjects or citizens, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of the definitive treaty. The decision of all claims brought forward by individuals of the one country against individuals of the other, for private rights, debts, property, or effects whatsoever, which, according to received usages and the law of nations ought to revive at the period of peace, shall be heard and decided before the competent tribunals; and in all cases prompt and ample justice shall be administered in those countries where the claims are made. It is agreed, moreover, that this article, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty, shall apply to the allies of the contracting parties, and to the individuals of the respective nations, upon the condition of a just reciprocity.

Art. XIII. With respect to the fisheries on the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, and of the islands adjacent, and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the two powers have agreed to restore them to the same footing on which they were before the present war, reserving to themselves the power of making, in the definitive treaty, such arrangements as shall appear just and reciprocally useful, in order to place the fishing of the two nations on the most proper footing for the maintenance of peace.

Art. XIV. In all cases of restitution agreed upon by the present treaty, the fortifications shall be delivered up in the state in which they may be at the time of the signature of the present treaty, and all the works which shall have been constructed since the occupation shall remain untouched.

It is further agreed, that in all the cases of cession stipulated in the present treaty, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever condition or nation they may be, a term of three years, to be computed from the notification of the definitive treaty of peace, for the purpose of disposing of their properties, acquired and pos-



seised either before or during the present war; in the which term of three years they may have the free exercise of their religion and enjoyment of their property.

The same privilege shall be granted in the countries restored, to all those who shall have made therein any establishments whatsoever during the time when those countries were in the possession of Great Britain.

With respect to the other inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded, it is agreed, that none of them shall be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested in their persons or properties, under any pretext, on account of their conduct or political opinions, or of their attachment to either of the two powers, nor on any other account, except that of debts contracted to individuals, or on account of acts posterior to the definitive treaty.

Art. XV. The present preliminary

articles shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at London, in the space of fifteen days for all delay; and immediately after their ratification, plenipotentiaries shall be named on each side, who shall repair to Amiens, for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty of peace in concert with the allies of the contracting parties.

In witness whereof, We the undersigned, plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty, and of the First Consul of the French Republic, by virtue of our respective full powers, have signed the present preliminary articles, and have caused our seals to be put thereto.

Done at London, the 1st day of October 1801, the 9th Vendemiaire, year 10 of the French Republic.

HAWKESBURY.  
(L. S.)

OTTO.  
(L. S.)



## CHARACTERS.

### *An ACCOUNT of the LIFE of BAJAZET.*

[From the French of D'HERBELOT, never before translated into English.]

BAJAZET Ben Mahommed, second of the name, the son of Mahommed the second, sultan of the dynasty of the Othmanides, or emperors of the Turks of Constantinople. He was born in the year 850 of the Hejirah, and succeeded his father in the year 885, of J. C. 1480, while he was on his pilgrimage to Mecca, which prevented his arrival at Constantinople till nine months after the death of Mahommed his father. Corcud, the son of Bajazet, held the reins of empire for him during his absence; on this account he used to say that he was but intrusted with the empire, which had been deposited in his hands for the sultan Corcud his son, who, however, did not succeed his father. Selim, a younger brother of Corcud, succeeded his father Bajazet.

This sultan's brother, by the name of Gem, disputed the throne with him, during the years of the Hejirah 886 and 887. This prince was supported by the forces of the sultan of Ægypt, and of the prince of Caramania: their support did not prevent him from being twice defeated, and he would have remained a prisoner to the sultan his brother, if Ahmed Gedik, who commanded Bajazet's army, had not spared him, and permitted him to save himself by flight into Ægypt: for this lenity Bajazet put Ahmed to death, though he was under very considerable obligations to him.

The prince Gem, who also assumed the title of sultan, hav-

ing fled into Ægypt, apprehending, with reason, that the sultan of the Mamlucs would deliver him up into the hands of Bajazet, for fear of encountering his displeasure, resolved to seek refuge from the grand master of Rhodes: but he also, from the dread of the arms of Bajazet, sent him into Italy to Pope Alexander VI. who received him with every mark of distinction, and lodged him in the palace of the Vatican. Bajazet had no sooner heard of his brother's arrival at Rome, than he sent very considerable sums of money to the Pope for his maintenance and establishment, on condition that he should be kept a close prisoner; and he afterwards gave him much greater sums that he should dispatch him: but there is no occasion to enter into a detail of this event, which our historians have so copiously related.

In the year 889 Bajazet made himself master of Carabogdan, for so the Turks call Moldavia, which Mathias Corvin, king of Hungary, was unable to succour in sufficient time; and he afterwards took several places on the Black Sea, at the mouth of the Danube and of the Boresthenees. After the conquest of Moldavia, the sultan returned to Constantinople, not with the intention of reposing himself after his labours, but of going into Asia to make war on the sultan of Ægypt, who was at that time in possession of Syria, and held some places

even



even in Natolia: but in this war he was not fortunate, for he was twice defeated by the Mamlucs in the year 890. This war between Bajazet and the sultan of Ægypt was carried on in Cilicia, where the towns of Tarse and of Adana were taken and retaken alternately by both armies: but the war was at length terminated by the peace concluded between the two princes in the year of the Hejirah 896. Tarse and Adana were ceded to Bajazet, who in the following year pretending to direct his arms against Hungary, which he was afraid to attack, turned them suddenly towards Albania. He made, however, excursions only into the country, and ravaged it; and would have been killed by a Turkish dervise, of the order of the Tortakis or Calenders, but for Eskander Bassa, who prevented the assassins, by felling him to the ground by a blow with his mace.

This happened in the year of the Hejirah 898, and in the following year, Jacob Bacha, of Boline, assembled a body of troops, and defeated a very considerable army of Hungarians, pretending as an excuse for this infraction of peace, the support that he meant to lend to Frenk Pani, or Frangipani, who had revolted against king Ladistas, the successor of Mathias Corvin.

In the year 905, Bajazet, after having reposed for some years, made great preparations, both by sea and land, to make war on the Venetians; and while they were spoiling Lewis Sforza, called the Moor of the duchy of Milan, he took from them the towns of Aimbacte or Lepante, and made himself master, in the following year, of those of Corou and of Modou, in the Morea; so that the Venetians, who tried in vain, in the same year, to take the fortress of Metelin, were obliged to buy their

peace with Bajazet on very high terms, in the year of the Hejirah 907, and of J. C. 1501.

After this war Bajazet began to feel the evils which were the effect of great fatigue, and perhaps of the licentiousness of his life; the gout attacked him, and prevented him from mounting his horse; and the blessings of peace were enjoyed for a considerable time by his subjects and his neighbours: but towards the year 915 their tranquillity was interrupted by a person of the name of Shah Culi, son of Hapan Schetif, of the sect of Ali, and in course a partizan of Ismael Sofi, king of Persia, a declared enemy of the Turks.

This man lived amongst the Turks in Natolia, and in great reputation for the sanctity of his life. Bajazet, who was ignorant of his sect and his profession, was deceived by him, like other people, for he used to send him seven thousand aspres yearly out of charity. This impostor issued suddenly from his cave, wherein he had shut himself up during five or six years, and put himself at the head of all those of his sect who had lived concealed in the different provinces of the Ottoman empire. These persons, when embodied by his orders, composed in a short time an army capable of making a stand against the principal officers of Bajazet. The sultan, impatient to terminate this revolt, and angry that the rebel should remain so long unpunished, ordered Ali Bacha to go into Natolia, and to bring to him the impostor either dead or alive; and that he himself should be flayed alive as the forfeiture of the non-performance of his command.

Ali, by great exertion, soon encountered with Shah Culi; but having only a small number of troops, and desirous of giving him battle, notwithstanding his disparity of



of force, he lost his life. He had pushed his enemy, however, with so much vigour, as to oblige him always to retreat; so that after having for a long time employed the forces of Bajazet in Natolia, and after having beaten his generals in several engagements, he was obliged to abandon the Ottoman provinces, and to withdraw himself with his plunder into Persia. Shah Culi had no sooner arrived there, than he waited on Shah Ismael, to whom he did not fail to enumerate the services which he had rendered both to himself and to his sect.

In the year of the Hejirah 917, Selim, a younger son of Bajazet, who held the government of Tarabozan or Tribizonde, and who resided there by the order of the sultan his father, left it without leave, and went to Caffa, the capital of the Chersonesus Taurica, where he married the daughter of the Khan of Little Tartary. Having acquired additional power by this alliance, and after having gained by presents the friendship of the Janissaries, particularly of those who are situated in Moldavia, he resolved to put himself at their head, and to march directly to Constantinople. He pretended that his journey was designed to pay his respects to his father; and that the laws of religion and of the state obliged him to the performance of this duty every three or four years.

As his design, however, was to besiege the crown, which he apprehended his father would leave to Ahmed his elder brother, the sultan was aware of it, and assimilating the motions of his son more to the march of war than to a journey of civility, sent several bachas to dissuade him from advancing, and to acquaint him that he dispensed with

those laws, which he had alledged as the only cause of his motion, and which obliged him to kiss his hand. But the young prince shewing no deference to the orders of his father, nor to the advice of the bachas, continued his journey towards Andrinople.

This march alarmed Bajazet so much that, though wasted by infirmity, he ordered himself to be carried in a chair at the head of his army, and marched his army to meet his son. He met him at Zorle, gave him battle, and conquered him without difficulty; the prince was obliged to abandon his troops and his baggage, to embark on the Black Sea, and to regain the city of Caffa as speedily as possible.

Ahmed, another son of Bajazet, who resided at the city of Amasia, the seat of his government, hearing of the motions of his brother Selim, also drew near to Constantinople, and encamped at Iscodar or Scutari; and, on another side, Corcud, the eldest of the sons of Bajazet, and who had his government in Natolia, did not remain an indifferent spectator of his younger brother's dispute for the crown: but Ahmed, who had more money and a superior force, soon obliged him to fly into Europe, and to take refuge at Gallipoli, which place he soon left by the permission of his father, and returned to Constantinople.

In the year 918, Selim again left Caffa, and arrived at Romelie without having encountered any impediment. The Janissaries, who were drawn into his interest, acquainted him that, if he would come to Constantinople, they would proclaim him emperor, and oblige Bajazet his father to vacate the seat of empire. They fulfilled their promise: for as soon as Selim was  
near



near the city, they sent deputies to Bajazet, to represent to him that his infirmities prevented him from marching at their head to wage war with the infidels; that it was reasonable his son Selim should supply his place; that he was a prince of undoubted courage, who would enable them to accomplish satisfactorily the obligations which their laws imposed on them, of extending the religion of Mahommed to the utmost of their ability. To their representations they added threats; they told him that they would not endanger his life, but that they would tear him by his clothes from his throne with the hooks of their javelins, if he would not abdicate it in favour of Selim.

While this remonstrance was passing in the seraglio, Selim arrived, and encamped before Constantinople, in a field called Jeni Bakgio, *i. e.* the new garden, where his brother Corcud went out to meet him. The two princes saluted each other apparently with great affection, and shook hands without dismounting from their horses, and without engaging in conversation; after the ceremony Corcud returned to Constantinople, and Selim remained at camp.

After having heard the harangue, and the resolution of the Janissaries, Bajazet deliberated for some time on his future conduct; the night put an end to his deliberations, and in the morning following he sent the coffers of the empire to Selim, and ordered all the viziers and bashaws to go and hail him emperor. He asked of his son a delay of twenty days only before he should surrender his seraglio to him, promising him that, after their expiration, he would retire to Dunituk, which is the antient Didymotichon, a city situated on the

Hebrus, between Constantinople and Andrinople, the place of his birth; and he added, that in that retreat he would not engage himself in any business of a public nature.

Selim, on having heard his father's resolution, waited on him to kiss his hand. Bajazet wished him to ascend the throne, but he excused himself, saying, that he came only to pay his respects to him, and after having done so, that he meant to withdraw to obey him in every thing and at all times: Bajazet replied, "No, my son, I will not permit you to retire; I put my empire into your hands with all my heart; I recommend to you only to spare the blood of the innocent."

Selim, having promised Bajazet to comply with his wishes, retired to his camp in the new garden, when, having assembled his whole army, the oath of fidelity was sworn to him, and he gave the first proofs of his sovereignty by ordering a Janissary to be hung in his presence who wore a gilded cap, and another soldier to be decapitated who had deserved execution. Corcud had no sooner heard of the proclamation of his brother Selim, than he embarked on a galley, and returned to Manipa or Magnesia, the seat of his government in Natolia.

A short time after, Bajazet left Constantinople in a car, and Selim accompanied him on horseback as far as the gate of Andrinople; he received various instructions from his father during the journey. It is reported that, in this conversation, Selim solicited Bajazet very anxiously to remain in his seraglio at Constantinople; but that Bajazet replied, "that two swords would not enter into the same scabbard." When they parted Bajazet pursued his journey, and died before



before he reached the place of his retreat.

Selim is accused of having poisoned him through his physician, who he afterwards put to death to avoid discovery. It is also reported that he was poisoned in the water of his bath, which he used according to the customs of the Mahomedans. He reigned thirty-two years, and his forced abdication happened in the year of the Hejirah 918, of J. C. 1512; so that being born in the year 850, he died in the 69th year of his age. He was so superstitiously attached to his religion, that he ordered the dust to be kept which was collected from his clothes and his feet during the course of his military expeditions against the enemies of his religion, in order that it might be hardened, and made into a brick to be put into his coffin, on the

belief that it would be of expiatory merit in the sight of God, and a motive to divine justice for the remission of his sins.

He was magnificent in his expenditure on mosques, on colleges, and hospitals; and having cultivated the arts, he was liberal to men of letters, and particularly to those arts and to those men who had any reference in the Mahomedan religion. There are some verses extant by Bajazet.

The origin of Bajazet's superstition respecting the brick which was to be put into his coffin, is founded on a tradition of Mahomed, which says, that all those who shall be laden with dust, *sejebel allah*, in the service of God, shall be exempt from the flames of hell. The interpretation of the service of God, according to the Turks, is the war on the infidels.

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### *An ACCOUNT of the LIFE of the Emperor SHAHROKH.*

[From the same.]

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SHAHROKH Behadir and Shahrokh Mirza, the fourth son of Tamerlane, was called Shahrokh, in consequence of his father having received the news of the birth of this prince while he was playing at chess, and that he was making that move which the Persians call Shahrokh, which is done by giving check to the king with the castle.

On this account he gave the name of Shahrokhiah to the city that Mahomed Ben Jehangeer, his grandson, caused to be built by his order on the river Khogend, which the Arabs call Sihon, and the ancients named Ixiartes.

Shahrokh succeeded his father Tamerlane in the 807th year of the

Hejirah, and made war during the whole of his life almost on Cara Jousouf, prince of Turcomania, of the black sheep dynasty, and on his two children, and died at the age of seventy-one years, or there about, in the city of Rhei, after having reigned forty-three years.

This prince was not less celebrated for his justice, for his piety, and for his liberality, than for his courage and other military talents. For after having defeated Cara Jousouf in three different battles, he fought and conquered again Jehan Shah and Eskander, his children, after the death of their father. Some time after, however, he restored to Jehan Shah the province of



of Adherbigian, made him tributary, and left Eskander a fugitive and a wanderer from province to province.

In the 818th year of the Hejirah, he rebuilt the fortrefs or castle of the city of Herat, called Ishtiareddin, which his father had formerly destroyed, and employed 7000 men to finish the works, and paid them from his own treasure. He also rebuilt not only the walls of the city of Herat, but those of the city of Merou, which never had been rebuilt since they had been laid in ruins by the irruptions of Zengis Khan.

The eldest son of Shahrokh was Ulug Beg, who had the government of Mawaralnahar, or province of Tranfoxane, with the Turquestan.

The second was Aboul Feth Ibrahim, who governed Persia in the life-time of his father, for twenty years, and died twelve years before his father, in the year 838. This prince left many works in the city of Schiraz, which have preserved the memory of him; and among them a celebrated madrasah, or college, known by the name of Dar Alfafa, the house of joy and of pleasure. Of this prince there are many little poems and inscriptions extant; and it was to him that Scharf-ed-din Ali Jezdi, who is reputed to be the most eloquent of the historians of Persia, dedicated his book, intitled Dhafer, or Zhafer Nameh, the book of victories, or history of Tamerlane, which was written by Tamerlane's desire, in the year of the Hejirah 828.

The third son of Shahrokh was called Mirza Baïfanker or Baïfankor, who died also in the life-time of his father, in the year of the Hejirah 837, one year before the death of his brother Ibrahim. This

prince left three children, A'lal-doulat, sultan Mahommed Mirza, father of Jadighiar, and Mirza Babor Aboul Cassem, who must be mistaken for another Babor, the son of Omar Scheik, and the grandson of Aboufaïd. All these princes reigned separately or conjointly, and made dreadful war on each other.

The fourth son of Shahrokh was Soïourgatmisch, who was empowered by his father to command the country of Gaznah and in India. This prince died in the year of the Hejirah 830, before his other two brothers, during the life and reign of Shahrokh his father.

The fifth and last son of Shahrokh of whom historians make mention, was Mirza Mahommed Gionki, who died in the year of the Hejirah 848, two years before his father.

We may observe here that Mirza Khalib Sultan, the son of Miran Shah, the third son of Tamerlane, who followed his ancestor in his expedition to Kathaï, and who was present at his death, arrived, in the year of the Hejirah 807, in the city of Otrar, seized on the provinces of Tranfoxanes and Turquestan; and that Shahrokh, his uncle, confirmed him in the possession of them. It happened, however, that one of the lords of his court, by the name of Houffain Khoudadaud, revolted four years after, seized on the person of the prince, kept him prisoner, and invited the king of Mogul, called Shamâ-Jehan, to take possession of his estates. But this prince punished the traitor for his defection, and sent his head to the sultan Shahrokh.

Immediately after this execution, Shahrokh arrived at Mawaralnahar, and received the homage of Khalib, who had recovered his liberty. He treated him with distinction, and



and gave him the provinces of Irac Persia and of Adherbigian, in exchange for the provinces of Tranfoxanes, of which he invested Ulug Beg, his eldest son, with the command.

The history of Shahrokh is so replete with great events and brilliant exploits, that the book, intitled *Mathla Alfadein*, must be consulted, which was composed by Abdalruzzak Ben Gelafeddin Ishak al Samarkandi, who died in the year of the Hejirah 880, and which is a complete history of the life of this prince and of his children, up to the year 875, the beginning of

the reign of the Sultan Houffain Mirza, son of Mirza Mansour, son of Mirza Baïkra, son of Mirza Omar Scheïk, son of Tamerlane. We may hope to have this history translated by Mr. Galland.

The literal translation of the title of this history means the ascendant or horoscope of the two happy planets, Jupiter and Venus; the author, alluding to the surname of Abou Saïd, happy, which Shahrokh bore, and to the title of Saheb Keran, master and ruler of the conjunctions, which was hereditary in the family of Shahrokh.

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### A CHARACTER of the GEORGIAN and CIRCASSIAN WOMEN.

[From the Travels of G. A. OLIVIER in Turkey, Egypt, and Persia.]

THROUGHOUT the East, much is said in praise of the beauty of the Georgian and Circassian women, slaves brought to Constantinople, and there sold while young, and thence scattered all over Turkey, in order to serve in the harems, or produce children to their masters. These women, from the account which has been given us of them by the female Christians of the country who frequent them, and from the small number of those whom the practice of physic has afforded us an opportunity to see, have European features: almost all are fair, with dark hair; all are finely proportioned when they are young, but they generally acquire, through repose, good living, and the frequent use of baths, an *en bon point* which constitutes the delight of the Turks, and which, nevertheless, exceeds the limits of beautiful proportion.

The Turks have nearly the same ideas of the beauty of women as the

Europeans, except that, in general, they prefer the fair with dark hair, and those with light brown, to the flaxen; and excessive *en bon point* to thinness: it may even be said that women in good health, and plump, please them much better than those whose shape is slender, whose person and limbs are pliant, and not very fleshy.

One must not be surprised that these women are in general very well made, since they are the choice of all that is most beautiful among those that are sold in the Turkish markets, by the parents themselves. But what must excite astonishment is, that avarice should overcome religious prejudices; that father and mother, at the sight of gold, should shut their hearts to tenderness, and to the sweetest affections; that they should abandon and give up without remorse a child, to be brought up in a different religion, and serve for the pleasures of whoever will purchase her.



her. And the Christian priests in that country endure and permit this infamous traffic for a few prayers and some alms: so true it is, according to them, *that there is a way of accommodating matters with heaven.*

The price of these slaves, in the markets of Constantinople, varies like that of all merchandize, and is regulated according to their number and that of the purchasers. They commonly cost from 500 to 1000 piastres, that is, from 1000 to 2000 livres; but a female slave of a rare beauty amounts to an excessive price, without there being a necessity of exposing her to sale, because most of the rich men are always ready to make pecuniary sacrifices in order to procure such for themselves. The men in place, and the ambitious, are likewise eager to purchase them, in order to lay them at the feet of their sovereign, or present them to their protectors, and place about them women, who, being indebted to them for their elevation, may endeavour, through gratitude, to contribute to that of their former masters.

In no case does a female slave shew herself naked to him who wishes to purchase her; this is contrary to Ottoman decorum and manners: but when she is marriageable, it frequently happens that the purchaser sends a matron of his acquaintance to examine her, and ascertain whether she be a virgin.

The prejudices of Europe, in regard to birth, not being known in the Levant, most of the Turks marry, without difficulty, their slaves, or give them in marriage to their sons. In like manner they give, without repugnance, their daughters, in marriage to the male slaves with whom they are pleased; they grant them their freedom, and

procure them commissions, employments, or give them money to undertake a trade, or exercise a profession.

The traffic for slaves was forbidden to the Jews and Christians who inhabit Turkey. No one is suffered to enter the bazar where women are exposed to sale but Mussulmans. Europeans cannot be introduced there without a firmaun of the sultaun, which is granted only to the ambassadors and agents of foreign powers, when they are on the eve of quitting the Ottoman empire. A few days before our departure, we with pleasure availed ourselves of the firmaun which Citizen Carra Saint Cyr obtained, in order to satisfy our curiosity in that respect. In company with him, we saw the monuments escaped from barbarism, time, and fire, the principal mosques, the madhouses, the menagerie, and the market for female slaves; but whether the traders, apprized of our arrival, had made them retire, or whether this was not the season when they are most numerous, we found few slaves in the bazar, and among those that we saw the greater part were veiled and shut up in their rooms; so that we could not see them but for a moment through a window, which was by the side of the door.

We stopped to contemplate three of them, who struck us by their beauty and the tears which they shed. They were tall, well made, and scarcely fifteen years of age; one of them, with her head and left arm resting against the wall, vented sobs which wrung us to the heart. Nothing could divert her from her profound grief: her companions, leaning the one against the other, were holding each other by the hand while we surveyed them.

They



They cast on us looks which, doubtless, expressed their regret at having lost their liberty, at being torn from the arms of a too cruel father and mother, at having been separated, perhaps, from those with whom love and hymen were to unite their fate.

The traders, swayed with ridiculous prejudices, fear the mischievous looks of Christians and Europeans: a woman cannot be seen by them without being depreciated, without running the risk of being affected by their malignant influence. Besides, these female slaves, still Christians, may, according to these traders, fall suddenly in love with a man of their own religion, and attempt to make their escape. They likewise fear that the too great affliction into which the slaves are plunged, by every thing that recalls to their mind recollections extremely dear, may occasion them to fall sick, or bring on a melancholy that may affect their health.

The building has nothing remarkable, and does not correspond with the beauty of the caravanaries, which it resembles in point of form and construction, nor to that of most of the bazars of the capital. You see a suite of small naked chambers, which receive the light only by a door and a little grated window, placed on one side. It is into one of these rooms that the unfortunate creatures who belong to the same trader are crowded: there it is that each waits till fate throws her into the hands of a man, young or old, robust or infirm, mild or passionate, good or bad, in order that she may become his wife or his concubine, or wait on the women of his harem.

The negresses whom commerce draws annually from Ethiopia or

Nubia are brought up, as well as the white female slaves, in the religion of Mahomet, and treated with the same kindness as the others; but being more particularly intended for the service of the harems, it seldom happens that they share the bed of their master. After a few years service, the greater part of them are married to white slaves. Being both at liberty, to the husband is given wherewith to set up a little shop, or exercise a profession, which may provide for their maintenance. Frequently they are kept in the house without being liberated; the wife serves, in case of necessity, as a wet nurse to the children of her mistress, and continues in the service of the harem: the husband remains about the person of his master, and performs the same service as before; he follows him in his walks, in his expeditions, and in the journies which his trade renders necessary.

In the East, the women have not yet suspected that the method to preserve longer their bloom, and enjoy, without interruption, the fascinating pleasures of society, was to draw themselves from duties the most sacred, by delivering into the hands of a hireling the precious pledges of their marriage. They find the caresses of the infant that they nourish with their milk far more sweet, far more agreeable, than the smiles of a perfidious and corrupt world. If their mode of life is more simple, less tumultuous, if their pleasures are less lively, less striking, they are amply indemnified by the calm of the senses, by the peace of mind, by the health they preserve, and by that which they transmit to their children. In the East, they are scarcely acquainted with that multitude of disorders occasioned by the dispersion of milk, those lacte-



ous indurations and secretions which afflict so many European women, and carry them off in the flower of their age.

If, through any extraordinary cause, a woman lose her milk, and find herself obliged to have recourse to a strange nurse, she receives her into her house, and causes her to be treated in the same respect, and the same attention, that she herself receives. Whether Mussulman or Christian, it depends on this foster-mother no longer to abandon the infant that she has fed with her milk, to continue towards it her maternal care, and to receive all her life, from it or from its parents, marks of the most lively gratitude: it depends on her, in a word, to be incorporated in the family, and to be there considered and respected as a second mother.

Through a luxury advantageous to the indigent, from which, besides, no inconvenience results, most of the opulent mothers, in the intention of preserving their *en bon point*, of reposing more quietly during the night, and of giving a more abundant nourishment to their children, place about them a second nurse, charged with the most laborious functions, to suckle them during the night, to amuse them, and divert their attention during the day: but the mother does not, on that account, think herself exempted from watching over the health of her child, from feeding it with her milk, from providing for all the wants that it appears to have, and from bestowing on it all the care that its age and weakness require.

Throughout the East, sterility of women is considered as one of the greatest misfortunes that can happen to them; independently of a barren woman not obtaining the considera-

tion which she would have enjoyed as mother of a family, she finds herself almost always neglected by her husband; she sees him pass into the arms of another woman; she is obliged to subscribe to the divorce which he demands; and, to complete her misfortunes, she can scarcely ever, in such a case, find a second husband. Besides, sterility presents with it the idea of an imperfection in the organs, which humiliates her who is the object of it.

When the signs of pregnancy do not manifest themselves a few months after marriage, the wife, in her impatience, never fails to address herself to matrons and physicians, in order to ask them for some beverage, some particular recipe that may facilitate and hasten the moment of conception. The former prepare pessaries, in which are contained the hottest and most irritating substances, such as musk, amber, bezoar, aloes, cardamum, ginger, pepper, cinnamon, cloves, &c. They at the same time cause most of these drugs to be taken as an opiate, or mixed with aliments, at the risk of producing some inflammation, or some other disorder more or less dangerous.

Unless the number of children be already considerable, or the fortune of the husband deranged, if the wife, still young, after one or more lyings-in, find too great an interval before she be pregnant, she has recourse to the same means, and she employs the same drugs.

The houses of the Mussulmans are disposed in such a manner that the lodgings of the women is always separated from that of the men; the former is called *hareem*, or sacred place, and the latter *selamluk*, or habitation of the man. At the houses of the great, there are two piles of buildings which



communicate with each other by intermediate apartments, of which the husband alone has the keys. Access to the harem is strictly forbidden by men; the male servants and slaves never enter it; and the male relations themselves are never admitted, except it be on the two grand festivals of the year, and on the occasion of weddings, lyings-in, or circumcision.

Commonly the harem has no windows towards the street, or if there be any, they are lofty, and grated in such a manner that one cannot see from without what is passing within.

We frequently experienced difficulties in the course of our travels, when we wished to ascend to elevated places in order to have a view of a town and judge of its extent, because the inhabitants were afraid that our object was to observe the women who were walking in their gardens, or taking the air on the terrace of their houses. It has frequently happened, on these occasions, that Turks have fired musquet-shots at Europeans whose intentions appeared to them suspicious.

The wife of a certain rank, when young, goes very little from home, because it is not fashionable for her to appear in the streets, although veiled, because the law exempts her from going to the mosque, because she has in her own house baths, which she uses at pleasure, and because she is surrounded by female slaves who watch over her, and female relatives who counteract her inclinations. To please her husband, to detain him in the harem as long as his affairs permit, to take care of her children, to occupy herself with her dress, and very little with her family, to pray at the hours prescribed by religion, and to

pass a part of the day without doing any thing, another in smoking, drinking coffee, receiving female friends, relations, or women under her protection, such are the duties and pleasures of a Mussulman woman. She seldom can read, and scarcely ever write; she has learnt to sew and embroider, prepare comfits and dainties, and make sherbet; but she finds it more pleasant to do nothing, to remain quiet in her sofa, and roll between her fingers a chaplet of coral or agate. She considers it as a delightful enjoyment to hold for a time a dish of coffee in one hand, a pipe in the other, and to carry them alternately to her mouth, at the same time inhaling the vapour of the one, and retaining as long as possible that of the other; what afterwards gratifies her the most, is to have it in her power to display to the eyes of the women whom she receives, some rich trinkets and a robe of great value.

A Mussulman is very poor if he have not several slaves to wait on his wife, and the latter is very unskilful if she does not soon convert into dresses and trinkets the greatest part of her husband's fortune. This extraordinary and preposterous conduct, especially in the mother of a family, appears to me to arise naturally from the laws and customs established in Turkey. It is well known that the sovereign has the right to confiscate, to the benefit of the imperial treasury, the inheritance of the agents that he has employed, and that, in this case, the property of the wife is always respected. Besides, when a divorce takes place between a married couple, the wife keeps her jewels and her wardrobe, independently of the other effects stipulated in the contract of marriage.



The wife takes her meals alone, or with the mother and the female relations of the husband, who are with her in the harem. He eats with his father and the male relations who live with him; and when he is alone and causes himself to be served in the harem, which frequently happens, even the wife does not eat with him; she waits on him, or sees that the slaves are attentive in waiting on him. The meal being finished, the hands and mouth washed and wiped, she herself presents him the pipe and coffee.

When there are several wives, each has her household, her table, her apartments, and her slaves in the same pile of building. It is very uncommon for a second woman, or slave, to be lodged in another house; this scarcely happens except among the chiefs of caravans, who, obliged to live half the year in one town, and the other half in another, wish to have a wife in each of those two towns.

No religious precept is more scrupulously followed, no law is more rigorously executed, in any religion and among any people, than ablutions and washings in Turkey. Before the five prayers of the day, before and after meals, at every stool, whenever he has been touched by any impure body, the Mussulman must purify himself by partial ablutions. But when he has cohabited with a woman, or has experienced a simple pollution, he is submitted to a general washing; and the woman besides is obliged to obey this custom after her lying-in, and at the end of the indispositions natural to her sex. Thence those ablutions almost continual, and those frequent vapour baths with which no one dispenses, of which all have

made themselves a want, and in which both sexes find a delicious charm.

What inclines the women to wish for baths with the most lively eagerness is, that they there make themselves amends for the constraint to which the laws and customs have subjected them. It is at the baths that they meet and make appointments with each other; there it is that they see each other with familiarity, that they converse without constraint, and give themselves up to the sweetest voluptuousness. There it is that the rich women can display, with the greatest minuteness, their most splendid attire, and their most costly garments. There they are served with pure mocha, exquisite restoratives, and sumptuous collations. There they lavish essences and perfumes; and the entertainment is frequently terminated by music, dances, and the *ombres Chinoises*: but, on these occasions, the bath is shut to the public for the whole day.

The poor women, almost without any expence, there find pleasures, less noisy indeed, but perhaps as warmly felt. Common coffee, common sherbet, no other perfume than tobacco, dainties which they themselves bring, and some fruits of the season: this is to restore the body and gratify the senses. Their vanity is flattered in displaying a fine shift, clean drawers, decent clothes, necklaces, chains, and other ornaments in sequins. In short, they no longer have any thing to wish for when they have undergone complete depilation, when their locks are arranged, their braids plaited, their eyelids and eyebrows painted black, and the nails of their hands and feet of an orange colour yellow.



*An ACCOUNT of the Life of TERUVERCADU MUTIAH, a learned Hindû, a native of the Carnatic.*

Written by himself in the English language.

In the Christian year 1766, in the 5th year of my age, I was put under tuition of a Brahmana tutor, by name Latchmana Eyer, who taught me to read and write the Sanscrit, Malabar, and Hindû writings, especially the two first.

In the year 1772 I was initiated in the Persian language, under a Musulman named Abdul-hakemfahib.

In 1774, I was educated by a Mahratta Brahmana, of the name of Sankara Râur, in the rudiments of the Mahratta language. In the 13th year of my age I finished all my scholastic readings in the foregoing five languages.

In 1775 I received my education in Cauvya Nataka, Alankara, &c.

of the Sanscrit language, from two eminent poets of the Brahmanical tribe, by name Emba Eyanger, and Rangava Acharya; so that in a short time I became able to compose verses in that language.

In 1776 I was instructed by one Vaduganada Pandaram, a most learned man of the same cast to which I belong, in the acromatic part of Tâmil learning, that is to say in the most excellent and copious grammar of Tâmil language, entitled Tûlcapiam \*, and in all other books dependent on it, viz. Cariky †, Nannûl ‡, Elackanavelackam §, &c. and also in books of poems, such as Terûvallûvar ||, Chintamaney \*\*, Peria Puranum

\* Tûlcapiam is the most ancient and most excellent, copious and abstruse grammar of the Tâmil language, and is said to be the production of a renowned saint, named Trunadhumagre, who was brother to Parasurama, an incarnation of Veshnu, and a disciple of Agastya Mahamune, a Thamaturgus. Tûlcapiam is a compound of Tula Cappia; the foregoing word signifies old, and the following implies the name of his family, which name, with the epithet Tûl, he, by way of eminence, gave to his production. This voluminous grammar is divided into three grand parts, each part being subdivided into nine divisions, treating at large of orthography, etymology, syntax, prosody, &c. &c. There are three different commentaries upon this grammar, the third of which is preferable. Hence it is clear that it was from misinformation, that Mr. Crawford, in his sketches respecting the Indian religion, asserts that "Tûlcapiam was a Rajah."

† Cariky is a book speaking of rules for versification.

‡ Nannûl is a book speaking of the speculative and practical parts of grammar, in a concise manner.

§ Elackanavelackam is another book of the modern composition, speaking of rules relative to letters, words, significations, poetry, and rhetorick,

|| Terûvallûvar, or Terûballûvar Cûral, is a book of hemisphico poems, remarkable for morals. This book is so called from its author Terûvallûvar. There is a learned commentary upon it, entitled Parematalakarûri.

\*\* Chintamaney is a book consisting of about three thousand stanzas full of tropical and figurative beauties. This book relates the history of Jeevakasamy, one of the former kings of Jinyas or Bûddhas, who are heretics to the religions prescribed by Vêdas and Siddantagamas. Here it is remarkable, that some confound Bûddha with Bûdha, and in consequence fancy that the Bûddhas were more ancient than the Brahmanas; but they are grossly mistaken, for Bûddha differs from Bûdha both in word and signification, whereas the former signifies the incarnation of Veshnû, which became the god of heretics, and the latter denotes Mercury, one of the heavenly planets.



num \*, &c. Neeandû, Tevakaram †, &c.

In 1777 I acquired skill in copying prose and verses on the high and poetical Tamil. Same year I began to learn Veyakarana and Tarkafastrâ ‡ under two learned Brahmanas, named Rama Sastre and Cuppurama Sastre.

In 1779 I received my education in Siddantaceagamas, from one Vataranya Sastre, a distinguished Brahmana theologift.

In 1780 I was sent to the English school of one Surya Pelly, a native of repute, who instructed me in the scholastic readings of that language.

In 1781 I was recommended to the Veslery missionary, the reverend Mr. Philip Febrecius, with whom I read an English book entitled the Preceptor, treating of morals, geography, chronology, &c. I began then to learn the elements of the Latin language under Mr. Walter, but in a short time after he departed this life. N. B. So my worthy father Terûvercadû Ramalinga Mudelliar has, at the expence of a vast deal of money caused me to be educated in the aforestated manner; and also furnished me with an abundance of Sanscrit and Malabar manuscripts, and also with a number of English authors, of which I have a library.

From 1782 to 1793 I continued to amuse myself with perusing the Sanscrit and Malabar authors, such as the Etehasa, Purana, &c. and also the English authors, such as the

Old and New Testaments, Ward's Grammar, Chambers' and Johnson's Dictionaries, &c. N. B. In the interim a proud monk of my tribe wrote a treatise, in the most sublime style of the poetical Tamil, against the mysterious commentary upon a sacred author of that religion, to which I and other natives of my class, and also all the worshipping Brahmas of Sevas temple throughout this peninsula do belong, which treatise he having sent to me on October 28, 1784, I was obliged to write my answer in refutation of the same treatise, in the same poetical style of the Tamil, in which it was written. Yet the said monk having, out of malice, drawn out something in reply to my answer, it was brought to me on September 13, 1791, which I again refuted, by stating my reasons in such an extensive manner, that it filled about one hundred Palmeira leaves, because I thereby shewed absurdities in every sentence written by the monk.

In 1793, in order to gain the good opinion of Dr. James Anderson, (a gentleman possessed of philanthropy and public spirit,) I made an accurate and literal translation into the Malabar language of three pamphlets which were published by him, consisting of letters on the progress and establishment of the culture of silk, &c. tending to the public welfare.

In 1794 I translated the modern history of Madura (written in the vulgar style of the Malabar language,

\* Peria Pûranam is a sacred book, said to have been written by an inspired man of my tribe, respecting the miraculous histories of sixty-three saints, of whom three sung hymns in praise of Seva and his holy places, of which hymns, called Tevaram, some part is now extant. The book Peria Pûranam consists of four thousand stanzas.

† Neeandû and Tevacaram are the well known lexicons and nomenclatures of Tamil.

‡ Veyakerana and Tarka are the sciences of grammar and logic.



guage,) into the English, in order to satisfy the curiosity of Andrew Ross, esq. a gentleman of abilities and wisdom. Same year, near the end, I translated, verbatim, into the English, the Sanscrit Almanack of the Indians, for the present year Ynanda, by the desire of Dr. Andrew Berry, a gentleman of great worth and learning. And this translation of the Almanack, Mr. Goldingham, an eminent astronomer, having perused, was pleased

to declare his approbation of the same.

N. B. I am now aged thirty-three years, four months, and twenty-two days, and have hitherto been married to three wives, (of whom two are dead,) yet I am still amusing myself with books of my library, as God Almighty has not yet been pleased to recommend me to such a service as is suited to me.

T. M.

Saturday, 24th Jan. 1795.

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*A MEMOIR of the BOUNSLA FAMILY of Mahrattas, since their settling at Nagpoor, under RUGGOJEE.*

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RUGGOJEE BOUNSLA, or Buncello, was one of those numerous jagyrdars who, in the Mahratta dominions, hold their lands on military tenures: he was born in a country called Gung Terree, near the river Gunga Gudawrise Gudavery, and was nearly related to Rajah Sahow, and to Terah Bye, his wife.

During a course of service, he had acquired both reputation and riches, and, from the command of a thousand horse, was raised to that of ten thousand by the rajah, who presented him with an honorary standard like his own, with the exclusive privilege of wearing it, and gave him a sunnud to conquer the Deogurs and Chandae countries for the maintenance of his troops. At this time Buckht Beillund was Rajah of Deogur and Nagpoor; he was of the cast of Gound, or Gouar; was a very powerful prince, and had always worn the ensigns of royalty.

Aalumgeer had formerly sent Nabob Deliel Khan against him, who reduced him, and brought him to Delhy, when the king, on his

turning Mussulman, gave him back his country, returned the ensigns of royalty, and gave him the title of Shah, as an addition to his name.

Ruggojee, not being able to make a conquest of the country by open force, had made several predatory incursions, carrying off their cattle and effects, for the payment of his troops; so that the country was almost ruined, and the inhabitants would not settle in their villages, for fear of being annually plundered.

Once he appeared with more than ordinary force, intending to carry every thing before him, and with 50,000 horse over-run the countries of Deogue, Chandah, and Nagpoor. While he was encamped at Kalowl, Buckht Boillund, in despair for the suffering loss of his country, forced a march to surprize him, with 12,000 resolute men, who were animated with the same feelings; he set out, cautioning every man who would not die with him, to return; came on them to a great advantage, and, after a fierce attack, entirely defeated them; they were pursued six coss to Kundalee, where Ruggojee narrowly



narrowly escaped being made prisoner.

After this they discontinued their attempts till the death of Buckht Boillund, who left a disputed possession between Akhur Shah and Booran Shah, who fought many battles with each other, so that Ruggojee made an easy conquest.

In the fort of Deogur, the Rajah Booran Shah fell into his hands, and the country of Nagpoor, being dependent on it, came under subjection.

Though he took full possession of the whole rawge, yet he conducted all business in the name of Booran Shah. He continued a sort of prisoner, but all his former state was preserved to him, his colours remained in every place, and he even by him collected the country. An agreement was entered into between them, that Booran Shah should pay him three-fourths of the revenue, and detain the other quarter; which stipulation exists to this day, and is nominally put in practice. Booran Shah lived in a state of confinement, but, during Ruggojee's life-time, he regularly got his quarter; Janojee used to permit too, but used now and then, when it accumulated, to ask it by way of loan, which the other could not refuse. The same farce is still kept up, and he has even been permitted to go about a hunting and diverting himself, but not further than ten or twelve cofs. The same respect and attention is still paid him; and he seems so prudent, or afraid, that he has declined many offers from Nizam Ally, and from the peshwa, who have each endeavoured to tamper with him. He is still in being, but very old, and has sons and grandsons who live at Ruttenpoor, but in great restraints. After several years, when Ruggojee

had fixed his government secretly, in Deogur, Chandah, and Nagpoor, he sent Boschar Baboo, who had the chief command in his army, and Ally Bye, to Bengal, by the road of Chietesgur (36 forts) or Ruttenpoor. They plundered the country of Ruttenpoor in their road, and passed through the districts of Rundwan Buser, Nebuser, Turkamanie, and Cuttack, plundering them also, till they came into the provinces; they practised this almost every year, and, by their depredations and incursions, the subah of Bengal was obliged to make overtures of peace: after an insidious treaty, Boschar, and several of the sardars, were invited to his tent and murdered, and the troops were dispersed.

Ruggojee afterwards sent his two sons, Modajee and Janojee, with a large force, to plunder Bengal, and they carried off a booty: on their return, he sent his son Subajee (sometimes called Nanajee) in the same manner, to make depredations; but none of those being able to establish themselves, he next year marched himself with about 100,000 horse, leaving his son to take care of his own country, and laid waste the country of Bengal, &c. taking a vast deal of plunder, and levying large contributions.

Ruggojee, by this time, on account of successes and his power, had drawn on himself the jealousy of Peishwa, who was now come to Benares, with a large army, to perform the religious ceremonies of that place: Aliverdy Khan, afraid lest he should assist in completing his ruin, immediately applied to him for large sums of money, and represented the many ravages of Ruggojee; that if any thing was to be paid, it ought to be paid to him, and not to the other, who was but a servant,



servant. Baba Bajerow hearkened to this application, which was likely to make him of so much consequence, and joined his troops with the nabob's, in expelling Ruggojee, from whom most part of the plunder was retaken. He therefore fled to his own country, through the hills, by way of Rewan Muckanpoor, the rajah of which, Ajeed Sing, stopped the passages, and refused admittance to him; however, on pledging faith together, and his making Ruggojee his son by adoption, he permitted him to go by Shagpoor. When he arrived at Ruttenpoor he attacked it, and it was defended by Sirda Sing, the rajah of the country, whose family was of Hoohoobunfey cast of Rajepoots, and had possessed this government from very remote antiquity. This country, so very convenient for his incursions into Bengal, he made it a particular point to reduce to his obedience; which, after much fighting and some loss, he effected: the rajah submitted, and Mohim Sing, Ruggojee's adopted son, was left with the government, who kept the rajah's family in a state of confinement, in which several of them exist at this time, at Ruttenpoor; others have taken protection with the neighbouring rajahs, who are either unable or unwilling to support their pretensions. Ruggojee made some other attacks on Aliverdy Khan's government, at the instigation of Alyr Hubbaba, servant of Suffraz Khan, who fled from Aliverdy, and who vowed revenge for the murder of his master. In the course of these incursions the chout was agreed upon, and afterwards the cession of Cuttack in lieu of it: and Janoojee, for the consideration of five lacks, put Alyr Hubbaba to death.

Ruggojee's death happened some time after this: he left four sons,

who were born in the following order: Modajee, Janoojee, Bimbajee, and Sabajee. Modajee and Bimbajee were by the great Ranne, who was of the Poonah family, and Janoojee and Sabajee by another wife, of not so considerable a rank. Modajee's mother being related to Sahaw Rajah, and to Tarah Bye, assumed much from her condition, and by her pride disgusted Ruggojee; whereas the mother of Janoojee had made herself the most beloved. Modajee, too, from the same circumstances, had given some opposition and disgust to his father; so that Janoojee became the favourite, and he wished to leave him his heir. On his death he declared Janoojee rajah, and his mother having possession of all the treasure, he by this means got the government. Modajee, during his father's life, had the charge of Chandah, and was absent there; from hence he collected an army to dispute the raje with Janoojee. Notwithstanding the defection of Pelagee Naik, and many of the sirdars, who went over to Modajee, Janoojee obtained a victory by means of Mujeed Khan Ruhillah, of Hussimbeg Khan, and of his own household troops. Peace was afterwards concluded between them, and Chandah was given to Modajee for life. Bimbajee, during this, was at Sitarah, with the Rajah Sahow and Tarah Bye, with whom he was nearly related by his mother, and was greatly favoured. Tarah Bye, at this time, had his marriage celebrated with her own niece; and on the news of Ruggojee's death, he was invested with the rajaship of Ruttenpoor, which he claimed as his share of his father's inheritance.

Mohim Sing, the adopted son of Ruggojee, who was mentioned above, had continued in the charge of these countries ever since their



first conquest, and, fortunately for Bimbajee, had died a few months before, so that he easily possessed himself of them.

This person had, during his government, made the countries of Sumulpoor, Gangpoor, Juspoor, Surgoojah Chutah, Nagpoor, and some others, tributary to him. Bimbajee, therefore, succeeded to those appendages, as well as to Ruttenpoor, about the year 1768.

Modajee, notwithstanding his agreement, still created troubles, and gave disturbance to Janoojee, so that many disputes happened between them: Janoojee sent Mujeed Khan, who invested Chandah, which surrendered, and Modajee was forced to come in. A peace was again concluded; Modajee acknowledged obedience to Janoojee, while he gave up Chandah to him for a subsistence, and, having no issue of his own, adopted Modajee's son (Ruggojee) as his heir. Janoojee, in order to secure the obedience of his brother, kept Ruggojee always with himself, and, as his successor, invested him with a drefs; so that Modajee remained pretty quiet at Chandah during the remainder of his reign. Bimbajee, though he did not interfere in the dispute, yet frequently gave disturbance to Janoojee's government, and plundered his treasure, on the road from Cuttack, as his country lay between that and Nagpoor.

Sabajee continued always with his brother, was styled his dewan, and was very steady in his interest. He had a jaghire of 40,000 rupees a-year at Dunwah, from Nizam-al-Mulk, by way of pension, with other allowances from Janoojee.

During the course of many years, Janoojee had several wars, both with the peshwa, who were now very jealous of his power, and with

Nizam-al-Mulk, in which he had management and address enough to keep his brother Modajee either in his power, or attached to him. Bimbajee was with him in one action, and Modajee frequently accompanied him. In a war which subsisted between Mahdoo Row and Nizam Ally, he joined the latter, and they plundered Poonah. On their return, Janoojee joined his forces with Mahdoo Row's, and plundered the nabob in passing a river near Poonah. Two years after this the peshwa and nizam both attacked Janoojee's country and laid it waste, burning Nagpoor itself to the ground: Janoojee was not able to face them in the field, and, in order to rid himself of such troublesome neighbours, marched, with all the force he could collect, through hills, jungles, and the most difficult roads, plundering every where he went, towards the capital, Poonah, where all their families were deposited, and was now defenceless, in order to retaliate on it the disgrace his capital had suffered. This obliged Mahdoo Row immediately to march to its assistance, and to get between Janoojee and Poonah, when he was but three marches from it. Janoojee therefore returned through the nizam's country, plundering and burning every thing that came in his way; he was followed by the peshwa, and a peace was concluded, Janoojee giving the peshwa some money, professing his dependence on him, and promising his rusten of troops when the government required it. Little regard was paid to this treaty, for the peshwa was no sooner gone than Janoojee dispossessed his people of the fort of Amnier, near to Katowl, which he had taken during the war, and the peshwa did not chuse to take any further



ther notice of it. Janoojee, till his death, had no other wars with the peshwa: he verbally acknowledged a dependence; but when he went to court, it was with his army, to prevent any treachery.

He raised contributions from the neighbouring countries, both in person and by his sirdars. From Berar (the capital of which is Eliah-poor) the nabob paid him the chout of its revenue, which is 52 lacks, and is fixed so till this day.

Janoojee died in the year 1772: he had marched from Nagpoor, to raise money from the country of Jungterry, with Derria Bye, his wife, who always went into the field with him, and rode on horseback. Modajee, Sabajee, and Ruggojee, his nephew and adopted son, also accompanied him. On hearing that Alyr Moofa Khan, Rookem-al-Dowlah, and Ibrahim Khan Dowlah Zabit Jung, were come there with a force to collect the country, on the part of the nizam, he kept Derria Bye, Sabajee, and Ruggojee, in the fort of Akoat, and marched to oppose them. When the two armies were very near each other, a peace was concluded. Janoojee soon after was suddenly taken ill, and died in two days sickness, as some say, by poison.

He delivered all the papers, treasure, and effects, which were with him, to Modajee, who, being suspicious of the other army, sent Gul Mirza Khan to Zabit Jung, with the particulars of Janoojee's death, and his own profession of friendship. He, in return, condoled with him, and gave him assurances that he might in safety perform the funeral ceremonies of his brother, which, with the Hindus, requires twelve days. Several of his women burned themselves on this occasion, and, amongst the

rest, a dancing girl; but what makes it more extraordinary, a Mussulman. She, it is said, with some of the others, did it for fear of Derria Bye, who was of a very violent disposition, and had vowed to shave their heads, and otherwise dishonour them, if they fell within her power. After twelve days he marched to Akoat, to console the family, whilst Derria Bye, by her intrigues, in the mean time, had gained over the army, and got possession of the treasure, telling them, as they loved Janoojee, to stand by her, and she would pay them all their arrears; on this they all attached themselves to her interest, and the whole marched to Nagpoor. Here Modajee got leave for Ruggojee, on pretence of seeing his mother, to accompany him to Chandah, under a promise of returning. They remained at Chandah all the rains, and entertained troops; but Modajee did not declare whether it was to assert the raje for himself or his son.

Derria Bye, in the mean time, was not idle, and her people, seeing the danger, advised her to give the Teeka to Sabajee, as her husband's brother, and a person who would act according to her advice and inclination, which was not to be expected from Modajee, or his son, whichever of them succeeded. She, approving of this, wrote to Mahdoo Row, the peshwa, and to Sekeeram Baboo, his dewan, in favour of Sabajee, and sent teeps for twelve lacks of rupees, to back her application. Letters of the same nature were sent to the nizam, with seven lacks of sunnuds. In consequence of which khelauts were sent from each of those, and Sabajee regularly invested with the rajahship. On this Modajee marched to Amrawtee, where Sabajee, accompanied by



by Derria Bye, met him; they had each about twelve thousand men, but Sabajee had artillery, and his troops were better: after disputing the field almost the whole day, Modajee was defeated, and retreated twelve cofs. Sabajee was now settled in the raje, but being soon impatient of the vast power and insolent behaviour of Derria Bye, was very desirous of curbing it, and setting himself free from the influence which she had in the country, and over the troops. Her loose behaviour also scandalized him exceedingly; and when he remonstrated to her on it, or attempted to deprive her of the company of her gallants, the most violent quarrels and abusive language passed.

On seeing an image set with jewels, (which Janoojee used to wear,) on the neck of one of her favourites, a violent quarrel arose; and she made a shift to escape with her jewels to Modajee. Indeed her influence in the army was so great, that it is said she did, or might have done it, in defiance of him, and that he was therefore obliged to wink at the retreat. This defection had like to have been the ruin of Sabajee, for, by her intrigues, she had nearly carried off his whole army, and he was obliged to divide a great part of his treasure among them, even to his elephants, horses, arms, and clothes, to secure their allegiance to him.

The country having a high veneration for Janoojee, his adoption, the dying declaration said to be made in favour of Ruggojee, had a great effect on their minds, whilst the investiture of Sabajee, by the peshwa and the nizam, had also its weight, and nearly balanced them. Such, therefore, whose interests or inclinations led them, favoured one side or the other; but most remain-

ed suspended, till they should see which side got the better. Sabajee, on this occasion, wrote to the peshwa, and to the nizam, offering them very handsome terms for their assistance; he represented to the latter that they wanted to seize his person, and begged him to march to him immediately, for which he promised to give up the chout of Berar. Ibrahim Khan Dousha was at Nermub, eight days journey from thence, on the part of Nizam Ally Khan; he marched immediately, and in fifteen days arrived at Koranjah, within twelve cofs, with a large army; he was joined, soon after the arrival of Ibrahim Khan, by Attaliah, with about eight hundred Mahrattas, on the part of the peshwa, Mahdoo Row.

Modajee, in the mean time, was not idle, for he got over unto his interest Ishmael Khan, who was the nabob's deputy in the province of Berar, at Elichpoor, who, though he sent him part of the revenues, yet he paid Janoojee the chout; and there was such a connexion between them, that the nabob dared not displace them, though he was much inclined to it. The nizam had long wished to reduce him, by dividing him from the Mahratta interest, whilst Ishmael was apprehensive lest Sabajee, being put up by the nizam, he should be an immediate sacrifice. Immediately on the news of Ibrahim Khan's junction, Madajee marched, with Derria Bye, towards Nagpoor, in order to secure part of Janoojee's treasure, which was deposited in different forts: but the principal was in Gurgowal, (a fort on the hills within seven cofs of Elichpoor,) under the care of Jaum Sing Hazzaree, who, as well as the others, refused to deliver up his charge till the dispute was determined who should be rajah. On the



the road they were joined by Ishmael Khan; and though they were pursued closely by Sabajee, and the nabob's forces, they carried off the treasure which was at Nagpoor, to Manich Durg, an inaccessible fort on a hill three cofs from Chandah, where depositing it, they marched on to the southward, to the fort of Mahore, which was under Ishmael Khan, where, finding themselves pursued, they retreated to Elichpoor. Here, finding they could not face Sabajee in the field, it was determined that Ishmael Khan should defend Elichpoor, whilst Modajee should distress them as much as he could in carrying on the siege. There being a great antipathy between Ishmael Khan and Ibrahim Khan, Meer Moosa Khan Rooknal Dowlah, the nabob's dewan, persuaded his master to send him to accommodate matters, and bring Ishmael in. On this lord's arrival, Ishmael immediately applied to him, and he himself went in the kallah, where terms were immediately agreed upon, that he should abandon Modajee's interest, and should pay a large sum to the nizam, but continue in possession of the country. Before they marched off from this place, intelligence came of Mahdoo Row's death, which was in November 1772, and of his brother, Narrain Row's accession to the office of peshwa; Modajee, therefore, finding other resources fail, went off with his son Ruggojee and Derria Bye, to court, where he met with very little encouragement from Narrain Row. Sabajee being afraid that this change might make some difference in his interest at court, kept closely connected with the nabob, and, accompanied by his troops, went to visit him, whilst the partizans of each side carried on hostilities against each other, both in

Nagpoor and Chandah. During his residence with the nizam, which was seven months, Narrain Row was cut off by his uncle Rogabaw, by means of Summer Sing and Asof Ally Gardee, and he was declared peshwa by many of the chiefs of the country. For many years there had been a strong friendship between Rogabaw and Madojee; the latter, therefore, attached himself to the former, and supported his interest as much as he could, in hopes of his reinstating him in Nagpoor, when he was secured in the government. Rogabaw, soon after his accession, gave Ruggojee the *ti-cha* (mode of making him rajah) of Nagpoor, declaring that it was his right, in consequence of Janoojee's will.

He summoned all the fardars, and was joined by Tirmuk Mama, with fifty thousand men, also by Hurry Turkiah, Attoliah, and others; but Holcar and Scindiah, with some more, did not join, on pretence of the distance. An alliance was also concluded between Rogabaw and Nizam-al-Dowlah, to attack Hyder Ally; and he marched from Poonah, and joined his army with the nabob's, at Bidowr; he was accompanied by Modajee, and it was an extraordinary circumstance, that Modajee, Derria Bye, and Ruggojee, here met with their competitor Sabajee, who had accompanied the nabob, so that the two rivals resided in the same camp together for some time. Rogabaw was no sooner from the capital than Gopha Bye, the mother of Budhoo Row and Narrain Row, began with her intrigues to bring about his fall. This woman, from her shameless mode of life, had become disagreeable to her son Mahdoo Row, and having come to pay her devotions at Allahabad and Benares, she fixed her residence



at the latter place, either through constraint, or in order to indulge her inclinations more freely.

The Mahratta women expose themselves more than the women of the other parts of India, and the greatest of them are frequently on horseback; nay some are said to lead armies and mix in battle. They are also very prone to intrigues, and not very ceremonious about the scandal attending it. They pretend great veneration for Gyah, &c. and often come on pilgrimage there, especially widows. They hold it necessary for the entire remission of their sins, to have their heads shaved at these places. This practice is more necessary to those women who have indulged themselves in gallantries, and they then suppose themselves fully purged; but it is done under the cloak of general trespasses, and not avowedly for this crime.

Gopha Bye went through the ceremony of shaving of her hair at Allahabad, and after visiting Gyah, she continued at Benares. On Narrain Row's getting the peshwanship she returned, being certain of having great influence, from his pliancy of temper and easiness of disposition: She had been the principal cause of the misunderstanding between Rogabaw and Narrain Row, and was now violently incensed against the former for the murder of her favourite son, with her own loss of power in consequence thereof.

Narrain Row's wife was, about this time, brought to bed of a posthumous son; and she wrote to all the fardars, exhorting their abhorrence against Rogabaw, for the murder of his nephew, a crime more heinous, as they were both of the sacred cast of brahmins; and im-

ploring their protection for the safety and rights of his infant son.

Seekaram Pundit, the Purnacies, who had been dewan, and a very old and confidential servant both to Mahdoo Row and Narrain Row, joined his endeavours with her. He accompanied Rogabaw, in his campaign to the southward, and while Gopha Bye solicited the assistance of the nizam, by her letters and advantageous offers, he was not idle in forwarding her views. Sabajee, it may be supposed too, used all his endeavours to ruin the patron of his rival brother; the fort of Dowlatabad, being within three coss of Arungabad, the ancient seat of the subahs of the Deccan, was now in the hands of the Mahrattas; but though the capital was the nabob's, yet this fort being in the very suburbs, he would not reside there. This was offered, and with a large sum of money, was given him for abandoning Ruggojee's interest. Tirmuck Mama, the chief firdar, was also privy to it; and it was determined to seize Rogabaw, but he fled in the night, with his own family troops, and with those of Modajee, Summer Sing, and Asoph Ally Gardee, with a few others. It was agreed that the nabob should have a lack of rupees for every marching day, and fifty thousand for every halting day, for sebandy. He, therefore, marched often slowly, with his artillery, whilst Tirmuck pursued him with his Mahrattas; he soon overtook him, but was killed himself in the conflict, after which Rogabaw followed the route to Burhampoor; here too, being pursued, Modajee fled to Elichpoor, to his ancient friend Ishmael Khan, and Rogabaw to the northward, to solicit the protection and assistance of Hindustan. On their flight from  
Biddour,



Biddour, Derria Bye took with her the boy Ruggojee, and about eight thousand of her own troops, and threw herself into the protection of the nabob, and marched with him after Rogabaw, as far as the Nurbudda, and from thence back to Berhampoor.

Derria Bye used to encamp between the nizam's army and that of the Mahrattas, which, since the death of Turmuck Mama, was commanded by Hurry Pundit Turkia. At this place, Sabajee and Ibrahim Khan represented to the nabob, that Derria Bye was the cause of all the family disputes, which never could be at an end till she was delivered up, with her treasure, to Sabajee. The nabob objected, that as she was the rannie of Janoojee, and had taken his protection, it would appear famous to send to attack and seize her by force in her own camp; where besides, she might be joined by the Mahratta army; but gave his consent to get hold of her by some contrivance or other. Ibrahim Khan therefore commenced a negotiation with her, to make up all matters between her and Sabajee. A day was fixed for their both coming to see her. They came with a large body of sepoy; and as soon as they were got within the camp, either through mistake, or in consequence of a discovery of their design, they began firing on her people, who were unprepared for such a salutation. On the first alarm she and Ruggojee mounted the horses of the guards, which always stand ready saddled before their tents, and escaped to the lines of Hurry Pundit. While Ibrahim fulfilled his own and the nizam's views, in securing the treasure and valuables, the camp too was plundered by the soldiers, but little fell to Sabajee's share, except

some horses, tents, and elephants. After the plunder they advanced towards the Turkiah's encampment, who got ready his troops, refused to give up Derria Bye, and forbade their further approach. Hurry Pundit did this merely from a point of honour, for he was afraid of Gopha Bye, and knew he could not protect persons so nearly connected with her enemy. He therefore advised Derria Bye to put herself, with Ruggojee, into the hands of Sabajee, who, in return, promised them safety and kindness.

The rains now coming on, the army was broke up, the nizam marching to his own country, the turkiah to Poonah, and Sabajee, with Derria Bye and Ruggojee, to Nagpoor. On the road he besieged Akowlah, and raised considerable contributions from Kurunkare and Calapoor, forts belonging to Ishmael Khan, on account of the chout, and because of the protection he offered to Modajee.

Modajee remained all this time at Elichpoor, where he was drove to great distress, and was much relieved by the hospitality of Ishmael Khan. His people even stopped him one day in the bazar market for pay, and on his abusing them, three patans, who had followed his fortunes without any return, fell on him, wounded him severely in the back, cut off his thumb, and killed his son-in-law, at the expence of their own lives.

Ishmael Khan assisted him during his illness, and promised his utmost support, when the season for commencing the campaign began. Ragonaut Row was now in the northern parts, and received but a cool reception from Scindiah and Holkar, the two principal firdars in those districts; but hearing of Modajee's



dajee's misfortunes, he dispatched Afoph Ally, with his sepoy, and such others as he could pick up in the way, to assist him in the recovery of Nagpoor.

Afoph Ally was reckoned a brave and excellent officer, and Modajee was under the greatest obligations to him on this and on many former occasions. He had distinguished himself by his bravery with Roganaut Row, and now by his zeal in Modajee's cause, on which he was sent, at his own instigation, not only from a view of reinstating Modajee, but for bringing the prospects of his master into a better situation, by the accession of so considerable a country as Nagpoor to his interest. His activity in preparing every thing was such, that Modajee often said, that if ever he got the raje, it would be owing to him, and swore to him that he would divide it with him. Ishmael Khan too exerted all his power to send him into the field in the most respectable manner, thereby incurring the displeasure of his master the nizam, who was known to patronize the interest of Sabajee. After the rains they marched to Belah, six cofs from Nagpoor, where they were met by Sabajee, and a very complete victory gained by the latter; near 6000 of the former being killed. It was so complete, that many paid him compliments on the occasion, and they pursued the enemy, who were dispersed on all sides. Sabajee happened to be with the party who surrounded his brother; who, attended only by about 100 followers, and knowing Modajee by his long beard, called out to spare his life, as he advanced up, waving his hand to save him; when his elephant came almost up to Modajee, the latter levelled his piece at him, and shot him dead on the spot. It

is said, the only excuse given for Modajee, on this occasion, is, that somebody called out, "what! do you intend to wear your brother's chains?"

The fardars, after the pursuit, coming to pay their congratulations, found their master dead, and his brother, with Ruggojee (who accompanied Sabajee in the action) in his room. Some were for revenging Sabajee's death, when Jaage Khan, the brother of Modajee Khan, a person of great influence, advised them to settle all differences, by making Modajee, or his son, rajah. Sabajee's body was sent to Nagpoor, where his wife, another niece of Tarah Bye, mounted the funeral pile along with it. The brave Afoph Ally was found desperately wounded among heaps of slain, when he had defended Modajee, and was with difficulty recovered. Sabajee's death happened in December 1774. His disposition was extremely gentle and easy.

Ruggojee was now proclaimed rajah, and his father transacted all business in his name. He has another son named Chimnajee; and Sabajee has a son, seven or eight years old, who remained at Nagpoor, with Derria Bye, in a state of confinement. Modajee was now employed in restoring order to the government, and establishing his authority as far as was in his power; but most places stood out till he should get the full confirmation of the nabob and peshwa.

Bimbajee was inclined to Modajee's party, but remained quiet at Ruttenpoor. After Modajee's accession, he came to Nagpoor in 1775, both to congratulate him, and in hopes the raje was only between the two brothers, a large portion of it might be granted to him.



him. In the latter part of his errand, he did not find Modajee so attentive as he wished, but he still gave him some hopes. While Bimbajee resided with his brother, another storm threatened the latter. Both the nizam and regency at Poonah were highly incensed at the death of Sabajee, the manner of which being related in the most aggravating terms. The nizam, in particular, had a personal regard for him, and was highly offended at seeing his rebellious servant, Ishmael Khan, have so great a share in disposing of the rajahship of Nagpoor. He therefore marched against Modajee, and, on his approach, the latter retired from Nagpoor.

The court of Poonah too issued their thunders on the occasion, but they had employment elsewhere for their troops. The nabob gave it out that his motive for invading the country was to expel Modajee utterly, and to set up the son of Sabajee, as the person approved of by the peshwa. But his real design was to raise some money from Modajee, and to crush the power of Ishmael. Modajee retreated to Kattowl and Amore, and was followed by the nabob, where, rather than risque a battle, he sent his dewan to negotiate a peace. It was agreed that a very considerable sum should be paid to the nizam, that Modajee should abandon the interest of Ishmael, whilst the nabob should reduce him; and that he should deliver up the strong fortrefs of Gur Gawaeb, near Elichpoor, to the nabob, after his marching out of his country. These terms being agreed on, he visited the nabob, by the mediation of Ibrahim Khan, and continued with him some time. Ibrahim Khan had been in the English service, and rose to the rank of commandant, or subidar, which he

quitted, and afterwards entered into that of the nabob's.

He commanded a large body of troops, disciplined in the European manner, and he had near eight thousand Abyssinian slaves, which he had purchased at Surat, and trained as a body of horse. This person had rose by degrees in the nabob's service, by means of the dewan Myr Moofah Khan Rookun-ah-Dowlah; but since the latter person had officiated in saving his enemy, Ishmael Khan, at Elichpoor, from the destruction which he had planned for him, he bore him a most inveterate enmity; in consequence of his ill offices with the nabob, Myr Moojah Khan declined much in favour, so that a plan was laid for cutting him off, which was executed at a private audience.

Ibrahim Khan having now got all power into his own hands, and being rid of the only person who had patronized Ishmael Khan, he stimulated the nabob against him, and engaged him to take this opportunity of crushing him. On this occasion Asoph Khan represented to Modajee the situation of his friend, and the dilemma which perhaps his attachment to him had helped to bring on him, offering, at the same time, to go to his assistance, which Modajee refused, for fear of offending the nabob. Ishmael being now abandoned by the only person whom he had hopes from, or who was able to support him against the force of Ibrahim Khan, determined to throw himself on the nabob's clemency. On his arrival in camp, he was refused audience, unless by the mediation of Ibrahim Khan, which he esteeming a disgrace to persons of his rank and family, refused with some indignation, saying "he would not be introduced by that *sepoy*." His fall was before determined, so  
this



this perhaps only hastened his fate. His encampment was of about sixteen hundred men, the rest being left at Elichpoor; these were in the night surrounded by the nabob's troops, and the artillery began to play on them; all but a very few run off, and Ishmael, with about seventy of his countrymen, sallied forth to meet Ibrahim Khan, and died at the feet of his elephant. On this the nabob proceeded to Elichpoor, which he took possession of, with the treasure and family of the unfortunate Ishmael, whilst Modajee was a tame spectator of these transactions. The nabob, having gained all his ends, now marched back, and Bimbajee proceeded with Modajee as far as Nagpoor, where he took his leave about the beginning of the rains 1795.

The fort of Gaweab, according to agreement, was to be delivered over to the nizam, on his marching out of the country; but Modajee, well knowing that it was an affair of too little consequence to bring his army back, at such an immense expence, declined it; nor has he yet satisfied him in that respect.

The nabob taking leave of Modajee, he advised him to gain the favour of court, by the dismissal of Yusuf Ally, as Gopha Bye had frequently wrote to him to send her his head. Modajee had also applications to the same purpose from this enraged woman. He represented the infamy such a step would bring on his name, but promised to dismiss Yusuf Ally from his service and country, and privately agreed that Hurry Pundit might attack him as soon as he left his frontiers, on his way to join Rogabaw, of which he engaged to give proper intelligence. On settling accounts there were some disputes about the arrears and services of

Yusuf; several lacks were due to him, and a small part of which was paid, and bonds were given for the rest, his uncle Wolley Mahommed remaining behind for its receipt.

On his route he was attacked by Hurry Pundit, and obliged to retreat back to Modajee's country, where he was afterwards seized at an entertainment, by Modajee's orders, his whole treasure plundered, and he, with his uncle, delivered to Gopha Bye, who blew them both from a gun. Whether this was to conciliate the favour of the Poonah court, or to get rid of the debts due to this officer, and to seize his treasure, it must be acknowledged to be a most ungenerous, ungrateful, and base transaction, considering his great attachment and eminent service, with the obligation he laid under to him. He immediately after this business received the teekah from the peshwa as the reward of this service, and was received into great favour.

In the latter end of 1775, Bimbajee again went on a visit to his brother, at the celebration of the marriage of Ruggojee, who was then about his seventeenth year. During his stay there, which was many months, he had continually solicited his dismissal, and was so often put off with frivolous excuses, that he had apprehensions about his liberty. Modajee's behaviour and proposals also gave him some alarm; he obliged him to give him five guns, which he had in Ruttenpoor, and asked him to adopt Chimnagee, his second son, as his heir, in prejudice to his own son, who was by a woman of another cast: he also, several times, proposed to him to give up Ruttenpoor, &c. to Chimnagee, and to come and reside at Chandah, which he would give him in exchange; well knowing that place,

being



being so long his, he should have him completely in his power, while those remote and independent districts would be secured to him by his son. All these made Bimbajee very uneasy in his present situation; and it is even said he came away without leave, and got out of Modajee's power before he could prevent him. Modajee has not since received any molestation, either from abroad or at home: He is very much disliked by the country.

Derria Bye, impatient of the circumscribed power which she now is confined to, has been intriguing with the nizam, with Poonah, with Ruggojee, and with many of the chiefs of the country, who, venerating the memory of Janojee, are much at her devotion, and wish to see her better provided for. She is now very narrowly watched, as well as Sabajee's son, whom she has taken to live with her, and all her letters and correspondence carefully examined. She has attached herself much to young Ruggojee, whom she calls her son.

Bimbojee, from the nature of his last departure, and treatment while at Nagpoor, not expecting much from Madajee's friendship, has endeavoured to support himself as much as possible against his attempts. He therefore sent Raiban, a confidential servant of his, to negotiate for him at Poonah, and did not scruple to say, that he ought to have the raje with Modajee. This person was discovered by Ruggojee, and Dewajee, dewan, to have several private conversations with some

of the principal people, which being communicated to Modajee, inflamed his suspicions much against his brother. He, since that, has several times been invited to go to Nagpoor, but as often declined it; when Modajee, through pretence of going to worship at Bamtigin in May 1777, marched suddenly to the frontiers of Rutenpoor. Purwal Sing, the rajah of Dumdah, immediately collected his people, and sent off his effects towards our countries. Modajee, instead of proceeding further, sent Nuressee Jackuk to persuade him to come, telling him he only came to meet him, as he had expected him, and that they would go together against Mundlah. Bimbajee had Jackuk delayed on the road by the Dumdah rajah, and also deferred giving him audience for many days, till he collected the forces of this country, put his place in a posture of defence, and made ready to send off his effects. This was intended to gain time, and also to shew the ambassador he was prepared for him. Jackuk returned without effect, and Gul Mirzah Khan and Shah Mahomed Khan came, and had no better success in bringing about an interview, as Bimbajee was dissuaded from it by Derria Bye, Ruggojee, and several of the principal people about Modajee. Modajee, as the rains were coming on, thought proper to return back; however he still continues his injunctions and invitations to Bimbajee to visit him, which the latter is determined never to comply with.



*An ACCOUNT of GHOLAUM HOSSEIN KHAN, Author of a very valuable and interesting Work, intituled "Sëir Mutakharin, or a View of Modern Times," translated from the Persic Original.*

This work comprizes a civil history of Hindustan, from the death of AURENGZEB to A. D. 1781, together with a particular account of the English conquests, and a critical examination of the English government and policy in Bengal. The author treats these important subjects with a freedom and spirit, and with a force, clearness, and simplicity of style, very unusual in an Asiatic writer, and which justly entitle him to pre-eminence among Asiatic historians. This work is little known even to Orientalists but by name. In our succeeding volumes we propose to make our readers familiar with it. The public will naturally be curious to know the sentiments of an independent native of Hindustan, endowed with a great share of penetration, sagacity, knowledge, and spirit, respecting our conquest of his country, and the policy pursued by our government in Bengal previous to the year 1781. In the mean time the following short account of the author's life, written by himself, will be perused with a proportional degree of interest.

SHAH-JEHAN-ABAD was my native place, as well as that of my father and mother, and of all my paternal and maternal ancestors. The former descended from the posterity of Hassan, by a branch sprung from Hibrâhim, one of those who received the surname of Tebatêba, and who was one of the most illustrious personages of that holy race. He quitted the city of Medina, and took up his residence near the sepulchre of the glorious martyr Ally. His descendants resided for a long series of ages upon that holy spot. Two ages ago, one of them travelled into Hindustan, where he took up his abode, first in Delhy, and afterwards in Shah-Jehan-Abad. My maternal ancestors were Seids of the branch of Mooffain, descended from that illustrious stock Seid Ahmed, son to Mooffa, grandson to Jaaffer, who is so renowned in Shiraz, the capital of Pârs\*, under the appellation of Shah Khirah. One of his

posterity came to settle in Hindustan, from whom was descended Seid-Zin-al-abdin, my maternal grandfather, who was son to Ally Verdi Khan's aunt. At his death his mother undertook to execute the directions left by Seid-Zin-al-abdin. These directions were to get her daughter married as soon as possible. This daughter was my mother. After she and my father married, they retired to her house, where they lived seven years upon the savings which my father had earned in the service of Azcem Shah. About this period, that is, in the year 1140 of the Hejirah, I was born at Shah-Jehan-Abad; and about two years afterwards, my mother brought into the world my brother, Seid Ally Nakhy Khan. I was five years old, and my brother three, when my grandmother, having sold a house at Shah-Jehan-Abad, quitted that city, and, taking with her her whole family, including her two married daughters

\* Pârs is the name given to a province of the ancient empire of Irân; from this word the Greeks derived that of Persis, by which they denominated the whole empire; and hence the modern word Persia.



daughters and their husbands, she repaired to Moorshedabad, the capital of Bengal, where Ally Verdi Khan was then employed in the service of the Nizam; Shujah Khan.

Soon after her arrival at Moorshedabad, fortune began to favour our family. Ally Verdi Khan was appointed governor of Azam-abad, whither my father accompanied him, and where our family have, to this day, lived in affluence, dignity, and splendor: for the houses we bought, and the lands we acquired by purchase, gift, or otherwise, during the administration of Ally Verdi Khan, are to this day in our possession.

In the year 1188 of the Hejirah, I was induced, unfortunately, to become security, for a considerable amount, for a zimindar, who already owed me the highest obligations, and from whom I little expected such a return, and so much perfidy as I met with. In consequence of his misconduct, I was called upon by government to pay 60,000 rupees on his account, which was the sum for which I became bound. This demand coming upon me unexpectedly, I was obliged to sell my jewels and plate, to the amount of 31,000 rupees, and to make up the balance by borrowing it from a banker. In this way I saved myself from the severity with which I would have been treated by the English government, to whom the money was due, and from the still more unfeeling rigour of the aumils, mutsuddies, and other revenue officers, who seemed to wait with a malicious anxiety for the signal from government to seize my whole property. I was obliged to put into the banker's hands, as a security for the money I had borrowed, the portion of land which I possessed, and to endeavour to procure

some other means of subsistence. But I was unable to get any employment, notwithstanding all the interest and all the inquiries which my friends made in my behalf. At last it pleased fortune to give me a friend in General Goddard, a man of merit so conspicuous as to need no praise, and whose kindness and generosity to me, as well as to many of my countrymen, entitle him to my lasting gratitude. Such a character is not often met with among the English in Hindustan.

He was about this time appointed resident at Chunnar-gur; soon after which he came to Azam-abad, where he made some stay. Being an old acquaintance, I went to see him. He had the kindness to inquire about my affairs; and he heard, with cordial concern, the calamity which had befallen them. "I am truly sorry," said he, "to hear what has happened; but, as I see no likelihood of your getting employment here, you had better come along with me, and we shall live upon what we can get." I cheerfully accepted the proposal, looking upon it as one of the secret resources which Providence had kept in store for me. I accordingly got myself ready; and followed him to Chunnar. But on General Goddard's arrival there, he found that the station to which he had been appointed was, in respect of emolument, much below what he had reason to expect, and indeed scarcely sufficient to defray his necessary expences. This circumstance disabled him from assisting me as he wished; but he committed to my care whatever concerned the revenue matters of that town. He also allotted for my accommodation an excellent house, which had been fitted up for himself, and sent his



own boats, amongst which was his own *budgerow*, to fetch my wife and family. When they arrived he gave them a pension of 300 rupees a-month. After behaving to me in this very handsome manner, it was natural in him to receive my visits with that particular distinction which he shewed me.

I have already observed that General Goddard's income at Chunnar was much below his expenditure: In consequence of this he now determined to relinquish his situation, to get permission to enter the service of Affof-ud-Dowla, having heard that that prince, dissatisfied with his old troops, had dismissed them, and intended to raise a new army, the disciplining of which he wished to commit to the charge of an English officer of rank. My friend conceived that such an employment would be more suitable to his turn of mind than the station he held at Chunnar; and that it would likewise prove more profitable both to himself and me. But as he had no acquaintance with Mr. John Bristow, who was then the English minister at Lucknow, he did not think it proper to make any personal application to him on the subject. On his asking my opinion of the matter, I proposed that he should give me a letter to another Englishman, a friend of Mr. Bristow's, to whom by that means I would find a ready introduction; and thereby be able to find him, in regard to the object in view, without mentioning his name. Of this he approved; and giving me the letter to the gentleman at Lucknow, he wished me a successful journey.

I left my family at Chunnar, and with a few attendants only, I set out for Feiz-abad and Lucknow. As Jaunpur was in the road,

I stopped at that city for a few days, having understood that it had become the residence of the illustrious and venerable Sëid-Mahmed-Askhefy, of whom I had heard so much. I sent to desire leave to pay him a respectful visit. Being admitted to his presence, I spent upwards of two hours with him. His conversation delighted me, even beyond what I expected: It was replete with the many excellencies for which he was celebrated; and I took my leave of him, fully satisfied that fame in her encomiums had fallen short of what I had seen and heard. To this day I remember his venerable aspect and enchanting conversation, and they have made such an impression on my mind, that I must suspend the narrative of my own actions, to give the reader a glimpse of the talents and virtues which adorned that distinguished man.

He was of a family of Sëids, that ranked for many ages amongst the most respectable of that sect, in the city of Jaunpur.

This Sëid of virtuous disposition and fine genius wrote a book of poetical morality, all the rules of which he extracted from his own practice; so that this book was a commentary on his life. Very different this from the generality of moralists, whose principles and practice are completely at variance; who preach up the utility of moral conduct, yet lead a life of sin. His speech was such, that it seemed to flow from the fountain of wisdom; and his advices and counsels were so many remedies against sickness and sorrow of heart.

He possessed a very extensive knowledge, graced with so much modesty, that he instructed all who conversed with him, without making them feel their own inferiority,

He



He lived contented upon a small income, without a wish to increase it.

It is true he was not regularly initiated in the sciences; but the richness of his mind, and the strength of his judgment, amply supplied that want. By the force of his own genius, he had become a repository of all the sciences, practical as well as abstract. No wonder then that his house was resorted to by all the learned persons of that city and neighbourhood, and by numbers who travelled thither from distant countries, being learned themselves, or possessing a love of knowledge.

The natural turn of his mind was to candour and modesty; so that he was as forward to acknowledge the merit of others, as he was studious to conceal his own. He gave his time to reading lectures, which is the noblest of all occupations; the noblest and most pleasing of all being to bring to light the treasures of hidden knowledge. Whenever any one introduced in his presence a discourse in dispraise of a man's character, either directly or indirectly, he had too much politeness to stop or reprimand him; but he would with great address, and a peculiar felicity, turn the discourse to another subject, without giving the speaker the smallest offence. This venerable man died at the age of seventy.

But it is now time to return from this digression to my own narrative. On my arrival at Lucknow I was introduced to Mr. Bristow, to whom I explained the objects of my journey. Perceiving that he thought favourably of it, I at last informed him of General Goddard's intention. He gave his consent; and after having obtained that of the Nabob Affof-ud-Dow-

la, he wrote to the council at Calcutta on the subject. After some time the council gave their consent likewise; and Mr. Bristow sent for me to inform me of it. Rejoiced at my journey having proved successful, I hastened to inform the general of the happy result of my negotiation, and immediately quitted Lucknow. He had, however, been already informed of the circumstance, and had received the permission of the council at Calcutta to repair to Lucknow. He accordingly set out for that city by the post, and left boats and every convenience to convey my family thither; so great was his kindness for me, and so great his solicitude about whatever concerned my welfare. He was so particularly attentive as to send me notice of his departure, and of the orders he had left. This letter he intrusted to a special messenger, whom he directed to look out for me on the road, in order to give me the letter: I did not, however, receive the letter until my arrival at Jaunpur. I then returned to Lucknow, together with my family, where I resided ten months more, during which time my generous friend assisted me with several sums of money, amounting in all to 10,000 rupees. I lived partly with him: and the time was now come for his being employed, when my scheme was entirely overthrown.

Mr. Bristow was recalled by an order from the Governor in council, and Mr. Middleton was sent to replace him, at the court of Affof-ud-Dowla. But this gentleman, with whom the general was intimately acquainted, and from whose friendship he expected much, declared himself against the scheme he had set up. A dissolution of their friendship was the consequence:



quence: and a perfect coldness took place between them. The effects of this disagreement being easily foreseen, I took my leave, and returned to Azam-abad. I soon after accompanied General Goddard to Calcutta, where I remained with him until he was ordered to

join the army in the Decan. I then returned again to Azam-abad; and having about this time received from some friends a sum of money that enabled me to support my family comfortably, I sat down in quiet and contentment to compose the SEIR MUTAKHARIN.

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*A CHARACTER of ASSOFOUD-DOWLA, the late Nabob of Oude,*  
(Translated from the Seir Mutakharin.)

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HAVING spoken of the ministers of the court of Lucknow, I must say something of the private life of its prince; and I must acknowledge, that though I had frequent opportunities of conversing with Assof-ud-Dowla, and of examining his behaviour, he did not appear destitute of sense. This, after all, is nothing but what has been said in former times by the famous teacher of wisdom\*, in his renowned *Mefnevi*—"The hawk's keen sight, and his strength of pinion, as well as the genius of man, are all so many gracious gifts of the Almighty artist upon his own work."

Assof-ud-Dowla took delight in associating with the lowest and most worthless characters, though you might occasionally see him in conversation with men of birth and talents. He seemed occupied entirely with his amusements; in dances, music, and sensual pleasures, he spent his time, without the least regard to decency, and without any sense of shame. As to those infamous secret practices to which he had the meanness to addict him-

self, without either scruple or remorse, and with such a feminine ardour, he disguised them so well in his discourses, and in his public behaviour, that he might have been supposed quite unacquainted with that abominable vice. It has been remarked that he would sometimes throw his handkerchief to the stoutest of his musketeers, or to the brawniest of his archers.

He spent his mornings in going from garden to garden, and from seat to seat, where he amused himself in looking at his elephants, and every third day he made them fight together. These amusements were so delightful to him, that they engrossed his whole soul. There was, however, another thing in which he seemed to take pleasure; this was promoting marriages. Salar-Jung, his uncle, had promised one of his daughters to Mukhtar-ed-Dowlah, for his son, but the match had been broken off by the disgrace and subsequent death of the latter. Assof-ud-Dowla being informed of this circumstance, prevailed on the bride's father, by dint

\* This famous teacher of wisdom was MOULANA JELALEDDIN, a Turk of Natolia, who wrote in Persian verse a Treatise of Ethics, known by the title of *Mefnevi*. This book is held in high esteem all over the East, where it is in general sung in companies, or read in recitative. There are two or three *Mefnevis* besides, by other Turkish writers; but none of them are so highly praised as this one,



dint of intreaties, to go on with the match; and he likewise undertook to furnish the whole expence of the ceremony, which he accordingly did, and conducted the whole with vast pomp and magnificence. He had such a singular predilection for amusing himself in this way, that whenever he heard of a marriage being intended, he would send his compliments to the parents, requesting their permission to perform the part of one of them himself, and to appoint one of his courtiers to perform the part of the other; nor would he give over his attendance until the match was brought to a final conclusion. He once undertook the marriage of Caïm Khan, superintendant of his elephants; and I happening to be present at the time, received his highness's commands to attend personally and perform my part.

As Affof-ud-Dowla was addicted to pleasures which none but women could have thought of, so he had also the fickleness of a woman. Amongst the slave boys brought up in Sujah-ud-Dowla's house, there was one called Imaum Baksh, of a quarrelsome disposition and very bad morals. Whilst Affof-ud-Dowla was yet a youth, that fellow became one of his favourites; in respect of that particular propensity to which he was a slave, But the old nabob being informed of the connexion that subsisted between his son and this slave boy, as well as of the perpetual insolencies and excesses which the latter committed on account of the favour he enjoyed, he ordered him to be confined in irons, in which he would probably have long remained, had not some principal courtiers supplicated his highness to dismiss and banish him, a request which was granted. The man fled to

Tanda, where he kept himself concealed, but where he found means to keep up a correspondence with his young master, who, on the death of his father, and his consequent accession to the musnud, immediately sent him letters of recal. To the amazement of every one, he appointed him to high offices: and as by the death of Mukhtar-ud-Dowla, and the resignation of Mahbub Khan, there were several bodies of Telingas left without commanders, amounting to about 30 or 40,000 men, he gave him the command of that whole army. A promotion altogether so unmerited, and the elevation of so mean and worthless a man to a situation of so much dignity and honour, could not but excite the indignation and contempt not only of every officer of the army, but of every person in his dominions. By these means this slave boy was raised to a degree of power, to which the ambition of no commander of the army, and no grandee of the court, had ever before aspired. I remember to have been several times in his company, and to have had some conversation with him, and I protest I never saw any one so vile and so vicious: I never knew any one so destitute of all shame both in words and actions. Had he been honest, and free from vice, the qualities of his mind might perhaps have fitted him for the station of a menial servant at two rupees per month. Yet this man's favour and power rose to such a height, that no less a person than Hassan Rezza Khan, the minister, was afraid of his influence, and strove to be upon good terms with him. But when he had thus arrived at the summit of so much power and grandeur, Affof-ud-Dowla's heart all at once changed towards him; and a



few days after my departure from Lucknow, became so tired of his company and person, that he ordered him to be banished his dominions, half naked and on foot, strictly forbidding every one to supply his wants. Guards were sent to his lodgings, and his whole property was confiscated.

By confiscations like this, as well as by various other means, Asof-ud-Dowla must have amassed considerable treasures; yet he betrayed the utmost aversion at parting with any of his money, except to pay his favourite men and boys. Whenever any one besides was bold enough to apply to him for his pay, he from that moment became his enemy; nor could he ever bear to hear of any demands of this sort. Some time before my arrival at Lucknow, several officers and others had gone to the nabob in a body, and solicited, and received their arrears of pay. Many of these, knowing the character of Af-

sof-ud-Dowla, had the prudence immediately to disappear; but some others having ventured to remain a short time at Lucknow, and all seized, without any cause being assigned for such a step, and tied, one by one, to the mouth of a cannon, from which they were blown away. This dreadful execution happened during my stay in Lucknow: It alarmed all the inhabitants not only of that city, but of the surrounding country; so that in a few days afterwards the Ghosain Takyr, a military commander of a high character, seizing a favourable moment, quitted the camp, and with his arms and baggage proceeded across the country to Nedjif Khan, to whom he offered his services. In the same manner all the descendants and relations of Saadut Khan and Abul Mansur Khan, found means, one after another, to quit Lucknow, and to repair to Nedjif Khan's camp.

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The above account of Asof-ud-Dowla, written by a man celebrated in Hindustan for his impartiality and accuracy, will give our readers a just idea of the enormous profligacy and cruelty of that abandoned tyrant, who does not appear to have possessed a single good quality.

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*Authentic ANECDOTES of the LIFE of Maj. Gen. CLAUD MARTIN.*

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GEN. MARTIN, a man so well known in India, both by his eccentricity and his riches, was the son of a silk manufacturer at Lyons, in France, in which city he was born, and in which some of his family still reside.

At an early age he expressed a dislike to follow his father's inactive profession, and determined to choose one more congenial to his disposition. He accordingly enlist-

ed in the French army, and soon distinguished himself so much, that he was removed from the infantry to the cavalry, and afterwards appointed a trooper in Count Lally's body guard, a small corps of select men, that was formed for the purpose of accompanying that officer to Pondicherry, of which place he had then been appointed governor.

Soon after Lally's arrival at Pondicherry, he began to exercise



his power with such oppressive severity, and to enforce the discipline of the army with such a rigid minuteness, that his conduct excited the disgust and detestation of the whole settlement. Several remonstrances were drawn up against him, and transmitted to France; and many officers of distinction threw up their appointments. He, nevertheless, persevered in his injudicious system of discipline, with an unremitting strictness, unmindful of the representations of some officers who were in his confidence, and totally blind to the dangers he was thus foolishly drawing on himself, till it was too late to avert them. Though he must have been sensible that he had lost the affections of the army, yet he seemed not aware of the consequences to which that loss might lead. The troops were so dissatisfied, that when the English army laid siege to Pondicherry, great numbers deserted from the garrison; and at last his own body guard went over in a body to the enemy, conveying their horses, arms, &c. along with them. This corps was well received by the English commander, by whom Martin was soon noticed for the spirit and ability which he displayed on many occasions. On the return of the British army to Madras, after the surrender of Pondicherry, Martin obtained permission from the Madras government to raise a company of chasseurs from amongst the French prisoners, of which he got the command, with the rank of ensign in the Company's service.

A few weeks after he received this appointment, he was ordered to proceed with his chasseurs to Bengal. On their passage thither, the ship on which they were embarked sprung a leak, and Martin, by great fortitude and perseverance,

but with much difficulty, saved himself and some of his men in one of the ship's boats. The ship foundered off point Gaudavar, (the promontory which separates the coast of Coromandel from that of Orissa;) and from thence Martin and his men proceeded in the ship's boat to Calcutta, which place they reached, after surmounting many dangers, and great hardships.

He was received with much kindness by the Bengal government, appointed a cornet of cavalry, in which service he continued until he had risen by regular succession to the rank of captain in the line, when he got a company of infantry.

Shortly after this promotion, he was employed by government to survey the north-east districts of Bengal, being an able draftsman, and in every respect well qualified for that purpose. When he had completed his journey of the north-east districts, he was sent to Oude, in order to assist in surveying that province. While employed in this service, he resided chiefly at Lucknow, where he amused himself in shewing his ingenuity in several branches of mechanics, and his skill in gunnery, which gave the Nabob Vizir Sujah-ud-Dowla so high a notion of the value of his services, that he solicited and obtained permission from the governor and council of Calcutta to appoint him superintendant of his artillery park and arsenal. Martin was so well satisfied with this appointment, and with his prospects in the service of the nabob vizir, that he proposed to the governor and council to relinquish his pay and allowances in the Company's service, on the condition of his being permitted to retain his rank, and to continue in the service of the vizir.

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This proposal was complied with; and from this his subsequent prosperity commenced.

He was now admitted into the confidence of the vizir; and in the different changes which took place in the councils of his highness, as well as in the various negotiations with the English government, he was his secret adviser. He seldom, however, appeared at the durbar; and he never held any ostensible situation in the administration of the vizir's government; but we have reason to believe that few measures of importance were adopted, without his advice being previously taken. Hence his influence at the court of Lucknow became very considerable, not only with the vizir, but with his ministers; and that influence was the source of the immense fortune which he amassed. Besides a large salary, with extensive emoluments annexed to it, he used to receive from the nabob frequent presents of considerable value. And when any of the nabob's ministers, or other men of consequence about court, had any particular measure to carry with their master, or personal favour to ask of him, it was their custom to go privately to Martin, and obtain his interest in their cause, by offering him handsome presents, which, if he was at times induced to refuse, he took due care to procure from them ultimately by other means an adequate compensation.

During the reign of Affof-ud-Dowla, father of the present vizir, Martin made a considerable sum of money, by encouraging that prince's taste for the productions of Europe, with which he undertook to supply him. Another mode by which he realized money was, by establishing an extensive credit with

the shroffs, or bankers, in Oude and the adjacent provinces; so that no public loan could be made without his having a share in it. The extraordinary degree of favour and credit which he thus acquired in the vizir's dominions, induced all descriptions of people to repose in him such an implicit confidence, that in times of public commotion, they flocked to him from all quarters, to deposit their moveable property, which, on the condition of paying him twelve per cent. on its full value, he engaged to secure, and to return to them on demand. This alone must have been a source of immense profit, in a country where for upwards of twenty years of his residence in it, personal property was so often exposed to danger.

The vast riches which he at last accumulated by these various and singular modes, he does not appear to have laid out with a very generous spirit. He is said, indeed, to have been hospitable to the English gentlemen who resided at Lucknow; but his table was little calculated to invite his acquaintance to it, either by the elegance of the entertainment, or the conviviality that presided at it. Very few instances have come to our knowledge, of his private bounty and benevolence. He is said to have assisted his family at Lyons, by occasionally remitting small sums of money, and by his will he has left them 25,000*l*. But the principal object of his ambition, and wish of his heart, seems to have been to amass immense treasures, in order to gratify himself by the possession of them while he lived; and by bequeathing almost the whole of them on his death, to the support of pious institutions, and public charities, to leave behind him the reputation of a philanthropist.



pist. But every sensible reader will judge of his title to that name, not from the bequests of his will, but from the actions of his life.

After having lived twenty-five years at Lucknow, he had attained, by regular succession, the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Company's service.

At the commencement of the war with Tippoo Sultan in 1790, he presented the Company, at his private expence, with a number of fine horses, sufficient to mount a troop of cavalry. He was soon afterwards promoted to the rank of colonel in the Company's army, which object the present of the horses was obviously designed to obtain.

In 1796, when the Company's officers received brevet rank from his Majesty, Martin was included in the promotion of colonels to the rank of major-general.

Some years before this period, he had finished a spacious dwelling-house on the banks of the river Goomtee, in the building of which he had been long employed. This curious edifice is constructed entirely of stone, except the doors and window frames. The ceilings of the different apartments are formed of elliptic arches, and the floors made of stucco. The basement story comprises two caves or recesses within the banks of the river, and level with its surface when at its lowest decrease. In these caves he generally lived in the hot season, and continued in them until the commencement of the rainy season, when the increase of the river obliged him to remove. He then ascended another story, to apartments fitted up in the manner of a grotto; and when the farther rise of the river brought its surface on a level with these, he proceeded up

to the third story, or ground floor, which overlooked the river when at its greatest height. On the next story above that, a handsome saloon, raised on arcades, projecting over the river, formed his habitation in the spring and winter seasons. By this ingenious contrivance he preserved a moderate and equal temperature in his house at all seasons. In the attic story he had a museum, well supplied with various curiosities: and over the whole he erected an observatory, which he furnished with the best astronomical instruments. Adjoining to the house there is a garden, not laid out with taste, but well filled with a variety of fine trees, shrubs, and flowers, together with all sorts of vegetables.

In his artillery yard, which was situated at some distance from his house, he erected a steam engine, which had been sent to him from England; and here he used to amuse himself in making different experiments with air balloons. After he had exhibited to some acquaintances his first balloon, the vizir Affof-ud-Dowla requested he would prepare one large enough to carry twenty men. Martin told his highness that such an experiment would be attended with considerable hazard to the lives of the men: upon which the vizir replied, "Give yourself no concern about *that*—be you so good as make a balloon." The experiment, however, was never tried.

Besides his house at Lucknow, he had a beautiful villa, about fifty miles from thence, situated on a high bank of the Ganges, and surrounded by a domain, of almost eight miles in circumference, somewhat resembling an English park. Here he used occasionally to retire in the hot season.



In the latter part of his life he laid out a large sum of money in constructing a Gothic castle, which he did not live to finish. Beneath the ramparts of this castle he built casements, secured by iron doors and gratings thickly wrought. The lodgments within the walls are arched and barred, and their roofs completely bomb-proof. The castle is surrounded by a wide and deep ditch, fortified on the outer side by stockades, and a regular covered-way; so that the place is sufficiently protected to resist the attacks of any Asiatic power. Within the castle he built a splendid mausoleum, in which he was interred; and on a marble tablet over his tomb is engraved the following inscription, written by himself some months before his death:—

HERE LIES CLAUDE MARTIN:  
HE WAS BORN AT LYONS A. D. 1732:  
HE CAME TO INDIA A PRIVATE SOLDIER,  
AND DIED A MAJOR-GENERAL.

During the last fifteen years of his life, he was much afflicted with the stone and gravel; and disliking to undergo the usual surgical operation for that complaint, his ingenuity suggested to him a method of reducing the stone, so curious in itself, and so difficult in the execution, that we should have doubted the truth of the fact, were it not attested by the positive evidence of several gentlemen of the first respectability. He took a very fine steel wire of about a foot long, one end of which he cut in the manner of a file. The wire, thus prepared, he introduced by a *catheter*, through the *urethra*, into the bottom of the bladder, where the stone was seated. When he found the wire touch the stone, he gently worked the wire up and down, so as to give it the effect of a file; and this he continued

to do for four or five minutes at a time, until the pain, which the operation of the wire produced, was so excruciating, that it obliged him to withdraw it. But finding that small particles of the stone discharged along with the urine, after the operation, he repeated it in the same manner from time to time, till in the course of twelve months, he succeeded in completely reducing the stone.

This circumstance exhibits a curious and remarkable trait of the eccentricity of his character. The contrivance was in itself ingenious; but his patience and perseverance in carrying it into effect are so very extraordinary, that we apprehend there are few men who, in a similar situation, would not rather endure the complaint than have recourse to the remedy.

Some years after the operation, gravelly concretions began again to form in his bladder; and as he did not choose to try the wire a second time, these continued to increase until the end of the year 1800, when they finally occasioned his death.

Though he lived so long a time amongst the English, he acquired but an imperfect knowledge of our language; notwithstanding this, he chose to write his Will in English, which is altogether a very singular production: It is too long for insertion, but the following are its principal bequests.—The amount of his fortune was thirty-three lacs of rupees, or 330,000l. sterling. To his relations at Lyons he bequeathed 25,000l. as we have already noticed: And he left the same sum to the municipality of that city, for the purpose of appropriating it for the benefit of the poor within their jurisdiction, in whatever manner they should think fit.

For



For the same purpose he bequeathed 25,000*l.* to the city of Calcutta, and the like sum to Lucknow. To the church at Chandernagore, in Bengal, he bequeathed 15,000*l.* as a fund, the interest of which is to be appropriated to the support of the establishment; and the like sum, to be laid out in the same manner, for the benefit of the Romish chapel at Calcutta. He also left 15,000*l.* to endow an alms-house for poor children at Lucknow. The remainder of his fortune, (nearly one half,) he left in legacies to the women of his zanannah, and his prin-

cipal servants. The will concludes with a curious exposition of the principles by which he regulated his conduct through life. He avows that self-interest was his sole motive of action, and that the sins of which he had been guilty were very great and manifold; and he concludes by praying for forgiveness of God, which he hopes this sincere confession of his wickedness will avail to obtain.

Such are the anecdotes which we have collected of this extraordinary character.

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*Biographical ANECDOTES of General PERRON.*

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THIS gentleman came to India, in quality of petty officer on board of a ship, some time before the arrival of *Mons. Souffrein*. Having travelled into the upper provinces, he entered into the service of the Rana of Gohud, under the orders of *Mr. Sangster*. While in this service, on a very small salary, he married *Mademoiselle Deridan*, (sister to the officer mentioned in our last, who was wounded in the battle at *Oujein*) whose family resided at *Pondicherry*. After the destruction of the Rana, *Mr. Perron* entered into a corps commanded by *Mr. Lostoneaux*, in the service of *Madhoojee Schindiah*. There he was quarter-master-serjeant, on the pay of sixty rupees a month.

When *Gholam Cadir* was taken in attempting to escape from *Meerut*, where he was besieged by *Ulee Buhadoor*, *Mr. Lostoneaux* is supposed to have got possession of his saddle, in which that *Rohelu* had concealed all the valuable jewels which he plundered from the palace at *Delhi*.

With this booty *Mr. L.* made his escape to Europe; and having also carried off the money assigned for the pay of his troops, *Mr. Pillet*, whom he left in charge of them and of his *purgunas*, being unable to satisfy the demands of the soldiery, was exposed to the imminent danger of his life.

After the desertion of *Mr. Lostoneaux*, *Mr. Perron* received from *Rana Khan*, *Scindiah's* general, the command of a battalion: but that battalion being reduced on the return of the army into cantonments, *Mr. Perron* found himself out of employment. Though recommended by *Mr. Montigny* to *Sumroo's* begum, his applications there for service were in vain, as her troops were already fifteen months in arrears.

Soon after this time, *General De Boigne* having begun to form his brigade, in *Scindiah's* service, gave to *Mr. Perron* the command of the *Burhampoor* battalion. He acquitted himself in this station to the satisfaction



tisfaction of his commander; particularly at the battle of Patun, in which Ismael Beg, with his auxiliary Rajepoots, maintained a doubtful conflict with De Boigne's brigade, but in the end was completely overthrown. When Ismael Beg was besieged in Kanoor, Mr. Perron commanded the detachment of General De Boigne's corps employed on that service. And there, in making some experiments with hand-grenades, one of them burst in his hand, which was so much shattered, that he was obliged to submit to amputation. Ismael Beg having discovered in the garrison an intention of delivering him up to the enemy, made his submission in person and unconditionally to Mr. Perron. And it is much to his honour, and to that of Mr. De Boigne, that, notwithstanding the dread which the Mahrattas always entertained of that chief's escape, and the desire which they consequently had to put him out of the way, his life was respected, and the terms promised him were faithfully observed, not only by Mahdajee Scindiah, but also by his successor.

When Mr. De Boigne divided his corps into two brigades, he gave the command of the first to Mr. Frimont, and that of the second to Mr. Perron; so that, on the death of Mr. Frimont, Mr. Perron became the senior officer commanding a brigade. As Mahdajee Scindiah, a little time before his death, found himself engaged at Poona in intrigues which required the support of a powerful army, Mr. Perron, with his brigade, was sent to that quarter. Thus he was about the person of Dowlut Row Scindiah, from the time of his accession to the musnud; and having gained the prince's confidence, he was appoint-

ed, when Mr. De Boigne retired to Europe, to succeed him in the command of the three brigades, and in the management of the country assigned for paying them.

Mr. Pedron, who now commands General Perron's third brigade, is a native of Hennebon, near to L'Orient. He served the nabob Sujah-ud-Dowla at Lucknow; and after the French were dismissed from his service, he entered into that of Moodujee Bonfilu, the Rajah of Burar. When Mr. De Boigne was raising his brigade, Mr. Pedron entered into it, at Mutra. He received the commission of lieutenant, and soon after purchased that of major.

Mr. Le Chevalier Drudrenec is the son of a naval captain in the service of the late French monarchy. He is represented as a man of highly finished education, and of agreeable manners. He has long been in the service of the Holkur family, and held of them the purgunas of Tonk and Rampoor. We have seen that he was lately imprisoned at Kota, where he probably still remains.

Abd-ool-rhuman Khan, who was lately honoured with the title of Shanuwaz Khan, was a Khuwas and Hafiz-i-qoran to Shah Alum. He has gradually risen into favour, since the time of Gholam Radir, and is at present very much in the king's confidence.

Raja Shunkurnat is the son of Raja Ramnath, who was, before the reign of the present king, Peshkar of the Deewan-khas, and on his accession to the throne was created an Omra, with the title of Mirza Raja. His son, the person in question, daily pays his obeisance to the king, by whom he is regarded in a favourable light, owing to the respect the king had for his father.

Meer



Meer Ghalib Ulee first entered into the king's service at Allahabad, on a salary of twenty rupees a month. Being a fine writer, he insinuated himself into the good graces of the king, by assisting him to copy the Koran. He was ap-

pointed daroghu of the wardrobe, but soon dismissed for mal-administration. However, he still continues about the king's person, and is said to aid him occasionally in composing and writing poetry, as well as in penning his letters.

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*A CHARACTER of Brigadier-General JOHN CARNAC.*

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GENERAL CARNAC is highly celebrated in the historical annals of British India. He was early distinguished as the friend and companion of Lord Clive, whom he accompanied during the whole of his brilliant career in Bengal, and participated in the glory of his conquest.

In 1760, he succeeded to the command of the forces in Bengal, and on the 15th of January 1761, he obtained a decisive victory over the Shah Zadah, near Behar, which was followed by the surrender of that prince, and the consequent restoration of tranquillity throughout that part of Hindustan. This occasion likewise furnished him with an opportunity of displaying some of the qualities by which his private character was eminently marked. His generous and polite hospitality to his royal prisoner evinced the urbanity of his manners, and the kindness of his heart.

In 1767 he came to England, and soon after his arrival, obtained a seat in parliament for the borough of Leominster. Attached, however, to a military life, he became weary of spending his time at home in unprofitable leisure, and applied to the court of directors for permission to return to India. The directors readily accepted the ser-

vices of so valuable an officer, and appointed him second member of council, and successor to the chair, at the presidency of Bombay; with which appointment he repaired thither in 1776. Whilst he filled the station of member of council, his conduct was equally distinguished by a sedulous attention to, and a faithful discharge of, its duties.

His mind was highly cultivated. He was well acquainted with classical literature, and had a turn for scientific research: the former gained him the reputation of a good scholar at the university of Dublin; and the latter, in his more advanced years, was a source of amusement to himself, and instruction to his friends.

His amiable manners, as a member of society, will be acknowledged in India, where their influence was extensively felt. They naturally arose from a disposition exceedingly generous and humane. To seek for, and relieve merit in distress, occupied a great part of the attention, and added much to the felicity of his later years; whilst the delicacy with which he bestowed his charities rendered them more valuable and more useful, by strengthening the gratitude which they excited.

In the beginning of October 1800,



1800, his health began to decline, in consequence of which he was induced to try the effects of a short sea voyage from Bombay to Mahe, on the coast of Malabar. He resided there some weeks, and his health received benefit from the voyage. But on his passage back to Bombay, he had so severe a relapse, that it was thought proper to

stop at Mangalore for medical advice; and he there received every attention which friendship and professional skill could give him. But his constitution was completely exhausted, and he died in a few days at the advanced age of 84 years. He was interred at Mangalore with the most distinguished military honours.

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\* \* We had hoped to have presented our readers in this Volume with a Life of Mr. ORME, the Historian; but being disappointed in obtaining some interesting materials, we must defer it until our next.

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## MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

### METEOROLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE WEATHER AT MADRAS, FROM THE 1ST OF JAN. TO THE 31ST OF DEC. 1790.

We have received from JOHN CHAMIER, Esq. who resided for a considerable time on the Coast of Coromandel, the following METEOROLOGICAL DIARY, kept by himself, some years ago, at MADRAS; which will be found useful, as exhibiting a correct account of the Climate on the Sea-Coast of the Indian Peninsula.

**F**ORT ST. GEORGE, or MADRAS, on the coast of Coromandel, in the East-Indies, is situated in lat. 13. 04. North, and in long. 80. 33. East.—The walls of the fortifications are within a few yards of the sea, and the beach is nearly South and North; of course, whenever the wind is to the eastward of North or South, it blows from the sea.

The thermometer, from which the annexed observations were made, was placed in a room moderately exposed to the weather. The house fronting S. E. distant about a mile, in a straight line from the sea.

The state of the thermometer is marked at sun-rise in the morning, at noon, and at midnight, although it sometimes happened that the observation was made an hour later or sooner than the time marked.

It must also be noted, that there was another thermometer (made by Ramsden) in the same room, which was more exposed to the land-winds

than the one from which the observations were made; it, from that reason, was sometimes a degree or more higher than the other, which was placed at a small distance from it.

#### *Height of the Thermometer at Madras,* (From the Diary of John Chamier, Esq.)

Month.	Medium.	Greatest.	Least.	Extreme difference.
January	75 1	79 7	69 3	10 4
February	76 6	82	70 6	11 4
March	80 5	85 7	74	11 7
April	83 2	89 7	77 7	12 0
May	84 7	92 2	78 3	13 9
June	85 9	94 3	81 7	12 6
July	84 1	91	79	12
August	82 9	89 2	77 8	11 4
September	82 9	89 5	78	11 5
October	80 9	87 3	74	13 3
November	77 8	83	72 3	10 7
December	77 1	81 3	73	8 3
General Medium }	80 9	87 1	75 5	11 6

Hence by the Diary it appears the medium height of the Thermometer at Madras is 80.9. the general greatest height 87.1. and the least 75.5. the extreme difference 11½.

This table was constructed from near 4000 observations, made in an interval of between 3 and 4 years.

In finding the medium height, the extremes were not compared, but the medium of all the observations taken.



## JANUARY, 1790.

AT SUN-RISE.				AT NOON.			AT MIDNIGHT.		
Jan.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.
1	Clear	NW	74	Clear	NE	78	Clear	WNW	76
2	Clear	NNW	74	Clear	NE	78	Clear	NW	75
<i>a</i> 3	Clear	NW	73	Cloudy	NE	77	Hazy	Calm	75
<i>b</i> 4	Clear	NW	73	Cloudy	NNW	77	Clear	NW	75
5	Clear	NW	72	Cloudy	N	77	Clear	Calm	75
6	Cloudy	NW	73	Cloudy	NE	78	Clear	NNW	75
<i>c</i> 7	Clear	NW	71	Clear	Calm	77	Clear	NNW	76
8	Cloudy	NNW	73	Cloudy	N	78	Cloudy	NNW	76
9	Cloudy	NNW	73	Cloudy	N	77	Clear	NW	76
10	Clear	NW	73	Cloudy	NNW	78	Clear	NNW	74
11	Clear	NW	71	Cloudy	NNE	77	Clear	NW	74
<i>d</i> 12	Clear	NW	71	Cloudy	N	77	Clear	N	76
13	Clear	NW	72	Cloudy	N	77	Clear	NNW	76
14	Clear	NW	70	Cloudy	Calm	77	Clear	NW	74
<i>e</i> 15	Clear	NW	70	Clear	Calm	76	Clear	NW	73
16	Clear	NW	70	Clear	NNE	76	Clear	NW	73
<i>f</i> 17	Clear	NW	71	Clear	Calm	77	Clear	NW	73
18	Clear	NW	70	Clear	ESE	78	Clear	NNW	74
<i>g</i> 19	Hazy	NW	69	Clear	ESE	77	Clear	Variab.	73
<i>b</i> 20	Clear	NW	68	Clear	ESE	77	Clear	Calm	73
<i>i</i> 21	Clear	NW	70	Clear	Calm	77	Clear	NW	73
22	Clear	WNW	70	Clear	E	77	Clear	W	74
23	Cloudy	W	72	Clear	ESE	78	Clear	WSW	75
24	Clear	WSW	73	Cloudy	SE	79	Clear	WSW	76
25	Cloudy	WSW	74	Clear	ENE	79	Clear	Calm	76
26	Cloudy	W	74	Clear	ENE	79	Clear	N	76
27	Cloudy	Calm	75	Cloudy	NE	79	Cloudy	N	76
28	Clear	NW	73	Cloudy	NE	79	Clear	N	77
29	Clear	NW	74	Cloudy	E	79	Clear	Calm	77
30	Clear	Calm	74	Clear	E	79	Clear	N	77
31	Clear	W	74	Clear	E	79	Clear	NNW	77

## Remarks.

*a* All night exposed, Ther. 69.  
*b* Ditto — ditto 68.  
*c* All night exposed 66.  
*d* Ditto — 68.  
*e* Ditto — 67.

*f* All night exposed 67.  
*g* { Ditto — 63½.  
 { A little exposed 67.  
*b* Ditto — 66.  
*i* Exposed. — 65.

From *a* to *f* Heavy dews at night.



MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

FEBRUARY, 1790.

AT SUN-RISE.				AT NOON.			AT MIDNIGHT.		
Feb.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.
1	Clear	W	75	Clear	ENE	79	Cloudy	NE	78
2	Cloudy	NE	76	Cloudy	NE	80	Clear	NNE	78
3	Cloudy	N	76	Cloudy	NE	80	Clear	N	76
4	Cloudy	NNW	75	Clear	NNE	78	Clear	N	77
5	Cloudy	NW	74	Cloudy	NE	79	Cloudy	NNE	78
6	Cloudy	NW	74	Squally	NW	77	Squally	N	76
7	Squally	N	74	Cloudy	NNE	79	Cloudy	NE	77
8	Cloudy	NNW	75	Cloudy	NE	79	Clear	NE	78
9	Clear	NNW	75	Clear	E	79	Clear	NE	77
10	Clear	NNW	74	Clear	E	79	Clear	Calm	76
11	Clear	W	74	Clear	ESE	79	Clear	Calm	78
a 12	Clear	W	74	Clear	E	80	Clear	Calm	75
13	Clear	Calm	71	Clear	ESE	79	Clear	Variab.	76
14	Clear	WSW	72	Cloudy	S	80	Clear	E	76
15	Clear	SW	74	Hazy	SE	74	Clear	Calm	78
16	Clear	SW	75	Clear	E	81	Clear	Calm	79
17	Cloudy	W	76	Clear	E	81	Clear	Calm	78
18	Clear	W	74	Hazy	ENE	80	Clear	NW	77
19	Clear	NW	72	Clear	ENE	79	Clear	Calm	76
20	Clear	NW	73	Cloudy	Calm	79	Clear	NW	75
21	Clear	NW	72	Clear	ESE	80	Clear	NNW	75
22	Clear	NW	72	Clear	Calm	79	Clear	Calm	76
23	Clear	NW	73	Clear	ESE	82	Clear	Calm	77
24	Foggy	Calm	73	Clear	ESE	81	Clear	Variab.	77
25	Cloudy	W	74	Clear	ESE	79	Clear	Calm	74
b 26	Clear	W	71	Clear	SE	79	Clear	Variab.	75
27	Clear	WNW	72	Clear	ESE	79	Clear	Calm	74
c 28	Clear	W	71	Clear	Calm	79	Clear	W	74

Remarks.

a { Ther. all night exposed 65. | b All night exposed — 67  
 { A little exposed — 68. | c A little exposed — 68



ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER, 1801.

MARCH, 1790.

AT SUN-RISE.				AT NOON.			AT MIDNIGHT.		
Mar.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.
1	Clear	NW	71	Clear	ESE	80	Clear	SW	77
2	Clear	W	72	Clear	ESE	79	Clear	E	77
3	Clear	NW	73	Clear	ESE	80	Clear	Calm	77
4	Cloudy	NW	75	Clear	NNE	81	Squally	NE	79
5	Cloudy	NE	79	Cloudy	NNE	82	Cloudy	N	80
6	Squally	N	79	Cloudy	NE	83	Cloudy	N	80
7	Cloudy	NNW	79	Cloudy	NE	82	Cloudy	Variab.	79
8	Cloudy	N	79	Cloudy	NNE	82	Clear	NE	80
9	Cloudy	W	79	Cloudy	E	82	Clear	N	80
10	A thick fog		77	Hazy	SSE	84	Clear	SSW	79
11	Clear	W	75	Hazy	SSE	82	Clear	S	79
12	Hazy	SW	75	Hazy	S	83	Clear	SSW	80
13	Clear	SSW	77	Hazy	S	83	Clear	S	80
14	Clear	S	78	Hazy	SSE	84	Clear	SSW	81
15	Clear	SSW	79	Cloudy	SSE	84	Clear	SE	81
16	Clear	SW	79	Cloudy	S	82	Clear	S	79
17	Clear	SW	78	Cloudy	SE	83	Clear	S	80
18	Clear	SW	79	Cloudy	ESE	83	Clear	Calm	81
19	Clear	WSW	79	Cloudy	ESE	84	Clear	SSW	82
20	Clear	WSW	80	Cloudy	E	82	Clear	W	80
21	Clear	W	77	Clear	ESE	82	Clear	E	80
22	Clear	W	76	Cloudy	SE	82	Clear	E	79
23	Clear	W	76	Clear	SSE	82	Clear	Calm	79
24	Clear	SW	76	Clear	SSE	81	Clear	Calm	80
25	Clear	SW	75	Cloudy	S	82	Clear	SW	80
26	Clear	SW	76	Hazy	SSW	83	Clear	S	79
27	Clear	WSW	76	Hazy	S	84	Clear	S	79
28	Clear	SW	78	Hazy	SSE	84	Clear	S	80
29	Hazy	WSW	78	Hazy	SW	86	Hazy	S	81
30	Hazy	SW	79	Hazy	SSW	85	Clear	SSW	81
31	Hazy	S	80	Cloudy	SSE	85	Clear	Calm	82



MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

5

APRIL, 1790.

April	AT SUN-RISE.			AT NOON.			AT MIDNIGHT.		
	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.
1	Hazy	S	81	Cloudy	SSE	80	Hazy	S	82
2	Hazy	SSW	82	Cloudy	SE	85	Hazy	SSE	81
3	Cloudy	SW	79	Cloudy	SE	85	Hazy	S	80
4	Hazy	SW	77	Cloudy	SE	84	Hazy	SW	81
5	Hazy	WSW	78	Cloudy	SSE	84	Clear	Calm	81
6	Clear	W	77	Cloudy	SE	84	Clear	Calm	80
<sup>a</sup> 7	Clear	W	76	Clear	SE	83	Clear	S	81
8	Hazy	SSW	80	Clear	Calm	83	Clear	SSE	81
9	Cloudy	Calm	81	Clear	SE	85	Clear	SSE	83
10	Cloudy	Calm	81	Cloudy	SE	86	Clear	SSE	83
11	Cloudy	Calm	82	Squally	E	86	Clear	SSE	83
12	Cloudy	Calm	82	Cloudy	E	84	Clear	ESE	83
13	Cloudy	Calm	81	Squally and Rain	NE	81	Clear	E	82
14	Cloudy	SW	79	Cloudy	E	84	Clear	SE	82
15	Cloudy	Calm	80	Cloudy	E	86	Clear	S	82
16	Cloudy	SW	80	Cloudy	E	86	Cloudy	SE	82
17	Cloudy	Calm	79	Cloudy	ESE	86	Clear	S	82
18	Cloudy	SW	79	Clear	ESE	86	Clear	S	83
19	Cloudy	SW	79	Cloudy	ESE	85	Clear	S	84
20	Clear	WSW	80	Cloudy	SE	86	Clear	SE	83
21	Clear	SW	81	Clear	E	86	Clear	ESE	84
22	Clear	SW	83	Clear	E	86	Clear	ESE	84
23	Clear	WSW	82	Clear	E	86	Clear	Calm	84
24	Clear	S	83	Clear	E	87	Clear	SE	85
25	Clear	SSW	83	Clear	ESE	87	Clear	SE	85
26	Cloudy	Calm	83	Cloudy	E	87	Cloudy	SW	85
27	Cloudy	Calm	83	Cloudy	ESE	87	Cloudy	SW	83
28	Hazy	SW	81	Hazy	ESE	87	Hazy	SSW	85
29	Hazy	SW	83	Hazy	E	88	Hazy	SW	85
30	Hazy	WSW	83	Hazy	E	89	Hazy	Variab.	87

Remarks.

<sup>a</sup> Ther. a little exposed at sun rise, 75.



MAY, 1790.

AT SUN-RISE.				AT NOON.			AT MIDNIGHT.		
May	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.
1	Hazy	WSW	83	Cloudy	E	88	Cloudy	S	85
2	Hazy	SSW	83	Cloudy	SSW	86	Cloudy	S	84
3	Hazy	SSW	83	Cloudy	Variab.	87	Clear	SSE	84
4	Hazy	SSW	82	Hazy	SSW	86	Clear	S	84
5	Clear	SSW	82	Cloudy	SSE	87	Clear	S	85
6	Hazy	SW	83	Cloudy	S	87	Clear	S	85
7	Cloudy	S	83	Hazy	S	86	Clear	S	84
8	Cloudy	SSW	83	Hazy	SSE	86	Clear	SSE	84
9	Clear	SSW	83	Hazy	SSE	86	Clear	SSE	84
10	Clear	SSW	83	Clear	SSE	86	Clear	S	84
11	Clear	SSW	83	Clear	S	87	Clear	S	84
12	Hazy	SW	83	Clear	SSE	87	Clear	S	85
13	Clear	SSW	84	Clear	SSE	86	Clear	S	84
14	Clear	S	83	Clear	SSE	87	Clear	SSE	84
<i>a</i> 15	Clear	SSW	83	Cloudy	SSE	85	Clear	SSE	83
<i>b</i> 16	Cloudy	S	82	Clear	SSE	84	Clear	SSE	82
<i>c</i> 17	Clear	S	81	Clear	SSE	86	Clear	SSW	82
18	Hazy	SW	78	Hazy	SSW	86	Clear	SSE	81
19	Cloudy	SSW	79	Clear	SSE	86	Clear	S	82
20	Hazy	SSW	80	Clear	SSE	86	Clear	SSE	82
21	Hazy	S	81	Cloudy	SSE	86	Cloudy	S	82
22	Hazy	SSW	80	Cloudy	SSE	86	Clear	S	84
23	Hazy	SSW	83	Cloudy	SSE	87	Clear	SSE	84
24	Cloudy	SSW	84	Cloudy	SSE	86	Clear	SSE	84
25	Clear	S	84	Clear	SSE	87	Clear	Calm	84
26	Clear	SSW	83	Clear	SE	86	Cloudy	S	83
27	Clear	SSW	83	Hazy	SE	87	Clear	SSE	84
28	Hazy	S	84	Clear.	SE	86	Clear	SSW	85
29	Clear	SSW	83	Clear	SSE	86	Clear	SSE	85
30	Hazy	S	84	Clear	SSE	86	Clear	SSE	85
31	Clear	S	83	Clear	SSE	86	Cloudy	SSE	84

*Remarks.**a* Very heavy dews.*b* Ditto.*c* From 17th to 23d, at Enore, 10 miles north of Madras.



JUNE, 1790.

AT SUN-RISE.				AT NOON.			AT MIDNIGHT.		
June	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.
	1 Clear	SSW	84	Clear	S	86	Hazy	SSW	85
	2 Clear	SSW	84	Cloudy	SW	88	Cloudy	S	85
<i>a</i>	3 Hazy	SW	85	Cloudy	W	90	Cloudy	SSW	86
	4 Hazy	W	85	Hazy	E	87	Hazy	SSW	84
	5 Rainy	Calm	82	Hazy	SW	84	Cloudy	SSW	82
	6 Hazy	W	82	Hazy	Variab.	86	Cloudy	S	84
	7 Hazy	WSW	84	Cloudy	W	89	Cloudy	SSE	86
<i>b</i>	8 Cloudy	WSW	84	Cloudy	WNW	90	Cloudy	S	86
	9 Cloudy	W	84	Cloudy	W	88	Squally and rain	NW	82
	10 Hazy	W	82	Cloudy	W	86	Cloudy	W	86
<i>c</i>	11 Cloudy	WSW	83	Cloudy	W	89	Cloudy	SSW	86
	12 Cloudy	WSW	84	Cloudy	W	89	Squally	SSW	86
	13 Cloudy	WSW	84	Hazy	W	88	Squally	SW	85
	14 Hazy	WSW	84	Cloudy	W	89	Cloudy	Calm	86
	15 Cloudy	W	83	Cloudy	WSW	88	Squally	SSW	83
	16 Cloudy	W	85	Cloudy	WSW	89	Cloudy	SW	86
<i>d</i>	17 Cloudy	SW	85	Cloudy	W	90	Cloudy	SW	87
<i>e</i>	18 Cloudy	SW	85	Cloudy	WSW	91	Cloudy	SW	87
<i>f</i>	19 Cloudy	SW	86	Cloudy	W	91	Cloudy	S	86
<i>g</i>	20 Cloudy	SSW	85	Cloudy	W	90	Squally	SSW	84
<i>b</i>	21 Cloudy	SW	85	Cloudy	W	91	Cloudy	S	83
<i>i</i>	22 Clear	SSW	88	Cloudy	W	91	Cloudy	SSW	85
	23 Cloudy	SW	85	Cloudy	W	91	Cloudy	SSW	85
	24 Cloudy	SW	83	Cloudy	SW	89	Cloudy	SSE	84
	25 Cloudy	WSW	83	Cloudy	WSW	88	Squally	SSW	84
	26 Cloudy	SW	83	Cloudy	SW	87	Squally	Variab.	83
	27 Cloudy	WSW	83	Cloudy	W	88	Cloudy	SSW	84
	28 Clear	SSW	84	Cloudy	SW	88	Cloudy	SSW	84
	29 Cloudy	WSW	84	Cloudy	WSW	89	Squally and rain	SSW	83
	30 Cloudy	SW	82	Cloudy	W	88	Squally and rain	Variab.	82

Remarks.

*a* At 3 P. M. Ther. 92.

*b* From 1st to 8th, Lightning to the Westward and Southward.

*c* At 3, P. M. 91.

*d* At 3, P. M. 92.

*e* At 3, P. M. 93.

*f* At 4, P. M. 94.

*g* At 4, P. M. 93.

*h* At 3, P. M. 93.

*i* At 3, P. M. 93.



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JULY, 1790.

AT SUN-RISE.				AT NOON.			AT MIDNIGHT.		
July	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.
1	Cloudy	WSW	83	Cloudy	W	89	Cloudy	SSW	83
<i>a</i> 2	Cloudy	WSW	84	Cloudy	W	90	Cloudy	Variab.	83
3	Cloudy	SW	83	Cloudy	W	89	Squally	Variab.	83
4	Clear	SW	83	Cloudy	SW	88	Cloudy	SSW	83
5	Cloudy	WSW	83	Cloudy	WSW	88	Squally	SSW	83
6	Cloudy	WSW	83	Cloudy	W	87	Squally	SW	83
7	Hazy	SW	82	Cloudy	W	88	Squally and rain	WSW	81
8	Cloudy	WSW	81	Cloudy	W	87	Squally and rain	SW	81
9	Cloudy	WSW	82	Cloudy	WSW	88	Hard rain	SW	81
10	Cloudy	SW	81	Hazy	Calm	85	Cloudy	W	83
11	Cloudy	W	82	Cloudy	W	86	Cloudy	S	84
12	Clear	W	83	Cloudy	E	87	Squally	S	84
13	Cloudy	WSW	83	Cloudy	W	89	Squally	SSW	85
14	Cloudy	W	84	Cloudy	W	88	Cloudy	SSW	84
<i>b</i> 15	Cloudy	W	83	Cloudy	SW	87	Squally and rain	SW	83
<i>c</i> 16	Cloudy	W	80	Cloudy	W	83	Squally	SSW	82
17	Cloudy	SW	80	Clear	SSE	83	Squally	S	81
<i>d</i> 18	Cloudy	SSW	81	Clear	SSE	84	Squally and rain	SW	81
19	Hazy	SW	81	Hazy	Calm	84	Squally and rain	S	80
20	Hazy	SW	79	Cloudy	SW	83	Cloudy	S	82
21	Hazy	WSW	80	Cloudy	W	84	Squally and rain	SW	80
22	Hazy	W	79	Hazy	W	83	Cloudy	SSW	81
23	Hazy	SW	80	Hazy	SW	85	Hazy	Calm	81
24	Cloudy	SW	79	Hazy	SW	85	Cloudy	W	81
25	Cloudy	W	80	Cloudy	WSW	86	Cloudy	SSW	82
26	Hazy	W	81	Cloudy	W	86	Squally	SW	79
27	Cloudy	SW	79	Cloudy	WSW	86	Cloudy	WSW	81
28	Hazy	W	80	Cloudy	WSW	87	Squally	W	83
29	Cloudy	WSW	81	Cloudy	SW	86	Squally	W	81
30	Cloudy	W	81	Cloudy	WSW	87	Cloudy	SW	82
31	Cloudy	WSW	81	Cloudy	SW	86	Cloudy	SSW	82

Remarks.

*a* At 8, P. M. squally and rain.

*b* Hard rain at midnight.

*c* Rain at sun-set.

*d* From 18th to 27th, frequent squalls of wind and rain after sun-set.



AUGUST, 1790.

AT SUN-RISE.				AT NOON.			AT MIDNIGHT.			
Aug.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	
	1	Cloudy	WSW	82	Cloudy	WSW	87	Squally	Variab.	81
	2	Cloudy	W	82	Cloudy	W	86	Squally	S	81
<i>a</i>	3	Cloudy	SW	82	Cloudy	W	88	Cloudy	SW	83
<i>b</i>	4	Cloudy	SW	82	Clear	WSW	88	Cloudy	SW	83
	5	Cloudy	SW	82	Cloudy	SW	86	Clear	SSW	83
<i>c</i>	6	Cloudy	WSW	83	Cloudy	SW	88	Squally	S	83
	7	Cloudy	WSW	82	Cloudy	SW	88	Cloudy	S	83
	8	Cloudy	SW	82	Cloudy	SSW	88	Cloudy	SSW	83
<i>d</i>	9	Cloudy	SW	82	Cloudy	SW	88	Clear	SSE	82
<i>e</i>	10	Cloudy	W	81	Cloudy	WSW	88	Cloudy	Calm	82
	11	Cloudy	WSW	81	Hazy	W	86	Cloudy	SSW	83
	12	Cloudy	W	82	Hazy	W	88	Cloudy	SSW	83
	13	Clear	SW	83	Cloudy	SW	88	Cloudy	SSW	83
	14	Cloudy	WSW	82	Cloudy	WSW	88	Cloudy	SSW	83
	15	Clear	W	83	Cloudy	W	88	Squally	S	83
	16	Cloudy	W	81	Cloudy	SW	87	Cloudy	S	83
	17	Rainy	Calm	81	Cloudy	W	86	Cloudy	SSW	83
	18	Hazy	WSW	81	Cloudy	WSW	87	Squally	SSW	82
	19	Cloudy	SW	81	Cloudy	SW	86	Cloudy	S	83
	20	Cloudy	W	82	Cloudy	W	86	Squally	S	82
<i>f</i>	21	Cloudy	SW	80	Cloudy	SW	85	Cloudy	SSW	82
	22	Cloudy	WSW	81	Cloudy	SW	86	Cloudy	SSW	82
	23	Cloudy	W	81	Cloudy	W	86	Clear	S	82
	24	Clear	SW	81	Cloudy	Calm	86	Cloudy	SSW	82
	25	Clear	WSW	81	Cloudy	ENE	86	Clear	S	83
	26	Clear	WSW	82	Clear	SE	86	Squally and rain	Variab.	83
	27	Clear	SW	82	Clear	SE	86	Squally and rain	SSW	83
	28	Cloudy	W	82	Cloudy	Calm	85	Small rain	Calm	84
	29	Cloudy	SW	82	Cloudy	Calm	85	Cloudy	W	82
	30	Cloudy	WSW	81	Clear	ENE	86	Cloudy	SW	82
	31	Cloudy	W	82	Cloudy	SSE	85	Cloudy	S	83

Remarks.

*a* At sun-set, heavy squalls and rain.

*b* Ditto. ditto.

*c* At sun-set, rain

*d* At sun-set, rain.

*e* After sun-set, squally and rain.

*f* After 12, P. M. hard squalls.



## SEPTEMBER, 1790.

AT SUN-RISE.				AT NOON.			AT MIDNIGHT.		
S <sup>c</sup>	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.
1	Clear	SW	82	Clear	SE	85	Clear	SSE	83
2	Clear	SSW	82	Clear	SSE	85	Clear	S	83
3	Clear	SSW	82	Clear	E	86	Clear	Calm	84
4	Clear	W	83	Clear	Calm	86	Clear	Calm	84
a 5	Cloudy	WSW	83	Clear	Calm	88	Cloudy	Variab.	85
6	Clear	W	82	Clear	E	86	Clear	SSW	84
7	Clear	Calm	82	Clear	ESE	86	Squally	S	83
8	Squally	Variab.	79	Cloudy	SSW	85	Cloudy	SSE	83
9	Cloudy	SW	82	Cloudy	ESE	85	Squally	S	84
10	Cloudy	SW	82	Cloudy	Calm	85	Cloudy	S	83
b 11	Cloudy	SW	79	Cloudy	SW	84	Cloudy	SSW	83
12	Cloudy	W	81	Cloudy	SW	84	Cloudy	SW	82
13	Cloudy	W	80	Cloudy	W	85	Clear	SW	83
14	Clear	W	81	Clear	W	86	Clear	SSW	83
15	Clear	WSW	81	Cloudy	W	88	Clear	SSE	84
c 16	Clear	WSW	81	Cloudy	WNW	87	Cloudy	S	82
17	Cloudy	W	81	Cloudy	Calm	86	Cloudy	Calm	83
18	Clear	WSW	82	Clear	Calm	86	Cloudy	SSW	82
19	Cloudy	W	79	Cloudy	Small rain	82	Cloudy	W	81
20	Cloudy	W	79	Cloudy	W	86	Cloudy	WSW	82
21	Small rain	W	80	Cloudy	Calm	86	Cloudy	Calm	83
d 22	Cloudy	WSW	81	Cloudy	Calm	86	Cloudy	SSW	83
23	Cloudy	WSW	79	Cloudy	W	85	Cloudy	SSW	83
24	Cloudy	WNW	79	Cloudy	W	86	Clear	SSW	82
25	Cloudy	W	81	Cloudy	NE	86	Clear	S	83
26	Clear	WSW	82	Clear	W	88	Clear	SSW	84
27	Cloudy	WSW	82	Cloudy	ENE	88	Cloudy	SSW	84
28	Cloudy	WSW	82	Cloudy	ESE	87	Cloudy	S	83
29	Cloudy	WSW	82	Cloudy	ENE	87	Cloudy	Calm	84
30	Clear	SW	83	Cloudy	SSE	86	Clear	Calm	84

*Remarks.*

a Squally and rain in the night.

b Hard squalls in the night.

c From 16th to 19th, squally and rain in the night.

d At 1, P. M. squally and rain.



OCTOBER, 1790.

AT SUN-RISE.				AT NOON.			AT MIDNIGHT.		
Oct.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.
<i>a</i> 1	Cloudy	WSW	78	Clear	E	86	Clear	SE	83
2	Cloudy	WSW	80	Clear	ENE	86	Clear	E	83
3	Clear	WNW	78	Clear	ENE	85	Clear	S	84
4	Cloudy	WNW	81	Clear	NE	86	Clear	E	84
5	Clear	WNW	81	Clear	NNE	86	Hazy	E	84
6	Cloudy	W	82	Cloudy	NNE	86	Cloudy	E	83
7	Cloudy	WNW	82	Cloudy	NE	87	Cloudy	Variab.	84
8	Cloudy	W	81	Cloudy	E	86	Cloudy	E	83
9	Rainy	Calm	81	Rainy	NNW	83	Rainy	N	81
10	Rainy	NW	77	Cloudy	N	80	Squally	Variab.	80
11	Cloudy	WNW	78	Cloudy	NNW	82	Cloudy	NNW	80
12	Cloudy	WNW	78	Cloudy	N	84	Hazy	NW	81
<i>b</i> 13	Clear	NW	78	Cloudy	NNW	85	Clear	NW	82
14	Clear	NW	77	Clear	NNE	83	Clear	NNE	82
15	Clear	NW	78	Cloudy	NNE	84	Clear	ENE	83
16	Hazy	NNW	78	Cloudy	NNE	84	Clear	Calm	83
17	Cloudy	Calm	79	Cloudy	ENE	84	Clear	Calm	82
18	Cloudy	Calm	79	Cloudy	NNE	84	Squally	NW	81
19	Cloudy	NW	80	Squally	N	83	Squally	Variab.	82
20	Rainy	NW	81	Cloudy	NNE	84	Clear	Calm	81
<i>c</i> 21	Clear	WNW	77	Clear	NNE	83	Clear	NW	80
22	Clear	NW	77	Cloudy	NNE	83	Cloudy	W	80
23	Cloudy	NNW	79	Cloudy	NNW	83	Cloudy	NNW	80
24	Cloudy	W	75	Cloudy	NW	86	Cloudy	NW	80
25	Clear	WNW	76	Clear	NNW	86	Cloudy	NNE	82
26	Cloudy	WNW	77	Cloudy	NNE	86	Cloudy	NNE	83
27	Cloudy	WNW	77	Cloudy	NNE	85	Cloudy	NE	83
28	Cloudy	NNW	79	Cloudy	NE	84	Cloudy	NE	82
29	Cloudy	NW	78	Cloudy	NE	83	Clear	Calm	80
30	Clear	Calm	77	Clear	NNE	83	Clear	Calm	80
31	Clear	NNW	75	Clear	NE	83	Clear	Calm	79

*Remarks.*

*a* From the 1st to the 3d, at Enore, 10 miles N. from Madras.

*b* From 13th to 15th, dews in the night.

*c* From 21st to 25th, dews in the night.



## NOVEMBER, 1790.

AT SUN-RISE.				AT NOON.			AT MIDNIGHT.		
Nov.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.
1	Clear	NW	75	Clear	NE	82	Clear	NW	79
2	Cloudy	NW	75	Clear	NNE	82	Clear	Calm	79
3	Clear	WNW	75	Clear	ENE	82	Clear	Variab.	80
4	Clear	WNW	77	Clear	ENE	82	Clear	W	81
5	Clear	W	76	Clear	ENE	83	Clear	ENE	81
6	Clear	WNW	76	Clear	E	84	Clear	ENE	82
7	Cloudy	N	77	Squally and rain	N	82	Squally	N	81
8	Squally	NNW	80	Clear	NE	83	Clear	NNE	81
9	Clear	NNW	77	Clear	NE	83	Clear	NNE	81
10	Clear	N	77	Clear	NNE	83	Clear	Calm	81
11	Cloudy	N	78	Squally and rain	NE	83	Cloudy	NE	80
12	Squally and rain	NNE	80	Cloudy	NE	81	Clear	NE	81
13	Cloudy	N	79	Clear	ENE	83	Clear	ENE	81
14	Clear	NNW	78	Clear	ENE	83	Clear	ENE	81
15	Clear	NW	78	Clear	ENE	83	Clear	NE	80
16	Clear	NW	77	Clear	ENE	82	Clear	ENE	80
17	Clear	NNW	76	Clear	NE	82	Clear	N	80
18	Clear	NNW	76	Clear	ENE	81	Cloudy	NE	80
19	Cloudy	NNW	74	Cloudy	NNE	80	Cloudy	N	79
20	Cloudy	NW	76	Cloudy	NE	82	Cloudy	NNE	81
<sup>a</sup> 21	Cloudy	NNE	77	Cloudy	NE	82	Cloudy	N	80
22	Cloudy	NNW	77	Cloudy	NE	81	Squally	NNE	79
23	Cloudy	N	77	Rainy	NNW	77	Squally and rain	NE	78
24	Squally and rain	NNE	78	Rainy	NE	78	Squally and rain	NE	77
25	Squally and rain	NE	78	Squally and rain	NNE	78	Squally and rain	NNE	78
26	Squally and rain	NE	78	Cloudy	Variab.	80	Squally and rain	NE	78
27	Squally	Variab.	78	Cloudy	ENE	80	Squally	E	79
28	Squally	E	78	Cloudy	Variab.	80	Clear	E	79
29	Cloudy	Variab.	78	Cloudy	ESE	81	Cloudy	E	79
30	Cloudy	Calm	78	Cloudy	Calm	82	Cloudy	ENE	79

*Remarks.*

<sup>a</sup> From 21st to 26th, Monsoon rains.



## DECEMBER, 1790.

AT SUN-RISE.				AT NOON.			AT MIDNIGHT.		
Dec.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.	Weather.	Wind.	Ther.
1	Cloudy	Calm	78	Cloudy	E	82	Squally	NE	80
2	Cloudy	N	79	Rainy	NNE	79	Rainy	N	78
3	Rainy	NNW	76	Hard rain	NNW	76	Squally	NE	77
4	Squally	NE	77	Squally	NE	79	Cloudy	N	79
5	Squally and rain	NNE	78	Cloudy	NE	81	Cloudy	NNW	78
6	Squally and rain	Variab.	78	Cloudy	NE	81	Clear	Calm	79
7	Cloudy	NNW	78	Cloudy	ESE	82	Clear	SE	80
8	Cloudy	W	79	Cloudy	ESE	83	Hazy	Calm	81
9	Cloudy	WNW	78	Cloudy	E	82	Clear	ENE	79
10	Cloudy	Calm	78	Cloudy	ENE	82	Cloudy	N	80
11	Cloudy	NNE	79	Cloudy	NE	82	Cloudy	NNW	80
12	Rainy	NNE	80	Squally	NE	82	Squally	NE	79
13	Cloudy	NNE	79	Cloudy	NE	82	Cloudy	NE	79
14	Cloudy	N	79	Cloudy	NNE	82	Cloudy	N	79
15	Cloudy	NW	75	Cloudy	NNE	81	Cloudy	NNW	78
16	Cloudy	NW	74	Clear	NE	81	Cloudy	N	78
17	Clear	NW	75	Cloudy	NE	81	Cloudy	NW	76
18	Cloudy	NW	74	Cloudy	NE	80	Cloudy	NNW	78
19	Cloudy	NW	74	Cloudy	NNE	80	Cloudy	NW	76
20	Cloudy	NW	74	Cloudy	NNE	80	Cloudy	N	78
21	Cloudy	NW	73	Cloudy	NNE	78	Cloudy	N	76
22	Hazy	NW	74	Clear	NNE	78	Cloudy	NNE	77
23	Cloudy	NW	74	Clear	NE	78	Cloudy	Calm	76
24	Cloudy	NW	74	Clear	NNE	79	Clear	Calm	76
25	Hazy	Calm	73	Clear	NNE	79	Clear	NNE	77
26	Hazy	N	74	Clear	N	79	Cloudy	N	77
27	Cloudy	N	74	Clear	NNE	79	Clear	NNW	76
28	Hazy	NNW	75	Cloudy	N	80	Cloudy	N	79
29	Cloudy	N	78	Cloudy	N	80	Cloudy	N	76
30	Cloudy	NW	75	Cloudy	N	78	Cloudy	N	76
31	Cloudy	NW	74	Cloudy	NW	76	Clear	NNW	75



OBJECTS WORTHY OF OBSERVATION, BETWEEN AGRA AND  
CALCUTTA.

(Communicated by Col. G. IRONSIDE.)

*At Agrà, on the banks of the Jumna.*

THE Mausoleum of Traje-Mahl, an edifice far superior to that raised by Artemesia for her husband.

Secundrah, or the tomb of Akber.

The Fortrefs.

*At Lucknow, on the banks of the Goomtee.*

The Vizier's palaces and gardens particularly.

The cypress garden.

The stud.

The menagerie and aviary.

The ina coonah, or glazed apartment.

*At Fyzabad, on the banks of the Gorah.*

The remains of the late Vizier's palace.

The remains of the fortrefs there.

The women.

*At Allahabad, at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges.*

The sepulchre of Sultaun Khofroo.

The king's garden and other edifices and gardens round the town.

The fortrefs, king's palace, and the Hindoo temple under ground, within the fort.

The canal which would have isolated the town and fort had it been completed.

Three remarkable large trees, called by the natives, valatty emlee, *i. e.* European Tamarind, and by Linnæus Adansonia, growing on the spot, called the queen's garden opposite to Popamow, and near to a small white pagoda, on the S. W. side of the river.

The sacred washing place at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, called Peirâg.

*At Chunar, on the Ganges.*

The fortrefs.

The Mahommedan tombs, notice the perforation of the stone inclosures of the sepulchres.

The stone quarries.

*At Benares.*

The most sacred pagoda of the Hindoos, called vis-visor, and other pagodas.

The observatory.

The pagodas, gardens and tank, constructed by Cheyt Sing, at Ramna-Gur.

The Minars.

The uncommon construction of the narrow streets and opposite houses, between which there are communications by balconies.

The extensive avenues of large trees.

The naked devotee fakeers, women as well as men.

The fabrics of gold and silver stuffs.

Benares is the mart for diamonds and other gems, brought from Bundelcund.

It is celebrated, like all other consecrated places, for lascivious intrigue.

*Gauzipore, on the Ganges.*

A place remarkable for fine rose water.

*Buxar, on the Ganges.*

The small fort and English cantonments.

*Manjee, at the confluence of the Gograh and Ganges.*

Remarkable for a large bhurr, or banian tree.

Remark the devotee fakeers there.



*Moncer, at the confluence of the Soane and Ganges.*

The large tank.

*Chuprah, on the Gonduck.*

The saltpetre manufactory.

*Sarferam.*

Where are the stupendous Mausoleums of Selim Shah, and Sheer Shah.

*Rotas, on the Soane.*

The extensive fortrefs on the summit of a high mountain.

*Dinapore, on the Ganges.*

The English cantonments, consisting of two fine squares.

*Singiah, on the east bank of the Gonduck.*

*Patna, on the Ganges.*

The Precincts.

The Dirgâh.

Carpet manufactory.

Mode of collecting opium from the plant.

*Mongbeer, on the Ganges.*

The fortrefs.

Its beautiful environs, and the bold circular sweep of the Ganges.

The hill, 3 miles east of the fort.

The hot baths at Sittacoon.

*Sultângunge, on the Ganges.*

The fakeers' rock in the midst of the river.

*Colgong, on the Ganges.*

One of the most beautiful, wild, and picturesque countries in the world, seen from the contiguous hills.

*Pialapore.*

Continuation of the same extensive romantic scene. Not more remarkable for a fine weaving country and its variegated prospects, than for the prodigious quantity of game round about it.

*The Passes.*

The fine theatre formed by the hills and vallies at Gongah Perfaud.

N. B. Travellers, for the sake of the prospects, as well as sporting,

should pass from Colgong to Telia-gurree by land.

*Mooteejurnah,*

Or pearl cascade, seen from the river just after turning the promontory of Sickleagullee.

*Rajahmahl, on the Ganges.*

The Seray. The remains of Nagasore Baug.

*At Oodah-Nullah, on the Ganges.*

The entrenchments.

*Gowr, on the Mahab Nuddah.*

The remains of that antique city, and its very extensive inclosures. The vestiges of the exterior one are said to be 60 miles in circumference.

*Jungypore, on the Baugrutti.*

A pretty English garden and silk millature.

*Murshudabad, on the Baugrutti.*

The Nawâb's garden at Saduc Baug, and the college of Fakeers adjoining to it, called Akawrah Musteram.

The pagoda of Ranny Bawaunny.

The house of the great merchant Juggut-Seet, and his pagodas and sepulchres.

The mosque of Jaffer Cawn, constructed after the form of the Metropolitan mosque at Mecca.

The gardens of Mooteejeel.

The Nawâb's palace and imaum-barree.

*Berbampore, on the Baugrutti.*

The English cantonments. A noble square on the banks of the Baugrutti.

*Plassey, ditto.*

The field of battle, and extensive Mango-grove, containing above 3000 trees regularly planted.

*Nuddeah, at the confluence of the Baugrutti and Jelinghee.*

The Hindu seminaries for teaching the Sanscrit language.

*Santipore, on the Hoogly river.*

A manufactory for fine muslins.



*Sook-Sagur, ditto.*

A fine English sugar plantation.

*Bandel, ditto.*

A Portugueze settlement.

*Hoogly, ditto.*

Formerly the port of the metropolis of Bengal.

*Chinsurah, ditto.*

A Dutch settlement.

*Chandernagore, ditto.*

A French settlement.

See the chief's villa there.

*Cowahgauchy, ditto.*

A large old Hindu fort called Sumookghur.

*Pultab, ditto.*

A manufactory for chintz and indigo.

*Serampore, ditto.*

A Danish settlement.

*Barrackpore, on the Hughly river.*

The English cantonments.

*Barnagore, ditto.*

The paphos of Calcutta.

*Fort-William, ditto.*

A noble fortrefs near Calcutta.

*N. B.* It is advisable, during the rainy season, and time of the floods, rather to pass down the nullahs or small streams which run parallel with the Ganges, almost the whole way, than to keep the great river. No strong winds then stop the progress of the boats; their passage is infinitely more secure and pleasant, often nearer, and always more expeditious. Renel's maps point out many of these nullahs. Information of more may be had upon the way.

In proceeding down the Mauldah nullah, there is a small cut from the town of Mauldah, that leads through the city of Gowr, and comes out opposite the head of the Cássimbazar river.

#### OF THE MANNER OF HUNTING AND SPORTING BY THE ENGLISH IN BENGAL.

(Communicated by Colonel G. IRONSIDE.)

Few parties of pleasure can be more agreeable than those for hunting, formed by ladies and gentlemen in Bengal, particularly at some distance from the presidency of Fort William, where the country is pleasanter, and game of every kind in greater plenty. Any time between the beginning of November and end of February is taken for these excursions; during which season the climate is delightfully temperate, the air perfectly serene, and the sky often without a cloud.

To transport the tents and other requisites, for the accommodation of the company, to some verdant spot, near to a grove and rivulet, previously selected, elephants and camels are borrowed; small country

carts, oxen and bearers hired, at no considerable expence, the price of all kinds of grain, and wages of course, being exceedingly reasonable. Nor does the commanding officer of the troops within the district often refuse a guard of sepoy to protect the company from the danger of wild beasts, (for such generally resort to the haunts of game,) or the depredations of still wilder banditti, now and then pervading the country.

The larger tents are pitched in a square or circle, while those for the guards and servants usually occupy the outer space. Every marquée for a lady is divided into two or three apartments, for her camp-bed, her closet, and her dressing-room; is

car-



carpetted or matted, and is covered with a spreading fly, for defence against rain, or exclusion of casual heat, the air ventilating powerfully between the vacuity (about two feet) of the tent and its canopy in unre-mitted undulation. The doors or curtains of the marquée, wattied with a sweet-scented grass, are, if the weather chance to become sultry, continually sprinkled with water from the outside; and a chintz wall stained in handsomely-figured compartments encompasses the whole.

For the supply of common food, if no village be very near, petty chandler-shops now are engaged by the family banyans (house stew-ards) to accompany them, glad to profit of such an opportunity of gain. Liquors and every species of European articles are provided by the party themselves.

Horses are employed for the conveyance of the gentlemen, and palanquins for the ladies, with their female attendants; and, where the roads will admit of it, close and open English carriages also.

Part of the morning sports of the men, commencing at dawn of day, consist in rousing and chasing the wild boar, the wolf and antelope (or gazelle), the roebuck, the mink, the red and other deer, hares, foxes, and jackalls: besides the common red, the spotted and the small mouse, there are ten or twelve sorts of hog or short-bristled deer. Boars are usually found amongst the uncultivated tracts, or the more regular plantations of sugar-canes, which give to their flesh the finest flavour imaginable. Wolves and jackalls are seen prowling and lurking, at break of day, about the skirts of towns and villages, or retiring from thence to their dens within woods; or within pits, hollows, or ravines on the downs. Hares shelter in the

same situations as in England. The hog, roebuck, and musk deer, conceal themselves amongst the thickest heath and herbage, and the antelope and large deer rove on the plains. All these animals, however, resort not rarely to the jungles, (or very high coarse and implicated grass,) with which the levels of Hindustan abound, either to graze, to browse, or in pursuit of prey.

A country of Asia abounding in such variety of game, is, of course, not destitute of wild beasts; the principal of which are, the tiger, leopard, panther, tiger cats, bear, wolf, jackall, fox, hyæna and rhinoceros. The leopards are of three or four kinds.

Or the gentlemen divert themselves with shooting the same animals, as also common partridge, rock-partridge, hurriâl, or green pigeons, quail, plover, wild cocks and hens, curlews; black, white, and grey peacocks; florikens, storks of several kinds and colours, together with water-hens, Braminy-geese, cranes, wild geese and ducks, teal, widgeons, snipes, and other aquatic fowl, in infinite abundance; many of them of extraordinary shape, of glowing variegated plumage, and of unknown species; whose numbers almost cover the water whilst they swim, and, when alarmed, and flushed from the lakes, like a cloud, absolutely obscure the light.

The foxes are small, slenderly limbed, delicately furred with a soft brown hair, and by no means rank in smell; feeding principally upon grain, vegetables, and fruit. They are exceedingly fleet and flexible, though not strong or persevering. When running, they wind in successive evolutions to escape their pursuers, and afford excellent sport. Their holes are usually excavated,



not in woods, but on hillocks, upon a smooth green sward or lawn, where, in a morning or evening, they are seen playing and frisking about with their young. They feed generally amongst the corn, and are oftenest found within fields of mustard or linseed, when it has sprouted up high enough to conceal them.

A minor critic, on perusal of *Æsop's* or rather *Pilpay's* fables, ridiculed the idea of foxes feeding upon grapes; but, had he consulted any Asiatic natural history, he would have learnt that they subsist upon grain, pulse, and fruit, particularly grapes and pine-apples, when within their range, much more than upon flesh or fowl. Or had he turned to the Bible, he would have there found the following passage in confirmation of it: "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines, for our vines have tender grapes."--*Canticles, Chap. ii. v. 15.*

Jackalls are rather larger than English foxes; but of a brown colour, clumsier shape, and not so pointed about the nose. In nature they partake more of the wolf than of the dog or fox. Their real Asiatic name is *shugaul*, perverted by English seamen trading to the Levant, (where they are in plenty on the coasts of Syria and Asia-Minor,) into jackalls.

Of the partridge there are several kinds, one with a white belly, and another something like grouse, only more motley feathered.

Plover too are various; and when the weather becomes warm, ortolans traverse the heaths and commons in immense flocks.

There are no pheasants in the woods of Bengal or Bahar, nearer than the confines of Assam, Chittagong, and the range of mountains separating Hindustan from Tibet and

Napaul. But there, particularly about the Morung, and in Betiah, they are large and beautiful, more especially the golden, the burnished, the spotted and the azure, as well as the brown Argus pheasant.

As for peacocks, they are everywhere in multitudes, and of two or three species. One tract in Orissa is denominated *More-bunje*, or the Peacock District.

Cranes are of three sorts, and all of a cærulean grey: the very lofty one, with a crimson head, called *farus*; the smallest, called *curcurrah*, (the *demoiselle* of Linnæus and *Busson*,) uncommonly beautiful and elegant, whose snow-white tuft, behind its scarlet-glowing eyes, is the appropriate ornament for the turban of the Emperor alone; and the middle-sized one with a black head, the common *grus*. They return to the northern mountains about the autumnal equinox, after cessation of the periodical rains, with their young, in myriads of flights, frequent as the wood pigeon in North America; and sometimes, when the wind is very violent, flocks of them mount to a vast height in the air, and there wind about in regular circles, seemingly with much delight, and venting all the time a harsh discordant scream, heard at a considerable distance.

In the wilds of Hindustan certainly originated the common domestic fowl, for there they are discovered in almost every forest. They are all bantams, but without feathers on their legs; the cocks are in colour all alike, what sportsmen call ginger red; they have a fine tufted cluster of white downy feathers upon their rumps, are wonderfully stately in their gait, and fight like furies. The hens are invariably brown. It is extremely pleasant, in travelling through the woods early



early in a morning, to hear them crowing, and to perceive the hens and chickens skulking and scudding between the bushes. For food, they are neither so palatable nor tender as the tame fowl.

Florekins are amongst the *non descripta*, I believe, in ornithology. A drawing can alone exhibit an adequate representation of this fine bird; it harbours in natural pastures amongst the long grass, on the extremity of lakes, and the borders of swampy grounds, lying between marshy soils and the uplands. Hence its flesh seems to partake, in colour and relish, of the nature and flavour of both the wild duck and the pheasant; the colour of the flesh on the breast and wing being brown, but on the legs perfectly white, and the whole of the most delicate, juicy, and savoury flavour conceivable.

There are only three claws to its feet; the roots of the feathers of the female are of a fine pink colour.

When the cock rises up, some fine black velvet feathers, which commonly lie smooth upon his head, then stand up erect, and form a tuft upon his crown and his neck.

When set by dogs, it lies close, and scarcely ever rises till the fowler is so near as almost to tread upon it. The nest of it is made amongst the grass.

You read of them in descriptions of ancient knightly festivals of the Nevilles, Percys, Mortimers, Beauchamps, Montacutes, De Courceys, Mohuns, Courtenays, and Mowbrays, under the name, I believe, of Flanderkins; but whether they were then native of England, I am uncertain.

The height of the cock florekin of Bengal, from the ground, when he stands, to the top of his back, is seventeen inches.

The height from the ground to

the top of his head, when he holds it upright, is twenty-seven inches.

The length from the tip of his back to the end of his tail, is twenty-seven inches.

In no part of southern Asia did I ever hear of woodcocks; but amongst the breed of snipes there is one called the painted-snipe, larger than ordinary, and well compensates for want of the former.

Fishing, both with lines and diversity of nets, is the employment of other sets of the party; or the hawking of herons, cranes, storks, and hares, with the falcon; and of partridge and lesser birds, with the sparrow and small hawks.

Ladies now and then attend the early field; if it be to view the coursing or hawking, they mount upon small gentlest (for they are all gentle,) female elephants, surmounted with arched-canopied and curtained seats; otherwise they ride on horseback; more frequently however in palanquins, under which, as well as under the elephants and horses, the birds, (particularly the white stork or paddy bird,) when pounced at by the hawks, and the little foxes, when hard pressed by the dogs, often fly for shelter and protection. In general, however, the ladies do not rise betimes, nor stir out till the hour of airing.

The weapons in use on these expeditions are, fowling-pieces, horse pistols, light lances or pikes, and heavy spears or javelins; and every person has, besides, a servant armed with a scymetar or sabre, and a rifle with a bayonet, carrying a two ounce ball, in the event of meeting with tigers, hyænas, bears, or wild buffaloes. Some of the ladies (like Thalestris or Hypolyta, quite in the Diana style,) carry light bows and quivers to amuse themselves with the lesser game.



The dogs are, pointers, spaniels, Persian and European greyhounds, and strong ferocious lurchers. Near Calcutta a few gentlemen keep English hounds, but their scent quickly fades, and they soon degenerate.

But the liveliest sport is exhibited when all the horsemen, elephants, servants, guard, and hired villagers are assembled and arranged in one even row, with small white flags (as being seen farthest,) hoisted pretty high at certain distances, in order to prevent one part of the rank from advancing before the rest. Proceeding in this manner, in a regular and progressive course, this line sweeps the surface, like a net, and impels before it all the game within its compass and extent. When the jungle and coppice chance to open upon a plain, it is a most exhilarating sight to behold the quantity and variety of animals issuing at once from their coverts: some are driven out reluctantly, others force their way back into the brake. During this scene of development, route, and dispersion, prodigious havock is made by the fowlers, falconers, and huntsmen, whilst the country people and children, with sticks and staves, either catch or demolish the fawns, leverets, wild pigs, and other young animals, which have returned into the coppice.

Instances occasionally occur, where the natives of the vicinage petition the gentlemen to destroy a tiger that has infested the district, to the annoyance and devastation of their flocks and shepherds, and perpetual alarm of the poor cottagers themselves. Although an arduous and perilous adventure, and what the gentlemen all profess, in their cooler moments, to reprobate and decline, yet, when in the field, they generally comply with the solicitation, and undertake the exploit. Their

instant animation, not unattended with emotions of benevolence and compassion, presently supersede every dictate of prudence, and, spite of their predetermination, they proceed to the assault, the villagers all the while standing aloof. If conducted deliberately, with circumspection, and with the aid of the sepoy, they soon accomplish their purpose, and bring in the most dreadful and formidable of all tremendous beasts, amidst the homage and acclamations of the peasantry. But should they lose their presence of mind, prolong or precipitate the conflict, act with incaution, or attack the exasperated infuriated savage with tumult and confusion, the event is often fatal, by his seizing, lacerating and crushing every creature within his reach; nor ceasing to rend, tear, claw, and destroy, to the very moment of his destruction, or of his flight.

Sometimes do the natives entreat the gentlemen to rid them of wild buffaloes, (the largest of all known animals, the elephant excepted,) that have laid waste their cultivation; and at others, to clear their vast tanks, or small neighbouring lakes, of alligators, which devour their fish, or do mischief on shore. So much hazard is not incurred, however, by achievements of this sort, as from the encounter of a tiger; for though the hides of those creatures resist a ball from a firelock at common musquet distance, they are by no means impenetrable to shot from a rifle, or other pieces with a chamber, or of a wider calibre.

A drum, with a banner displayed from the hall tent, give signals to the company for their meals.

Breakfast is a most delightful repast: the sportsmen return keen, fresh, ruddy and voracious; and the appearance



appearance of the ladies in simple loose attire, the elegant dishabille of clearest muslin with plain floating ribbons, and dishevelled tresses, captivate to fascination. Nor is the palate less gratified: English, French, Italian, and Dutch viands all combine to provoke it, by a profusion of cold victuals, salted and dried meats and fish, hams, tongues, sausages, hung-beef, fallads, chocolate, coffee, tea, fresh milk, preserves, fruit, and eggs, rendered still more grateful by the most sprightly cheerfulness and Auroral gaiety.

After breakfast, conveyances of different sorts are prepared for an airing, not merely for the sake of airing only, but to view some natural or artificial curiosity or manufacture; some noted town, distinguished mosque, celebrated pagoda, renowned dirgâh, or venerable mausoleum; some consecrated grove, the sequestered residence of fakeers, or some extensive prospect from the summit of rugged cliffs, impending over an expanse of water, bordering perhaps a level lawn, whose verdure is vaulted only, not concealed, by a diffused assemblage of stately columniated palms, of four different species, tufted and foliated only, in graceful inclinations at their capitals, all equally ornamental, the date, the cocoa-nut, the beetel, and the palmyra.

Between the airing and an early dinner, the hours are irregularly disposed, as chance may dictate, or caprice suggest. Some play at cricket and quoits, swim, jump, fence, run a match of horses, or shoot at a mark; whilst others direct the mountaineers and woodmen, (who rove about in bands for this express purpose,) where to inveigle, entangle, or kill beasts, birds, fish, and snakes, for which they are furnished with variety of implements, such

as matchlocks, tiger-bows, spears, darts in grooves, balls in tubes, pellet-bows, limed-rods, stakes, and bushes; fascinating allurements, such as painted, spotted, and foliated screens, bells, nets, and torches, bundles of twigs, rushes and reeds, artificial ducks and decoy birds, with traps, gins, springs, snares, and other stratagems and inventions of wonderful enchantment, ingenuity, mechanism, and contrivance.

It is somewhat extraordinary, but nevertheless a fact, the influence of fascination possessed by the tiger, and all of his, the feline species, over many other creatures. 'Spied by deer particularly, they stop at once, as if struck by a spell, while the tiger lies still, his eyes fixed on them, and quietly awaiting their approach, which they seldom fail to make gradually within his spring; for the large royal tiger cannot run speedily or far. The glow of their eyes is fierce and powerful. I myself once passed a royal tiger in the night near a wood, and could plainly perceive the scintillations from his eyes. He was deterred from approaching us by the light of flambeaux, and the noise of a small drum which we carried, and was beat by a servant for the purpose of scaring him away.

Wherever tigers roam or couch, a number of birds continually collect or hover about them, screaming and crying as if to create an alarm. But the peacock seems to be particularly allured by him; for the instant a flock of pea-fowl perceive him, they advance towards him directly, and begin strutting round him with wings fluttering, quivering feathers, and bristling and expanded tails. Of this enticement the fowlers also make their advantage; for, by painting a brown cloth screen, about six feet square,



with black spots or streaks, and advancing under its cover fronting the sun, the birds either approach towards them, or suffer them to steal near enough to be sure of their mark, by a hole left in the canvas for them to fire through.

Several other instances of the fascination of animals I have myself been witness to in Bengal. Three or four times, where a line of troops were marching in a long uninterrupted series, passed a herd of deer; I observed that when their attention was taken off from grazing, by the humming murmuring noise proceeding from the troops in passing, they at first and for a while stood staring and aghast, as if attracted by the successive progression of the files, all clothed in red. At length, however, the leading stag, "*vir gregis ipse,*" striking the ground, snorted, and immediately rushed forward across the ranks, followed by the whole collection, to the utter dismay and confusion of the soldiery: thus running into the very danger one naturally supposes they must have at first been anxious to avoid. The men, who were apprized by the sound of their approach, stopped, and made way for them. Over the heads of the others, who were heedless and inattentive, they bounded with wonderful agility, and fled over the plain.

Driving one evening along the road in a phaeton, and pretty fast, I perceived a young heifer running near the carriage, with her eyes intently fixed upon one of the hind wheels; by the whirling of which the animal seemed completely struck and affected. Thus pursuing her object for about a quarter of a mile, she, by a sudden impulse, rapidly darted forward towards the wheel, which then striking her nose, the attention of the creature became in-

terrupted by the violence of the friction, and was, of course, withdrawn: she then immediately stood stock still, and presently after turned about slowly and made off.

Beyond all other animals, however, serpents possess most eminently this occult power: frequently are they seen revolved on the branches of trees, or on the ground, meditating their prey, either birds, squirrels, rats, mice, bats, frogs, hares, or other animals.

The ladies, as they are inclined, either read, walk, swing, exercise themselves in archery, or at shuttlecock in the groves; or they sing and play in their tents. Others, whilst at work, are read to by their companions, of all amusements, perhaps, the most delectable.

At the end of a convivial dinner, every soul, provided the weather prove sultry, or they find themselves fatigued, retires to repose.

On rising from this siesta, of all listless indulgences the most soothing, comfortable, and refreshing; and certainly most wholesome, all animals inclining to sleep after nourishment; carriages are again in readiness, or light boats, where a stream or lake is near, to give the company the evening's respiration (which the inhabitants of colder regions taste only in poetical description,) breathing health as well as recreation.

The twilight being short under the tropics, the day of course shuts in presently after sun-set, when cards and dice become part of the evening's entertainment. Chess, backgammon, whist, picquet, tre-drille, quinze, and loo, are the favourite games. These, with domestic sports, anticks, gambols, tricks, pranks, and frolicks, where the humour prevails; together with the slights of jugglers, feats of tumblers,



blers, (in which performances the Hindus are expert adepts,) and dances of the natives, wile away the time, and beguile it not unpleasantly to the hour of supper, the principal meal; when a repast, enlivened by every elevation of spirit and kindly disposition that can conduce to promote good humour and festive hilarity, terminates the day,

These parties generally continue, with some variation in the amusements, fifteen or twenty days; and the dissolution of them is as generally lamented, with heart-felt regret, by the individuals who compose them.

*From the Calcutta Monthly Journal, December 14, 1795.*

As a party of gentlemen were in pursuit of snipe, in the vicinity of Dum-dum, they most unexpectedly roused a royal tiger. The animal immediately seized on the first person near him, which happened to be a native servant, who was carrying a gun, and killed him on the spot.

The gentlemen, alarmed as they were, did not retire from the place where the accident happened, without attempting to rescue the poor fellow from the jaws of the monster. They discharged their pieces at him; but, as they were all loaded with small shot, they made no sensible impression on him: he continued to devour his prey, until the sporting party assembled a number of the

country people, who, by shouting, and beating of tom-toms, at length drove him off.

Intelligence of this unfortunate affair was immediately dispatched to Calcutta, for the information of some keen sportsmen, who delight in the manly exercise and dangerous amusement of tiger-hunting; the party was soon formed, and the gentlemen who composed it proceeded to the ground without delay, armed for the purpose, and mounted on elephants.

Nor were they long in finding out the ferocious animal, who was weltering in gore when they came up with him. An immediate attack began; but instead of retreating, the tiger made a successful spring, and fastened upon one of the elephants. The driver was not, however, dismayed; for, by a very severe blow struck with his hook on a tender part of the enraged animal, he forced him to quit his hold.

Several shots were then fired at him, and although most of them took place, yet none had touched a vital part. The animal, however, became furious beyond description, running at and charging every thing that came near him, until one of the party, well known for his prowess, as well as dexterity in the field, intrepidly advanced upon him, and, with a hog-spear, pinned the grisly monster to the ground.

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#### OF THE SPORTS OF THE FIELD IN HINDUSTAN.

(Communicated by Colonel G. IRONSIDE.)

THE men of rank and fortune amongst the natives of Hindustan, besides falconers, fowlers, fishermen, huntsmen, and gangs of game-keepers, for the chase, and other different sports, entertain also persons

versed in the practice of catching animals by allurement, disguise, ensnaring, ambush, fascination, and other stratagems and devices, wherein are employed a considerable number of different instruments and im-



plements of enticement, constraint, imitation, and infatuation.

Amongst others, when they are desirous of taking jackalls alive, two men approach their holes or covert, and begin mimicking the cries of the young ones, while they gambol and play about: this yelping noise soon inveigles the male, who advancing, is entangled in a snare laid for the purpose; on continuing the same kind of squalling, the female soon follows her mate, and is entrapped in the like manner.

#### *Of Fishing.*

Fish are caught in Bengal, by placing a bundle of rushy bushes or bavins in the water over night; also, by surrounding a large extent of shallow water with mats, and then contracting the space 'till hand nets can be used with effect.

Small fish are caught in small rivulets or lakes, in Bengal, by making a noise with small bells or sticks, in one boat, and driving the fish by that means towards another.

#### *Of Fowling.*

Small birds are taken by fowlers, by fixing one hollow and very slender reed into another rather thicker, (like the joints of a fishing rod,) touched with bird-lime, that into a third, and so on, till the first be long enough, by being insinuated among the boughs with a quick motion, to touch the bird aimed at. Or a small arrow, or clay ball, is put into a long tube, and the bird struck with it by a blast from the mouth. Or they are killed with a pellet bow, which is a common bow with two strings, separated by a small slender bit of stick, near which is fixed a bit of leather to receive the pellet. The aim of this instrument is more certain than that of any other missile weapon.

Wild fowl are caught in Persia by persons who go in the night near

marshy rushy places, and display on a sudden many lights on the stern of the boats; then ringing small bells, the birds are frightened, and fly into their very hands.

Wild ducks, and other water fowl, are caught in Hindustan by people wading or swimming the lakes, either with an earthen pot over their heads, or the artificial representation of a duck, fashioned so as to put on like a cap; by which contrivance they get close enough to geese, widgeon, teal, &c. to pull them by the feet under water, till they have filled a girdle made of netting, or tied or twisted one of their wings, so as to let them float, without hazarding their escape, upon the surface of the water. And this they effect without much disturbance among the rest of the flocks on the lake; and so easily, and in such abundance, as to afford them for a penny or three-halfpence a-piece.

#### *Of Hunting.*

In order to destroy the rhinoceros, when he ravages the corn and herbage, pit-falls are made; but they are seldom caught alive, except when young.

#### *Of catching Tigers.*

To catch tigers and leopards several contrivances are employed. The most common are, a large trap (not unlike a rat-trap) baited with a live kid, caged at one end of the trap, and thus secured from seizure. Or a large bamboo bow is stretched opposite the animal's accustomed haunt, armed with a long barbed arrow. A small thread is then laid across the track, communicating with the bow string, which, whenever it is hampered or contracted, discharges an arrow with a violence that seldom fails to pierce and to destroy its object.

#### *Of the Tiger Bow.*

*First direction.*—This bow consists,



fits, 1ft, of a strong bamboo, about six feet long, and half an inch thick, with a small rope for a string. 2d, Of a separate stick, about one inch square and two and a half feet long; two opposite sides whereof are cut through, from the upper end, two thirds of the way down. This slit is in the middle, and one-third of an inch wide. 3d. A loop is fastened to the slit stick, by a cord, just hanging over the upper end of the slit. 4th. To the other end of this cord, which is about one foot in length, is tied a small round stick, not quite the third of an inch thick, and six inches long. 5th. One-third down the slit is a small peg, which passes through the slit of the square stick, in the middle, transversely. 6th. From the top of the small round stick depends a small flat pin, two inches long, by a string, one foot in length. 7th. There is a small string tied rather loosely over the square stick, and also a very thin slight bit of bamboo, one inch long, and the tenth of an inch broad; to the middle of which is fastened a green silk or cotton thread, about seven feet long, to be employed as hereafter directed. 8th. A long barbed arrow is prepared, and the point medicated with poison.

*Second direction.*—1ft. Hold the separate square stick with loop upwards, and the point towards the bow; put the string of the bow under the loop.

2d. Put the end of the small round stick through the loop, and a little way into the hollow of the slit.

3d. Convey the small flat pin, first under the peg which crosses the slit, and then push the upper end of it a little back, over the peg.

4th. Place the point of the small flat pin upon a string tied rather loosely over the square stick for that purpose, so as slightly and temporarily to rest upon it.

5th. Stretch the bow with the square stick thus prepared; the upper end whereof then notches into the string, and the other rests firmly upon the inside of the bow itself.

6th. Then place the bow in a bush, or grass, on cross sticks (formed to support it), two feet from the ground, on one side of a path frequented by tigers, wolves, hyænas, &c.

7th. The barbed arrow is to be laid exactly in the direction of the square slit stick, with its notch in the bow string.

8th. Remove the string whereon the small flat pin temporarily rested, and substitute the slight bit of bamboo above mentioned in its stead.

9th. Carry the green string across the path, and tie it slightly to a bush, or grass, on the other side.

On any wild beast touching the string, it draws away the bit of bamboo which supported the point of the flat pin; the pin immediately flies up from the peg, which occasions the small round stick to give way; that of course loosens the string of the bow, which forces away the arrow directly forward, and drives, at the same time, the square slit stick backwards, the whole thus operating, and at once tumbling to pieces.

“The Arabs,” says Dr. Shaw, “do not spring game with dogs, but, shading themselves with a piece of canvas, stretched upon two reeds, into the shape of a door, they walk through avenues where they expect to find it. The canvas is usually spotted, or painted with the figure of a leopard; and, a little below the top, there is one or more holes for the fowler to look through, and see what passes before him. Quails, and such like birds as feed in flocks, will, upon sight of the canvas, stand still, and look astonished. This gives a sportsman an opportunity



portunity of coming very near them, and then resting the canvas upon the ground, and directing the muzzle of his piece through one of the holes, knocks down sometimes a whole covey of them."

Instances of the same sort occur frequently in Hindustan; but it is there attributed, by the natives, to the force of fascination; for they have observed, that when deer or peacocks perceive a tiger, (whose eyes, when either enraged, or keen or eager for prey, appear as if emitting scintillations,) they seem enchanted, look stedfastly at their enemy, and keep gradually and regularly approaching, till within his reach, when he springs upon and devours them. For tigers, and other animals of the feline species, seldom pursue their prey, not being very fleet, but usually lie in ambush for it. Birds and other animals are known in like manner to be fascinated by serpents, whose eyes generally flash vibrations of vivid light. Of this bewitching power in tigers the mountaineers of Hindustan avail themselves, particularly in the allurement of peacocks. Upon a light bamboo frame, of the dimensions of six feet by four, they fasten a slight painted canvas, coloured and streaked like the skin of a tiger, with a hole near the top; concealed by this screen, they plant it near a flock of peacocks, and opposite to the sun. As soon as the birds perceive the coloured canvas, they advance towards it, sometimes bristling up their crests, wings, and tails, till the sportsman, pointing his gun through the hole, shoots them with unerring aim.

*Of catching Elephants.*

There are two methods practised in the provinces of Tipperah and Silhet (east of Chittagong), to catch elephants. One is by three or four tame male ones, (bred for the

purpose,) a female, and a young elephant, led to the borders of a forest, where the wild ones, attracted by their cries, (and often, probably by their smell,) come near them, and are surrounded by the tame ones, till two or three of the riders, dismounting, entangle their feet in strong ropes, which they pin to the ground or fasten to trees till the prisoner becomes gentle and obedient. The other mode is to make a keddah, or inclosure, by encompassing a pretty large space of ground near some spot where elephants frequent, with stakes and boughs interwoven, except two apertures opposite to each other; then to send several female and young ones to entice the males. When a sufficient number are collected, the females, at a signal, or with drivers on their backs, make immediately for the keddah, and pass directly through it: the wild ones follow, but are prevented passing through by bars shoved between, to interrupt their proceeding further. When the whole are in, the bars on the entrance side are also closed, and the wild ones left a few days with little or no food, till they grow tame, which they soon do, being in their nature docile and tractable.

Nigh the mountains separating the provinces of Oude and Rohilcund from Napaul, elephants are caught by pit-falls; or driven from their haunts in the forests, and then surrounded by very numerous gangs of professed hunters, bred to the chase and capture of wild beasts.

There is no part of the world, perhaps, which produces game in such diversity and abundance as Bengal, where no forest or other laws exist for its preservation. Besides fifteen species of deer, comprising the antelope, the roebuck, the red-deer, the small mouse-deer, the hog, or bristled, and the musk-deer, there are wild hogs, hares, several



veral kinds of common partridge, quails, peacocks, ortolans, and black partridge in plenty: wild geese, wild ducks, teal, widgeon, water-hens, cranes, storks, and snipes, of sundry shapes, colours and sizes, together with other aquatic fowl, are innumerable. The floekin too, (the same bird, I believe, that was known in England in antient times, by the name of Flanderkin, but of which there are now no remains there,) the greatest delicacy and rarity for the table, partaking of the flavour both of the land and water fowl, is also met with here, but in no considerable quantity. Variety of fish is supplied also from a multitude of rivers, creeks, lakes, and tanks. But there are no pheasants in Bengal, though the adjacent provinces of Cooch-bahar, Tipperah, and all the neighbouring woods and mountains dividing India from Tartary, abound with the spotted and speckled, the golden, and the Argus pheasant. One species of the latter kind are of light blue, and another of a brown colour; both of them have eyes at the extremity of the feathers over their whole body.

In the attack of the tiger, and of the wild buffalo, (the largest of animals next to the elephant) elephants are employed, with the addition sometimes of horsemen, armed with guns, spears, bows and arrows, and often with coats of mail. The wolf and the wild boar are chased by dogs (a kind of lurchers,) followed by huntsmen, armed with matchlocks, pistols and lances. Both greyhounds and falcons are bred

to pursue the antelope and the hare, and the former afford excellent diversion also, after the jackall, and a small kind of beautiful fox. Both large and small hawks are fled at partridge, quail, cranes, herons, storks, and all sorts of water-fowl. The small hawk skims the lakes, while the falcons, hovering over the brink of it, pounce upon their prey the moment it flies over the ground.

Game of almost every species is, indeed, so frequent all over Hindustan, that a gentleman, named Knight, remarkably skilful in field sports, and a celebrated marksman, would kill, with his own hand, in the space of a single day, including deer, wild hogs and peacocks, sufficient to load a small Hindustan cart.

Some gentlemen have been at the expence of bringing hounds from England; but after the first season their scent degenerates, and they are liable, as well as European spaniels and pointers, to frequent disorders in their bowels, proceeding from the excessive heats, which soon destroy them.

The native mountaineers sometimes use their country-dogs as hounds; but their scent is not very good, nor do they hunt them in large packs.

In the chase of the ostrich, in Africa, at first setting off, the huntsmen are left far behind the ostrich; but as he proceeds on, he grows tired, and then begins to run round in circles, till at length, quite fatigued, he hides his head in some hole or dark covert, and suffers himself to be taken.

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#### ACCOUNT OF FEATS OF STRENGTH, ACTIVITY, AND LEGER-DEMAIN, IN HINDUSTAN.

(Communicated by Colonel G. IRONSIDE.)

##### *Balancing.*

FIVE earthen water-pots are placed

above each other upon a man's head.

A young girl mounts upon the uppermost,



most, and the man then dances about with the pots and girl thus balanced.

A pole is raised to the height of about twenty-five feet, topped by a slender spindle, capped by a small brass ball. A yard is tied across the pole. About three feet below the yard-arm, hangs a bamboo bent into the shape of a crescent. A woman ascends the pole by one of its corded stays, as easily as by a ladder, fixes the ball into a brass socket inserted within her girdle, and then extending herself along upon her belly, with legs and arms spread out, she turns round with a considerable degree of celerity. She then descends to the crescent, and depends from it, first by one hand, then by the bend of one knee, and lastly by one foot only, her head downwards, and her arms and other foot spread abroad, swinging all the while, till she catches the bow with her other foot, and then so high as again to recover her hold of the crescent (by bending up her body at the same time,) with both hands.

A man balances a pole about sixteen feet long, the bottom of which is fixed into a thick linen sash or girdle. Another man gets upon his back, and from thence runs up the pole, his hands aiding his feet, with the nimbleness of a squirrel. He then proceeds, first to extend himself on the pole upon his belly, and then upon his back, his arms and legs both times spread out. Next, he flings himself out horizontally from the pole, which is all the time balanced upon the girdle, holding only by his arms. This attitude is called by the tumblers the flag. Thirdly, he stands upon his head on the top of the pole, holding the pole below the summit with his hands. Finally, he throws himself backwards, from the last position, down the pole, holding by his hands,

then turns over again, holding by his feet, and thus over and over, till he lights upon the ground. He hangs also, from the bend of one knee, with his head downwards.

A man lies down, and crosses his feet. Two others extend themselves upon his legs and feet. He rolls himself backward till his feet are raised, and again till his knees are stretched out, with the men still resting upon his legs and feet. Lastly, with his feet, he throws the men, as he lies, over his head.

A woman stands upright, and astride, upon a man's shoulders. Another girl is placed with her head downwards, upon the head of the same man, and her legs crossed between the arms of the woman; the man dances with both of them, in that attitude, for a minute or two.

Three girls stand upright upon a man's shoulders whilst he dances round the room; one stands astride over his head, the other two, with each a foot upon his shoulders, and their other feet upon his arms stretched out to support them.

A man places upon his head two pieces of wood, like double-headed shot, each a foot in length, one over the other; upon the highest piece he places a brass dish; upon the dish four wooden pillars, each about five inches in height, upon the pillars a small plank; upon the plank stands a girl upright; with all this apparatus, in due balance, he dances three or four times round the room.

A wooden fork is produced, with a handle about five feet long; a girl is laid upon her back between the fork, with her head and heels depending on either side of it; the man raises and balances the fork in one hand, then tosses the girl up into the air, flings down the fork, and catches the girl in his arms.

A man



A man places the point of a lance upon his breast, upon his chin, and upon his forehead, and there balances it for some time.

A man spins a peg-top, then takes it up, and places it, spinning, at the end of a thin bamboo lath, bent in form of a bow, which he balances all the while.

The same man puts five or six wooden birds on a small wooden tree, which he balances upon his forehead, and then knocks the birds off the branches, one by one, by pellets, shot through a small wooden tube, from his mouth.

One of the men balanced three camp bedsteads, piled upon each other, by a leg of one of them placed upon his chin.

He then balanced a very heavy broad-sword, by the point, upon his chin.

He next placed a straw on his nose, in the open air, balanced it first there, and then on a very little bit of stick in his mouth, removing it several times from one place to the other.

He lastly put a thin tile upon his nose, and tossing up a pebble caught it upon the tile, which was shivered in pieces by the stroke.

One man stands upright, first upon another's shoulders, and then upon his head.

#### *Tumbling.*

One man puts his feet over another's shoulders, his head downwards between his knees, and his hands upon his legs; the other throws him over, and thus becomes himself in the position of the first; thus they continue, throwing each other alternately over, for five or six times.

All the Hindustanee tumblers cut summersets from the bare ground, with as much seeming facility, and apparent ease, as the vaulters on a theatre.

The same people, women as well as men, perform likewise all the usual feats of tumblers, such as walking upon their hands, turning over laterally like a wheel, and bending their bodies back, till their heads appear reversed between their feet, their chins resting upon the ground.

Three women lie down upon the floor; they throw their arms backwards, take hold of their heels with their hands, and in that posture roll over and over several times.

A girl takes a sabre in her two hands, and then throws her hands, thus joined, round and round her head without cutting herself.

A man ascends upon a yard, crossed upon a pole, about twenty-five feet from the ground; the earth under him is a little loosened; he first depends from the yard-arm by his feet, and then drops upon the loosened earth, without being hurt by the fall.

A boy sits down, and places his head between another's legs, who stands upright, taking hold of the legs of the first; they then roll over and over on the ground, a dozen times or more, like a ball, with their faces downward.

They all cut summersets three or four times running, either backwards, forwards, or sideways, upon the bare ground.

The most active man of the set cuts a summerset twice in the air from one bound, in a manner exceedingly surprising and uncommon.

The same person stands upon a board, about eighteen inches square, and cuts a summerset backwards, his feet lighting upon the same board.

The board is then placed upon the summit of a pole, raised about twenty-five feet high; the same man gets upon the board, and cuts a summerset upon it, in the same man-



ner as when he was upon the ground ; two sticks, however, are tied to the top of the pole for him to catch at, should his feet happen to miss the board.

Lastly, a thin plank, of about five feet long, is placed sloping in the ground, at an angle of about forty-five degrees ; close to the plank is placed, first, a very tall elephant ; two of the men ran at full speed up this spring-board, and vaulted a summer-set clear over the elephant's back ; five camels were then placed abreast, over which they vaulted in like manner. They also leap and turn, in a similar way, over the point of a sword, held by a tall man, as high as he can extend it.

A girl places a sword in her mouth, two in her hands, and five in the form of radii, with their edges upwards on the ground ; after tumbling in sundry postures, she rests her head backwards upon a turban, as a center, and thus moves her feet round the circumference of the five swords, without touching them.

With a sword in her mouth, and another in one hand, she lays hold of one of her feet with the remaining hand, then brings her foot round her back, and over her head, without touching the sabres.

She fixes a sword in the ground, with the point upwards, and covered with a small rag of cloth ; then bending backward, she first takes off the cloth with her mouth, and afterwards with her eye-lid.

Five scymetars are fixed upright in the ground ; the girl is placed horizontally upon them, and then lies along for a considerable time ; thick cloths are wound over the points of the swords to prevent their penetrating through her clothes.

Three of the men throw themselves through the arms of ten pair

of men, whose extended arms form a long kind of hoop.

The old fellow at the head of these tumblers, though past his grand climacteric, deemed it expedient, after springing over an enormous elephant, and then over five camels abreast, to apologize for his inability ; lamenting with a sigh, that there was a time, when, in the presence of Nadir Shaw, he could vault indeed. But now, alas ! age and infirmity (having since broke a leg and an arm,) had nearly incapacitated him : which reminds me of an anecdote of Marshal Saxe, who, after a nonarian operation, made his excuses to the lady for imbecility, on account of sickness.

#### *Rope Dancing.*

A common rope is stretched upon two pair of crossed spars, about twenty feet distant, and fourteen feet from the ground ; a man piles six water-pots upon his head, and, thus accoutered, ascends the rope by means of the spars, or of the sloping cord on the outside of them ; the rope is not quite tight, but left with a slack of about three feet ; he then, with a balance pole in his hand, walks backwards and forwards, and swings the rope to its extent without letting a single pot fall.

The same person mounts again upon the rope, with his left foot in a slipper, and the other in a round and flat brass pan, about one third of which is cut off. Thus incommodiously shod, he moves along the rope ; first shoving the slippered foot onward, and then sliding the pan, by means of the rim, and aid of his right foot, close along the left heel, ankle, and slipper, till the right foot gets foremost ; and so alternately onwards, and again backwards, till the feat be completed.

To conclude, he fixes crooked stilts upon his legs, made of buffalo horn,



horn, bent inwardly nearly six inches; these incumbrances are no impediment, however, to his walking on the ground, climbing up the spars, nor to his proceeding backward and forward upon the rope with his wonted agility.

Another man now figures upon the rope on his knees, and thus, with a scymetar in his hand by way of balance, I conceive, proceeds from one end of it to the other.

The brass pan is again placed upon the rope; the above person places his head upon it, and cants his heels into the air; just behind his head the rope is crossed by a bamboo, either end of which is held with strings, by assistants, in order to keep it even; he then shoves the pan forward on the rope with his head, and draws the cross bamboo after it with his hands, repeating the same till he reaches the other end.

*Feats of Strength and Activity.*

Two men throw spears at each other, at about fifteen feet distance, as forcibly as they can; one wards off his adversary's dart by another, which he carries upright in both hands; the other receives his opponent's javelin, every throw, under one of his arms.

Four persons held slightly a linen cloth stretched out; the same man run over it so lightly as not to force it out of the holders' hands.

Another got upon stilts fourteen or fifteen feet high, and walked about, and gave several jumps backwards and forwards on them.

Two sabres being placed parallel upon the ground, with their edges upwards, a man ran over their edges so lightly as not to cut himself.

The same man stepped over upon the point of a sword fixed upright.

He then jumped through a barrel, held horizontally, about five feet high.

Four daggers and two swords are placed in a loose frame, and he jumps through the whole without being cut.

A sword and four daggers are placed upon the ground, their edges and points upwards, no further distant from each other than will admit the breadth of a man's head; a man then fixes a scymetar upright, sets down behind it, and, at a bound, throws himself over the scymetar, pitches his head exactly in the space between the daggers, and turns over clear of them.

A boy fixes a scymetar upright before him, with a bit of rag upon its point; he sits down, and, bounding over the scymetar, strikes off the rag with the tip of his nose.

The same boy running, pitches a single stilt, of about ten feet in length, and rises on it upon a step fastened about half way up the stilt; then hops and jumps about, balancing the stilt the whole time.

Another, seizing with his teeth the end of a cord, tied round the middle of a very heavy log of wood, nearly six feet long, raised up the log with his teeth, and cast it over his head.

At Mocha and Juddah, in Arabia, and at Bufforah, in Persia, the porters, as I have frequently been told by captains of vessels, and supercargoes, trading to those places, will carry a bale of cotton, or a pipe of wine, upon their backs. The weight of the former is

They have a person, however, with them, it seems, of whose arm they take hold. The porters, too, at Canton, in China, both lift up, and carry loads surprisingly heavy; but though I resided there some months, I do not recollect the exact weight of their burthens.

*Legerdemain.*

A man played very curiously  
upon



upon four stones, or pieces of marble; they were each about seven inches long, one inch and a half broad, and as much thick, flattened, but with a little curvature on the lower or under side, but rounded off to an edge on the upper part. He held two of these between each of his fore fingers and thumbs, something in the manner in which castanets are held; and accompanied the music of an Hindustan violin, guitar, and drum, in a surprising manner. The under side of the stones being a little inflected only, the ends of every pair hit against each other, sometimes with a clacking noise, but, when quickened to their utmost, with a quivering, far more tremulous and accelerated than the vibration of castanets, or the roll of a drum. And this shake or trill he executed with no apparent labour or motion of his hands or fingers, but all, as he told us, by the exertion of the muscles of his arms, brought to that perfection by long and continued practice.

In the year 1756, a man was seen by most of the inhabitants and officers then residing in Fort St. George, to thrust a flat piece of iron, about an inch and a half broad, and one eighth of an inch thick, down his throat, into his stomach. A surgeon, who was present when I saw this performance, declared that it went into the thorax. For the sake of rendering the feat more surprising, the iron was shaped like a sword, but both the edges and point were all rounded off. A little blood, and but little, appeared on the iron when drawn out again.

A man takes a small brass pan, and twirls it round upon the end of a short pointed stick, then tosses it high in the air, catches it again, in any part, upon the point of the stick, still continuing to twirl it

round; he then ties another stick to the first, and a third to the second, each tie forming a kind of circular hinge; then rests the bottom stick upon his nose or chin, each stick moving round upon its joint, and the pan still twirling round upon its center, on the top of all, the whole keeping in equilibrio.

Four, and sometimes six, according to the skill of the performer, light brass balls are tossed into the air; first straight up from his hands, then either behind his back, under his arms, or between his legs, so as to return again over his head; they are struck next in different forms, from one hand to the other, sometimes with his elbows, and sometimes with his knees, in wonderful order and facility.

The same person kept up four balls continually in the air, tossing them round his back, hitting them with his elbows, his wrists, and his hands, and throwing them in various forms; he also tossed up one ball, and caught it in the hollow of his arm.

In the like manner he throws up four daggers, in variety of shapes, catching them all, as they descend, by their handles.

To both ends of a flat board, about three inches wide, and three feet long, are fixed a couple of other pieces of flat board, of the same breadth, and about three inches high; through holes in these end pieces, are strung two pack threads, much in the same manner as strings to a fiddle; three balls are placed upon the two strings; a man then takes this instrument, holding it up, at an angle of about forty-five degrees, and, turning round quickly, the balls rise, one by one, or all together, from the lower to the upper end of it, or to the middle part only, as he chooses to manage it.



it. This instrument I take to be somewhat of the same kind, by which the centripetal and centrifugal force is demonstrated in experimental philosophy.

A man takes three flutes of different tones; two he applies to his nostrils, and one to his mouth, and blows them all at one time; one of the flutes from his nostrils has three curvatures; at the extremity of those curvatures he holds a single-handed sieve, which, thus receiving his breath, he plays upon it with his vacant hand.

A ring is moulded up in clay, and put into a hole eighteen inches deep, filled up with water; a girl bends back her head into the water, and brings the ring out of the mud in her mouth.

The same girl puts into her mouth a number of beads, as also one end of a horse-hair; then placing her hands behind her, she strings the beads on the horse-hair with her mouth alone.

A cap, with a broad stiff rim, is fitted to a man's head, to which are tied about twenty strings, terminated each by small nooses; in his left hand is held a small basket or brass pan, containing twenty eggs; then turning round with a quick but regular motion, (as the Turkish dervises are represented to do in their religious rites,) he fastens successively, with his right hand, an egg into each of the nooses, still turning round. When they are all fastened, he accelerates his rotation, till the eggs circulate swiftly as the flyer of a jack; after this, he rather slackens his motion, unties the eggs one by one, returns them into the basket, and stops; the strings measure from three to four feet; they are of unequal lengths, lest the eggs, as I suppose, should accidentally clash. To put the twenty eggs into the nooses takes up as many minutes, but they are taken out in less than three.

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#### AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE OF THE WINDS WHICH PREVAIL IN THE INDIAN SEAS.

(From Colonel CAPPER'S "Observations on the Winds and Monsoons," just published.)

THE S. E. perennial wind blows constantly some degrees to the eastward of Madagascar, at all seasons of the year, as far nearly as the island of Java, where it comes within the reach of the regular moonson; and, indeed, between the island of Madagascar and the main land of Africa; commonly called the Mosambique channel, the perennial winds are checked by the proximity of the two great bodies of land; and consequently partake of the nature of the monsoons.

But the name as well as the nature of the monsoons is misunder-

stood; the word is not derived from the name of a great mariner, but clearly from the Persian word *monsum*, meaning season. In tropical countries there are but two seasons: those in Hindustan are distinguished by N. E. and S. W. monsoons; but farther to the eastward and southward of the line, and the Gulph of Bengal, the monsoons blow from different quarters. The N. E. becomes in those parts the N. W. and the S. W. becomes the S. E. The causes of those changes, and the original causes of the monsoons, I shall hereafter attempt to explain;



but first I shall endeavour to point out some generally prevailing errors respecting the course and changes of them in different parts of Hindustan, derived in all probability from the early navigators to India. As neither ancient nor modern geographers have yet fixed, with any degree of precision, the names or boundaries of the different oceans, seas and

gulfs, where the monsoons prevail to avoid further interruption and trouble, I shall beg leave in this place to make a new division of them.

The Gulf of Bengal is apparently so called on account of the rich and fertile province of that name, situated at the north, or head of it\*. In this gulf, therefore, no alteration

\* *Origin of the Names of different Countries in the East-Indies.*

The early Persian navigators considered all the countries of Hind and Sind, taken together, as divided into three parts. The first, Guzerat, bounded to the west by Gazna, Multan, and Mackhran: the second, that which we call *Malabar*, is situated to the east, or rather to the southward of Guzerat, and is named by the Arabs *Beled-ul-ful-ful*, or the country of pepper: the third and most eastern is called *Mabar*, which in Arabic means the passage; by some persons it is supposed to mean the Gulf of Bengal, from Cape Comorin to Acheen Head, on the coast of Sumatra. The first of these, Guzerat, is probably derived from the Persian or Arabic word *gezeret*, an island, or rather a peninsula, being situated at the entrance of the Persian Gulf: the early Persian navigators were most likely to give it this name. The word *Malabar* is not known, but by adoption, to the natives of the western peninsula of India: this, however, seems also to be derived from the same persons, who, after having made the Malabar coast, proceeded further eastward, where they fell in with the Malays at Sumatra, on the eastern side of the Gulf of Bengal, and have therefore given one name to all those countries, denominating them *Malia-bar*, or the countries of the Malays. In the Persian language, *bar* signifies country; as *Zenge-bar*, the country of the Zenges; so *Malia-bar* is probably the country of the Malays.

Edrissi remarks, that the inhabitants of Comr, by which perhaps is meant Cape Comorin, are Malays, and that they practise piracy in brigantines of sixty cubits long, which carry 150 men each: but this description of their habits of life bears a much stronger resemblance to the Malays than to the natives either of the Malabar or the Coromandel coast, or to those of the adjacent islands. The Malays still continue to practise piracy in their well-known prows, which the natives of the latter countries have never done: this is a strong presumptive proof, that the early Persian navigators confounded the natives of the eastern, and perhaps the western side of the peninsula of India, with the inhabitants of Malacca or Sumatra, and called them altogether *Malai* with the adjunct of *bar*, to describe all the countries from the present Malabar coast to China. It may perhaps be objected, that the distance of Sumatra from the Peninsula is too great to admit of such a mistake: but the geography of these countries appears, from another very striking circumstance, to have been rather hastily settled by the Persians, whose information of the eastern seas must have been incorrect. They place a considerable island to the eastward of Cape Comorin, in the way to China, called *Sila*; to which must be added the Hindu word *Dive*, an island; which makes *Siladive*, or the island of Sila. This, it will be allowed, might easily have been corrupted to *Silandive*, the true name of the island of Ceylon. Very little doubt, I think, can be entertained of this etymology.

But Abd-ul-Mowal, according to Herbelot, places Sila near China: fortunately, however, there is no island of a similar name in the China seas, and therefore, in this case, we will venture to suppose that Abd-ul-Mowal, hearing that Sila, or Silan (now Ceylon) was to the eastward of Cape Comorin, has, on hearsay testimony only, ventured to carry it still further east towards China; for cinnamon, which is the produce of this island only, and not cultivated in China or elsewhere, is called by the Persians *Dar Cheen*, and by the Arabs *Dar Sena*, China-pepper, which is a strong proof that both these nations formerly considered Ceylon, where only it is produced, as situated in, or at least very near China; and if they could fall into such an egregious error in the one instance, it is almost certain they were equally mistaken in the other. The



tion is proposed. The S. W. boundaries of this gulf I shall fix at Dondre Head, on the island of Ceylon, latitude  $5^{\circ} 50'$  N. and longitude  $80^{\circ} 48'$  E. of Greenwich. And for the S. E. side, Acheen Head, latitude  $5^{\circ} 30'$  N. longitude  $95^{\circ} 30'$  E. For the northern extremity, the well known city of Calcutta, latitude  $22^{\circ} 34' 45''$  N. longitude  $88^{\circ} 29' 30''$  E. On the west side of the peninsula, the coast of Malabar, with Cape Guardafui, on the coast of Africa, forms another considerable gulf, frequently called the Arabian, but generally the Indian Sea: but this latter seems to be a name equally applicable, and often applied to the Gulf of Bengal, and even to the seas to the eastward and southward, and consequently is very indefinite; whilst the Arabian Sea may be confounded with the Red Sea, or Arabian Gulf. Adopting, therefore, in a great measure, the plan of the oriental geographers, I shall name this sea the Gulf of Sind; the river Indus giving the name to the first, and Hindustan divided by the Ganges to the second division. The river Indus will then be placed at the head of one bay, and the Ganges at the head of the other; Tatta, a considerable city, situated on the former, and Calcutta on the latter. Tatta, according to Major Rennel, is in the latitude of  $24^{\circ} 50'$  N. longitude  $67^{\circ} 37'$  E. Cape Guardafui to the S. W. latitude  $12^{\circ}$  N. longitude  $52^{\circ} 30'$  E. and Cape Comorin to the S. E. in the latitude of  $7^{\circ} 56'$  N. longitude  $78^{\circ} 5'$  E.

From the southern extremity of

these two gulfs to the tropic of Capricorn, extending likewise eastward from the east coast of Africa to the west side of New Holland, I shall denominate the Indian Ocean, this being a considerable portion of the ocean leading to both gulfs in India, as well as to China and the eastern islands, including all India, both within and without the Ganges. From that parallel of latitude to the south pole, including that part of the ocean situated between the east of Africa and the west of New Holland, I shall call the Great Southern Ocean. These new divisions may not, perhaps, be deemed in every respect strictly accurate, but they will answer our purpose; and therefore, without further preface, we will now proceed to make some observations on the different monsoons and prevailing winds within these boundaries.

The winds in the Gulf of Bengal are generally said to blow six months from the N. E. and the other six from the S. W. This is far from being precisely true respecting any part of India; it is, however, sufficiently accurate for our present purpose, and therefore I shall in part adopt this position, as well as the common country name of monsoon: trusting, that in the course of this inquiry, I shall be able to account for the several deviations of the wind from the monsoon points, and at the same time in some measure to explain the causes of them.

From the island of Ceylon to Balafore Roads, the N. E. monsoon is said to begin, near the coast of  
Coro-

word *Mabar*, a passage which describes the Persian, or rather Arabian division of India, is probably still preserved in the word *Manar*: the letters *b* and *n* are easily mistaken in writing either the Persian or Arabic languages, particularly if the diacritical mark be omitted. The Gulf, or Bay of Manar is situated between the east side of the peninsula of India and Ceylon.



Coromandel, early in October\*. But in fact, between the two monsoons, the expiration of the one and the commencement of the other, the winds and currents are variable on this coast, partaking of both; frequently, however, calms prevail

during the whole month of September, and even early in October, with a strong current from the N. E. towards the S. W. At this period we must remember that the sun is fast approaching to the equinoctial, which he crosses nearly about the

22d

\* *Observations on the weather at Madras, 1776.*

*January.*—In the beginning of this month, the mornings and evenings sometimes cloudy from seven in the morning to twelve at noon. For two or three days, the wind was, along shore, N. E. by N. but in general, in the middle of the day, it was easterly, the atmosphere clear, and the sun extremely hot; the thermometer never above 82 degrees, and generally from 80 to 81, in a room open to the N. E. At two o'clock in the morning of the 19th, a squall from the N. W. in which quarter it looked cloudy the evening before. It rained very hard the mornings of the 19th and 20th, cleared up in the evening of the 20th; heavy dew and cold at night; land and sea breezes; thermometer at 78 degrees in the mornings until the end of the month; weather fair; hot in the middle of the day.

*February.*—The beginning, thermometer at 81 to 82½ degrees. The 4th, an eclipse of the moon, beginning at six hours one minute on the S. side. In the evening the wind settled at N. by E.; blew hard, extremely cold, raising great clouds of dust. The next day it blew from the E. and S. E. with no land wind. On the 6th, the wind settled at E. S. E.; the land wind prevailed at night until the 15th; then continual sea wind at E. by S. until the 20th; after that, land and sea winds alternately; the sea winds blew from twelve at night to nine in the morning. Mean of thermometer, 79 degrees in the morning, 83 and 84 degrees at noon.

*March.*—The beginning of this month, the mornings and evenings cool; the 7th, in the morning, along shore wind, very damp; many people had violent colds; the sun generally rose and set in a haze; this kind of weather continued to the end of the month; nights damp, the middle of the day excessively hot; thermometer from 84 to 88 degrees.

*April.*—Land winds at night; long shore winds from nine in the morning to noon; it then came round to the east till the 3d; then regular land and sea breezes morning and evening, foggy and close, to the 14th; then to the 17th, land and sea breezes, with hazy weather. The next eight days cloudy, with occasional hard showers of rain. The remainder of the month, land and sea winds; the latter came on about noon, and continued to sun-set. The first part of this month, the mean of the thermometer 82 degrees, the latter part 85½.

*May.*—The first part of the month, in the morning, calm, with sometimes light long shore sea breezes of short duration, and afterwards land wind. On the 13th, a violent long shore wind; then the same as before, and the weather uncommonly close to the 24th, when the land wind commenced, raising great clouds of dust. On the 30th, in the morning, a small shower of rain fell, and the sea wind blew from six to nine in the evening; the same on the following day. The mean of the thermometer, for the first fifteen days, from 85 to 87 degrees; and from that time to the end of the month, from 87 to 91.

*June.*—On the 1st and 2d, regular land and sea breezes; the 3d, violent long shore wind. On the 4th, morning fair, noon cloudy, in the evening rain. (*N. B.* More than 200 pieces of cannon fired in salutes; query, whether it occasioned the rain?) On the 5th, land wind all day, and likewise on the subsequent days to the 24th; on that day, a sea breeze at ten *a. m.*; and in the evening cloudy and rain. On the 29th, the land and sea wind changed alternately four different times. On the 30th, it rained in the evening. To the 15th, the mean of the thermometer 86 degrees; to the latter end of the month, 91.

*July.*—The first part of the month, land wind in the morning till one, two, or three *p. m.*; then light sea breeze till evening. On the 2d, a heavy shower of rain from eleven *a. m.* to six *p. m.* The same kind of wind and weather continued, with occasional showers, to the end of the month. On the 31st, a visible eclipse of the moon,



22d of September. As his declination afterwards increases from 7 to 15 degrees S. which is between the 10th and 31st of October, his absence from the northern hemisphere begins to be felt; and as he at the

same time rarefies the air both by sea and land to the southward of the equator, the warm air then over the Indian Ocean, but particularly over the eastern side of the continent of Africa, as usual ascends, and the

moon, beginning on the N. side at two minutes morning, total at one hour fifty minutes, and ending at three hours forty-eight minutes. Mean of thermometer, first part of the month, 83 degrees; latter part, 88.

*August.*—The first part of the month, land and sea breezes, both moderate, the former dry, but not hot. On the 15th, it rained hard during the night. The remainder of the month fair, not hot, but dry. Mean of thermometer, the first part, 81 degrees; the latter part, 86.

*September.*—The first part of this month, wind westerly. At night, on the 2d and 3d, lightning. On the 5th and 6th, showers in the evening. On the 7th, wind N. W.; hard rain at night. On the five subsequent days, the same sort of weather. On the 15th, the *Hilborough*, and on the 17th, the *Godfrey*, Indiamen, arrived from Bengal. On the remainder of the month, the evenings very close and cloudy, sometimes rain in the night. Thermometer, 81 to 84 degrees.

*October.*—The first part of the month, winds light, inclining to the east, and sometimes southerly, to the end of the month, accompanied with occasional showers of rain towards the 26th, and continuing to the 31st. Thermometer, from 85 to 83½ degrees.

*November.*—On the 1st, rain, with land and sea breezes. The 2d, fair, with variable wind easterly, sometimes strong, to the 18th. The rains then began, and continued incessantly to the end of the month, except the 26th, when it ceased for a few hours. Mean of thermometer, 82 degrees.

*December.*—The first part in general fair, with strong N. E. winds. Rain the 5th, 6th and 11th; the rest of the month, a clear sky and fair weather, except the 21st, which was cloudy, with rain. Mean of thermometer, 78 to 76 degrees.

N. B. In the months of April and May, forty or fifty miles inland, and even on the coast of Coromandel itself, almost every evening, incessant flashes of lightning are perceived at a great distance westward, over the Ballagat mountains: the rivers Cauvery and Pallaru, whose sources lie amongst them, discharge themselves to the eastward in the Gulf of Bengal, which, filling at the same time, is a strong presumptive proof at least of the truth of Dr. Franklin's system.

*Table of Thermometer and Barometer, with the mean of each month, for fourteen months, kept at Madras.*

MONTHS.				THERMOMETER.			BAROMETER.		
				Greatest.	Least.	Mean.	Greatest.	Least.	Mean.
1777.									
March	-	-	-	87	67	77	30. 3	29. 18	30. 0½
April	-	-	-	88	73	80½	30. 0	29. 17	29. 18½
May	-	-	-	102	76	88½	30. 0	29. 15	29. 17½
June	-	-	-	100	79	89½	29. 18	29. 14	29. 16
July	-	-	-	99	75	87½	29. 19	29. 15	29. 17
August	-	-	-	98	75	86½	30. 0	29. 17	29. 18½
September	-	-	-	91	76	83½	29. 19	29. 16	29. 17½
October	-	-	-	88	76	82	30. 2	29. 16	29. 19
November	-	-	-	85	65	75	30. 4	29. 17	30. 0½
December	-	-	-	87	66	76½	30. 4	29. 19	30. 1½
1778.									
January	-	-	-	82	64	73	30. 4	30. 0	30. 2
February	-	-	-	86	65	76½	30. 4	30. 0	30. 2
March	-	-	-	89	69	79	30. 2	29. 17	30. 0½
April	-	-	-	94	73	83½	30. 2	29. 16	29. 19
May	-	-	-	104	77	90½	29. 19	29. 15	29. 17



the cold air from the N. meeting the perennial east wind, they pass forward progressively, beginning where the rarefaction takes place, and probably continuing to an immense distance, and thus form the N.E. monsoon. The exact point where the northerly wind terminates, I shall not, in this place, attempt to ascertain; but we may venture to suppose, that it must at least be as far towards the N.E. as the west side of the Tibet and Nepal mountains, separating India from China, and which, in winter, are always covered with snow. From this frozen eminence a current of cold air will move with considerable velocity towards the tropic, on the approach of the sun, until the equilibrium is restored; but at the latter end of January the sun again beginning to return towards the north, produces a sensible effect on the air; for, in proportion as he approaches towards the equator, the current of air in the Gulf of Bengal, near the land, takes a different direction. About this time the wind, immediately on the coast of Coromandel, no longer blows violently or regularly from the N.E. as in the commencement of the monsoon, but first abates in strength (like a current of water when the level is nearly restored), and then changes regularly to land and sea breezes, which of course, near the coast, are obviously occasioned by the alternate rarefaction of the air by sea and land.

When the earth begins to be violently heated in the course of the day, the rarefied air ascends, and the cooler air from the sea comes in to supply its place; but the exhalations raised during the day are condensed in the cool of the evening, during the absence of the sun, and falling down in copious

dews, refresh the earth, when the sea becomes warmest, and the current of air, a few hours after sunset, goes from the land to the sea, and produces what is called the land wind. It must be remembered, that these alternate land and sea breezes do not take place until some time after the change of each monsoon, when its strength begins to abate; for, at the commencement of either, the monsoon itself blows incessantly for a month or five weeks immediately on the coast, and continues, with trifling deviations from the N.E. or S.W. according to the respective seasons. Nor do the land and sea breezes at any time extend above three or four leagues from the shore.

Mr. Clare, in his Treatise on the Motion of Fluids, shews the cause of these breezes by an easy and familiar experiment. "Take," he says, "a large dish, fill it with cold water, and into the middle of this put a water-plate filled with warm water: the first will represent the ocean, the latter an island, rarefying the air above it. Blow out a wax-candle, and if the place be still, on applying it successively to every side of the dish, the fuliginous particles of the smoke, being visible and very light, will be seen to move towards the dish, and rising over it, point out the course of air from sea to land.

"Again, if the ambient water be warmed and the dish filled with cold water, when the smoking wick of the candle is held over the centre of the plate, the contrary will happen, and shew the course of the wind from land to sea."

During the continuance of the land and sea breezes on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, both in the N.E. and S.W. monsoons, the wind on shore seems regularly to follow



follow the course of the sun, and passes very perceptibly round every point of the compass in twenty-four hours.

These winds blow constantly every year on the coast of Coromandel to the latter end of January, and continue during February and to the beginning of March, subject to very slight variations; but as the sun approaches towards the vernal equinox, the winds again become variable for some days, as they were about the autumnal equinox, until his declination is upwards of seven degrees north, when the S.W. monsoon sets in, and often on the south part of the coast, with considerable violence. This change or reflux of air appears to be put in motion by the same means as that which comes from the opposite quarter; for, as the sun's altitude increases daily in the northern hemisphere, the extensive body of land in the N.E. part of Asia must become much hotter than the ocean, and consequently a considerable degree of rarefaction will be produced over that part of the continent, whilst, at the same season, an immense body of cold air will come both from the Indian Ocean and the continent of Africa, in the southern hemisphere, to restore the equilibrium. The principal tracts of land of different temperatures on the two continents, bearing very nearly N.E. and S.W. of each other, will therefore become alternately the opposite extreme points of rarefaction and condensation, and necessarily, according to this theory, be the immediate causes of the N.E. and S.W. monsoons.

But to those who have not considered the nature of the monsoons in India, it may appear somewhat inconsistent with this theory, that the N.E. monsoon, which blows

with great force in October and November on the Coromandel coast, is scarcely felt a few degrees to the westward on the Malabar coast, and so *vice versa*. The S.W. monsoon, which blows with great strength on the Malabar coast in April, May, June, and July, is never felt with any degree of violence on that of Coromandel after its commencement, nor even then, excepting very far to the southward. It is true both coasts are in the northern hemisphere, and might be supposed subject to the same effects from the situation of the sun; and so they certainly are in some degree, for the wind blows nearly in the same direction on both sides of the peninsula; but, on referring to the map, it will be found that the two coasts are separated by a double range of mountains, running almost N. and S. the one immediately bounding the coast of Malabar, the other nearly in the middle of the peninsula called the Ballagat, or country above the Passes; both which serve alternately as a screen to either coast during the different monsoons. Besides, they not only break the force of the wind, or current of air, but these mountains, being less electrified than the clouds coming from the sea, attract them, and it is supposed, when nearly in contact, take away their electrical fire, and cause them to precipitate the water they contain.

It was not, originally, the immediate object of this work to account for the immense quantity of rain which constantly falls every year in India during the different monsoons; nor shall I endeavour to solve this difficulty without very great doubt of success; nevertheless, as violent rains invariably accompany the change of the monsoons, it seems necessary to make



the attempt, especially as the two subjects seem on all occasions to be intimately related, or rather inseparably connected.

Clouds are generally believed to be formed by vapours raised by solar or subterraneous heat from moisture in the earth, or in greater quantities from water itself, and when so raised they are kept suspended in the middle regions of the atmosphere in the form of clouds, until by some means, not indisputably ascertained, the water is again precipitated to the earth in rain.

It may be necessary to premise, that in treating of this subject I shall generally make use of the word vapour for that which arises from water or any other fluid, and of the term exhalation for that which comes from the land.

By some authors it is supposed, that both vapours and exhalations are small vesiculæ detached, as before observed, from the earth or water by heat, and which must be specifically lighter than the air, or they could not ascend. When they have passed through the denser medium near the earth, attracted by the dry air above them, they continue to ascend till they arrive at a cold region, where they become condensed, and remain suspended, as before observed, in the form of clouds. In this state they continue floating, till by some new agent they are converted into rain, hail, snow, mist, &c. Others again, who equally admit that the clouds are formed by these vesiculæ, think that they coalesce in the upper regions of the atmosphere, forming into little masses, until they become too heavy to be any longer suspended, and then descend in rain. But this hypothesis cannot be well founded, for the vapours are perpetually ascending into the upper

regions of the atmosphere, which are always cold, and consequently, according to this theory, they would again be precipitated in rain as soon as they have arrived at a certain height, which would almost constantly produce regular showers. The same objection applies to the system of Dr. Derham, who accounts for rain by supposing the vesiculæ to be full of air, which (he says) becoming contracted in the colder regions, the watery shell, thus thickened, becomes heavier than the air, and is precipitated in rain by its comparative weight. But Dr. Franklin, in his Observations on Electricity, seems to account most rationally for the formation of the clouds and precipitation of rain.—“The sun supplies,” he says, “(or seems to supply) common fire to all vapours raised from the sea, or exhalations from the land. Those vapours which have both common and electrical fire in them, are better supported than those which contain only common fire; for, when vapours rise into the coldest region above the earth, the cold will not diminish the electrical fire, if it doth the common. Hence clouds formed by vapours raised from fresh waters, within land, from growing vegetables, moist earth, &c. more speedily and easily deposit their water, having but little electric fire to repel and keep the particles separate. So that the greatest part of the water raised from the land is let fall on the land again; and winds blowing from the land to the sea are dry, there being little use for rain on the sea, and to rob the land therefore of its moisture, in order to rain on the sea, would be contrary to the unerring distributions of nature.

“But clouds formed by vapours raised



raised from the sea, having both fires, and particularly a great quantity of the electrical, support their waters strongly, raise it high, and being moved by winds, may bring it over the middle of the broadest continent from the middle of the widest ocean. How these ocean clouds, so strongly supporting their water, are made to deposit it on the land where it is wanted, is next to be considered.

“ If the ocean clouds are driven by winds against mountains, those mountains being less electrified, attract them, and on contact take away their electrical fire (and being cold, their common fire also;) hence the particles close towards the mountains, and towards each other. If the air was not much loaded, it would only fall in dews on the mountain tops and sides, form springs, and descend into the vales in rivulets, which united, make larger streams and rivers. But being much loaded, the electrical fire is at once taken from the cloud, and on leaving it the particles coalesce for want of that fire, and fall in heavy showers.

“ When a ridge of mountains thus dams the clouds, and draws the electric fire from the cloud fast approaching it, that which next follows, when it comes near the first cloud (now deprived of its fire) flashes into it, and begins to deposit its own water. The first cloud again flashing into the mountains, the third approaching cloud, and all the succeeding ones, act in the same manner as far back as they extend, which may be over many hundred miles of country.”

It is evident from the geographical situation of the peninsula of India, that the clouds which are conveyed over it in both monsoons, must be saturated with moisture.

In the N.E. monsoon the vapours will be raised from the sea in the Gulf of Bengal, and as they approach the land on the coast of Coromandel, the clouds, in the manner above described, will be made to discharge their contents in great torrents of rain. So likewise in the S.W. monsoon the vapours will be raised in the Gulf of Sind and the Indian Ocean, and they also, in the same manner, will discharge their contents on the Malabar coast and among the Ballagat mountains.

But as an additional proof of the truth of this hypothesis, it may be observed, that the quantity of rain which falls in the principal part of South America, as well as in this part of India, is constantly in proportion to the height and extent of the mountains, to the length of time that the wind continues to convey the clouds towards the land, and to the extent of the sea or ocean whence the water is evaporated which forms those clouds.

The principal features of both these countries bear a striking resemblance to each other; those of the peninsula of India being in miniature almost precisely the same as those of America in the same parallel of latitude. The former is situated between the Gulf of Bengal and the Gulf of Sind; the latter between the South Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. Both countries have a lofty ridge of mountains, which run through the centre of them from north to south; and both have large rivers, apparently in proportion to the size of their respective mountains, which discharge themselves towards the east into the sea.

If this comparison be pursued, and the general resemblance, with its consequences, are considered, it will be found that the quantity of rain



rain which falls in all these different countries, is nearly in proportion to the extent of the ocean near which they are situated, and to the height of their different mountains. The temperature of the sea in all of them is supposed to be nearly the same.

The Gulf of Sind is much more spacious than the Gulf of Bengal. The coast of Malabar is much more mountainous than that of Coromandel; and therefore, although the wind blow nearly an equal length of time on either coast, the hills on the former being more numerous, and the sea more spacious than the latter, the rains on the Malabar coast will be more abundant than those on the coast of Coromandel.

The South Atlantic Ocean is infinitely more extensive than the Gulf of Sind. The American mountains are, beyond all comparison, higher than any in the peninsula of India, and the N.E. and S.W. winds alternately prevail the whole year on the east coast of America; whereas, on either coast of India, the monsoon is never said to blow above six months, and, to speak strictly, does not continue above half that time. For all these reasons, therefore, the rains in America are probably more abundant than on either coast of the peninsula of India. I say probably more abundant, as I am not in possession of any meteorological tables kept in Brazil; and during an accidental residence of ten weeks at the Bay of All Saints, it was not in my power to obtain much information from the Portuguese on those subjects. For the present, therefore, we must form our opinion of the quantity of rain which falls, from the number and magnitude of the rivers. This mode of judging will, without doubt,

be deemed exceptionable; for in all probability the Amazon and La Plata, the two principal rivers of America, are considerably augmented by the snows which are melted among the Cordilleras, where their sources are supposed to lie. But if we admit this objection to be well founded, it still may be contended, that the numberless inferior contributory streams, which in any other situation would be deemed very considerable rivers, and are, in fact, much larger than those on the southern part of the peninsula of India, are most of them formed by vapours conveyed by the east winds from the southern Atlantic Ocean to the inferior branches of the Andes, where they are compelled to precipitate their contents in the manner described by Dr. Franklin. It may, perhaps, be thought that this comparison, and all the inferences deduced from it, are equally applicable to other countries, and particularly to Africa. But the geographer will soon find, that although the continents of Asia and America somewhat resemble each other, both in shape and situation, yet Africa, which also terminates in a cape to the southward, having no ridge of lofty mountains running from N. to S. like the two former continents, the rivers of that country are few in number, and those comparatively small. But to return to a further account of the monsoon on the coast of Coromandel.

The island of Ceylon, which lies to the southward of the Coromandel coast, and where the peninsula becomes extremely narrow, partakes of both monsoons, but principally of the S.W. The wind immediately on the coast, at the commencement of the monsoon, takes nearly the same direction as the

the



the coast itself. From the latitude of 9 to 13 degrees the coast lies N.N.E. and S.S.W. and from the latitude of 15 degrees to the head of the gulf, called Balafore Roads, it runs almost N.E. and S.W. The S.W. monsoon, therefore, on this coast blows at first along shore, from which cause it is called the long shore wind. The nature of the soil on the coast probably contributes to give it this direction; for the soil being, in some respects, like the Gulf of Guinea, on the coast of Africa, low and sandy, the air near the earth must consequently be much rarefied under almost a vertical sun, and the denser air coming across the Indian Ocean or the Gulf of Sind, will follow that direction on the coast to fill up the vacuum. But these winds continue only to the end of May or the beginning of June, when the sun being near the summer solstice, the hot land wind on the coast of Coromandel commences, and continues about six weeks. To understand the causes of this sudden change, we must again advert to the geography of the country, and consider the state of the atmosphere at this period on the two coasts.

The southern part of the peninsula, from the latitude of 16 degrees to Cape Comorin, may be divided longitudinally into three parts, beginning at Madras, which is situated in the longitude of  $80^{\circ} 28' 45''$  E. About two degrees to the westward of that meridian is a range of mountains, forming the eastern boundary of the Valley of Baramaul, where the high land of Myfore commences, commonly called the Ballagat, or country above the Passes. This high or table land of Myfore rises at least 2000 feet above the coast of Coromandel, and runs through the pe-

ninsula from N. to S. nearly in the longitude of  $78\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. Two degrees farther to the westward is another range of mountains, which may be considered as the boundary of the Malabar coast; and the country situated between these two meridians, from 76 to 78 degrees, is properly the country of Myfore. With this sketch of the map of the country before us, and with a recollection of the first principle of this hypothesis, it will not be difficult to account for the hot land wind prevailing in the Carnatic during the months of May and June.

The sun's declination in the month of May is between 15 and 22 degrees north; he will therefore, before the end of this month, have been vertical over all these countries, and consequently have produced a considerable degree of heat in the Carnatic; but at the same time the double range of mountains to the westward will have arrested the clouds brought thither by the S.W. monsoon, and made them precipitate their contents both on the Malabar coast and in the Myfore country. The principal point of rarefaction then, at this season, will be the Carnatic, which may, as usual, be considered as the heated room, and the nearest cold body of air will come from the table land of Myfore to restore the equilibrium.

In the Carnatic, during the months of May and June, the thermometer of Fahrenheit, in the shade, is generally at 90 or even 100 degrees and upwards; whilst near the mountains the same kind of thermometer will not be more than 70 or 80 degrees at the utmost. The current of air then will move from the mountains across the Carnatic towards the coast of Coromandel, and



and of course produce the hot land winds, but they are severely felt only on the east side of the Carnatic, at a distance from the mountains: at Amboor, and even at Vellore, which are situated near them, those winds are neither extremely hot, nor of long duration; and in the narrow part of the peninsula, in the beautiful little province of Coimbatore, although so far to the southward, in consequence of their vicinity to the hills, the inhabitants are never incommoded by land winds.

This rarefaction in the Carnatic, and the current of air which comes from the Ballagat mountains, and blows from the west to the east, to fill up the vacuum, are sufficiently strong inland to counteract the effects of the monsoon in this part of the peninsula; but the westerly wind soon loses its effect on coming to the coast, for it never extends above one or two leagues out to sea, where the S.W. monsoon blows incessantly at this season of the year.

But within a month after the summer solstice, the current of the S.W. monsoon begins to slacken, when the regular land and sea winds again commence upon the coast of Coromandel, and continue, with slight variations, for a month or six weeks. Towards the end of August, as the sun approaches the line, the heat in Asia, and the cold in Africa, begin to abate; consequently the monsoon daily becomes

more faint, and like the slack water between the flood and ebb tides, the air in the Gulf of Bengal has little motion: frequently it moves about in eddies, and, after it has fluctuated between the two monsoons for three weeks, sometimes almost a month, being attended with squalls from different quarters, the N.E. wind at length prevails, and, like the change of tides, moves at first with considerable rapidity. But the tremendous gales, or rather hurricanes, which sometimes blow in the gulf at this season, and bear down every thing before them, seldom happen precisely at the beginning of the monsoon, nor does it appear that they are the effect of a current of air like the monsoon, blowing constantly from the same quarter for several months, but rather resemble whirlwinds, which proceed principally from some sudden change in the upper regions of the atmosphere, and which, though extremely violent, are merely local and temporary. But before we conclude the account of the S.W. monsoon in Hindustan, it may be proper to observe, that this monsoon brings the violent rains into the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, which generally begin at Calcutta about the middle of June, two months after their commencement to the southward of the gulf.

It has been supposed, and with some appearance of reason, that the S.W. monsoon\* in the province of Bengal,

\* It is generally supposed that the N.E. monsoon, in every part of India, commences near the hills; in all probability, at least, it is most violent near them, for mountains being colder than plains, will of course attract a greater proportion of the common and electric fire from the clouds, and make them precipitate a greater quantity of rain, by which means it appears to me, that the purposes of nature are much better answered, than if the rain fell near the coast; for the hills, or mountains, being generally inland, a large portion of the country is benefited by the quantity of water in the rivers, and by the length of their course. But the fact respecting the time and place where the monsoon commences, might be easily ascertained by a comparison of dates, when the monsoon actually commences on either coast of the peninsula of India, and the Ballagat mountains to the northward, in the province of Bengal and its dependencies.



Bengal, and the countries immediately to the north of it, commences near the hills of Tibet; but, for my own part, I am disposed to think they begin further to the southward. The water may first appear in the rivers to the northward, from the melting of the snow on the mountains; but the range of hills which separate Bengal and Bahar, and even those to the eastward of the Ganges, in the same parallel of latitude, are sufficiently high and extensive to attract the electric fluid from the clouds, as they approach them from the sea saturated with moisture; consequently, in this case, the rains will begin where this change in the atmosphere takes place: but this point might be easily ascertained by a comparison of meteorological tables kept in the country. A knowledge both of the time and place where the rains begin must be of great importance to the inhabitants of Hindustan, among whom the crops of rice depend on a sufficient supply of water.

In the Gulf or Bay of Bengal, Major Rennel observes, the monsoon blows from the S. S. W. and S. W. Yet in the eastern and northern parts of Bengal it blows from the S. E. and E. S. E. Such a variation of the wind, within so small a distance, appears to me a further confirmation of this theory; for whilst the points of rarefaction in the northern provinces at this season will of course be the land to the westward, the melting of the snow on the mountains of Tibet to the eastward will produce a current of cold condensed air, sufficiently strong to counteract the regular course of the monsoon; instead, therefore, of blowing from the S. S. W. and S. W. as it does near the sea, it will blow constantly at this season,

as the above author remarks, from the E. S. E. and S. E.

But before we conclude our account of the different winds in Bengal, it is necessary to observe, that late in the month of March, until the commencement of the S. W. monsoon, there are sometimes temporary strong gusts of wind in the southern part of the Delta from the N. W. accompanied with thunder and lightning. They generally come on late in the afternoon, and are preceded some hours by an appearance of dark heavy clouds in that quarter. The well-informed natives of that country call these sudden gusts Tupan, a name familiar to the classic scholar; but the causes of them, and further particulars of their effects, will afterwards be more minutely considered. I shall therefore, for the present, only observe, that in my opinion they may be imputed to the air in the south part of the Delta being rarefied by almost a vertical sun, and the nearest body of cold air coming from the neighbouring mountains, which divide the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, to fill up the vacuum.

Dr. Halley seems to consider the hurricanes, which blow occasionally in the month of October in the Gulf of Bengal, as of a similar nature to those in the West-Indies, in which probably he is right; but, at the same time, it is evident that he has been misinformed respecting the time they generally happen in the East. He observes that our seamen suppose them to be the breaking up of the monsoon. In this circumstance the mariners have misled the philosopher; for the hurricanes seldom happen near the change or breaking up of the monsoons, but generally many days after the commencement, and sometimes about the middle of them.



them. Both the N. E. and S. W. monsoons blow at first in fresh gales; but neither of them increase to violent hurricanes. It is from very obvious causes, already sufficiently explained, that the one dies gradually away before the other begins. But we will first adduce unquestionable proofs of these facts, and then endeavour to ascertain the causes of them.

The first hurricane on the coast of Coromandel, mentioned by Mr. Orme, in his History of Hindustan, was that which destroyed Le Bourdenai's fleet, after he had taken Madras in the year 1746. He attacked this fort in September, which surrendered to him in less than a month, on condition that private property should be protected. But Dupliex, the governor of Pondicherry, disputed the right of the admiral to make such a capitulation, and insisted on his seizing all property, both public and private. The correspondence on this subject, in which the virtuous admiral strenuously defended the rights of individuals and his own honour, detained him at Madras with his squadron much longer than he otherwise intended to have stayed; and on the 2d of October came on a hurricane, which in a few hours destroyed almost the whole of the French fleet, and in which twenty other ships of different nations were driven on shore. One of the ships, says Mr. Orme, foundered in an instant, and only six of the crew were saved. But it must be remembered that four vessels, laden with effects sent from Madras, with three others lately arrived at Pondicherry from Europe, were not affected by this hurricane; the violence of which, therefore, did not extend more than sixty or eighty miles to the southward.

On the 31st of October 1753, Mr. Orme mentions also a violent hurricane on land, which was felt mostly near Wandiwash; but as the same author, who is in general equally minute and correct, takes no notice of any bad consequences happening from it at sea, we may reasonably suppose it did no mischief either at Madras or Pondicherry, although its principal violence was felt nearly half-way between both, and not more than sixty miles in a direct line from either.

The next which occurred during the N. E. monsoon was on the 30th of December 1760, during the siege of Pondicherry. On the evening of that day the weather was fair, the rains had ceased, and there were regular land and sea breezes; but a heavy swell rolled in on the shore from the S. E. The next morning the sky was of a dusky hue, accompanied with a closeness in the air, but without that wild irregularity which prognosticates a hurricane. Towards the evening, however, the wind freshened, from the N. W. and at eight at night increased considerably. About midnight the wind veered round to the N. E. fell calm with a thick haze, and in a few minutes after flew round to the S. E. whence it blew with great violence. Almost all the ships might have been saved, had they taken advantage of the wind blowing off the land, but the roaring of the wind and sea prevented the captains from hearing the signals for standing out to sea, and many of the ships were wrecked. The *Newcastle*, *Queenborough*, and *Protector*, were driven on shore a few miles south of Pondicherry, and the crews were saved. The *Norfolk*, Admiral Stevens, returned next day; and on the 7th came in the *Salisbury*, from Trincomalée, south, and the *Tiger*, from Madras,



Madras, north; so that in these opposite directions of east, north, and south, the violence of the storm had not been felt. It is observed by mariners in the East-Indies that these hurricanes usually happen once in five years; but for this opinion I can find no reason, either from what I have heard from others, or have myself observed.

The next in succession to that in 1760-1, was in 1763. On the 20th of October, in that year, many days after the N. E. monsoon had apparently commenced, the wind began to slacken, and the clouds in the evening appeared uncommonly red, particularly on the day preceding the hurricane. On the morning of the 21st a strong wind blew off the land, and in the course of a few hours flew all round the compass. At this time the *Norfolk* man of war, Admiral Cornish, with the *America* and *Weymouth*, and the *Royal Charlotte* country ship, of four hundred tons, remained in Madras Roads, with several other country vessels. The wind began to blow from the N. W. and continued from that quarter for three or four hours, of which time the men of war availed themselves to put to sea, but it then suddenly changed to the eastward, and prevented most of the country ships from following their example. After having blown with incessant violence for fourteen hours, and with almost equal strength from every point of the compass, it at length ceased, but literally left only wrecks behind. All the vessels at an anchor were lost, and almost every person on board perished; but the men of war and the *Royal Charlotte* returned into the Roads on the 24th. The former had felt the gale very severely whilst near the coast, but without sustaining any material in-

jury; the latter vessel likewise, from staying rather too long at anchor, had lost her fore and main-masts, and was otherwise much damaged.

The last of these hurricanes on the coast of Coromandel, which it seems necessary to mention, is that which happened on the 29th of October 1768. Of this sufficient notice was given, but the officers of the *Chatbam* Indiaman, then in the Road, did not avail themselves of it; for on the preceding evening the sea was violently agitated, the sun set in a haze deeply tinged with red, with every other prognostic of a gale of wind. But unfortunately there had been a misunderstanding between the captain and officers, and the former being on shore, the latter probably waiting for orders, remained at anchor, notwithstanding they might have put to sea with the N. W. wind, which, as usual, at the commencement of these hurricanes, blew off the land. The governor and council, who foresaw the danger even time enough to have prevented the loss of the ship, ordered signal guns to be fired with shot, by way of directing the officers to weigh and stand out to sea; but either they did not hear the guns, or were too punctilious in waiting for orders; and in consequence of this inflexibility were lost, for the ship was never seen or heard of after the close of the evening of the 29th. It is possible they were not able to distinguish the signal guns; for many of the inhabitants of the fort, during the violence of the hurricane, did not hear them, and the flashes of the guns might be mistaken by the officers of the ship for those of lightning. The vessels lying at this time at a single anchor in the open road of Pondicherry, were not  
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in the least disturbed by this hurricane, neither were the effects of it in the smallest degree felt at any of our settlements to the northward. Ships which put to sea in due time very soon got beyond their influence to the eastward, and it is very well known that they never extend far inland. All these circumstances properly considered, clearly manifest the nature of these winds, or rather positively prove them to be whirlwinds, whose diameter cannot be more than 120 miles, and the vortex seems generally near Madras or Pulicat, where a branch of the Ballagat mountains extends towards the sea. Those which happen in the N. E. monsoon generally fall with most violence within a few leagues of this place, and never, I believe, reach to the south of Porto Novo.

But at the commencement of the S. W. monsoon, violent gales are sometimes felt on the east side of Ceylon and the southern extremity of the coast; these, however, should be considered rather as the tail of that on the Malabar coast, which extends itself over Cape Comorin near the southern extremity of the peninsula. In that quarter, however, such gales seldom occur, and are always of short duration.

One instance only is to be found in Mr. Orme's history of a violent hurricane to the southward. In this instance, which happened on the 13th of April 1749, near Porto Novo, on the coast of Coromandel, two of the Company's ships were stranded near Cuddalore; and the *Namur*, one of Admiral Boscawen's squadron, with the *Apollo*, hospital ship, foundered. This is the only instance known to me in thirty-five years of a hurricane on the Coromandel coast during the S. W. monsoon, and the effects of this were not felt above eleven degrees north.

On the coast of Malabar, however, this monsoon frequently blows with considerable strength at the commencement; but it must be observed, that it does not begin at the same time on all parts of the coast, nor does it proceed rapidly in its course towards the north; for although the change of the monsoon generally takes place at Anjengo, about the time the sun becomes vertical at that place, it never reaches Bombay before the middle, or rather the end of May; the latitude of the former is about  $8^{\circ} 30'$  north, and of the latter  $19^{\circ}$ . On the 12th of April the sun is vertical at Anjengo, and about the 15th of May at Bombay. If then the difference of latitude and declination be compared, it will be found that the sun and the monsoon move almost precisely together, at the rate of about twenty miles per day: a circumstance which, above all others, tends to prove that the sun's motion in the ecliptic is the primary, if not the sole cause of the motion of the air, or rather of the course of the wind, at least in this part of the world, I mean on the coast of Malabar.

Monf. D'Apres, however, remarks, that the N. E. monsoon in the Mosambique Channel, begins at the north end of Madagascar, and among the Camero islands, in the first week of November; and at St. Augustine's Bay to the southward, at the end of the same month. If the distance of these two places, in like manner, be divided by the number of days, it will be found to correspond nearly with the daily difference of the sun's declination; consequently this fact will further corroborate the truth of this hypothesis; for the correspondence between the motion of the monsoon and the daily difference of the sun's declination is exactly the same, not only



only in India, but likewise in both the northern and southern hemispheres.

I have no authentic account of hurricanes on the Malabar coast, but I recollect to have heard of one which happened in the month of May 1762, off Goa, and of a second near Anjengo, which took place, I believe, about the middle of April 1779. One of the Company's cruizers was at that time lying at an anchor in the road; it attempted, too late, to put to sea, but was never afterwards seen.

From these accounts it seems very clear, that hurricanes never happen at the breaking up of the monsoons, nor precisely at their commencement, but rather some time after the change, and that they are local and of short duration. But this description of them is not confined to the Malabar coast, nor to that of Coromandel; they rage with equal, if not with superior violence, in the southern hemisphere, particularly about the latitude of 20 degrees south, near the French islands, where many ships have been in great danger of perishing from their effects, amongst the rest, the *Ilchester* Indiaman, in the year 1757. But the most accurate and authentic account which I have received of hurricanes in these latitudes, was that of the hurricane which the *Britannia* Indiaman encountered in the year 1770. On the 10th of March, about midnight, the wind suddenly burst upon the ship from the S. E. and blew with considerable force, but shifted all round the compass in the course of a few hours. Between five and six in the morning a sudden gust carried away their top-masts and jib-boom, when lying to under a balanced mizen; and nearly about the same instant, the jolly-boat, hanging

over the side by the mizen chains, was suddenly whirled up into the mizen shrouds, whence it fell into the sea and was dashed to pieces. The wind having blown nearly with equal strength from opposite quarters, prevented the sea from rising; so that at the end of ten hours, when it subsided, the sea bore but very little appearance of having been violently agitated.

The following day the rigging being repaired, they proceeded a few leagues to the westward, and met a French vessel that had not felt the hurricane; they were likewise overtaken by another ship, which had followed the same tract as the *Britannia*, without suffering the least inconvenience from it. These circumstances prove positively, that in an east and west direction, this hurricane had not extended above thirty leagues, and likewise that the ship was nearly in its centre.

Thus then it appears that these tempests or hurricanes are tornadoes, or local whirlwinds, and are felt with at least equal violence on the sea coast, and at some little distance out at sea. But there is a material difference in the situation of the sun when they appear at different places. On the coast of Coromandel, for example, they seldom happen, particularly to the northward, except when the sun is in the opposite hemisphere. On the Malabar coast they rage with most violence during the monsoon, whilst the sun is almost vertical. Near the island of Mauritius they are felt in January, February and March, which may be deemed their summer months. And in the West Indies, according to Mr. Edwards's History of Jamaica, the hurricane season begins in August and ends in October.

As they happen, then, in different places, at different seasons, they cannot



not well be ascribed, like the monsoons, to any particular situation of the sun in the ecliptic; neither, as they do not happen regularly every year, can they be deemed periodical. But as during their continuance, the wind blows all round the compass, and nevertheless is not felt in any direction at a distance of more than sixty or eighty miles, we may venture to conclude that whirlwinds are solely owing to violent and sudden changes both in the upper and lower regions of the air. When the lower regions of the atmosphere are

from any cause considerably rarefied, and the air in those of the upper at the same time becomes very much condensed, according to the principle of gravity, the air in the upper regions will descend, and necessarily cause a whirlwind, perfectly similar to that produced by sinking a heavy body in water; the parts adjacent will immediately concentrate to a point, and rush with a whirling circular motion towards the bottom with great violence.

“Whirlwinds\*,” says Dr. Franklin, in one of his letters on philosophical

\* The ancients supposed that there were great varieties of whirlwinds, of which Pliny and Seneca give different accounts.

The Typhon, τυφων, is defined by them, *vortex igne factus*, a vortex produced by fire, which causes dreadful hurricanes of wind, and destroys all things that come within its reach.

The Prester comes from περιθω, *incendo, inflammo*. It was said to break forth with strong flashes of lightning, and to be generally accompanied with an Ecnephas.

The latter is from νεφος, *nubes*, and is described as a sudden and impetuous wind, bursting forth from a dark cloud with little rain.

The Exhydria was a violent whirlwind, attended with a great quantity of rain; and in fact, the principal difference between an Exhydria and an Ecnephas was in the quantity of rain or water which they were supposed to contain.

These whirlwinds are evidently of the same family, all the features of them being exactly similar, with some slight variations of character.

When a sudden and violent change is produced by fire, either common or electrical, in a considerable body of the atmosphere, the air from all sides suddenly rushes forward, and consequently concentrating to a point, forms a vortex; and when the cohesion of the air is broken, it will also, of course, precipitate the water it contains, and produce an Ecnephas or Exhydria; or, where there is but little moisture in the atmosphere, a Typhon or Prester. The two first are probably the ascending whirlwinds; the others, those which descend.

Air ascending or descending, says Dr. Franklin, may form the same kind of eddies or whirlings, the parts of air requiring a circular motion, and receding from the middle of the circle by a centrifugal force, and leaving there a vacancy. If descending, it will be greatest above, and will lessen downwards. If ascending, it will be greatest below, and will lessen upwards, like a speaking trumpet standing with the largest end on the ground.

When the air descends with violence in some places, it may rise with equal violence in others, and form both kinds of whirlwinds. The air, in its whirling motion, receding every way from the centre or axis of the trumpet, leaves there a vacuum, which cannot be filled through the sides, the whirling air as an arch preventing; it must then press in at the open ends. The greatest pressure inwards must be at the lower end, the greatest weight of the surrounding atmosphere being there; the air entering, rises within, and carries up dust, leaves, and heavier bodies, that happen to be in its way, as the eddy or whirl passes over land.

If it passes over water, the weight of the surrounding atmosphere forces up the water into the vacuity, part of which by degrees joins with the whirling air, and, adding weight, and receiving accelerated motion, recedes still further from the centre or axis of the trump as the pressure lessens, and at last, as the trump widens, is broken in-



physical subjects, “are of two kinds; one from the air ascending, and the other from the air descending. A fluid moving from all points horizontally towards a centre must either ascend or descend; but air flowing on or near the surface of land or water, from all sides towards a centre, must necessarily at that centre ascend, the land or water hindering its descent. But if these concentrating currents be in the upper region of the atmosphere, they may indeed descend and cause a whirlwind; and when this current has reached either the earth or water, it must spread, and probably blow with great violence to a considerable distance from the centre. Of the two kinds of whirlwinds, that which ascends is the most common; but when the upper air descends, it is perhaps in a greater body, extending wider, as in thunder gusts, and without much whirlwind.” If then this opinion be well founded, a common gale of wind, of moderate extent and short duration, may be supposed to proceed from the former; but when violent, of long continuance, and with less variation, from the latter.

It would not, perhaps, be a matter of great difficulty to ascertain the situation of a ship in a whirlwind, by observing the strength and changes of the wind: if the changes are sudden and the wind violent, in all probability the ship must be near the centre or vortex of the whirlwind; whereas if the wind blows

a great length of time from the same point, and the changes are gradual, it may be reasonably supposed the ship is near the extremity of it.

Another extraordinary circumstance respecting these hurricanes should likewise be mentioned, as tending to a discovery of their causes; that they most frequently, it might perhaps with propriety be said always, occur near large bodies of land, but are not known at sea within the tropics, at least in that part of the ocean remote from the continent, or even at a considerable distance from extensive islands. It is a well known fact, as the name itself implies, that the Pacific Ocean is exempt from tempests. So likewise is the middle of the South Atlantic Ocean, particularly from the equator to the latitude of 16 degrees south. A violent gale of wind, for instance, was never known at the little island of St. Helena, which lies at the distance of nearly a thousand miles from the west coast of Africa, and still further from the eastern coast of America. The mean temperature of St. Helena is, I believe, 72 degrees instead of 79, which is the mean temperature of places on the continent, in the same parallels of latitude; but the variations there throughout the year, both of the thermometer and barometer, are very trifling. It must here be again remembered, that the vapours raised from the ocean have a larger portion of both common and electrical fire, and are therefore

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to small particles, and so united with air as to be supported by it, and become black clouds at the top of the trumpet.

Thus these eddies may be whirlwinds at land, and water-spouts at sea. A body of water so raised may be suddenly let fall, when the motion, &c. has not strength to support it, or the whirling arch is broken so as to admit the air falling into the sea. It is harmless, unless ships unfortunately happen to be directly under it; but if, in the progressive motion of the whirl, it has moved from the sea over the land, and there suddenly breaks, violent and mischievous torrents are the consequence.



more firmly supported in the form of clouds than those which come from the land; that in these oceans an equal temperature almost constantly prevails, and that all the circumbient air is filled with homogeneous vapours. In every wide expanse of ocean, therefore, unbroken by a continent or extensive island, no sudden changes are likely to take place in the atmosphere; but, on the contrary, where the clouds, which are formed by exhalations from extensive bodies of land, approach those which are derived from the ocean, violent and sudden alterations must necessarily occur; for, as it has been frequently before remarked, the land clouds will attract both common and electrical fire, from those clouds which come from the ocean, until the equilibrium is restored; and during this

operation, such changes must necessarily happen in the atmosphere, as will produce strong currents of air, and in general whirlwinds. Near every part of the continent of Asia, in the Gulf of Bengal, on either coast of Africa near the island of Madagascar, and even in the vicinity of the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, where also there are volcanoes, whirlwinds, occasioned by sudden changes in the atmosphere, will, at certain seasons, frequently occur. But in the Pacific Ocean\*, and in the central parts of the North and South Atlantic, they will seldom happen. Ships in crossing the North Atlantic scarcely ever meet with hard gales of wind before they approach the Western Islands, where likewise there are volcanoes. But in the islands of Bermudas, which are situated in the Northern Atlantic Ocean,

\* The land, in both hemispheres, is much hotter in summer, and colder in winter, than the sea; and there being infinitely more land in the northern than in the southern hemisphere, the former, taken altogether, is much more subject to the extremes of heat and cold, than the latter. For the same reason, the heat of the summer months will be less violent in the torrid zone of the south than in that of the north, and also in those parts of the temperate zone beyond the influence of the land. The islands of St. Helena, Mauritius, and Bourbon, and those in the Pacific Ocean of the southern hemisphere, which are remote from the continent, are well known to enjoy a much milder and more regular climate than any of those to the north, which are most of them nearer great bodies of land; but at the same time, from the unquestionable report of Captain Cook, and other circumnavigators of the globe, it appears that the higher latitudes towards the antarctic circle are colder than those to the north. This seems, in some measure, a contradiction to the first position, as there is scarcely any land in this part of the Great Southern Ocean: it must, however, be remembered, that the sun is much longer in the northern than in the southern hemisphere. According to Mr. Cassini, he is 186 days 14 hours and 53 minutes passing through the former, and only 178 days 14 hours and 56 minutes passing through the latter: the annual difference, therefore, is 7 days 23 hours 57 minutes; amounting, in a century, to upwards of two years. So far, then, as heat and light are communicated to us from the sun, and produce warmth in either hemisphere, nearly in that proportion the antarctic is probably colder than the arctic circle. At Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope, therefore, which extend far towards those cold regions of the south pole, the winds at particular seasons will be more violent, and the weather colder, than in any of the same parallel of latitude to the northward. This observation, however, must be confined strictly to the head-lands and places near the ocean; for, as land is colder than water in an unfrozen state, the interior of North America, and northern Asia, which are still uncultivated, must, in winter, be covered with ice and snow; and therefore those particular regions will be at least equally cold with those in the southern hemisphere, and the countries adjacent much more so than those of the same latitudes in Europe; but, should the west side of North America be cleared and cultivated, the whole of that continent will become nearly as temperate as any country in the centre of Europe equally distant from the sea.



Ocean, about the latitude of 32 degrees north, and at the distance of six hundred miles from the coast of America, hurricanes, I believe, are almost unknown, but thunder and lightning, with temporary gusts of wind, or violent squalls, are very common. Were these islands of less extent, or had they been placed within the tropic, it is probable they would have been as exempt even from tempests as St. Helena, or the islands in the Pacific Ocean; but, situated in the temperate zone, and not very remote from America, they are subject occasionally to sud-

den and violent gusts from the N. W. which probably originate on that continent. The Bermudas\*, however, enjoy a delightful climate, not unlike the finest weather of an European spring, or the early part of summer, whence probably they derive their name of the Summer Islands. But the causes of whirlwinds, or violent gales of wind, being in some measure, we hope, explained, we will return to a further consideration of the regular monsoons.

In the Mosambique Channel the monsoons correspond nearly with

\* D 3

those

\* It is to be regretted that invalids in Europe, especially those afflicted with pulmonary complaints, do not prefer a voyage to the islands of Bermudas to visiting either the South of France or Lisbon; for the mild regular climate of these islands is infinitely preferable to that of any place on the continent, and even to the island of Madeira, which is near the coast of Africa; besides, the voyage to Bermudas, added to the purity of the air, together with the abundance and quality of the fruits and vegetables, would probably restore all those to health who are to be recovered either by good air or wholesome food.

But the reputation of these islands has suffered from the report of the early navigators, who formerly visited them in small vessels, and who were perhaps terrified by the occasional storms of thunder and lightning, and still more by the rocks and shoals with which they are said to be surrounded. The report of one or two timid or wonder-working travellers, at that early period, was probably sufficient to justify the character given of these islands by our immortal Shakespear, who makes Ariel, in the Tempest, tell Prospero,

“ Safely in harbour

“ Is the king’s ship; in the deep nook, where once

“ Thou call’st me up at midnight to fetch dew

“ From the still vex’d Bermoothes.”

Mr. Malone, in a note on this passage, says, thus the islands now known by the name of Bermudas, were frequently, though not always, called so in our author’s time. Hackluyt, in his Voyages, 1598, calls “ the sea about the Bermudas a hellish place for thunder, lightning, and storms.” So likewise the continuator of Stowe’s Annals, 1615, describing the arrival of the English at these islands in 1609, “ Sir George Somers sitting at the sterne, seeing the ship desperate of relief, looking every minute when it would sinke, he espied land, which, according to his and Captain Newport’s opinion, should be that dreadful coast of the Bermodes, which islands were, of all nations, said and supposed to be enchanted, and inhabited with witches and devils; which grew by reason of accustomed monstrous thunder, storme, and tempest, neere unto those islands; also for that the whole coast is so wonderous dangerous of rockes, that few can approach them but with unspeakable hazard of shipwreck.”

The learned editor, in this instance, proves that his inimitable author was correct, as far as the information of his day went, in making Ariel speak in the manner he does of these islands; but more modern and authentic accounts, amongst which is that of Bishop Berkley, to whom Pope attributes every virtue under heaven, justifies also, I flatter myself, what has been said of them in this work. If the modern accounts are most deserving of credit, some unhappy invalid may, perhaps, be tempted to seek benefit from a voyage to the Summer Islands, in which some authors say perpetual spring prevails, and where also the inhabitants are strangers to most of our diseases.



those on the Malabar coast, if not in their commencement, at least in their duration. The S. W. monsoon begins in April, and continues till November. The N. E. then succeeds, and continues until April; but the S. W. monsoon in this channel is the fair season, and the wind varies sometimes towards the S. E. and E. S. E. on either coast, about the middle of November, where also there are, generally, regular land and sea breezes. The N. E. monsoon, as was before observed, begins early in November, near the Comero Islands, and the north end of Madagascar, but seldom extends beyond St. Augustine's Bay to the southward, which is near the southern tropic. But on the east side of Madagascar, beyond the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, towards what are called the Eastern Islands, the S. E. perennial prevails all over the Indian Ocean, from the latitude of 11 to 28 degrees south, whilst to the south and eastward of the islands of Java and Sumatra, the N. W. and S. E. monsoons alternately prevail at the different seasons of the year. The S. E. monsoon in these seas, according to Mons. D'Aprés, commences in the month of April, and continues till November, when it changes to the N. W.; but between the two monsoons, the winds and currents there, as in other places, are light and variable. Throughout the whole extent of the eastern isles, as far as Timor and Solor, the N. W. monsoon brings bad weather; this wind is violent, and accompanied with rain. The stormy weather continues all January, and until the middle of February, it then abates, and entirely ceases about the latter of March. In the month of April the variable winds render the weather mild, and the sea is affected only by occasional squalls of short

duration. In May the S. E. wind becomes settled, and blows incessantly in June and July with considerable strength: During this time, however, the weather is fine, with a clear serene sky until the end of September. In the month of October the S. E. monsoon dies away, and the winds become variable till they again settle in the N. W. As Dr. Halley mentions the difference of the monsoon in this part of the Indian Ocean south of the equator, but does not attempt to account for it, I shall in this place take upon me to offer some conjectures on the subject.

The earth, during the summer, as it has often been before observed, receives and retains a greater degree of heat from the sun than the sea, which by its constant motion and change of surface, is at this season infinitely cooler than the land, particularly in the torrid zones; but during the winter, in the temperate zones, the sea is much warmer than the land, particularly in high latitudes. In the summer, therefore, the great body of air, near very extensive continents, will of course move from the sea to the land, and in winter quite the contrary will happen. Now if we refer to the map, we shall find New Holland an immense tract of land to the S. E. of the Sunda and Molucca Islands; and, if unbroken by a mediterranean sea, almost equal in extent to all the land in Europe. It is situated partly within and partly beyond the tropic. When, therefore, the sun is near his highest declination N. which, of course, is the winter of the southern hemisphere, and rarefies the air over the continent of Asia, the current of air in the southern hemisphere, independently even of the regular perennial wind, will move from the S. E. to restore the equilibrium to the N. W.; on the contrary,



in the months of November, December, and January, whilst the sun is nearly vertical over a part of New Holland, the current of air through the Sunda and Molucca Islands will come from the N. W. to fill up the vacuum made by the rarefaction, and thus occasion an alternate monsoon of S. E. and N. W.

This obvious manner of accounting for the N. W. and S. E. monsoons on the east side of the Indian Ocean, would not have escaped the discernment of the learned Dr. Halley, had he not become weary of the subject, or directed his attention towards pursuits of still greater importance. He closes his remarks concerning this subject with observing, "On this same principle, to the southward of the equator in part of the Indian Ocean, the N. W. winds succeed the S. E. when the sun draws near the tropic of Capricorn. But I must confess, that in this latter occurs a difficulty not easily to be accounted for, which is, why this change of the monsoons should be any more in this ocean than in the same latitudes in the Ethiopic Ocean, where there is nothing more certain than a S. E. wind all the year."

Having said every thing that appears to me necessary respecting the monsoons in the Gulf of Bengal, the Gulf of Sind, and the Indian Ocean, I shall offer a few words on the winds in the China seas, and afterwards direct the reader's attention to the winds in the Arabian and Persian Gulfs.

In the Gulf of Siam, on the coasts of Cambodia or Camboge, of Cochin China, and in the Gulf of Tonquin and China, (according to *Mens. D'Après de Mainville*) the S. W. monsoon commences on the coast in the course of the month of April; but out at sea, in those parts, it

does not change until a month later. It is for this reason that, on the north part of Borneo, to the islands of Paragoa and Luconia, it is seldom known to blow constantly but from the 1st to the 15th or 20th of May. As the S. W. monsoon continues only about six months, and commences near the coast, it there ceases first likewise in the same manner, and is immediately succeeded by the N. E. Thus it is evident, the N. E. and S. W. monsoons reign constantly to the north of the line to the eastward, as well as in the Gulfs of Bengal and Sind; whilst the N. W. and S. E. monsoons to the eastward, are absolutely confined to the south of the line, within the reach of the influence of New Holland. It has been already observed, that the word monsoon is derived from the Persian word *Moufoum*, season. The violent hurricanes in those seas are, by our sailors, called *Tuffoon*, or *Typhon*; this term is either derived from the Greek *τυφων*, or from the Persian word *Toofan*, a whirlwind or tempest. Whether the Greeks or Egyptians gave this word to the Persians, or received it from them, it is not necessary in this place to determine; but these and many other professional terms used by mariners in all parts of the east, both by the natives and Europeans, respecting the winds and weather, together with many of the ports of great resort on the different coasts in the Indian Seas being called by a particular country name, with the addition of *Bender*, signifying a port, and *Bankfala*, a magazine, render it extremely probable, and we may say almost certain, that the Persians were the earliest navigators of the Indian, and perhaps the China seas. The Portuguese succeeded them, and adopted the sea terms of their predecessors, which are now used



by all other maritime nations, being, however, very much disguised by different European orthography and pronunciation\*.

In the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, according to Mons. D'Après, the winds are very different, although he remarks they are separated only by Arabia. "They blow," says this author, "in the Red Sea al-

most nine months in the year from the southward, that is, from the end of August to the 15th of May, and sometimes to the end of that month, when the wind changes to the N. and N. N. W. and generally continues in that quarter to the end of August, but sometimes the land and sea breezes prevail.

In the Gulf of Persia the N.W. wind

\* The Germans, like most other European nations, are daily making considerable improvements, both in the arts and sciences; and should another Czar Peter, or Catharine the Second, appear, the Russians may equal, if not surpass their neighbours, both in literary and scientific pursuits; but the discoveries of each will be concealed from the other, and both from the rest of Europe, unless the German and Russian languages should become more generally known. Many good maps of these countries, particularly of Russia, are extant, which are not legible to the rest of the world. It is, therefore, to be lamented, that mankind will not adopt some universal language, in which all books on art or science may be written, especially on geography.

It is no less curious than true, that the whole circle of theoretical knowledge is comprised in twenty-six letters, ten figures, and seven notes. The master, and perhaps still more the mistress, of music may, by the infinitely various combinations of these seven notes, convey the most enchanting sounds, and excite almost any sentiment in the mind of a foreigner without the help of words: so likewise all persons conversant in figures can solve arithmetical problems proposed to them by strangers of any nation. Still, however, the long-wished for universal language of letters remains to be introduced; and, were this plan adopted, it would probably produce an easy and friendly intercourse amongst all enlightened men. National jealousy may perhaps prevent the adoption of any living language for this purpose; we must, therefore, have recourse to those of the ancients; of these the Greek is unquestionably the most copious, and in many other respects preferable; but no man will be offended at the preference given to the language of Cicero, Horace, and Tacitus. The characters of the Latin correspond with those of the modern living languages, and in fact there is so much relation between this dead, and the greatest part of the living languages in the south of Europe, that very little difficulty could occur in the execution of this plan, particularly with the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians. Every nation would of course preserve their vernacular tongue to be used amongst their own countrymen, and employ the Latin only in the arts and sciences, and in their communications with foreigners. To render our own conversation intelligible in it, we must in the first place adopt the same pronunciation of the vowels in Latin as is in general use all over the continent; and when this alteration is made, a person, tolerably well educated, might travel from one end of Europe at least to the other, without the help of an interpreter. Most gentlemen are, at present, obliged to learn three or four languages imperfectly, besides the Greek and Latin; but in this case, two only would suffice for every purpose, both of public and private life.

If any persons doubt the practicability of this plan, I would recommend them to read what Montaigne says on this subject. In his admirable essays will be found by what means his father pursued to teach him to speak and write Latin fluently, and also with what ease it was accomplished. They will perceive, that if it was made the colloquial language at all schools, both to boys and girls, that in less than twenty years it would become perfectly easy and familiar to every well-educated person in Europe. In geography it would be singularly useful, for the names of places on the maps and charts would then, of course, be readily understood by sailors and travellers of all nations, and in a few years every man would peruse with pleasure the instructions of geographers in that elegant language. But I will not attempt to point out the advantages that would arise from the adoption of this plan, as they will occur to almost every person who will take the trouble of reflecting a little on the subject. It is certainly practicable, and ought not to be considered as chimerical.



wind blows from the month of October to July, and about three months from the opposite quarter. These winds, however, are not so regular as those in the Red Sea, being often interrupted by fresh gales from the S.W. principally from Cape Moçandon, and sometimes by land breezes.

The Arabian and Persian Gulfs are not only separated by Arabia, but the major part of the former is within the tropic, whilst the northern part of it, like the whole of the Gulf of Persia, from Muscat to Boffora, is situated beyond the tropic. In comparing the winds of these gulfs, therefore, we must make a distinction between the northern and southern division of the Arabian Gulf. From the entrance of the Streights of Babelmandel to the city of Yambo, the S.W. monsoon prevails at the same time as it does in the Gulf of Sind, that is, from April to September. But from the 15th of May to the beginning of August, the S.W. monsoon is extended, or rather elongated, from Yambo to Suez, notwithstanding the latter is almost eight degrees beyond the tropic. This wind is called by the Arabs the Khumseen, (fifty) being supposed by them to precede the overflowing of the Nile

about fifty days. The reader will perhaps excuse a short digression to explain the causes of these phenomena.

It is now nearly ascertained, that the sources of this river lie in the Mountains of the Moon, which are situated in Africa, between the latitude of 6 and 9 degrees north of the equator. Their height is not yet known with any degree of precision, but they are said to run from east to west. Nearly at right angles with these, and almost due north of them, are two other ranges of considerable hills; the one forming, in some measure, the southern and western coast of the Arabian Gulf, the other inland almost parallel to them, from the latitude of 22 degrees to Lower Egypt. The bed of the river Nile\* lies nearly in the middle, between these two last ranges of hills. Soon after the vernal equinox, therefore, when the S.W. monsoon takes place in the Indian Ocean, the clouds from the southern hemisphere are conveyed towards the Mountains of the Moon, and likewise to Abyssinia and Nubia. It has been already shown, that the rains in India constantly keep pace with the progress of the sun; so likewise do the same causes produce the same effects in this

\* Account of Signior *Gabrielli* for thirty years, when the Nile at Cairo became sixteen cubits high, each two feet two inches English; two French royal feet, according to *Maillet*; but twenty-eight inches, according to Sig. *Gabrielli*.

1692 Aug. 9.	1702 Aug. 15.	1712 Aug. 6.
1693 — 7.	1703 — 18.	1713 — 3, Plague.
1694 Sept. 1, Plague.	1704 — 2.	1714 — 1.
1695 Aug. 13.	1705 Sept. 19, Plague.	1715 July 26.
1696 — 14.	1706 Aug. 9.	1716 Aug. 17.
1697 — 11.	1707 — 10.	1717 — 15, Plague.
1698 — 7.	1708 — 4.	1718 — 22, Plague.
1699 — 15.	1709 — 9.	1719 — 5.
1700 — 5, Plague.	1710 July 28.	1720 — 9.
1701 — 17.	1711 Aug. 10.	1725 — 15.

According to *Maillet*, to cover all the adjacent grounds it is necessary that the waters in the Nile should increase to forty-eight feet.



this part of Africa, and also in Upper Egypt. They begin to the southward in the middle of April, and move progressively with the sun to

the northward, so as to reach the boundaries of Upper Egypt before the end of June.

The Nile and other tropical rivers,

Daily increase of the Nile from June 29th to July 31st 1714. By J. Gagnier.  
June 29th N.S. 1714, the Nile was five cubits high.

<i>Inches increase.</i>		<i>Inches increase.</i>		<i>Inches increase.</i>		<i>Inches increase.</i>	
June 30	- - 3	July 9	- - 5	July 18	- - 25	July 27	- - 10
July 1	- - 2	10	- - 4	19	- - 15	28	- - 15
2	- - 3	11	- - 3	20	- - 10	29	- - 20
3	- - 2	12	- - 5	21	- - 8	30	- - 30
4	- - 4	13	- - 4	22	- - 6	31	- - 48
5	- - 3	14	- - 6	23	- - 7		
6	- - 4	15	- - 8	24	- - 8		
7	- - 6	16	- - 8	25	- - 7		
8	- - 4	17	- - 15	26	- - 8		
							240

These tables demonstrate both the annual and diurnal increase of the Nile, which commences in June, nearly about the same time as the periodical rains in Hindustan.

The first shews when the river was at the greatest height at Cairo, for thirty years successively, during which period the plague appeared six times in the city. But it must not be understood that the plague broke out when the river was full: on the contrary, it had raged in the city at the beginning of the year, and it ceased soon after the inundation began. It is always observed by the inhabitants, that although this disorder rages with great violence during the preceding months, it completely ceases when the river has reached the height of sixteen cubits. It is probable that the great volume of fresh atmospheric air, which accompanies this body of water from Upper Egypt, may correct the noisome mephitic vapours, which have been long hovering over this populous city, and, by thus changing the state of the atmosphere, remove the causes of this dreadful malady.

It is also possible that the ample supply of fresh water itself may somewhat contribute towards restoring the inhabitants to health; but this alone would not produce such a sudden salutary effect as the change of air, for the water of the river is at first extremely turbid, and unfit for drinking, until it has had some time to settle. In removing filth, however, it may immediately produce beneficial effects.

The second table, by marking the daily gradual increase of the Nile at Cairo, according to the nilometer, shews more in detail the progress of the rains. Until a few days after the summer solstice the river has not reached a third part of its common annual height, and the daily increase of the water for the first fourteen days of July is sometimes as low as two inches, on an average about four inches, and does not amount to eight inches until the 15th of the month. These circumstances prove that there are no large contributory streams near the Delta, or even in Upper Egypt, for the common drains of the country, within two or three hundred miles, are sufficient to increase the river to the height of two inches. So far, therefore, the maps of Upper Egypt, in which no rivers appear to unite with the Nile to the north of the tropic, are probably correct.

The first of any magnitude is the Albara, in the latitude of  $17^{\circ} 50'$  N. which comes from the S.E. The second the Bahar-al-abiad, or White River, in the latitude of  $15^{\circ} 50'$  N. which comes from the S.W. but the sources of both these rivers lie considerably within the tropic, and therefore they are filled with the rains which fall in the southern countries during the S.W. monsoon.

All due allowances being made for the time of the falling of the rain in the inferior streams amongst the mountains, and for the collection of the waters in the principal stream of the Nile, as likewise for their subsequent course to Cairo, it is not to be expected that the augmentation of the river should in general be very considerable at the city before the middle of July, as marked by the table; nor that it should be completely full there, before the beginning of the month of August, when the whole accumulation of the waters, flowing from the different contributory streams, has had time to enter the bed of the river, and to arrive at the Delta; but the river must still continue flow-

ing



vers; however, derive but a small portion of their waters from their apparent sources, nor can the water which falls in the bed of any of these rivers prove a sufficient supply: all of them must principally be formed by an accumulation of several contributory streams, and therefore

ing till the middle of September, to supply the quantity of water withdrawn for the purpose of inundating Lower Egypt; otherwise when the irrigation of the land begins, as it generally does about the end of July or the beginning of August, the river would fall at once to its lowest ebb.

The Nile and the Ganges seem greatly to resemble each other; not merely as a matter of curiosity, therefore, we will endeavour to draw a comparison between them, and at the same time distinguish the most essential points in which they apparently differ.

The sources of the Nile are said to lie amongst the Mountains of the Moon, between the latitude of 6 and 11 degrees north; but I do not in this case affect great precision, for to me it appears extremely difficult to say where the real fountain head of this river lies.

It is not yet determined, I believe, whether we are to judge from the extent of its course or the magnitude of the stream. From the Mountains of the Moon, however, the Nile runs northward upwards of 1800 miles, and empties itself into the Mediterranean, in the Delta of Egypt, the coast between the northern branches of the Delta being about the latitude of  $31^{\circ} 12' N$ .

The source of the Ganges is said to lie amongst the mountains of Imaus or Himalah, between the latitude of 30 and 32 degrees. This river runs in a diametrically opposite direction to the Nile, its course being from the north to the south. The Ganges enters the sea in the Gulf of Bengal, in about the latitude of  $21^{\circ} 30' N$ . The course of the Nile is perhaps rather longer than that of the Ganges, but the latter greatly exceeds the former in breadth, so that undoubtedly the Ganges contains much more water than the Nile.

The Nile begins to increase at Cairo early in the month of June. According to Major Rennel, the Ganges increased at the Jellinghy, near the Delta in May. He states it to have risen six feet in that month; at the end of July the Nile is generally full, so likewise is the Ganges at the same time. The height of the Nile is twenty feet, that of the Ganges about thirty or thirty-one feet. The sources of the Nile, and all the considerable streams which serve to form this river, lie within the tropic. On the contrary, all those great contributory streams, which serve to fill the Ganges, have their sources north of the tropic; whence I should infer that the waters of the Nile are principally derived from the solstitial rains, and those of the Ganges, in a great measure, from the snow and ice melted by the presence of the sun about the same period; and to these united causes I should impute the superior magnitude of the Ganges.

The heat of the sun will, in this instance, from the same cause, produce different effects; for within the boundaries of the sources of the Nile the heat will cause a great degree of evaporation at sea, and also a considerable degree of rarefaction of the atmosphere on land; and the sea being cooler than the land at this season, the clouds, saturated with moisture, will of course come towards the land, and be made to precipitate their contents in rain amongst the Mountains of the Moon, in the manner described in the body of the work, by which means, I suppose, that the inundation of Lower Egypt is produced. But the sources of the Ganges, and its contributory streams, lying amongst the Mountains of Himalah, the heat of the sun, from the solstice to the end of July, will produce there a great quantity of water from evaporation, but still more from the melting of the ice and snow on the mountains; and although we may allow, that in that part of the river which runs through the Delta, the head of which is very near the tropic, some addition will be made to its waters by the solstitial rains, we must also suppose that by far the greater part of the water of the Ganges comes from ice and snow melted on the Mountains of Himalah. After the comparison of the two rivers we will add a few remarks on the two countries through which they flow.

Egypt, according to both sacred and prophane history, has formerly been considered as the granary of Palestine and Rome. So early as in the days of Abraham a famine prevailed



therefore at those places, where they discharge themselves into the sea, no tropical river can possibly be at the greatest height, until some time after the solstice, but particularly those rivers which come from mountains sufficiently high to be constantly covered with ice and snow.

But

prevailed in the former; and during the seven years of scarcity afterwards predicted by Joseph, the other sons of Jacob were sent thither from the land of Canaan to seek for grain for seven years successively, and that fertile country afforded, during those times of scarcity, a sufficient supply for the inhabitants both of Egypt and Palestine.

The Egyptians have always been sensible of the advantages they derive from this river, and to avoid the fatal consequences of an accidental scarcity of water, they have from the earliest ages erected a mikias, or nilometer, to ascertain the increase of the inundation, so that they might regulate the irrigation of their lands according to the supply they received from the fountain head.

Bengal, which in many respects resembles the Delta of Egypt, is likewise called by the Orientals *Jennet ul Bellad*, or the Paradise of Countries, and like Egypt, Bengal generally supplies grain to the neighbouring southern countries of India, where the mountains being low, and the rivers comparatively small, the harvests frequently fail.

The province of Bengal ought, with good management, never to be subject to famine; for, if my conjectures are true, the supply of water must be infinitely more certain in the Ganges than in the Nile. It is to be doubted, as I have already observed, whether the Mountains of the Moon, where the sources of the Nile are supposed to lie, are high enough to be covered with ice and snow in that latitude. But the great range of mountains, whence the waters of the Ganges, and many of its contributory streams flow, are visibly covered with ice and snow, which on these northern mountains may be considered as perpetual, and a great portion of both being annually melted by the presence of the sun during the summer solstice, this supply can never fail.

It may then be asked by what means the famine happened some years since, which almost desolated the province of Bengal?

It was partly owing to a want of the same precautions which are constantly taken by the Egyptians for ascertaining the quantity of water in the river, by means of a nilometer, with proper dams, which ought to be erected throughout the Delta of Bengal, in every considerable branch of the Ganges.

It would perhaps be very sound policy in every European nation to adopt the same plan at home; for by these means, not only great improvements might be made in agriculture, but by preserving the water with proper economy, commerce might be considerably facilitated by the more general use of water carriage. Nor should we forget that these nilometers might become more correct rain gauges than any now in use. But after having mentioned the famine in Bengal, and ascribed it partly to the want of a judicious economy and appropriation of the water of the Ganges, in justice to the servants of the East India Company who governed Bengal at that time, and who have unjustly incurred much odium on that account, I must take upon me to say, that after a very diligent inquiry made a few years afterwards on the spot, no European at that time derived the smallest pecuniary advantage from the monopoly of grain.

I have even heard a gentleman named as having contributed towards the general distress, by converting rice grounds into fields of opium, and from the sale of which he is said to have acquired immense riches; but it is well known that opium does not thrive in the same kind of ground in which rice is planted; the one requires a dry, the other a wet soil. Besides, if we admit that four or five hundred acres, or even as many thousand, were taken from the rice grounds of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, for the purpose of planting opium, the defalcation of this small quantity of land from countries infinitely more extensive than those of Great Britain, would not have been felt but as a drop of water in the sea. The misfortune originated in the folly or iniquity of the native farmers, or grain merchants themselves.

It should be known that the scarcity happened in a season of uncommon drought, which followed one of unusual plenty. When the native farmers, or perhaps the merchants, during the plentiful year, had sold and exported as much grain as they could, they destroyed a prodigious quantity of the remainder, in order to keep up the price; and consequently, when the subsequent crops failed, an universal distress pervaded

vaded



But even if we suppose the Nile to be supplied by the rain only, which falls amongst the different ranges of hills, those contributory streams which lie towards the northern part of it will not be filled till towards the middle, and sometimes the end of June; the water will then be some time in running from the contributory streams to the bed of the Nile; and, finally, from the place of their junction, if we suppose the stream to run at the rate of five miles per hour, or one hundred and twenty miles per day; some days must necessarily elapse before the main river can reach the sea, or rather Lower Egypt. Before the end of June the rise of this river at Cairo is almost imperceptible; but it continues to increase a few inches, more or less, every day throughout the whole month of July, until about the beginning of August, when the daily increase suddenly amounts to forty-eight inches, and then the river is considered as completely filled. It appears by observations continued at Cairo for thirty years, with the mikias or nilometer, that it was never later than the first or second week of August, when the river was at the

height of sixteen cubits, of twenty-eight inches each. The inhabitants are then permitted, by public proclamation, to appropriate the water to the purposes of husbandry. Nevertheless the rains still continuing in Upper Egypt, and near the Mountains of the Moon, very little diminution of the waters appear until towards the beginning of September.

The Khumseen wind blows in the northern part of the Arabian Gulf, as far as the sea coast of the Delta.

It is very well known that the soil of Upper Egypt, and even of a part of Lower Egypt, on one side of the Arabian Gulf, and of Arabia Petrea and Arabia Deserta, on the other, consists chiefly of rocks and sands. As the sun approaches towards the solstice, and from very obvious causes, for a month or six weeks afterwards, the atmosphere over those countries must be excessively rarified; whilst this rarification continues to the northward, the air to the north after the commencement of the rains, being infinitely more cold and dense, will be impelled forward towards the north to restore the equilibrium, and consequently

vaded the whole country. It was by these means that thousands of the wretched inhabitants of Bengal perished through hunger in the granary of India.

But for the credit of the East India Company's servants, and even for the honour of the nation itself, it is to be lamented that this matter was not at the time made the subject of public inquiry, and entirely cleared up to the satisfaction of the whole world.

In a free country, the trade in grain, as in other articles of commerce, only requires encouragement and protection; almost every restraining law cramps and destroys its vital principles, contributing sometimes to introduce the evils it was intended to prevent; but in Bengal, which is a conquered country, and produces in a plentiful year at least four times as much rice as is requisite for the consumption of its inhabitants; public granaries may be established, and government, as part of the payment of the revenues, might receive into them, at a reasonable price, the surplus of the consumption of these provinces. After having reserved a sufficient quantity to supply a possible deficiency in the ensuing crop, the remainder might be exported to those countries on the Coromandel and Malabar coast, where often this article, of the first necessity to an Indian, is extremely scarce and dear. The same plan might likewise be extended to the province of Tanjore, which is the granary of the Carnatic; and these precautions being taken, it would be almost certain, that no famine could ever happen in any country subject to the government of the East India Company.



frequently produce the Khumseen wind, which for the same reason will precede the overflowing of the Nile, and begin first near the principal point of rarefaction. But as the sun approaches again towards the autumnal equinox, the earth to the northward becomes cool, the Khumseen ceases to blow, the river begins to fall, and the N. W. wind again commences, and continues to blow all the rest of the year.

It is true, as was before mentioned, that almost the same winds prevail at the same season in the Gulf of Persia, as in the northern part of the Arabian Gulf; but the eastern shore of the former being covered with both hills and forests, the Khumseen will neither begin quite so soon in the Gulf of Persia as in Upper Egypt or Arabia, nor even continue to blow there with equal strength. But before we quit the consideration of the winds in the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, it may be expected that we should endeavour to account more explicitly for the N. W. wind continuing to blow in those places for upwards of nine months.

From the end of August to our winter solstice, the sun is constantly declining towards the south; and during his return, until the vernal equinox, his influence is not much felt in the temperate zone of the

northern hemisphere. The northern part of the Arabian Gulf, during these eight or nine months, will therefore be much warmer than the countries still farther to the northward and westward, and consequently the current of air will come from that quarter to fill up the vacuum occasioned by the rarefaction of the air over the sea. A line drawn through the centre of the Arabian Gulf, from the Streights of Babelmandel to Suez, would nearly be N. W. by N. and S. E. by S. and therefore, according to this theory, during the absence of the sun, that is from August to April, or the beginning of May, the wind in the northern part of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs must generally blow from the N. W. by N. towards the point of rarefaction, which is the middle of the northern part of the Arabian Gulf. But from Gedda, or rather Yambo, to Mocha, where the land, in the day at least, is always warmer than the sea, either southerly winds or land and sea breezes will prevail during nine months of the year, and northerly winds only during the depth of our winter, from November to the end of January, which corresponds with the account of the winds in this Gulf as given by Monsieur D'Aprés.

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A NARRATIVE OF A VOYAGE TO COCHIN CHINA,  
*Together with a sketch of the Geography of that Country, and some particulars of the Manners, Customs, and History of its Inhabitants, by Mr. Chapman.*

(This interesting Tract was never before printed.)

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It may not be improper, before I give an account of this voyage, to mention the circumstances which led me to the undertaking, the reasons urged for the prosecution of it, and the advantages expected to be derived



derived from it. Having stated these leading points, I shall proceed with a brief and faithful detail of the transactions in which I was engaged, from the time of my arrival on the coast of Cochin China, to that of my leaving it; interspersing it with some observations on the country, its inhabitants, and productions.

In the month of February 1778, two mandarins\*, of Cochin China, were brought to Calcutta in a country ship called the *Rumbold*. The novelty of this circumstance excited the curiosity of the whole settlement: It was reported to the governor-general by Messrs. Croftes and Killican. These gentlemen, who, I believe, were either the entire owners of the vessel, or partly concerned in it, likewise acquainted him, that their visiting Bengal was accidental, and had happened in the following manner:—The *Rumbold* being destined on a voyage to China, her owners, in consequence of some very favourable accounts of Cochin China, had directed the commander to touch on that coast in his way back. He went to the Bay of Turon, and during his stay there, application was made to him by Senhor Lorico, a Jesuit missionary, for a passage for himself to Bengal, and for two mandarins of distinction, related to the royal family. They wished to be landed at Donai, the most southern province of Bēngal, whither the king had retired, on account of an invasion of the northern provinces by the Tonquinese; and a rebellion which had broken out in several of the midland provinces. The commander having heard that Senhor Lorico was highly esteemed

by the natives, and had behaved with great humanity to the officers and crew of the *Admiral Pocock* Indiaman, when driven into Turon Bay by stress of weather, in the year 1764, complied with his request. He soon after weighed anchor, intending to land the mandarins at Donai; but a strong current and a violent gale coming on, forced the ship so far to the southward of that province, that he was unable to make it, and he was obliged to bring all his passengers to Bengal.

The following morning the mandarins and Senhor Lorico were introduced to the governor-general, by whom they were received with the greatest attention and humanity, and re-assured, by expressions of good will, necessary to give them confidence in the people they were come amongst. They were given a house, servants, and every necessary; they were shewn every thing curious in the settlement, and treated in such a manner, that the time they passed amongst us proved highly agreeable to them.

The mandarins remained in Bengal till the middle of April. In the interim, Messrs. Croftes and Killican had equipped a small vessel, of between 70 and 80 tons burthen, to carry them back. Some days before the time fixed for their departure, I was requested by Mr. Croftes to suggest to the governor-general how acceptable a small present from him would be to the mandarins. This I took the first convenient opportunity of doing, and he was not only pleased to acquiesce in it, but also signified his intention of sending something handsome to their king, and desired that I would  
consult

\* Mandarin is a Portuguese word derived from the verb *mandar*, to command. It is totally unknown amongst the Chinese, the Cochin Chinese, and Tonquinese: The word used by all those nations for a person in authority is *quan*.



consult Messrs. Croftes and Killican upon what articles would be suitable for this purpose, and that I would bring him a list of them. While we were adjusting this matter, our conversation naturally turned upon Cochin China. In the course of it, these gentlemen expatiated upon the advantages which might accrue to Bengal, and to the Company, if a commercial intercourse was opened with that country; enumerated the several valuable commodities it produced, and expressed their wishes that the present favourable occasion might not be neglected of forming a connection with the government of it. Pleased with the hopes of distinguishing myself, I declared that I would readily undertake the voyage, if the supreme council should think it proper to send me in a public capacity. Some conversations I had afterwards with these gentlemen, their communicating to me some papers relative to the country, with the accounts given by the commander of the *Rumbold*, and the assurances of the mandarins, confirmed me in my resolution of undertaking the voyage; and I made the proposal to the governor-general. I requested that he would be pleased to speak to Messrs. Croftes and Killican on the subject; and the representations these gentlemen made, both to the governor-general, and other gentlemen of the supreme council, brought them to approve of their plan. The *Amazon*, a small snow belonging to the Company, was ordered to be made ready for the accommodation of the mandarins. The companions of my voyage were Mr. Bayard, a gentleman of the Company's service, Mr. Totty, a surgeon, Captain Maclennan, master of the *Amazon*, and Captain Hutton, master of the *Jenny*. The end proposed by my appoint-

ment was the establishment of a commercial intercourse between the Company's settlements in India, and Cochin China, and the attainment of such privileges and advantages to our vessels importing thither, as we might find the government disposed to grant. The benefits hoped from this intercourse was the larger exportation of the commodities of Europe and India to that country, and the importation of its valuable productions in return.

Having thus explained the inducements to this voyage, I shall proceed to a detail of the transactions which occurred in the prosecution of it.

The *Amazon* having fallen down to Budg-Budg, I embarked the 16th of April, with the principal mandarin, and five or six of his attendants. The other, by his own desire, went on board the little vessel first prepared for them both. She sailed a few days before us, and was to rejoin us in the Straits of Malacca, from whence she was to accompany us during the remainder of the voyage. We had on board some specimens of the commodities of Europe and India; by which we might judge what would be most in request in the country we were bound to. Bad weather, and the want of a sloop, did not permit us to dismiss our pilot until the 29th, when we were obliged to send him on shore at Ballasore. Exactly a month after this we anchored at Malacca, and sailed from thence the 2d of June for Tringano, a Malay port on the other side of the peninsula; we reached it the 12th following. Here Mr. Hutton informed me of the death of the mandarin, his passenger, which happened a few days after leaving Malacca. This accident gave me a  
good



good deal of concern, as he was a sensible, steady, well-behaved man, and I relied much on him for assistance amongst his countrymen. We found at this place thirty or forty natives of Cochin China, whose vessel had been driven off their own coast, and wrecked near Tringano. According to the policy of the Mallays, they were become their slaves, and their effects the property of the rajah: They gave our mandarin some information relative to the state of his country, after his leaving it, but indistinct, and little to his satisfaction. I endeavoured to procure the release of some of these poor people, and was not a little surpris'd at a seeming backwardness in them to accept it. During our stay here, I was spoken to by the king's brother (the king being absent) concerning the Company's establishing a factory at Tringano; and I heard, on my return to Malacca, that there had been a letter sent to the supreme council with this proposal. This complaisance arises from the king's apprehensions of an hostile visit from the king of Rio, and from a desire of extending his territories by means of the Company's assistance. If it were thought worth while to settle in any part of the peninsula of Malloy, a more eligible situation than Tringano might be found. Some months in the year this is a dangerous lee shore, and inaccessible to shipping. I do not think that establishments can be made by us with any advantage among the Mallays\*. At Tringano they purchase annually two hundred chests of opium, some white goods, a small quantity of iron and copper, and a few other

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articles of little note; for these things they give in exchange pepper, gold dust, and tin; the latter article is not the produce of the place, but carried thither by Malloy and Buggis prows.

Our stay at Tringano being prolonged a day or two, that we might furnish ourselves with a good store of refreshments, as we expected but scanty supplies at Cochin China, we did not weigh anchor till the 17th. The 20th we came in sight of Pulo Ubi. The next night we anchored close to it, and the following day found ourselves in the latitude of  $8^{\circ} 35' N.$  which must have been nearly the latitude of the point of Cambodia, as it then bore west of us; it is laid down by our geographers and hydrographers 10 or 15 miles more to the northward. Pulo Ubi is a small island, seen from a great distance, and situated exactly on the eastern extremity of the Gulf of Siam. My intention in taking this route was, that we might have an opportunity of coasting the southern shore of Cambodia, which is but little known; of entering the western branch of the great river which separates that country from Cochin China, where I expected certain accounts of the state of that country, and of procuring an interview with the king, who was said to be at Donai, the southernmost province.

We were but a little more than two days going from Pulo Ubi to Cambodia River. The point of Cambodia, as well as the whole coast from thence to the mouth of the western branch of the river, is covered with underwood, and exceedingly low. The water is so

\* E shallow,

\* It is only a few years since the presidency of Fort St. George attempted a settlement at Acheen, under the conduct of the Hon. Edward Moncriou, but were obliged to withdraw it.



shallow, that, at the distance of five or six miles from the shore, we rarely had more than four fathoms. Although the commander of the small vessel, our consort, made repeated attempts, he could never approach the shore nearer than within two or three miles. Few inhabitants appeared, and only two boats near the entrance of the river. Our boat was sent to speak to them, but they being poor Chinese fishermen, they could not understand our Cochinese linguist.

The 24th of June we anchored in sight of the mouth of the west channel of Cambodia river, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, in barely three fathom water, a strong ebb tide setting out: the tide to the westward had been observed the preceding evening to rise two fathoms and a half; it therefore certainly behoved us to be on our guard against its falling as much: The captain was apprised of this by his officer, but he making light of it, the tide by six o'clock left the vessel fast aground; but as she lay in soft mud, our situation was by no means dangerous. The captain made sail as soon as the vessel floated, in a dark night, uncertain whither a rapid tide might drive us. The vessel grounded a second time, and when the floating tide relieved her from this, still a third time. Here, or on some other part of the shore, I expected we must have left the vessel, her head was only in a fathom and a half of water, and her stern was beating upon a sand as hard as a rock. The boat, with the chief officer, and most of the Europeans, was now sent to sound; during their absence the water rose to two fathoms and a quarter; the Amazon drew twelve feet; the flood tide was fully made. Anxious for our boat, we made sig-

nal after signal for it to return, and when it did, the report of the officer was far from satisfactory, having met with shoals all around. There was now the appearance of a hard squall coming on, the man with the sounding line warned us there was but a few inches more than the vessel drew, and it being the top of high water of a spring tide, we had no prospect of further relief. Happily, however, we increased the depth, and the squall coming on, presently drove us into five fathoms, where we dropt our anchor.

After the fatigue and anxiety which we suffered the preceding night, we were happy to devote this day, the 25th, to repose.

The 26th I went on board the *Jenny*, which lay at a considerable distance from our vessel, near the mouth of the river. The commander acquainted me he had sent his boat into the river for intelligence, and proposed to me to stand in and meet it. Having no objection, he weighed his anchor: as soon as we opened the first reach we perceived a vessel at anchor, and the boat making towards us: we continued our course in a good channel of three and four fathoms water, as far as the tide would permit us. By the officer who went in the boat, we learned that the vessel in sight was a Portuguese snow from Maccao; that there was another higher up at a village called Bathai; and that a ship had left the river seven or eight days before. Mr. Moniz, (a Portuguese gentleman I before mentioned to have accompanied the mandarin to Bengal,) who went on board the Portuguese vessel, acquainted me that he heard from the commander, that the rebel Ignaack had carried every



every thing before him in Cochin China; that the king having fled to Pulo Condore, had been taken there and put to death; and that his brother had fallen into the hands of the usurper, who obliged him to marry his daughter. I afterwards found that his brother was the elder of the two sons left by the late king; but that Quick Foe, the prime minister, who had acquired an unbounded influence in the latter part of the reign, had married his daughter to the younger prince, and contrived, upon the death of the old king, to place his son-in-law upon the throne. This, with the minister's unpopular measure of imposing a poll-tax upon all the native inhabitants of whatsoever age, sex, or condition, was the cause of the troubles which broke out in the interior provinces, and furnished a pretext for the Tonquinese to invade the country; for when the army entered the northern provinces, they declared their designs to be solely bent against the person of the minister, whose mal-administration had involved his country in a civil war, and promised, upon his being delivered up to them, to assist the king in subduing all his other enemies: the young king, instigated by the enemies of this minister, blindly fell into the snare, and thereby proved to have acted as politically as the sheep who delivered their dog to the wolves. Quick Foe, though a bad man, was allowed to be a man of abilities; and by the discerning esteemed the only one capable of making head against the dangers that now threatened the king on all sides. Sensible of this, the Tonquinese, as soon as he was delivered into their hands, treated him with the utmost deference, and made use of his knowledge to possess themselves of the country. They

immediately laid siege to Hue, the capital, and took it; the king fled to Donai, from thence to Pulo Condore, where he was taken and put to death. The minister was carried to Tonquin, where he was allowed to enjoy an honourable retreat.

The next day I returned on board the *Amazon*, to prepare a few necessaries to go up to Bathai in the *Jenny*, and desired Capt. Hutton to wait for me where he was. Early in the morning I set out, accompanied by Mr. Bayard and Mr. Totty; on approaching the mouth of the river, I perceived the *Jenny* running out with the Portuguese snow. Expressing my surprise at this, I found Capt. Hutton had received intelligence that some persons he had left at Turon the year before, had been put to death by Ignaack, and that 20 or 30 of his galleys were then cruizing in a branch of the river, two days sail from Bathai. Unacquainted with the force of these galleys, and having too much reason from the information to suspect their hostile disposition towards us, especially if they were apprised of our having a relation of the late king on board, and the *Amazon* being deemed to draw too much water, and built too sharp to be brought into the river, I thought it most prudent to drop my design of proceeding to Bathai. Understanding, however, that there was still a party of the king's people making head against Ignaack in Donai, it was determined to proceed thither, in order to place our mandarin and his people amongst their friends. Capt. Hutton having received what instructions the Portuguese captain could give him respecting the passage, (no pilot being to be had,) was to lead the way, we were to follow; these points ad-



justed, I returned on board my own vessel, and the next morning we failed.

The first of July we anchored under a promontory, supposed to be Cape St. James, about a degree and a half distant from the west channel of Cambodia river. This was the first high land on the continent we met with. Here again we were all at a stand, nobody being able to point out the road to Donai. The mandarin and his people never having been there, could give us no information. Vexed at my disappointment, I determined to go on shore myself in our pinnace, and to endeavour to gain some intelligence. Mr. Bayard and the second officer accompanied me; I took two of the mandarin's servants as linguists. When we reached the beach I sent the linguists on shore, keeping every body else in the boat; after some time they came back, leading two or three of the most miserable looking objects I ever beheld, upon the very point of perishing with hunger and disease. The linguists telling us we might land in safety, we did so. These poor wretches acquainted me that they belonged to a village hard by, in which were left about fifty more, much in the same condition with themselves; that a fleet of Ignaack's, in its way to Donai, which it was now blockading, had, two months before, paid them a visit, and plundered them of the scanty remains left by a horrid famine, supposed in the preceding year to have carried off more than one half of the whole inhabitants of Cochin China, and that they had nothing to eat now but a root thrown up by the surf on the beach, which caused them to break out in blotches all over their bodies; it was shaped something like a sweet potatoe, but

longer. I was now no longer at a loss to account for the indifference the wretches I saw at Tringano shewed to my offer of procuring their release; they were not possessed of sufficient patriotism to prefer liberty with so scanty a fare in their own country, to slavery with a full belly in a foreign one. There is no slavery in Cochin China. On perceiving the mouths of two or three rivers to the N. W. and asking their names, they told me one of them led to Donai. Several more of these objects were now gathering round me; distressed at this scene of misery not in my power to relieve, I hastened on board my boat, and took with me an old man, who appeared the most intelligent, to inform our mandarin of all he knew, and to enable us to determine what was next to be done.

A comfortable meal having cheered up the old man's spirits, he had a long conversation with his countryman; the result of which was, that a village called Huttien, a few hours sail from where we then were, having resisted the attacks of Ignaack's fleet, the mandarin was desirous of going to it, hoping to get some satisfactory intelligence of his friends. Thither we bent our course, the old man serving as a pilot; the next morning we anchored a-breast of it. A number of fishing boats hovered about the vessel, but kept aloof till two of the mandarin's servants were sent to them in a small prow. They then came to the number of fourteen or fifteen. Our mandarin sent a message to the chief of the village by them. The people in these boats were stout personable men, and had not the least appearance of want amongst them. Every boat was well furnished with bows and arrows,



rows, swords and lances. In the afternoon, the mandarin of the village sent his compliments to our mandarin, with a present of beetle, and apologized for not waiting upon him in person, on account of his being much indisposed; our mandarin being so well satisfied that he determined to go on shore next morning, myself and the other gentlemen promised to attend him. Having sent the mandarin of the village notice of our intentions, early in the morning some boats came from the shore to conduct us to the landing place. Our mandarin's servants, who went on shore the evening before, and staid all night, came with them, and gave their master a favourable account of the inhabitants. They also brought on board with them a man who had formerly served as a soldier under the mandarin's command. He seemed transported with joy on recognizing his old master. After breakfast we set out, the soldier sitting at the mandarin's feet; and during our passage towards the shore, he recounted to his master the particulars of Ignaack's successes, the king's death, and how the people of this district had repulsed the rebel fleet. He acquainted him that the king's brother, whom they called Antoine, dissatisfied with his wife, and the restraint he was kept under, had found means to escape from Ignaack, and was gone in arms with a considerable force into Benthuan. Yet before the boat reached the shore our mandarin was seized with a panic, which I never could learn the real cause of, and desired me to put about and return to the vessel. Unable to conceive his motives, his own servants assuring me there was no cause of apprehension, we con-

tinued our course till the pinnacle came into shallow water, and could proceed no further. Here we were preparing to get into a country-boat, when the mandarin caught hold of my clothes, earnestly entreating me to desist, crying out "*tyson! tyson!*" which is the name the adherents of Ignaack go by in the country. Mr. Moniz seeing this, offered to go on shore to learn who the people really were; Mr. Bayard accompanied him. They soon came back with the principal mandarin of the village. He came into our boat and invited our mandarin on shore, the soldier offering to remain an hostage, and to forfeit his head if any harm befel him. All was insufficient to remove his fears; he still cried out louder than ever to put back. Finding his timidity not to be overcome, I asked the mandarin of the vessel to go with us to see our vessel; he did not hesitate. After he had been on board a short time, he complained of being very sick; I therefore dismissed him, first making him a small present.

We then left the village of Hut-tien, and continued our course along shore six or seven days, and anchored at a fishing village near Pulo Cambir de Terre, to inquire for water and other refreshments; but the water there being very brackish, one of the fishermen offering to pilot us to Quinion, where plenty of good water and fresh provisions might be had, we accordingly proceeded thither. No sooner did our mandarin learn that we intended to touch at Quinion, than he rushed from the cabin in a most distracted manner, and threw himself at my feet, when he informed me that Quinion was the province in which Ignaack resided, and that



its harbour \*, to which we were going, was the rendezvous of his fleet. It did not however prevent me from proceeding, as I knew that the greatest part of Ignaack's force was to the southward. We continued our course, and the 13th July we anchored in the bay. The coast, in many places highly cultivated, had now a most delightful appearance, the lowlands planted with paddy, and the hills with pepper to their very tops.

Here we found two Portugueze snows; and the supercargo of one of them coming on board a little before we anchored, I understood from him that we had nothing to fear; on the contrary, that Ignaack himself was exceedingly alarmed at our arrival, and would be well satisfied to find that we had no hostile intention against him, which he was in dread of from what had happened last year at Turon. This dispute arose from the rebels attacking and taking a boat, conveying military stores from an English ship to the royal party. The king's party having received a signal defeat while the ship lay in the harbour, the mandarins fled on board for protection, and induced the commander to undertake to carry them to Donai, by promising to indemnify him for the loss when he arrived there. How they were disappointed and brought to Bengal, I have before related. As soon as we anchored, I sent a young man, who served me as a writer, on shore, with my compliments to the mandarin in charge of the fort, to acquaint him that the vessel belonged to the English government

of Bengal, and that our business in Cochin China was to settle a friendly intercourse and commerce between the two countries. In the evening he returned with a very civil answer from the mandarin, purporting that he should immediately send notice of our arrival to the king (Ignaack), and that in the meantime we were welcome to furnish ourselves with water and all other refreshments the place afforded. Next day the mandarin himself came on board, and brought me a present of a hog. Ever after he visited me daily during our stay. He was a jolly man of between 50 and 60 years of age. By his desire, I sent my writer on shore to go with him to the king's brother, who lived near, to whom I sent a present of a piece of muslin, two pieces of chintz, and some bottles of liquor. On his return he acquainted me that he had been graciously received, and assured me that the king was exceedingly well disposed towards the English, and would not fail to treat me with the most honourable distinction; and that the king's son-in-law, who was his prime minister, would come down to see me in a few days.

He accordingly arrived the 16th, and the next morning having received an invitation, I landed to make him a visit. We were met on the beach by the mandarin of the port, who conducted us to a large straw shed, which he informed me was his house, where his highness was waiting to receive us. On each side of the entrance were drawn up twelve of his guards, dressed in blue linen, and a kind of helmet on their heads,

\* Quinion, or Chinchen-bay, is an excellent harbour, where vessels may be perfectly sheltered from every wind; the entrance is very narrow, and the want of a sufficient depth must oblige ships of large burthen to wait till high water to go in. It is situated in lat. 13° 52' N.



heads, made either of leather or of paper, lacquered over, and ornamented with flowers and devices of block-tin, as were the hilts and scabbards of their swords, so that they made a regular, if not a martial appearance. On our entrance we found a young man of a pleasing aspect, seated cross-legged upon a low table. He rose on our approach, and pointed to some chairs which were placed on each side of him for our accommodation. After a few ordinary questions on his side, as whence we came? what had brought us to Cochin China? how long we had been on our passage? &c. I acquainted him I was a servant of the English government in Bengal, to which the vessel I came in belonged; that my business in Cochin China was to settle a friendly intercourse and commerce between the two countries, which I made no doubt would be for the advantage of both. I then desired to know whether he was authorised to inform me upon what conditions such commerce could be carried on to the ports in their possession? Instead of answering me, he desired to know what presents I had brought for the king, and whether I intended to go to court? I told him I would go if the king sent me an invitation, and carry such presents with me as I hoped would be acceptable. I presented him with a pair of neat pistols, and some pieces of cloth, &c. I could now get him to talk of nothing but presents. Before we parted, I applied to him for the use of a straw hut near the watering-place; he told me he was not authorised to grant it. He then informed me he should return to court the next day, and invited me to accompany him. I begged to be excused, as I wished before I set out to receive an invitation from

the king. He appeared rather hurt at this, fearing I suspected he had not authority to invite me. I observed that his refusal of so mere a trifle as a hut to live in, which I offered to pay for, was almost sufficient to doubt it. Soon after I took my leave, when he assured me he would desire his father to send me an invitation without delay; and as for a house, I might take any one I chose in the place.

Three days after I received a formal written invitation and safe conduct from Ignaack; it was brought on board with great ceremony by several mandarins. They desired the colours might be hoisted on the occasion, an umbrella raised to open it under, and that I should stand up to receive it; all these requisitions being complied with, it was opened, read, and presented to me. The mandarins did not fail hinting to me, how exceedingly happy the bearers of this distinguishing mark of the royal favour would be to receive some token of acknowledgement for their trouble. Having treated them with a desert of wine and sweetmeats, I dismissed them satisfied, first settling with the port mandarin to be on shore next evening, sleep at his house, and set off the next morning for the royal residence. He engaged to have a palanquin ready for me, horses for the two gentlemen and my writer, who were to be of the party, and coolies to carry the king's presents and our own necessaries.

When his invitation was explained to me, I was much surprised to find that his majesty should think it incumbent on him to account to me how he became possessed of his present dignities. It began by setting forth, "That the late king of Cochin China and his ministers,



nisters, having, by their oppressions, starved the people, it had pleased God to make him the instrument of their deliverance, and to raise him to the throne," &c. &c. Our poor unfortunate mandarin, who was now on board incog. and the better to conceal himself, dressed in an English dress, his beard shaved, his teeth cleaned, and, what distressed him most of all, his nails reduced three or four inches, desiring to see the paper, told me with tears in his eyes, that the seal affixed was the ancient seal of the kings of Cochin China, which the villanous possessor had stolen, that the reasons he assigned for seizing the government were false, and that he alone was the sole author of the calamities his country had and still experienced. He conjured me not to trust myself in his power, for I should never return.

Pursuant to my agreement, however, with the mandarin, we went on shore the 22d of July in the evening. He, together with several others, received us upon the beach, and conducted us to his house; when it grew dark we were entertained by a set of dancing women. These ladies differed little in their performance from those of Hindustan. The music consisted of a kind of pipe and tabor, castinets, and an humble imitation of the violin. About ten we retired to supper upon our own provisions. Mats and cots were provided for our repose. About eight in the morning we commenced our march, my companions on horseback, and myself in a silken net, extended at each end by a piece of ivory about twenty inches long, through several small holes, in which passed the threads it was woven with, which being collected together, formed a loop, by which it was suspended to a pole in the

form of a hammock; over the pole was a pinjaree of fine matts covered with painted paper: it requires but two bearers, for with that number I was carried fifteen miles in the day without changing. Our road at first lay along the banks of a considerable river, till we entered a well-cultivated valley, which appeared encompassed on all sides with high mountains. In this valley we passed through three or four pretty villages pleasantly situated, in which, as well as on other parts of the road, were public houses, where tea, fruits, and other refreshments are sold to travellers. At noon we alighted at one of them, and partook of a dinner, which consisted of fowls cut into small pieces, dressed up with a little greens and salt, some fish, &c. We left the village about four in the afternoon, and in the dusk of the evening reached another, which was within an hour's ride of the king's residence; here we staid during the night.

Early in the morning we pursued our journey through the paddy fields, and at eight o'clock came in sight of the fort his majesty resided in. The east front, by a gate of which we entered, extended about three quarters of a mile, and was merely a straight stone wall, in many places much out of repair, without guns, embrasures, flanking towers, or any other requisite to make it a place of strength. It is sufficient, however, for the purposes of its possessor. I was informed it was a square, and that the other sides corresponded with the one we entered at. When we came to the gate, we waited half an hour in an hovel; the gate and wall were entirely without guards, and the ground within laid out in paddy-fields. We then proceeded on about half a mile, when we alighted at the house  
of



of the king's son-in-law, where we staid about half an hour, and partook of some beetle. He then conducted us to a house near his own, which, he said, was allotted for our residence. He requested to see what we had brought for the king, which we shewed him. The king, he said, would grant us an audience next morning; afterwards he took his leave.

By six o'clock next morning, a message was brought us, that his majesty was ready to receive us. We then attended our conductor for near a mile, till we came in sight of the palace from an eminence; here we were desired to dismiss all our attendants, and to leave our swords, as it was never permitted to any body to enter into the presence with arms. These preliminaries adjusted, we advanced towards the palace. In the front were drawn up two ranks of men, consisting of 100 each, with spears, pikes, halberts, &c. of various fashions, with some banners flying, and from within appeared the muzzles of two long brass cannon. In the middle of a gravelled terrace, in front of the palace, was laid the presents I brought. As soon as we ascended this terrace, the mandarin, our conductor, told us to make our obeisance in the same manner he did, which consisted in prostrating himself three times with his forehead to the ground. This mode of salutation, however, appearing to us rather too humiliating, we contented ourselves with making as many bows, after the English fashion. We mounted half a dozen steps to the apartment his majesty and his court were assembled in: It was open in the front and at the sides, the roof tiled and constructed in the Cochin Chinese fashion, supported by fine wooden

pillars, the back part wainscotted; against this was placed the throne, which rose two or three steps above the floor of the apartment; and on the eminence stood an arm chair, painted red, and ornamented with the heads of dragons, in which the king sat, having before him a small table covered with a red silk cushion, wrought with gold flowers, for him to lean upon. On each side the throne was placed a chair; in one was seated his brother, the other was empty, and, as I understood, belonged to another brother, who was then at Donai. Several rows of benches were behind these, and upon them were seated the mandarins according to their rank. The king was clothed in a robe of silk, of a deep yellow, upon which dragons and other figures were wrought in gold; upon his head he wore a kind of close cap turned up behind, the front ornamented with some jewels, and on the top of it was a large red stone, through which passed a wire, raising it a few inches, which shook and spangled as he moved himself. The mandarins were many of them clad in gowns of silk of different colours, adorned with dragons, and their caps with flowers of gold or gilt. Round their waists they wore girdles, some of which were covered with scarlet broad-cloth, fastened with clasps of gold, and decorated with cornelian stones set in the same metal. Upon the whole, their appearance was a fine one: and although the scene wanted many of the requisites which constitute grandeur and magnificence amongst other eastern princes, as a profusion of jewels, carpets, attendants, &c. the regularity and decorum observed here presented one with some adequate ideas of a powerful sovereign surrounded by his court. In the



front was placed a bench for me and my companions, where we were seated next to the king's son-in-law.

I then, through the interpreter, addressed myself to the king, telling him that "I was a servant of the English government in Bengal, from whence I had been deputed to settle a commercial and friendly intercourse with the inhabitants of Cochin China." He said, "that the fame of the English exploits at sea had reached him, and that he had heard they exceeded all other nations in the number of their ships, and excelled in the management of them; but they made an ill use of the advantage, for he had also been informed that they indiscriminately attacked and plundered whatsoever vessels they met with: That he was very willing to permit the English to trade to his ports; and hoped that they in return would not molest his galleys, boats, or other vessels." I replied, "that the first part of his information, respecting the power of the English by sea, was strictly true; but the latter was absolutely false, and must have been insinuated to him by those who were jealous of our prosperity, and wished to give him an unfavourable and unjust opinion of us: That the English were, at the present time, at peace with all foreign nations, and that their ships resorted to almost all the parts in the known world, where their merchants were renowned for their probity and the fairness of their dealings." He then acquainted me that the English might trade to his ports; and, after some explanation, it was at length settled, that for vessels of three masts 7000 quans should be paid, (they allowed us five quans for a Spanish dollar,) for

those of two masts 4000, and smaller ones 2000 quans each.

His majesty soon after withdrew to his private house, where we were shortly afterwards requested to attend him. Diverged of his robes and cap of state, and having on a plain silk jacket buttoned with small diamonds, and a piece of red silk wrapped round his head in the form of a turban, here our conversation was general; he began with repeating his good intentions towards the English, and how desirous he was of connecting himself with us. That although, to save appearances before his council, he had mentioned a sum of money to be paid by our ships for the liberty of trading, yet to procure the friendship of the English nation, he would never exact it from them, but would shew them every indulgence in his power. He enumerated the articles produced in his country, as pepper, cardemoms, cinnamon, agula-wood, elephants' teeth, tin, and many others, which, he said, the ignorance of his people prevented them from making the most of; and that for this reason, as well as for instructing his people in the art of war, he earnestly desired that the Governor of Bengal would send him some capable person.

He then disclosed some of his future designs to me; they were no less than to subdue the kingdom of Cambodia, with the whole peninsula as far as Siam, and the provinces belonging to Cochin China, to the north, now in the hands of the Tonquinese. To effect these, he wished for the assistance of some English vessels, in recompence for which he would make them such grants of land for settlements as they might think proper.

I pro-



I promised him faithfully to report what he had said to the governor-general in Bengal. He particularly requested, amongst other things, that I would procure a horse to be sent him, cost what it would, by the first vessel to Cochin China, of a bay colour. After being treated with tea and beetle, we took our leave. In the evening he sent me three papers; one sealed with the great seal of the kingdom, set forth the conditions upon which English ships were to trade to his dominions; the other two were sealed with a smaller seal; one describes the horse, &c. the other contains his licence for visiting any of his ports.

The next morning we set out on our return to the vessel. We reached Quinion the same day (July 26), and in two days after sailed for Turon. Upon the road coming from court, we were passed by his majesty, who was going, on account of some bad news from his fleet at Donai, to perform a sacrifice at a temple situated in the bay our vessels lay in. He travelled in a neat palanquin, distinguished by its being red, which colour no subject is allowed to use in dress or equipage. The ceremony, I was informed, consisted chiefly in bowing his head to the ground, and sacrificing a buffalo.

Ignack himself is allowed to have abilities; but these are ill seconded by the mandarins who govern under him; they are all low, illiterate men. Famine, and its attendant, pestilence, have destroyed one half of the inhabitants of the country. Shocking are the accounts of the methods taken by the remainder to preserve a miserable existence: at Hue, the capital, though in possession of the Tonquinese, and better supplied than any

other place, *human flesh was publicly sold in the market.*

The force of Ignack by land is very inconsiderable, and so deficient in the military art, that I may safely aver that 300 disciplined men would rout his whole army. His marine force, consisting of a few galleys and some junks seized from the Chinese, is almost as despicable. Finally, his government is held in the utmost detestation; yet the spirits of the people are so broken by the various calamities they have been afflicted with, that they want courage to resist it effectually. Many of his soldiers, and almost all principal people I met with, openly declared to me, how reluctantly they submit, and expressed their wishes that the English would take them under their protection; assuring us that upon the least appearance of a force, the whole country would fly to join them.

About two degrees to the north of Quinion lies an island called Pulo Canton, and between thirty and forty minutes north of this, another named Pulo Campella; the latter possesses a convenient place for the ships to anchor in, and other advantages. Upon the continent opposite to this island is the entrance of a river, by which the junks go up to Faifo; and there is a branch of it which falls into the harbour of Turon.

We anchored in Turon Bay the 2d of August. Having obtained permission, I hired a house in the village of Turon. There are the remains of several large and good houses here, which had been destroyed in the late troubles. The land in the neighbourhood of the village was cultivated with rice, brinjalls, and some sweet potatoes; the country farther back seemed entirely



entirely neglected; covered, however, in several places with groves of oranges, limes, jacks, plantains, and bamboos, in most of which were the remains of dwelling-houses. When I had been here three or four days, the mandarin who governs the province of Cham, on the part of Ignaack, came down the river, attended by four galleys, rowing between 40 and 50 oars each, and landed at a house on the opposite side to where I lived; the same day he sent to know when he should wait on me? I chose, however, to be first to make this compliment, and crossed the river in one of his galleys for that purpose. He received me in great form, himself seated on a bench placed on an eminence, the inferior mandarins and soldiers, to a considerable number, placed on each side of him. This being the mandarin with whom the dispute had happened the preceding year, (after presenting him the passport I had received from the king,) I begged he would inform me how it had arisen, and the cause of his severity to the people who had fallen into his hands. He replied, "that the commander of the English ship had been prevailed on by some mandarins of the former government, then in arms at Turon, to assist them with men and arms; and that the ship's boat being sent up the river with them, had been attacked by his people and taken; that some of the crew were killed, some jumped into the river and were drowned, and some fled into the woods, where they perished with hunger." He then gave me a licence for trading, strictly enjoin-

ing all persons to pay for what they purchased, and in no wise to molest or ill treat us. After he had given me an invitation to visit him at Faifo, I took my leave, and he returned the same night.

The 13th I set out for Faifo. At one of the places where we stopped to give an account who we were, we found ourselves under a high mountain, part of which impended over the river, and it seemed ready to tumble and bury us under its ruins. It was a large mountain of white marble, situate on a low plain, close to the water side, unconnected with any of the distant hills. We could perceive several cracks and holes in the body of the mountain, and round it were lying some vast fragments. The eye, in wandering over it, presented the fancy with the ideas of pillars, houses, towers, &c.; near it were a few huts, inhabited by stone-cutters; I did not see any other specimens of their ingenuity than pestles and mortars of different sizes. On our arrival at Faifo, we were surprised to find the recent ruins of a large city\*, the streets laid out on a regular plan, paved with flat stone, and well built brick houses on each side. But alas! there was now little more remaining than the outward walls, within which, in a few places, you might behold a wretch who formerly was the possessor of a palace, sheltering himself from the weather in a miserable hut of straw and bamboos. The temples and their gods, however, were no further molested than in being robbed of their bells, which were seized for the purpose of being coined into money. After taking some refreshment

\* It was taken and destroyed by one of Ignaack's generals; before that it was a place of very great trade, and furnished cargoes of sugar, cinnamon, pepper, &c. to hundreds of junks which resorted thither from all the sea coasts of China and Japan.



freshment at Faifo, I set out for the residence of the mandarin, which was within an inclosure formed by driving strong stakes into the ground, intermixed with bamboos growing; and for some distance round it, short pointed bamboos were driven obliquely into the ground, as if designed to keep off cavalry. The house was spacious, partly consisting of brick and partly of thatch and bamboos. This mandarin was almost as well attended as his master Ignaack; several of his people were well dressed, and had swords in their hands; the hilts and scabbards were ornamented with plates of beaten gold. My conversation with the mandarin was but short; I was informed that he was an illiterate man, and had the character of being cruel and oppressive\*. I staid only one day, and returned to the vessel, being now the 15th of August.

On my arrival on board the *Amazon*, I was visited by a Portuguese merchant just come from Hue, the capital of Cochin China. He told me he was charged with a verbal invitation to me from the Tonquinese viceroy, to proceed thither, and dispose of any articles of trade we might have remaining.

Having previously dispatched my writer and Mr. Moniz with a letter to the Tonquinese mandarin, requesting this favour, and hearing that there was but a small depth of water upon the bar of Hue river, I proposed to the commander of the *Jenny* to go in his vessel, which might give him an opportunity of disposing of his investment. He consented; and leaving the *Amazon* in Turon Bay, I embarked, with Mr. Bayard, the 18th of August. We anchored in the Bay of Chimay, which is the boundary of the Tonquinese possessions; here I was met by my writer, accompanied by a mandarin, named Ong-ta-hia, with an answer to my letter, containing the permission of the viceroy to proceed to Hue. When we came to the entrance of the river, the mandarin stationed there came on board in a galley, with a number of soldiers, and undertook to pilot the vessel in.

Two days afterwards, I proceeded up to the town. Towards the sea the land was sandy and barren, but on advancing, the scene gradually changed, the lands put on every appearance of fertility, and we saw the husbandmen on the banks busied in cultivation. Abreast  
of

\* The following instance of almost unparalleled cruelty and perfidy was related to me at Faifo: "There was a certain distant relation of the royal family, who lived in disguise in that part of Cochin China possessed by the Tonquinese, with whom this mandarin had some acquaintance. He made it a pretence to send him a pressing invitation to come and reside under his protection, with his family and dependants; not only assuring him of personal security, but promising him his friendship. The poor man, deceived by these specious professions of personal regard, set out with his wife, his children, and the rest of his family, to a considerable number. When arrived in Turon Bay, he procured an expeditious conveyance to the mandarin's residence, leaving his family to follow him in their boats. He was received by the mandarin apparently with the highest marks of satisfaction and regard. They partook of a repast together, and when it was finished, the mandarin told him his attendants would conduct him to a house he had prepared for his reception; but he had no sooner passed the threshold, than he was seized by his soldiers, and had his head immediately severed from his body. He then embarked in one of his galleys to meet the family. As soon as he had reached their boats, he caused the women and children to be bound together and thrown into the river, seizing all that they had brought with them for his own use.



of the town, twenty-five Chinese junks were at anchor; innumerable country boats were passing and repassing, and the shore was thronged with people. We landed at Ong-ta-hia's house; it was the resort of the Chinese, as his office consisted in reporting the arrival of their junks, and procuring them their clearances. The next day we visited the viceroy. He resided at the palace of the kings of Cochin China, six miles higher up the river than the town I landed at. The Abbé Raynal informs us its circumference is a league, and the walls of it planted with thousands of cannon. This description is certainly heightened; I visited it several times myself, and a person who accompanied me found an opportunity of examining the whole. The fortification is an oblong square, the greater sides extending about half a mile, the lesser two-thirds of that distance. It is formed by a retaining wall, behind which a rampart of earth, 10 or 11 feet high, was thrown up, with steps rising to a convenient level for the discharge of missile weapons. It had no embrasures, the guns being pointed through a kind of port-holes made in the bottom of the retaining walls. The number mounted was about 60; the largest nine-pounders. For six or eight feet without the wall, short pointed bamboos, from six to twelve inches long, were driven obliquely into the ground; beyond these was a ditch, eight feet wide, and as many in depth, fenced with bamboos growing, which was succeeded by another space with pointed ones driven in the ground, and the whole encompassed by a low checked bamboo rail. The ground within the fort was divided by a number of brick walls, meeting at right angles, and forming squares;

some were allotted to the holding markets, others to granaries, quarters for the soldiers, stables for horses, elephants, &c. The whole was much out of repair.

The palace deserved the name of a good lower-roomed house. The building was laid out in spacious verandahs and private rooms. In one of the verandahs I was introduced to the viceroy; I found him swinging in a net hammock, extended between one of the pillars and the wainscot of the inner apartments. He was a venerable old man, about sixty years of age, silver beard, and most engaging manners. His dress was plain and simple, consisting of a loose gown of black glazed linen, with large sleeves, and black silk cap, and sandals on his feet. I acquainted him with my business in Cochin China, much in the same terms I had made use of to Ignaack. I then requested he would receive the present I brought him, as a small token of my respect. He then descended from his net, and seated himself upon the ground. He approved of my proposal to form a commercial intercourse with his nation, and would promote it all in his power. He then inquired several particulars respecting the nation I belonged to; as our force by sea and land, our commerce, customs, and religion. He also examined our hats, swords, and other parts of our dress, very minutely. He then requested us to partake of a repast, consisting principally of minced fowls, vegetables, pork, buffalo beef, fish, rice, sweetmeats, tea, spirits, &c.; during which several war elephants were brought into an area fronting the verandah, where some figures representing soldiers were placed in ranks; these the elephants attacked with great fury, seized them with their



their trunks, tossed them in the air, and trampled them under their feet. Some soldiers were employed in shooting at a butt, with long matchlocks, which had swivels and three-legged stands to fire them on. After a renewal of his professions of friendship and regard, we stood up to depart; he ordered all the mandarins who were with him to attend me to the general's, to whom it was necessary, he said, I should make a visit whenever I came to him. He then forced our acceptance of two ingots of silver, as an equivalent for the present (a gold repeating watch, set with a few small diamonds, emeralds,) I had made to him, and we departed.

Attended by a numerous train of mandarins, who marched before and behind us in ranks, we presented ourselves at the gate of Quan-jam-Quen, who is an eunuch, and commander in chief of the fleet and army. Half an hour elapsed ere we were ushered into a large hall; we seated ourselves upon some chairs, placed for us before a rattan screen, from behind which a shrill voice called our attention to the object of our visit. He did not, however, become visible till the common questions were passed, and I had acquainted him with the reasons of my coming to Cochin China. The screen was then turned up, and a glimmering light, diffused from a small waxen taper, disclosed to our view, not the delicate form of a woman the sound had conveyed the idea of, but that of a monster, disgusting and horrible to behold. He was sitting in a kind of boarded shrine, in form like a clothes-press. He was short in stature, which was, however, amply made up to him in bulk; and I may venture to affirm he measured an ell over the shoulders. Great flaps hung down from

his cheeks, and his little twinkling eyes were scarcely to be discerned for the flat folds, which formed deep recesses around them. He hardly appeared civil, and received my present with indifference. In my subsequent visits I found he was a great pedant, and valued himself much on his knowledge of books.

A month elapsed in a mutual intercourse of civilities. I had hitherto resided in the house of Ong-tahia, but finding it inconvenient, I made repeated applications to him for a separate one. He as often evaded complying, and by his underhand influence prevented my hiring one. He was afraid, should he suffer me to remove from under his own eye, some parts of the unreasonable profits he hoped from his connection with us might escape him; and his unwillingness to discharge the amount of his purchases that he had made from us, may be considered as the first causes leading to the troubles we were afterwards involved in. As I found this man was the particular agent of the eunuch, I made him several considerable presents, but all inadequate to the satisfying his rapacity.

The latter end of September the rains were so heavy, and the floods came down with so much violence from the mountains, that almost the whole town was overflowed, in one night, during which the noise made by the rushing of the water through the streets, and the cries of the people removing their effects, was horrible and alarming beyond idea. In the morning great numbers of boats were passing in the streets. Notwithstanding these floods happen several times during the periodical rains, few precautions are taken by the inhabitants to secure themselves against the sometimes melancholy consequences; and the



the government is so absurd as not to allow an upper roomed house to any one but their sovereign.

Attention to our health obliged me to be urgent with Ong-ta-hia for his consent to remove to a drier situation; and the application apparently reconciled him to it. It was only in appearance; for in three days after, a young man, who, with his father, served me as linguists, complained to me that he had been severely beaten by Ong-ta-hia for being instrumental in my leaving his house. The following day I was alarmed by the same persons, of his going to put to death two of my people. I immediately hastened to his house, accompanied by Mr. Totty, and found them busied in binding a poor sick Frenchman, and a cook belonging to Capt. Hutton, to the pillars of the house. Ong-ta-hia was standing with a drawn sword, and foaming at the mouth with passion. I requested to know the reason for such conduct, but he replied not, and withdrew. Afterwards found it was in consequence of some trifling difference between the Frenchman and a woman in the bazar who sold eggs. The doctor and myself released the prisoners without any opposition, promising that they should, nevertheless, be delivered up to the viceroy for an investigation of their conduct; which being done, a decision was given in our favour. No redress, however, was to be obtained. About this time I received a letter from Captain Maclellan, acquainting me that the bad state of his health had led him to resolve on bringing the vessel up to the mouth of the river, that he might land and try the benefit of a change of air. I was exceedingly sorry that Captain Maclellan's health should render so imprudent a step necessary.

I was convinced it would alarm the government. I hastened to the viceroy and eunuch, and acquainted them with the cause of her approach; notwithstanding which, a parade of guards was made, and a number of precautions taken.

The *Amazon* anchored at the mouth of the river. The captain came on shore, but in such a situation as to preclude all hopes of his recovery. Having been given over by our surgeon, he tried the physicians of the country. All was in vain, and Captain Maclellan breathed his last the 2d of October. The 7th of the same month was fixed for his funeral, and early in the morning we assembled to attend it. The Portuguese burial-ground, where I purchased permission to deposit his remains, was at the distance of seven or eight hours journey. The beauty of the country round this spot was not to be equalled by that of any I had before seen in the East.

The behaviour of the Chinese had latterly been very suspicious. On my first arrival, they supposed I was come with a force to avenge the wrongs done to the English ship the year before, by the mandarin commanding at Turon, and seemed to vie with each other in supporting any designs I might have either against the Tysons or the Tonquinese themselves, from the hope of coming in for a share of the plunder, which would compensate them for the losses they before had sustained. Disappointed by the repeated declarations of my intentions being entirely pacific, they were afraid it would prove to them rather detrimental than otherwise. An alteration in their behaviour to us soon became evident. They represented to the mandarins that the English were come to deprive them of their country, and invented a number of



of falsties the most absurd and groundless. I was frequently warned that they intended to plunder us: our lives and property were equally at their mercy. My house was perpetually filled with mandarins, sent to hear and adjust these fabricated grievances, from whence there was no other way of dislodging them than by presents; this in the end only proved an inducement to fresh parties to visit me, and something or other was daily devised to give me trouble. I avoided every thing I could that might tend to altercation. When I represented my case to the viceroy, he referred me to the eunuch, and only regretted his want of power to afford me redress. From the eunuch, whose province it was to adjust all these differences, an accumulation of injuries and insults was all I could procure.

Things continued in this disagreeable situation till the beginning of November. The monsoon beat with great violence on the coast, and our prospect of getting away, which we anxiously looked for, was still distant. A few days after the vessel anchored in Hue river, the mandarin we brought from Bengal left her, and retired amongst some of his relations, who lived in disguise at a short distance from town. From the time of my arrival in Cochin China, I continued to receive the strongest proofs of the gratitude and attachment of this poor man; and it will presently appear that we were indebted to him for the preservation of our lives.

From the beginning of October I received frequent hints that the government had treacherous de-

signs against us; that the eunuch, our declared enemy, had brought over a majority of the council to his measures. On the 7th of November, as myself and Mr. Totty were sitting at breakfast, a messenger came in from our mandarin, and desired to speak with me immediately. He told me that his master, alarmed at the danger we were in, and anxious for our preservation, had sent him to advise us to secure ourselves on board the vessel without delay. He added, that the king \* of Tonquin, instigated by the representations of the eunuch, had sent an order to the government to seize our vessel: that the mandarins were arming their galleys, and had ordered their troops to be in readiness for service; and concluded by exhorting us to take instant measures for our security. This intelligence was presently corroborated by the landlord of the house we lived in, who informed me that the Tonquinese had determined to seize our vessel, and that he hourly expected a party of soldiers being sent to secure our persons.

Having, therefore, put what we had most valuable into a small country boat I kept in pay, Mr. Totty and myself, with three or four Bengal servants and some Chinese rowers, left town between eight and nine in the morning, and reached the vessel at noon. The following day, (Nov. 8th,) my writer, whom I had left in town, contrived to send a great part of my baggage on board the vessel.

On the 9th, in the morning, five Portugueze, in consequence of our sudden departure, fled from town

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\* The sovereign of Tonquin has only the shadow of authority; the whole power, since the beginning of the 15th century, having fallen into the hands of the general.



on board our vessel for safety. In the evening they were followed by my writer and another Portugueze, disguised in the habits of the country. All hands now joined in putting our little bark in the best state of defence she would admit of. Our force consisted of the captain and mate, one English sailor, two Frenchmen, two Portugueze, and thirteen lascars, which, with myself, the doctor, my writer, and our servants, amounted to about 30 persons. The vessel was armed with seven or eight old and very bad two-pounders, for which we had scarce any shot, two swivels, some wall-pieces, and twelve muskets.

The 10th, I sent to the mandarin of the look-out house, just opposite where we lay, requesting he would send me a writer, as I wanted to write a letter to the principal mandarins. He complied. I wrote to them my reason for leaving town so suddenly, but added, I did not believe them guilty of so base a design, though prudence required me to be on my guard for our own safety.

The 13th, we discovered some galleys and large boats come from town, which brought too at a little distance from where we lay: we learnt that they were laden with guns and stores, to erect batteries to prevent our escaping them.

The 14th at day-break, we discovered two large armed galleys, full of men, dropping down with the tide, upon the vessel, as if with an intention of boarding us; we hailed them, and desired them to keep clear of us; but no answer was made. The captain then requested permission to fire at them; the people in the fore-castle accordingly fired some swivels, and two or three guns at them. Upon this the galleys immediately dropped their anchors,

and numbers of the people jumped into the river. I now determined to follow up what we had begun, and ordered two jolly-boats to be manned and armed, and sent them to bring off the galleys, furnishing them with a few hand-grenades each, which I directed them to throw into the gallies before they attempted to board them. These directions being observed, on the bursting of the hand-grenades, 30 or 40 more from each of them jumped over-board and swam to the shore. Our people then towed them off, together with five others which lay near them; all of which we destroyed, except one with a brass gun in her, about a twelve-pounder; she however foundered, in three days after, in a gale of wind, astern of our vessel. The largest of these galleys was about 50 feet long and 12 broad, armed with spears 20 feet long, and matchlocks, with great quantities of powder and balls.

Conscious, however, that they were now preparing their utmost force to attack us, and that the various messengers they were sending on pretence of making an amicable adjustment of differences, were nothing more than so many pretexts for protracting our departure, I was still exceedingly apprehensive for the safety of the vessel, in attempting to cross the bar at the present inclement season. From this consideration I determined to write to the commander of the *Amazon*, to come (if practicable) to the mouth of the river, and favour our escape, or to send us his boat to assist us in getting over the bar. On the 16th I pressed a boat for this purpose, and dispatched her to the *Amazon*.

The seven following days the weather was so exceedingly bad, we began to doubt of the boat's being



being able to reach Turon. In this interval several messages passed between the viceroy and me. He still continued his assurances of friendship, and invited me to an interview. The bearers, however, as regularly assured me of his insincerity, and informed me of the preparations carrying on against us; and that the badness of the weather had destroyed four fire-floats they had constructed to burn our vessel, and which had retarded an attack being made on us; that numbers of guns were carried to erect batteries at the mouth of the river, in order to prevent our crossing the bar.

The 24th, the weather being a little settled, we moved our vessel a little farther out. We now discovered crowds of people on shore, busied in erecting batteries, &c. We fired some shot at them, but, owing to the smallness of our guns, gave them little interruption. At six o'clock in the afternoon three or four guns began to play upon us, and continued till it was dark, but without any effect. The boat now arrived which I dispatched to Turon; by her I received the guns and shot I had desired, with a letter from the captain of the *Amazon*, informing me he had sent his boat, with three Europeans and five lascars, to our assistance, as it was not possible to come up with his vessel.

In the night I was awakened by some shocks of the vessel striking the ground. I immediately went upon deck. The scene which then presented itself was dismal to the last degree. The heavy swell having driven the vessel from her anchors, she was then thumping her bottom upon a hard sand. Not a single person was keeping watch. The captain and his mate, overcome with fatigue, were both asleep; the rest of the ship's company, to

shelter themselves from the rain, were all in the hold. The country boat had broke loose from our vessel, with two of our people on board, and was never afterwards heard of. Being low water, when the tide rose we fortunately got the vessel off without damage. At day-break the Tonquinese began a heavy fire at us; their shot flew high, and the only damage sustained was in the rigging. We returned their fire, but with little effect.

The 26th, several shot struck the vessel's hull, and one killed the only English sailor we had on board. About noon, a cry of joy resounded from every part of the vessel, that the *Amazon's* boat was in sight. But the surf being so exceedingly high, we almost despaired of her being able to reach us. Unfortunately she made choice of a part of the channel where the surf broke with the greatest violence, and no sooner had she entered it, than she disappeared. Being unable to afford them the least assistance, we concluded the whole boat's crew must perish. The Tonquinese observing this accident, elated with joy, fired at us with redoubled fury. In about an hour the heads of two men were discovered swimming towards the vessel: our boat instantly put off to meet them, and shortly returned with two Englishmen. They informed me that a Dutchman was lost in the surf, that some of the lascars had reached the shore, and that the Tonquinese, with wanton cruelty, during their perilous situation, fired at them with small arms.

The 27th, all our fore-topmast rigging was shot away; one shot struck the vessel between wind and water, which however was repaired with some difficulty.



The 28th, additional guns began to play, and several shot struck us weighing nine pounds. The try-fail-mast was shot away; the best bower cable parted close to the haufe-hole, being cut with a shot. Our situation now was truly alarming, and the injury we had sustained was very material. To pass the bar, while the wind was in its present direction, was impossible; to return to our former station in the river, where the batteries would still be nearer to us, was returning to inevitable ruin; and to remain where we were, exposed to the fire of nine or ten pieces of cannon, was certain destruction. Critical as our situation was, it was necessary that something should speedily be done. After a consultation, we at length resolved (though with little hopes of success,) to try to bring about a reconciliation.

The 29th, at day-break, I ordered a white flag to be hoisted at our top-gallant-mast-head; and our people beckoned to the Tonquinese to come on board. They immediately pulled down their war flag, and beckoned to us in return. The Tonquinese, as we supposed, were waiting for orders from town, suffered us to remain unmolested the whole day. In the evening the wind changed, and at half past nine was at W.S.W. Our anchor was immediately weighed, our sails set in the most profound silence, steered S. by E. through a channel not more than 60 yards wide; and, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, and the breakers still running high, at half past ten o'clock we crossed the bar. The Tonquinese then perceived we were giving them the slip, kept up a brisk fire at us, till long after we were out of the reach of their guns, but not

a shot struck us. The wind continued favourable the whole night; the next morning, at eleven o'clock, we anchored in Turon bay, at which place we repaired the *Jenny*.

The 18th of December we left Turon, when the *Jenny* was separated from us in a gale of wind, which continuing with such violence, prevented us from again touching at Cochin China. We then bore away, and on the 23d of December 1779, anchored in Malacca roads, sailed from thence the 8th, and arrived at Calcutta the 16th of February following.

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*A Sketch of the Geography of COCHIN CHINA; some Particulars relative to the Manners, Customs, and History of the Inhabitants; and a few Considerations on the Importance of forming an Establishment in that Country.*

Cochin China, called by the natives Anam, extends from about the 20th degree of north latitude to Pulo Condore, which in lies  $8^{\circ}40'$ . It is bounded by the kingdom of Tonquin on the north, from which it is separated by the river Sungen; by the kingdom of Laos, and by a range of mountains, which divides it from Cambodia, on the west; and by that part of the Eastern Ocean, generally called the China Sea, on the south and east.

The kingdom is divided into twelve provinces, all lying upon the sea-coast, and succeeding each other from north to south in the following order.

*Ding-oie, Cong-bing, Ding-caf, Hue* (or the Court), in the possession of the Tonquinese. *Cham, Cong-nai, Quinion*, in the possession of Ignaack. *Phu-yen, Bing-khang, Nah-tong, Bing-thoam* (or *Champa*), dubious whether subdued



duced by Ignaack, or still in the possession of the king. *Donai*, in the possession of the king.

The breadth of the country bears no proportion to its length. Few of the provinces extend further than a degree from east to west, some less than 20 miles: *Donai*, which is properly a province of Cambodia, is much larger.

The whole country is intersected by rivers, which, although not large enough to admit of vessels of great burthen, yet are exceedingly well calculated for promoting inland commerce.

The climate is healthy, the violent heat of the summer months being tempered by regular breezes from the sea. September, October, and November, are the season of the rains; the low lands are then suddenly overflowed by immense torrents of water which fall from the mountains. The inundations happen generally once a fortnight, and last for three or four days. In December, January, and February, there are frequently rains brought by cold northerly winds, which distinguish this country with a winter different from any other in the East. The inundations have the same effect here as the overflowings of the Nile in Egypt, and render the country one of the most fruitful in the world. In many parts the land produces three crops of grain in the year. All the fruits of India are found here in the greatest perfection, with many of those of China.

No country in the East produces richer or a greater variety of articles proper for carrying on an advantageous commerce, cinnamon, pepper, cardemoms, silk, cotton, sugar, Agula-wood, Japan-wood, ivory, &c. Gold is taken almost pure from the mines; and before the troubles great quantities were

brought from the hills in dust, and bartered by the rude inhabitants of them for rice, cloths, and iron. It was from them also the Agula and Calambae woods were procured, with quantities of wax, honey, and ivory.

The animals of Cochin China are bullocks, goats, swine, buffaloes, elephants, camels, and horses. In the woods are found the wild boar, tyger, and rhinoceros, with plenty of deer; the poultry is excellent, and the fish caught on the coast abundant and delicious. The flesh of the elephant is accounted a great dainty by the Cochin Chinese. The breeding of bullocks is little attended to; their flesh is not esteemed as food, and they are made no use of in tilling the land, which is performed by buffaloes. They are totally unacquainted with the art of milking their cattle.

The aborigines of Cochin China are called Moys, and are the people which inhabit the chain of mountains which separate it from Cambodia. To these strong holds they were driven when the present possessors invaded the country. They are a savage race of people, very black, and resemble in their features the Caffrees.

It was about the year 1280 of the Christian era, that the first Tartar prince became possessed of the throne of China. This revolution afforded an opportunity to the western provinces to throw off their dependence, and they were formed into a kingdom, under a prince whose descendant now reigns in Tonquin, and is called Knaw-Whang. About the beginning of the fifteenth century, a large body of people from these provinces being disaffected to the government, joined under a leader of abilities; they soon became masters of the coast of Co-



chin China, as far as Cape Aurilla, which lies in latitude  $12^{\circ} 30'$  N. The Moys, the original inhabitants, retired to the hills bordering their country to the westward, where they have ever since remained. The emigrants, under their conductor, founded the kingdom of Cochin China. The continual wars they were engaged in with the Tonquinese, induced them to build a wall on the southern extremity of the province of Ding-noi, to prevent their irruptions. Every communication by sea was strictly forbidden. In the year 1764 the country of Cochin China was in a flourishing condition, and governed by a prince of abilities; soon after his son, whose misfortunes and fate has been briefly given in the foregoing narrative, succeeded to the throne, and anarchy and confusion ensued.

The Cochin Chinese bear evident marks of their being derived from the same stock as the Chinese. They resemble them in their features and most of their manners and customs. Their religion is the same: their oral language, though different, seems formed upon the same principles, and they use the same characters in writing. They are a courteous, affable, inoffensive race, rather inclined to indolence. The ladies are by far the most active sex; they usually do all the business, while their lazy lords sit upon their haunches, smoking, chewing beetle, or sipping tea. Contrary to the custom of China, the ladies are not shut up; and if unmarried, a temporary connection with strangers who arrive in the country is deemed no dishonour. Merchants often employ them as their factors and brokers, and 'tis said the firmest reliance may be placed on their fidelity.

The habit of the men and women is cut after the same fashion. It is a loose robe, buttoning with a small robe round the neck, and folding over the breast like a banyan gown, with large long sleeves which cover the hands. People of rank, and especially the ladies, wear several of these gowns one over the other; the undermost reaches to the ground, the succeeding ones are each shorter than the other, so that the display of the different colours makes a gaudy appearance as they walk along.

Such are the few particulars relative to Cochin China. It now remains to shew how a connection with Cochin China may prove beneficial to this country. The drain of specie from the Company's settlements in India, is become a matter of such serious import, that any plan which may be offered to remedy so growing an evil, I have no doubt, will be deemed worthy of observation. I am sanguine in my expectations, that a settlement in Cochin China would conduce to that desirable end, as well as be productive of many other advantages.

Our two little vessels brought from Cochin China to the amount of 60,000 rupees in gold and silver bullion. The *Rumbold*, the year before, also brought bullion to a considerable amount, on account of sales of Bengal and Madras cloths, opium, iron, copper, lead, hardware, and glass.

The situation of Cochin China is excellently well adapted to commerce. Its vicinity to China, Tonquin, Japan, Cambodia, Siam, the Malay coast, the Phillipines, Borneo, the Moluccas, &c. renders the intercourse with all these countries short and easy. The commodious harbours formed on the coast, parti-



particularly that of Turon, affords a safe retreat for ships of any burthen during the most tempestuous seasons of the year.

The nations of Europe, having hitherto found it impossible to provide cargoes sufficiently valuable to barter for the commodities of China, are obliged to make up the deficiency by sending thither immense quantities of bullion; by which means it has, for a number of years past, drained the eastern and western worlds of their specie. The number of junks annually resorting to Cochin China, plainly proves how much the productions of it are in demand amongst the Chinese. These productions, had we a settlement and a confirmed influence in the country, might with ease be brought to center with us, purchased with the staples of India and of Europe. Turon would become the emporium for them, where our ships bound to Canton, from whence it is only five days sail, might call and receive them. It would prove a saving of so much specie to Great Britain or India as the value of the commodities amounted to in China. In a few years, there is every reason to believe a very considerable investment might be provided.

Our trade to China has ever been burthened with enormous imposts and exactions: These, under various pretences, are annually increasing, and in process of time may become insupportable. It is an opinion latterly grown current, that the Chinese are desirous of totally excluding all Europeans from their country. May we not hazard a conjecture, that the vexations they oblige them to suffer are the premeditated schemes of this politic people to effect it? Were such an event to happen, the want of a settlement to the eastward would be severely felt;

the Chinese would export their own commodities, and Java, or the Phillipines, as the nearest ports, would become the marts for them.

As there is no reason to suppose that our inability to procure them from the first land would hinder their consumption, we must buy them either from the Dutch or from the Spaniards. A settlement in Cochin China will give us a superior advantage to either, both as its situation is nearer, and the Chinese are more accustomed to resort thither: At all events there is reason to suppose it will enable us to procure the commodities of China at a much more reasonable rate, than now purchased by our factors at Canton, and certainly on less humiliating terms to the nation at large. Colonies of Chinese have from time to time emigrated from the parent country, and fixed their abode in different parts of Cochin China. These have their correspondence in every seaport of the empire. Through their means, teas, china ware, and the various other articles, the objects of our commerce with China, might be imported in junks to our own settlements, equally good in quality, and cheaper, as the Chinese are exempted from the exorbitant duties levied on foreigners. Some of the best workmen might be encouraged to settle in Cochin China, and under direction, manufactories carried to as great a degree of perfection as in China itself.

The intercourse between Japan and Cochin China might be renewed, and we might participate in a trade for many years monopolized by the Dutch. An advantageous trade might be carried on with the Phillipine Islands, and Madras and Bengal goods introduced amongst them, by means of the junks, for the consumption of



Spanish America. The Siamese and Cambodians would bring the produce of their respective countries, and barter or sell them for such articles as they wanted from Cochin China. Amongst them it is probable a sale might be found for quantities of Bengal cloths. The lower class of people in Cochin China are, for the most part, clothed in cangas, a coarse cotton cloth brought from China; but the preference which I had an opportunity of observing they gave to Bengal cloths, on account of their being wider and cheaper, would soon induce them to adopt the use of them. The demand for opium, already in some measure become a necessary of life to the Chinese, would increase in proportion to the facility of procuring it. The importation of it, no longer confined to Canton, but carried by the junks to every seaport in the country, would spread the demand for this drug to the remotest parts of the empire.

But what inspires the most flattering hopes from an establishment in this country, is its rich gold mines, celebrated for ages as producing the richest ore, so pure, that the simple action of fire is said to be sufficient to refine it. I omitted no opportunity of making inquiries respecting this valuable article, and was told, that mines were formed in different parts of the northern provinces, and particularly in Hué, where the ore lay so near the surface of the earth that it was dug up with little labour. Under the direction of a skilful metallurgist, what might not be expected from such a source?

Great as the commercial advantages are, the political ones resulting from a settlement in Cochin China would be scarce inferior.

Turon Bay would not only afford a secure retreat to our Indiamen, in case of losing their passage to China, but from thence we might also intercept the fleets of any hostile power, either going to or returning from that country. We should become formidable neighbours to the Dutch and to the Spaniards, and in the event of a war with either of them, attack, with advantage, their most valuable settlements.

Should the Company be induced to form a settlement in Cochin China, it may be effected on principles strictly just, and at a small expence. Several of the royal family, besides the mandarins who were in Bengal, with many officers of the late government, urged me to use my endeavours with the government of Bengal to induce it to afford them assistance, promising a powerful support whenever we should heartily join in their cause. To restore their lawful sovereign to the throne, would be now a measure so popular, that the sincerity of their offers cannot be doubted. To relieve an unhappy people, groaning under the weight of the most cruel oppression, would be an act worthy of the British nation. Fifty European infantry, half that number of artillery, and two hundred sepoy, would be sufficient for this and every other purpose. The natives of Cochin China are infinitely below the inhabitants of Hindustan in military knowledge; I have, however, no doubt that a body of them, well disciplined and regularly paid, would prove as faithful to us, and contribute as much to the security of any possessions which we might acquire to the eastward, as the sepoy do to our territories in India. In case of any distant expeditions, they would be found superior,



perior, being entirely free from all religious prejudices, and having no objection to the sea.

While Cochin China remains in its present distracted state, a favourable opening is presented to the first European nation that may attempt

to obtain a footing in the country. Should the Company, therefore, entertain a design of forming an establishment in Cochin China, no time should be lost in carrying it into execution.

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[Our Nautical Readers will find some useful information in the following Article.]

OBSERVATIONS *upon the MONSOONS, as far as they regard the Commerce and Navigation of the Port of BOMBAY.*

(Written by a Gentleman residing at that Settlement.)

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OUR readers will not require to be told that our year is divided into two grand seasons, or as they are called, the South-West and North-East Monsoon; that the first generally prevails from May to the middle of September, inclusive, the other during the remaining months; yet we must premise this as an introduction of what follows.

We need scarcely to observe that, during the south-west monsoon, all the ports and roadsteads on this side of India deny approach; so much so, that between the 15th of May and the 1st of September, ships are precluded by their policies from touching upon the Malabar coast, or from lying in Surat Roads between the 1st of May and the 1st of September. Generally speaking, the monsoon is considered to extend from Dunder-Head, the southern extremity of Ceylon, to the Persian Gulf; in order to attain which, they who should sail at this season would be obliged to make what is called a southern passage, that is, go first to the south of the equator, before they could stretch over to the westward; a voyage that would occupy, for Muscat about 40 days, and to Bufforah about two months. The same objection exists against

failing at this season to any part of the Arabian coast. As for the Red Sea, it is considered in vain to attempt entering it at this season—nor can it be said to be favourable to sail now to the Cape, the Mauritius, or any port to the westward.

To the other side of India, on the contrary, it is now the most advantageous period of departing. From the middle of April, even to the middle of August, a voyage to Madras may be made in about 12 or 15 days; to Bengal from 15 to 20 days; after this time it becomes excessively tedious, from the necessity of keeping to the eastern side of the Bay, to avoid the violent weather on the Coromandel coast. For the same reason the south-west monsoon is eligible to leave Bombay for any of the ports in the Gulf of Bengal, or the Straights of Malacca; hence also it is the season for failing to China: after the 20th of August, however, what is called the direct passage to China becomes very precarious, with much probability of finding blowing weather in the China Seas.

With regard to the ports from which ships may be expected to arrive at Bombay during this monsoon,



soon, it may be laid down as a general rule, that the quarters favourable to sail to during any season, are those that it is unfavourable to expect arrivals from, and *vice versa*: hence from the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, the Cape of Good Hope, and the westward in general, this is the most seasonable period to expect arrivals: from Muscat, a trip may now be made in 10 or 12 days, from Mocha in 20 days, and Suez in about a month. It should be remarked, that after September, the Red Sea admits of no egress; ships consequently remaining there beyond that time, must continue there all the north-east monsoon, and are said to have lost their passage: on this account, the 25th of August is the latest day to which our cruisers are allowed to remain at Suez. From the Cape a passage may be made in five or six weeks; from the Mauritius, in three weeks or a month.

The south-west monsoon is also the most favourable season in which a passage may be made from Batavia or any ports to the eastward, through these southern straits: from Batavia to Bombay, in particular, a passage may be made in about 35 days. From Madras and Bengal, during the south-west monsoon, it is necessary to make the southern passage in order to reach Bombay: this will require, in a passage from Madras, from 30 to 40 days, and from Bengal from 45 to 60 days, from the necessity of working out of the river, and beating down the Bay to clear Acheen Head. From the Straights of Malacca it is an arduous task to sail for this port, or even to any one on the peninsula of India, owing to the difficulty of working round Acheen Head.

We have now to treat of the north-east monsoon, or the season which may be considered as included

between the 15th of August and the 15th of April; in which the first circumstance that occurs to us to remark is, that our coast is rendered in a peculiar manner secure and favourable to navigation; it is now considered the most eligible period for sailing to the Persian Gulf, and in general to all ports to the westward. To Muscat the trip is generally 15, and to Bufforah 28 days. The time suitable for sailing to Mocha and Suez, is from the middle of February to the middle of March, when a passage may be made to the first in 18 days, to the second in 25. If a ship be delayed till the latter end of March or the beginning of April, the passage becomes more tedious, being then obliged to make the land to the southward of the Island of Socatra, before the Gulf can be entered, on account of the southerly winds which prevail, and a current setting to the northward. After the 15th of April, a ship bound to the Red Sea would be very likely to lose her passage.

Between the 15th of August and the 15th of September, it may be considered favourable to sail to Madras and Bengal; but after this time the season is suspended, owing to the setting in of the north-east monsoon on the other side of India, which closes the ports on the coast of Coromandel, Golconda, and Orissa, between the 15th of October and the 15th of December; at least this period is excepted in common policies of insurance. After this time again a passage may be made to Madras in 30, and Bengal in 50 days. This season may be deemed unfavourable to the coast of Pegue and the Straights of Malacca; but for the Straights of Sunda, Batavia, for example, it is the best adapted—a passage thither may be made in 35 days.

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With regard to the feasonable imports in this monsoon, it is at no time more advantageous than now for coming from the Coromandel coast, and in short the whole bay: a passage may be made from Madras in 20 days, from Bengal in a month, and Penang a month. From the Persian Gulf it is no less

favourable, the passage from Muscat being about 10 days; and from Bufforah 28. The Red Sea is now closed; nor is it reasonable to expect arrivals from the Cape or the Streights of Sunda; from the latter, in particular, it is almost impossible at this feason to make a tolerable passage.

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*A curious Mode of Procefs among the HINDUS, in Trials for WITCH-CRAFT.*

(An original Communication.)

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THE Hindus still believe in witchcraft and forcery, and this supposition is probably encouraged by the bramins; for it has not unfrequently happened since the establishment of the new courts of justice by Lord Cornwallis, that in the courts of circuit, bramins tried for murder have assigned as a motive for thus having committed the crime, that the murdered person had enchanted them. Among the *Sudra* cast, this belief is so prevalent, that until the year 1793, it had been a custom from time immemorial, that persons suspected of this crime were subjected to a mode of trial before a tribunal of villagers of that cast, and, without any reference to the legal and established courts of justice, on a supposed conviction, put to death.

Almost every village has its reputed witches; and if two or three persons die successively in one family, or even in one village, the cause is always attributed to witchcraft, and is a sufficient reason for the inhabitants of the village to call an assembly of the men of that and the neighbouring villages to try the suspected persons. The mode of proceeding to establish the crime is

by incantation, and in some particulars, not very dissimilar to what was formerly practised in Europe. It also seems that the Asiatic, as well as the European witches, practise their spells by dancing at midnight, and the principal instrument they use on such occasions is a broom.

The natives of India observe three modes of incantation, in order to prove the crime. First, in the day time, by planting in water branches of the Saul tree, in the name of every woman in the village, from the age of ten years and upwards; for if, after remaining in the water a certain period of time, a branch withers, the woman in whose name it is placed is deemed a witch.

Secondly, by lamp light in the night, by dropping oil of mustard into water contained in the hollow of a certain leaf, and with each drop calling on the name of every woman of the village; and if the shadow of the woman in whose name the oil is dropped appeared in the water, she was immediately pronounced a witch.

The third mode is by placing small parcels of rice, tied in bags,



in a nest of white ants, in the name of each woman of the village ; when as many of the bags of rice as were destroyed by the ants, each of the women, in whose names such bags were placed, were declared witches. All these several processes were performed before the self-created tribunal as above described, and which generally consisted of a pretty numerous assembly.

By one, or all of these modes, five women were tried, convicted, and executed, so late as the year 1792. But the principal persons composing this tribunal were apprehended and tried before the court of *Patna* circuit, on a charge of mur-

der, and convicted, but afterwards pardoned. On this trial it came out that this custom had obtained time immemorial. Several of the witnesses examined remembered instances of persons convicted and executed for the crime of forcery. One man stated that his own mother was tried and executed for a witch. To put a stop to this barbarous custom, a proclamation was issued by government, declaring all persons who should put any persons to death on the ground of being convicted of forcery, should be deemed guilty of murder, and the persons forming the tribunal accomplices.

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*Letters from the Emperor AURENGZEBE to his Sons; together with an authentic Copy of his Will. Translated from the Persian Originals, by the late Joseph Earles, Esq. To which is subjoined, Explanatory Notes.—(Now first published.)*

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We have selected the following LETTERS and the WILL from a collection of the GENUINE LETTERS of AURENGZEBE, in the possession of RICHARD JOHNSON, Esq.—This collection was, at his desire, translated by Mr. EARLES, several years ago, in Calcutta ; but it has never been published either in India or in England. The selection we have made will be found curious and interesting, in as much as it unfolds something of the private sentiments and feelings of a Prince, known to all readers for his tyranny and his cruelties, but not less known to all competent judges of Indian history for his great political as well as military talents. The Letters to his sons, written on his death-bed, exhibit a striking picture of the superstitious bigotry with which his mind was impressed ; and the sentiments they express, when compared with his conduct in public life, afford a splendid instance in the history of mankind, that the most cruel and sanguinary disposition may yet be susceptible of parental tenderness.

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*The Letter which the Emperor Aurengzebe dictated at the point of death to his son Prince Allijah.*

Old age is arrived, weakness is grown powerful, and strength is departed from my joints. I came into the world a stranger, and a stranger I leave it : I have no knowledge of myself who I am, or for what purpose I am.

I have no certain knowledge of any one, not I :

That is, I have none of myself, not I.

Breath has gone without humility, and contrition remains. The empire has not been properly governed or protected by me ; and my precious life has been spent on nothing. I have a Lord in the house, but do not perceive his light in my dark eyes. Life gives me advice of death, the departure of reason rends the thread of my breath, and my hopes of living longer are frustrated. The troops, all afflicted, with their hands and feet contracted, are like myself stupified and confounded.



confounded. I have no stock of works to lay before my bountiful Sovereign, except the sins I carry with me; and I know not in consequence to what punishment I shall be doomed. How firm soever my hope in his goodness and mercy is, yet, upon a review of the conduct and actions of my life, fearful apprehensions, and terrifying reflections, will not suffer me to remain steadfast in it.

Let what will happen, we have launched the ship into the deep.

Tho' the Almighty will sufficiently protect our subjects and servants, yet in the visible world, it is also incumbent on our sons to take care that the people of God are not wantonly sacrificed. You will give my last blessing to my grandson. Alas! that I did not see him when he went away: strong desire to do it remains.

The empress is apparently much afflicted; but God is the sovereign of hearts. The contracted thoughts of women are productive of nothing but discontentment. Adieu, O light of my eyes, adieu!

## LETTER.

The following letter was dictated immediately after by the emperor, to his son prince Mohammed Kam Bukhs, who was at Bijapur:

“ My son, my vitals. In the world of empire, I unavoidably advised you by the will of God; but as it was not the divine pleasure, you did not hearken to my advice with satisfaction. I now depart a stranger, and with the tenderness of a father regret your inexperience and want of knowledge. Of what advantage is sin? Whatever I have done, I bear the fruit thereof myself. It is very vexatious: I came alone, and must go alone: he that would have kept me

company has departed twelve days before me. Notwithstanding I now look upon my friend, I have nothing but despair in my eyes. My back is bent, and my feet have lost their motion. The breath which I breathe is resolved to leave my narrow breast. I have committed many sins: what will be the consequence of them? The troops, from the reflection on this event, are sitting half dead with distraction, and wishing their own dissolution before mine. Though God is all-sufficient to protect my subjects and servants, yet it is also incumbent on my sons and emirs to do it: while I possessed vigour of being, no protection was wanted for them; God only knows what will befall them now: but you with whom I leave them in deposit, have the hand of power, and will find that their protection is necessary from external motives. Alijah is also near at hand: God forbid that true believers should be slain, and by their death bring a punishment upon my head. Committing you and your children to God, I myself am departing in great and inexpressible torture. The empress, from knowing my situation, is in deep affliction; and Heiyat un Nissa, who never saw any thing from her infancy, is perplexed in a labyrinth of grief. Your mother, who, like me, is very dangerously ill, intends perhaps to attend the stirrup of this frail mortal. Those born in my house, and the attendants of the presence, notwithstanding they shew wheat, are no more than venders of barley, and at a distance from you, which renders it more necessary that you should endeavour to make some use of them. At all events, commit yourself to God, and that will be sufficient. My intension was to advise you; I have



have done so : I resign you to God, and depart.”

After having said this, Aurengzebe gave up the ghost.

*The Last Will of the Emperor*  
AURENGZEBE\*.

Praise be to God, and blessings upon his elect and chosen servants. Let the following articles be considered as my last Will :

1st. Let them place this sinner, plunged in iniquity, in the pure and holy earth of Hussein, (the peace of God be upon him), as there can be no security for the immerged in the ocean of iniquity, except refuge at that asylum of absolution and mercy : and let what is necessary for this exalted felicity be taken from our fortunate son, Prince Allijah†, with whom it is.

2d. There are four rupees two annas, the produce of cap-making, with Aiyah Begé the ‡ Mehdarnee, which let them take and lay out in grave cloaths for this miserable creature. There are also 305 rupees, arising from transcribing the Koran, in my private treasury, which let them distribute among the poor on the day of my death : for as money arising from writing the Koran is esteemed prohibited properly by the sect of the Shiah||, they should not for this reason expend it on my funeral, or on any thing requisite for it.

3d. Let what is further necessary from the vakeel of Prince Allijah, who is next heir among my children, and charged with whatever is legal and prohibited. No questions will then be asked of this miserable creature,

\* He died on the 21st February 1707, at Ahmednagar, in the province of Dowlatabad, aged ninety lunar years and fourteen days, having reigned about fifty lunar years.

The execution of this will is committed in particular to his third son, Sultan Mahommed Azim Shah, who was with him at the time of his death, and whom he had designed for his successor, to the prejudice of his eldest surviving son, Sultan Mahommed Manzm, who was then at Cabul, but who, notwithstanding, succeeded to the empire, by the defeat and death of his brother, by the title of Bahuder Shah.

† Sultan Mahommed Azim Shah.

Aurengzebe, in his life-time, had sent and procured some earth from the Desert of Kirbila, in Arabia, where Imam Hussein, the grandson of Mahommed by his daughter Fatima and Ali, suffered martyrdom, which is the holy earth here meant—a manifest proof of his egregious superstition.

‡ The chief female attendant of the mehl or womens' apartments. Aurengzebe seems here to have maintained himself by cap-making—a remarkable instance of humility and self-denial in so great a prince. The produce of labour and industry being considered by the Mahommedans, above all other kind, the most indisputable and lawful property, it has been held highly commendable by many of their learned theologists to subsist by the practice of it. This may account for the emperor's trade of cap-making, who either was, or pretended to be, a very religious man.

|| The Sunnis and Shiahs are two great sects, into which the Mahommedans are divided. The Sunnis acknowledge as lawful the succession of Abubikr, Omar, Othman or Osman, and Ali, and receive the Koran and Mahommed's traditions, in the sense they are expounded by their four great doctors, Hanifa, Malek, Shafi, and Hanbal. The Shiahs deny the lawfulness of the succession of Abubikr, Omar, and Othman, and maintain that Mortiza Ali, Mahommed's son-in-law, (according to the prophet's will), ought immediately to succeed him. They pay no regard to the opinions of the above-mentioned doctors, but are entirely guided by their own Imams. The Turks, Tartars, and Indians, are of the former, and the Persians chiefly of the latter sect. The former account themselves the most orthodox. Aurengzebe was of this sect, but his sons were of the Shiah. They are inveterate and bitter enemies to each other; and the Shiahs execrate and detest the Khalifs, Abubikr, Omar, and Othman, the immediate successors of the prophet, and predecessors of Ali.



ture, as the dead are in the hands of the living.

4th. Let them bury this wanderer in the vale of iniquity, bare-headed; as there are doubtless hopes of mercy to a wretched criminal, whom they lead bareheaded to a King of exalted \* dignity.

5th. Let my coffin be covered with some of the coarse white cloth called *guzzi*; let no canopy be carried over it; and let them refrain from the vile practice of having elegy-singers to precede it.

6th. Let the ruler of the empire treat those afflicted servants, who have wandered through wilds and deserts with this departed sinner, with affection and tenderness; and should any fault be discovered in them, let him reward it with forgiveness and mercy.

7th. There is none better calculated for a minister of state than a Persian. In war also, from the reign of his majesty of blessed † memory, till the present time, none of this nation ever fled from the field of battle, or slipp'd from their feet of firmness; nor have they ever been refractory or perfidious: but as they require much attention and respect, it is difficult to satisfy them, though by all means highly necessary, and more so, not to treat them with neglect.

8th. The Tartars are undoubtedly a race of excellent soldiers. They are very expert and judicious in plunder-

ing and devastating a country, and in making night attacks and prisoners; nor do they account it any disgrace to retire from action fighting; being in this respect far remote from the gross ignorance of the Hindustanians, whose heads may go 'ere they will go themselves. It is by all means necessary, therefore, to treat these people with regard, as they will be serviceable upon many occasions where others will ‡ not.

9th. To the Syeds||, worthy of prosperity, respect should be shewn, and according to the word of God, "respect is due to his kindred," not to be neglected: and because the love of this race, agreeable to the Koran, "I require nothing of ye for him, except affection towards his kindred," is a reward of the command, it never should be diminished, for it is equally productive of temporal and eternal happiness. It is necessary, however, to be very cautious of the Syeds of Barreah, and without abating any internal regard for them, not to advance them according to their dignity, as they will confederate, not only with the most powerful, but the tyrant of the country. If the rein, therefore, is once slackened, repentance will be in vain. Repentance will not avail when the thing is done.

10th. Let the tenth article of my will be duly executed. They § will give their eldest daughter

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\* This seems to allude to the custom of bringing great criminals in Hindustan, who have been admitted to pardon, into the sovereign's presence with their hands tied with their turban, and consequently bareheaded.

† His father the Emperor Shah Jehan.

‡ Those nations in the two preceding articles, which have been translated *Persians* and *Tartars*, are expressed in the original by the words *Iran* and *Toran*. The former is generally understood for the kingdom of Persia, comprehending all those regions extending from the Oxus to the Persian sea on the south, and the Tigris on the west; and the country beyond the Oxus is called *Turan*; but all the higher Asia, excepting India and China, is comprehended by Eastern historians under these two names.

|| The descendants of Mahommed by his daughter Fatima and the Khalif Ali.

§ It is customary to address persons of rank in the third person plural, and to use the third person singular yourself. Mahommed Azim Shah is the person here meant.



ter to the Prince Mahommed \* Azim, and the youngest to Siadet Khan, the son of Siadet Khan, the son of Siadet Khan, deceased.

## LETTER.

Wealth is the beloved object of all mankind: Whoever has it, they pay great respect to, and deceive him with excess of adulation; but when it once forsakes his possession, they thence throng him no more.

The emperor Jehangier says, in his Jehangier † Namé—"divisions daily arising from the commencement of our reign, we deemed repose unlawful for ourself; and in order to protect and defend the people of God, we never slept with the eye of a friend:"

"To give rest to every body beside,  
"We inured our own to the want of it."

"By the favour of God, our custom by degrees became such, that sleep never plundered more of the wealth of our time than two astronomical hours in the space of a day and a night; whence we derived these two advantages, a thorough knowledge of the affairs of the empire, and wakefulness in the remembrance of God."

It is a shame that this life, of an imperfect day, should be passed away in sloth and forgetfulness, when the long sleep of death is before it: Deeming it precious, one should not, on the contrary, be the twinkling of an eye divested of the thoughts of God.

Be wakeful, a strange sleep is just before you.

## LETTER.

Men of worldly views pay little regard to religious persons, because they cannot, upon all occasions, expect such implicit submission from

them; and tyrants are no-wise concerned for the blood they shed, or rather think they are only pouring water as from a river. Government is a difficult undertaking. We know not what will happen to, or become of us, on the day of retribution; or what misfortunes will henceforth befall the servants of God. The thoughts of Saturday are bitter to the children who have played away ‡ Friday: The pleasure of today, without reflection on tomorrow, is agreeable.

## LETTER.

"Tell me," said his late Majesty to Saadullah Khan, "what actions contribute to please the Creator and the creature, and insure a happy eternity?" "They are the justice and generosity," he replied, "which the Almighty has endowed your sacred Majesty with."

A person present upon another occasion said to Saadullah Khan, that there were few men of virtue and integrity to be met with in those days, or they must have come within his notice. He replied, that the world had never been without virtuous men: That it became a wise man, for his own sake, to find and encourage them, and not lend his ear to the calumnies which designing men, to serve their sinister views, might disseminate against them. His Majesty observed, that men of virtue, ambitious of fame, and upright ministers, were inestimable; and that, therefore, it was the duty of every one whom the Almighty had raised to an exalted station, to search for them, find them, retain them with honour, and do his utmost to make their situations agreeable to them. "He should prefer," continued his Majesty, "the

\* The second son of Sultan Mahommed Muazm.

† The History of his reign written by himself.

‡ The Mahomedan Sabbath.



“the gem of abilities, though it proved to be an alien; and be an alien to all others without them, though they might think themselves preferable.” And on the other hand, he said, that should a minister advance his relations, and be partial to his kin, it would eventually be his downfall, and prove his ruin.

One day in private, his Majesty recommended it to Dara Shekowh, never to treat the emirs of the empire with disrespect and haughtiness, nor entertain unjust suspicions of them, prejudicial to their loyalty; but, on the contrary, to behave with courtesy to them all, as he would find his account in it: By no means to contend with them when he had designs to execute, nor give ear to representations of designing people against them.—“This advice,” said his Majesty, “may some time be useful to you: And forasmuch as my heart is concerned for your prosperity, I cannot avoid telling you the disagreeable truth, that variance with men of resolution and abilities will be destructive of it.”

His Majesty at another time coming very low spirited to the bath, Saadullah Khan, and Allimurdan Khan, inquired the cause of his dejection. He told them in reply, that several of his great officers and governors had lately become the food of death, and that he did not immediately observe others of dignity and abilities sufficient to supply their place, or who would soon be able to support such weighty affairs: And this reflection, he observed, with the apprehension lest the government might be deranged in consequence, had troubled and perplexed his mind. Kulich Khan hereupon remarked, that as the prosperity of the affairs of the empire depended entirely upon the choice

his Majesty made of persons for the management of them, and on his advancement of them to dignities equal to their capacities, he could immediately produce five persons, the servants of his slave, who possessed abilities, and had been educated in such a manner as to merit the first posts of the empire, the government of provinces, and the management of the greatest affairs. His Majesty heard these words with much satisfaction, and directed Kulich Khan to bring the men to him in the evening, that he might observe their appearance, and judge of their dispositions. How pleasing is the prospect of succeeding agreeable to our wishes! They all came to court accordingly; and after having had the honour of being presented to his Majesty, and found possessed of the abilities and endowments they had been represented to have, the sovereign of the world advanced them to dignities suitable to their worth, and annexed appointments to these of adequate import. His Majesty likewise distinguished the Khan with particular favours, increased his personal rank a thousand, and his corps a thousand horse, and said,

May pleasure attend thee, as thou hast given pleasure to us!

The Khan, in grateful acknowledgment of the acceptance of his recommendation, and of the favours his gracious master had bestowed upon him, distributed a thousand rupees among worthy objects of charity.

#### LETTER.

I wish much, my dear Khan Firoze Jung, to visit you in your illness, but with what countenance or sight shall I be able to behold you? I have therefore sent Saadut Khan in my stead, to see you with my eyes, and let me know truly what he thinks of your situation.



Of the new grown fruits at this place, grapes can only be yet procured, which skilful physicians are of opinion will be very hurtful to you; and for that very reason I shall think them unwholesome for myself. But, by the blessing of God, when you are perfectly recovered, and entirely restored to health, we will then eat them together.

O Lord, how pleasing is this wish of mine!

Conduct me thou to the fruition of it!

A separation of the troops is indispensable: You must send your son to the presence, who will return to you, after being distinguished with liberalities and favours.

Take care, despair not, since thou knowest not the secrets of futurity:

Its tricks are hid under a veil; be not concerned.

LETTER.

The banditti continually infest the roads from \* Chummarconda to Kaderabad, so that passengers cannot go in safety; which I strongly suspect can be attributed to nothing but carelessness and inattention. A sign is sufficient for the wise. You have it in your power to procure the best intelligence from all parts; why do not you, therefore, get acquainted with the motions of these miscreants? You should provide for the future in time present, and not procrastinate till the approach of the evil day. It is but justice to distinguish good servants with adequate rewards, and to punish the wicked according to the enormity of their evil actions; for, favour shewn to them, sets the good at enmity with God. This world is the sown field of eternity. We expect an answer,

A tyrant once craved the intercession of a holy man; he was answered, none other could operate in

favour of oppressors, except justice towards the oppressed.

LETTER.

My soul! my darling son! being charmed with some passages in the writings of his late majesty, (may God illuminate his paths!) I am impelled by the ardour of my affection to transcribe them for your perusal; as well that I may not alone enjoy the pleasure derived from the possession of them, as that you may receive instruction from the excellent precepts they convey.

“Several things,” his majesty observes, “ought to be accounted most laudable and worthy of attention: Not to shew countenance to bad people: Not to be affected at the want of success in the attainment of your wishes: Not to hurt the feelings of men of quick sense, and amiable dispositions: Not to ask a favour of a person, though in the greatest distress: To associate with men of virtuous principles: To seek diligently for men of abilities: To admit no ignorant person to your presence: To give to the deserving, according to your pleasure, before they ask it of you: To honour men of learning and ingenuity: To habituate your mind to strict justice and impartiality: Not to be inclined to controversy subversive of your faith: Not to be regardless of the state of the sincerely resigned to God: To esteem those your friends who are strangers to the world: To advance those who can manage the affairs of both worlds:” For

Our pot companions drank the wine, and afterwards departed.

There are doubtless, at present even, many good men to be found; but who has set his mind to discover and bring them forward? And

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\* Golconda.



it is evident that some time hence they will be worse than now. You therefore, who lay claim to rectitude in whatever relates to government, should seek, invite, seize, hold, and keep with care, men truly such in name as well as conduct.

## LETTER.

Beloved son! You must have learnt from the letters of your vakeel, and the representations of your collectors of intelligence, the particulars of the misfortunes we met with in our march to Kehlina; in which the condition of the faithful could not be seen without emotion, nor the distresses of the troops be endured without affliction. Thank God, however, its difficulties, replete with misery, are at an end, and that we are at last returned safe. Such misfortunes as these they call the effect of the enormous iniquity of mankind; and the particular actions of the sovereign, no doubt, operate to the advantage or detriment of the people.—This alludes to the supineness and neglect of this worthless wretch ourself.

## LETTER.

The Shereef of Mecca the magnificent, who has heard of the great wealth of Hindustan, sends an ambassador every year to draw his share of gain from it; but as the sums which we give are intended for the worthy and deserving, and not for him, it behooves us to know that they alone receive them, and that the hand of this usurper of right does not reach to them. At all events, however, if these gifts are made with a sincere heart, and are approved and acceptable to the prophet, they will be conveyed to those they are intended for; but if they proceed from hypocrisy, it is better they should not. "This and that is from thy maker, and these folks are made happy."

Shew mercy unto me, Lord God, and to all true believers!

## LETTER.

Innaiyet Ullah Khan has represented, through Mahommed Akhlah, to us, that the eldest son of the empire is involved in debt, and that the pay of his troops is increased. How indeed can it be otherwise when such posts and allowances are given to people without examining their merits, and such benefits and favours bestowed upon them unseasonably and out of place. He has the Koran by heart, and is a learned commentator on it: can he not call to mind the meaning of the passage, "they spend, out of mere profuseness," and does he never, even inadvertently, read the explanation of it?

With open eyes and ears, and so much knowledge, I am astonished at the blindness which God has cast upon him.

His dewan too is a person unknown, and by nation a Cashmerian. Let him take this into consideration, and appoint a fit person to the office. There is Aslem Khan by the way is not a bad man for it; he may ask Innaiyet Ullah Khan if he is.

## LETTER.

The fakier who was with us last night, has no share of learning, and seems upon the whole a barren saint. His piety too, very likely, is only hypocrisy. Many of his words and actions, one of which was his refusal of a gratuity, were also contrary to law. For as the sovereign in the first place is the trustee of the public property; whatever he may please to give a person is lawful to be received by him. And in case he should appropriate to himself, by the advice and consent of his spiritual and temporal associates in the government, the revenues of certain



certain villages for his own private expenditure, and bestow them in gratuities upon any one, they are likewise lawful to be received: particularly, how can they be deemed prohibited to a destitute dervish? Enquire his motives for this extraordinary conduct, and if he gives any that are reasonable and satisfactory, let us be made acquainted with them, that, though a slave to our prejudices, we may assent to their propriety. And in case he should not be able to do this, let him be treated as heretics are,

who cut out superstitions for themselves, and falsely give the sanction of the law to them.

Sultan Mahmood Ghuznive (may God absolve him!) would allow neither heretics nor enthusiasts to approach his presence, nor even suffer them to stay in his dominions, that others, perceiving their self-denial, might not be led astray by them, nor have they the power by their arts to decoy others. God direct us in the right way, and peace to the pious and devout!

### MIRZA ABU TALEB KHAN.

MIRZA ABU TALEB KHAN, the author of the following curious article, is a native of Lucknow, in the province of Oude, in Hindustan. He was born of respectable Mahomedan parents, and he follows the religion of his family. He was early distinguished, in his native place, for his abilities, and his love of knowledge. Having travelled into Bengal, he was noticed by Mahmud Rizza Khan, who appointed him an aumil, or collector of the revenues. The duties of this station, and the sedulous attention which he paid to them, enabled him to acquire a very perfect knowledge both of the principles and practice of the revenue system of Hindustan. On his leaving the service of Rizza Khan, he returned to Lucknow; when Asoph-ud-Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude, having heard of his superior qualifications for the office of aumil, gave him the collection of the most populous and valuable district in his dominions. In that district he resided for many years; and, by the good sense, knowledge, liberality, and strict probity with which he exercised the functions of his office, he made the ryots, or husbandmen, from whom he collected the revenues, the most orderly, peaceful, and happy in Hindustan. So high, indeed, was his sense of honour, and his spirit of benevolence, that he refused to receive the emoluments appertaining to his office, but requested permission to distribute them amongst such of the poorer sort of ryots, as were disabled, by age or infirmities, from following their usual labours. Such conduct was not likely to make him a favourite with the courtiers at Lucknow: but the Nabob himself, sensible, in this instance at least, of such extraordinary merit, gave him an aumildarry\* of considerable extent and value. This distinction served to heighten the jealousy and to raise the envy of the other aumils, who industriously propagated malicious reports against him, and insinuated that he was sacrificing the interests of his master to those of the English. This insinuation had an appearance of probability, from the intimacy which subsisted between Abu Taleb and the English gentlemen who resided at Lucknow: but, piqued at his conduct being suspected, he threw up his employment, and consequently his aumildarry. Some years afterward he came to Calcutta; and handsome offers of employment were made him by the English government, of which, at first, he refused to accept. But, at the request of Marquis Cornwallis,

\* An Aumildarry is a portion of land given by the prince to an aumildar, or collector of revenues as a reward for his services.



Cornwallis, he agreed to go to Hydrabad in the capacity of agent for the English government; which station, however, he never filled, it having been found adviseable to transfer the appointment to an English officer. In the year 1799 he was induced to come to England, from his general curiosity for knowledge, as well as a strong desire to see a country, of which he had heard so much, and in which he was sure of meeting an hospitable reception from several gentlemen whom he had formerly known at Lucknow. He took his passage in an Indiaman; and after having passed a couple of months at the Cape of Good Hope, on his way, he landed at Cork in Ireland: he then proceeded to Dublin; and from thence, by the usual route, to London. He has resided here ever since; and has been introduced at court, and received into the best company, where he met with that attention and respect to which his excellent character and singular merit so well entitled him. Before he came to England, he paid some attention to our language; and he has now acquired a sufficient knowledge of it, to read it to his own satisfaction, and make himself understood in conversation. He left England a few weeks ago, for Paris, where he proposes to pass a short time, and then to go through Vienna to Constantinople, and from thence, by way of Egypt, to Mecca, in order to visit the Câaba. From Mecca, he will probably proceed across the deserts into Persia; and from thence, through Cabulestân, Cashmir, and the Panjâb, to Delhi and Lucknow. During his residence in this country, he composed a poem in the Persian language, descriptive of London, the adjacent country, the persons, habits, manners, and public amusements of the English.

His "*Vindication of the Liberties of the Asiatic Women*," he wrote in Persian; and the following is a literal translation of his manuscript. Our readers will peruse with interest the information which it contains, respecting the domestic œconomy of the Mussulmans of Hindustan, and the peculiar privileges and customs of their women: and our still limited acquaintance with these customs, notwithstanding all the inquiries that have been made, and all that has been written about the natives of India, should teach us to be indulgent to the imperfect and curious notions formed of our habits and customs by an *Hindustanée*, to whom, from their striking contrast to his own, they must appear so singular and unaccountable.

## VINDICATION of the LIBERTIES of the ASIATIC WOMEN.

By MIRZA ABU TALEB KHAN.

ONE day, in a certain company, the conversation turned upon LIBERTY, in respect of which the ENGLISH consider their own customs the most perfect in the world. An English lady, addressing herself to me, observed, that the women of Asia have no liberty at all, but live like slaves, without honour and authority, in the houses of their husbands; and she censured the men for their unkindness, and the women, also, for submitting to be so undervalued. However much I attempted, by various ways, to undeceive her, (and in truth, said I,

the case is exactly the reverse, it is the European women who do not possess so much power,) yet it did not bring conviction to her mind. She however began to waver in her own opinion, and falling into doubt, requested of me to write something on the subject, the purport of which she might comprehend at one view, and be enabled to distinguish the truth from falsehood. Since the same wrong opinion is deeply rooted in the minds of all other Europeans, and has been frequently before this held forth, I considered it necessary to write a few lines



concerning the privileges of the female sex, as established both by law and custom, in Asia and in Europe, omitting whatever was common to both, and noticing what is principally peculiar to each, in the manner of comparison, that the distinction may be the more easily made, and the real state of the case become evident to those capable of discernment.

It must be first laid down as a general maxim, that, in social order, respect to the rules of equity and politeness, and forbearance from injury, is a necessary condition; for, otherwise, the liberty of one would, be destructive of the liberty of another: thus, if a person be at liberty to do with his own house what may endanger the safety of his neighbour's, this must be in direct opposition to the liberty of that neighbour; or, if in order to free himself from the inconveniences of the hot weather, he should visit his friends in his dressing gown or night-shirt, although it would be ease and liberty to him, yet it would be sowing the seeds of ill-breeding: therefore the observance of these rules is essential.

Those things which make the liberty of the Asiatic women appear less than that of the Europeans, are, in my opinion, *six*.

The *first* is, "the little intercourse with men, and concealment from view," agreeably to law and their own habits; and this is the chief of these six; for it has been the cause of those false notions entertained by the European women, that the inclination of the Asiatic women leads them to walk out in the streets and market-places, but that their husbands keep them shut up, and set guards over the door. It may be here observed, that the advantages of this *little intercourse*,

which prevents all the evils arising from the admittance of strangers, and affords so much time for work and useful employments, are so very manifest, that they need not be enlarged upon; and besides, the practice, in London, of keeping the doors of the houses shut, and the contemptible condition of the Dutch at the Cape, are sufficient proofs. Notwithstanding this, the custom of the intercourse of the sexes is allowed in England, and it is owing both to the force of virtue and good manners generally to be found in the English, and to the apprehension of other greater inconveniences, the chief of which are four, as here mentioned, and whose effects are not felt in Asia. *One of these* is, the high price of things, and the small number of servants and rooms; for were there a separate house, and table, and equipage for the wife, the expence would be too great to be borne; and therefore of necessity both husband and wife eat their food, with their guests, in one place, sleep together in the same chamber, and cannot avoid being always in each other's company: contrary to the custom in Asia, where, by reason of the cheapness of work, the women have separate apartments for themselves, and have not to make their time and convenience suit that of their husbands; and when their particular friends are with them, they do not desire their husband's company for several days, but send his victuals to him in the *murdannah*, (or male apartments;) and, in like manner, when the husband wishes to be undisturbed, he eats and sleeps in the *murdannah*.

*A second cause* is "the coldness of this climate, which requires exercise and walking, and the husband to sleep in the same bed with his



his wife: but concealment from view is incompatible with walking; and as for the second case, another cause is the want of room; for otherwise, it is the natural disposition of mankind, when under distress and affliction of mind, to wish frequently for privacy and unrestraint, and sleep in a room alone."

*A third cause* is "the people here being all of one kind;" for, in this kingdom, placed in a corner of the globe where there is no coming and going of foreigners, the intercourse of the sexes is not attended with the consequences of a corruption of manners, as in Asia, where people of various nations dwell in the same city; and to allow the women such a liberty there, where there is such danger of corruption, would be an encroachment upon the liberty of the men, which (as shewn in the beginning) is contrary to justice; and that a corruption of manners must ensue, where various kinds of people mix together, is too evident to require demonstration. Before the Mussulmans entered Hindustan, the women did not conceal themselves from view; and even yet, in all the Hindu villages, it is not customary: and it is well known how inviolable the Hindus preserve their own custom, and how obstinately they are attached to them; but now so rigidly do the women in the great towns observe this practice of concealment from view, that the bride does not even shew herself to her father-in-law, and the sister comes but seldom into the presence of her brother.

*A fourth cause* is "the necessity which the European women have to acquire experience in the affairs of the world, and in learning various arts, on account of the duty that belongs to them, to take part in their husband's business," which experience could not

be obtained by keeping in concealment; whereas the duties of the Asiatic women, consisting only in having the custody of the husband's property, and bringing up the children, they have no occasion for such experience, or for laying aside their own custom of concealment. What has been just said was to shew that the Asiatic women have no necessity to expose their persons; but it must also be observed, that they have many reasons for preferring privacy. One is, the love of leisure, and repose from the fatigue of motion: a second is, the desire of preserving their honour, by not mixing with the vulgar, nor suffering the insults of the low and rude, who are always passing along the streets; a feeling in common with the wives of European noblemen, who, to preserve their dignity, are never seen walking in the streets; and also with ladies in private life, who when walking out at night, and even in the day, are always attended by a male friend or servant to protect them. The notions which the European women have, that the women of Asia never see a man's face but their husband's, and are debarred from all amusement and society, proceed entirely from misinformation: They can keep company with their husband and father's male relations, and with old neighbours and domestics; and at meals there are always many men and women of this description present; and they can go in their palankeens to the houses of their relations, and of ladies of their own rank, even although the husbands are unacquainted; and also to walk in gardens after strangers are excluded; and they can send for musicians and dancers to entertain them at their own houses; and they have many other modes of amusement besides these mentioned.



The *second* is “the privilege of the husband, by law, to marry several wives.” This, to the European women, seems a grievous oppression; and they hold those very cheap who submit to it. But, in truth, the cause of this law and custom is the nature of the female sex themselves, which separates them from the husband, the several last months of pregnancy, and time of suckling; and besides these, the Asiatic women have many other times for being separate from their husbands. This privilege not being allowed by the English law, is indeed a great hardship upon the English husbands; whereas the Asiatic law permitting polygamy, does the husband justice, and wrongs not the wife; for the honour of the first and *equal* wife is not affected by it; those women who submit to marry with a married man, not being admitted into the society of ladies, as they are never of high or wealthy families, no man of honour ever allowing his daughter to make such a marriage. The mode in which these other wives live is this: they who are of a genteel extraction, have a separate house for themselves, like kept mistresses in England; and they who are not, live in the house of the equal wife, like servants, and the husband at times conveys himself to them in a clandestine manner. Besides, these wives cannot invade any of the rights of the equal wife; for although they and their children are by law equally entitled to inheritance, yet since the equal wife never marries without a very large dowry settled upon her, all that the husband leaves goes to the payment of this dowry, and nothing remains for his heirs. The opinion that the men of Asia have generally three or four wives, is very ill-

founded; for in common they have only one; out of a thousand, there will be fifty persons perhaps who have from one to two, and ten out of these who have more than two. The fear of the bad consequences of polygamy makes men submit with patience to the times of separation from the equal wife, as much the better way; for, from what I know, it is easier to live with two tigresses than two wives.

The *third* is, “the power of divorce being in the hands of the husband.” This is ordained by law, but not practised; for if a great offence be the motive to divorce a wife, and if it be proved against her, she receives punishment by the order of the magistrate, or from the husband, with the concurrence of all her relations; and if the offence be of a trivial nature, such as a difference of temper and unfociability, the husband punishes her by leaving the female apartments and living in his own. But the reason for divorce being at the will of the husband, lies in the very justice of the law, and the distinction of the male sex over the female, on account of the greater share they take in the management of the world; for all the laborious work falls to their lot, such as carrying heavy burthens, going to war, repulsing enemies, &c. and the women generally spend their lives in repose and quiet. Nevertheless, if the wife establishes a criminal offence against the husband, such as an unfair distribution of his time among his wives, or a diminution of the necessaries of life, she can obtain a divorce in spite of him.

The *fourth* is, “the little credit the law attaches to the evidence of women in Asia;” for, in a court of justice, every fact is proved by the testimony of two men; but if women be the witnesses, four are required.



required. This does not arise from the superiority of the one over the other, but it is founded upon the little experience and knowledge women possess, and the fickleness of their dispositions.

The *fifth* is, “the Asiatic women having to leave off going to balls and entertainments, and wearing showy dresses and ornaments, after their husband’s death.” This is owing to their great affection for their husband’s memory, and their own modes and habits; for there is nothing to prevent a woman’s doing otherwise, or marrying a second husband, but the dread of exposing herself to the ridicule and censure of women of her own rank.

The *sixth* is, “the Asiatic daughters not having the liberty of choosing their husbands.” On this head nothing need be said; for in Europe, this liberty is merely nominal, as without the will of the father and mother, the daughter’s choice is of no avail; and whatever choice they make for her, she must submit to; and in its effects, it serves only to encourage running away (as the male and female slaves in India do), and to breed coldness and trouble amongst the members of a family. But granting that such a liberty does exist in England, the disgrace and misery it must always entail is very evident. The choice of a girl just come from the nursery, and desirous by nature to get a husband, in an affair on which the happiness of her whole life depends, can neither deserve that respect nor consideration which is due to the choice of her parents, who have profited by experience, and are not blinded by passion.

But what the Asiatic women have more than the European, both by law and custom, may be ranked under *eight* heads.

*First*, “Their power over the

property and children of the husband, by custom;” for the men of Asia consider the principal objects of marriage, after the procreation of their species, for the worship of God, two things, the one to have their money and effects taken care of, and the other to have their children brought up, so that they themselves being left entirely disengaged of these concerns, may turn their whole endeavours to the attainment of their various pursuits. The chief part, therefore, of whatever wealth they acquire, they give in charge to their wives, and thus the women have it in their power to annihilate in one day the products of a whole life. Although this seldom happens, yet it is often the case, where the husband having amassed a large fortune in youth and power, has delivered it in charge to his wife, and requires it back in his old age and necessity; she does not allow him more than sufficient for his daily support, and lays the rest up in a place of security for the sake of her children. And so great is the power they possess, as to the disposal of their children, that frequently they are brought up without any education, or die in childhood; for the women, on account of their little sense, are never pleased to part with their children, by sending them to school, and to acquire experience by travelling; and when they fall sick, they give them improper medicines, by the advice of their own confidants, or, from their softness of heart, indulge them in whatever it is the nature of the sick to take a longing for, and thus they cause their death.

*Second*, “Their power, by custom, as to the marriage of their children, and choice of their religious faith;” for if the husband wishes to give one of them in marriage to a person the wife disapproves of, the match



match does not take place, but the other way it generally does. All the children, both male and female, from being mostly in the company of their mother, and looking upon her as their protector against their father, whom, on account of his wishing to have them educated, they consider their tormentor, follow the religious tenets of their mother, and remain perfect strangers to those of their father. It often happens, where the wife is a Schia, and the husband a Souni, the children having been Schias from their own natural disposition, and the instruction of the mother, speak disrespectfully of the chiefs of the Souni sect in their father's presence; and he, who all his life never bore such language from any person, but was even ready to put the speaker of it to death, has no redress, but patiently submitting to hear it from them, as, on account of their want of understanding, they are excusable; and thus, by frequent repetition, his attachment to his faith is shaken, and, in the course of time, he either entirely forsakes it, or remains but lukewarm in it.

*Third*, "Their authority over their servants;" for the servants of the male apartments, the keeping and changing of whom are in the hands of the husband, through fear of exposing themselves to the displeasure or complaints of the wife, when she finds a proper opportunity, by their committing some fault, which servants are continually doing, are more obedient to her than to their own master; and the servants of the zenana, whom the wife has the care of retaining or turning off, stand so much in awe of their mistress, that many of them pass their whole lives in the zenana, without ever once coming into the presence of the husband: some of them never perform any

service for him at all, and others, who do, enter not into discourse with him; and the women are so obstinate in this respect, their husbands never can turn off one of these servants, but his very complaint against them is a recommendation in their favour; and his recommendation has the effect of complaint, by subjecting them to their mistresses' resentment. Contrary to this is the manner of the European ladies, who have not their own will with their children and servants, but live more like free and familiar guests in their husband's houses; and the household establishment and equipage being in common to both, if any part, as the carriage for example, is previously employed by the one, the other has to wait till it is disengaged: of this there is no doubt, that if a quarrel ensues between an English husband and wife, the wife has to leave the house, and seek her dinner either at her father's or a friend's; whereas in Asia, it is the husband that has to go out; for frequently the utensils of cookery are not kept in the male apartments.

*Fourth*, "The freedom, by custom, of the Asiatic women from assisting in the business of the husband, or service of his guests;" whereas this is generally the duty of European wives, whether their husbands be of a genteel business, such as jewellery, mercery, or perfumery, or the more servile ones; I have seen many rise from their dinner, to answer the demands of a purchaser: and although all these duties are not required of the ladies, yet some, especially the entertaining the guests, carving and helping the dishes at table, and making the tea and coffee, are generally performed by them. Now the Asiatic ladies have no such duties at all, but live in the manner before described.

*Fifth*, "The greater deference  
the



the Asiatic ladies find paid to their humours, and a prescriptive right of teasing their husbands by every pretext," which is considered as constituting an essential quality of beauty; for if a wife does not put these in practice, but is submissive to her husband's will in every thing, her charms very soon lose their brilliancy in his eyes. Thus when a wife goes to visit her father, she will not return to her husband, till he has come himself several times to fetch her, and being as often vexed by her breaking her promise; and every day when dinner is served, by pretending to be engaged at the time, she keeps her husband waiting, and does not come till the meat has grown cold, and in the same manner at bed-time;—for returning quickly from their father's house is considered as a sign of fondness for the husband, which in their opinion looks very ill; and coming soon to dinner they think betrays the disposition of a hungry beggar. In these, and such like, the husband has nothing for it but patience; nay, it ever pleases him. I have known of many beautiful women, constant in their affection, and obedient to their husbands night and day, whom, for not having these qualities, the husbands have quickly tired of, and unjustly deserted, for the sake of plain women who possessed them.

*Sixth*, "The greater reliance placed by the Asiatic husbands on their wives virtue, both from law and custom." For, as to the European ladies, although they can go out of doors, and discourse with strangers, yet this is not allowed, unless they have a trusty person along with them, either of the husband's or the father's; and sleeping out all night is absolutely denied them,—contrary to the way of the Asiatic ladies, who, when they go

to the house of a lady of their acquaintance, though their husbands be entire strangers, are not attended by any person of the husband's or father's, and they spend not only one or two nights in that house, but even a whole week; and in such a house, although the master is prohibited entering the apartments where they are, yet the young men of fifteen, belonging to the family or relations, under the name of children, have free access, and eat with and enter into the amusements of their guests.

*Seventh*, "Their share in the children, by law." For if a divorce happens, the sons go to the father, and the daughters to the mother, contrary to the custom here, where, if a divorce takes place, the mother, who for twenty years may have toiled and consumed herself in bringing up her children, has to abandon all to the father, and full of grief and affliction leave his house.

*Eighth*, "The ease, both by law and custom, with which the wife may separate herself from her husband, when there may be a quarrel between them, without producing a divorce." Thus the wife, in an hour's time after the dispute, sets off with the children and her property to the house of her father or relations, and until the husband makes her satisfaction she does not return: and this she can always do without a moment's delay.

Besides these eight, as above noticed, of the superior advantages the Asiatic women enjoy over the European, there are many others here omitted for brevity's sake. What has been said, is enough for people of discernment. Farewell.

"I'll fondly place on either eye,  
"The man that can to this reply."

London.



## POETRY.

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### LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS

OF

*The most distinguished MEMBERS of the ASIATIC SOCIETY.*

BY JOHN COLLEGINS, ESQ.

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BRITANNIA's genius, eager to explore  
 The mystic mines of Asiatic lore,  
 With smiles benign accomplish'd JONES address'd,  
 And bid him trace the records of the East.  
 He came—the heavenly Gopia round him flew,  
 His presence every son of Learning drew:  
 Then first \*, ye scholars! met at his command,  
 The father of the literary band.  
 He came—his presence cast a blaze more bright,  
 Than emanations from the solar light!  
 For every art and every science known,  
 Were all concentr'd in himself alone!  
 But see, too soon, his soul of meekness move,  
 To mix with seraphs in the realms above!  
 Whene'er with censers by his sacred shrine,  
 At rosy dawn I pensively recline,  
 Where the tall column towering to the skies,  
 Says, "Here the sage once animated lies,"  
 I think the zephyrs, murmuring as they blow,  
 Cry, "What a store of learning sleeps below!"  
 The world admires the wond'rous talents given  
 To this distinguish'd favourite of heaven;  
 For him in Earsham's academic bowers,  
 Poetic sorrow tuneful Hayley pours;  
 And manly Maurice makes the tidings flow,  
 Thames! to thy nymphs in elegies of woe.  
 Ganga, for him, with drooping head appears,  
 For him ev'n holy Pundits † shed their tears!  
 Krishna for him wail'd Matra's groves among,  
 And his romantic grot with cypresses hung;  
 Alive!—we prais'd the path sublime he trod;—  
 Dead! Learning hails him as her demi-god!

To

\* On January 15, 1784, the Asiatic Society was instituted.

† See the Asiatic Researches, vol. 4, p. 183.



To Burrow gone, be everlasting fame,  
 With Archimedes, Muse! arrange his name;  
 He near the Syracusan shall be seen,  
 Except great Newton's self may step between.

Flora and her attendant handmaids mourn  
 Still o'er lamented KÆNIG's early urn\*!

On you, O RICHARDSON! the Muse bestows  
 (It grew near Hafiz' tomb) a Shirauz rose:  
 As much you merit (for your well-spent hours,)  
 Of fragrant Araby the balmy flowers †;  
 Though in the grave your lifeless body's laid,  
 Poetic honours at your shrine be paid.

Where are they with congenial talents born,  
 That Erudition's splendid list adorn?  
 The brilliant train the name of SHORE might boast,  
 Were not the scholar in the statesman lost.

Now warriors burn ‡, each man of letters warms,  
 And all the arts shall prosper like our arms,  
 Beneath the auspice of a chief refin'd,  
 Of steady judgment and enlighten'd mind.  
 O MORNINGTON! may you again rehearse,  
 To listening India more Virgilian verse §;  
 You who in learning classical excel,  
 Will patronise the arts you love so well;  
 They in return will summon every power,  
 To crown the man and dignify him more:  
 To canvas painting will your semblance give;  
 While e'er a Muse is lov'd your praise will live;  
 Fair History's pen shall faithfully display,  
 Th' unequall'd glory of your prosperous sway!

FLEMING ||! acknowledg'd scholar, tell us why  
 Are your remarks hid from the public eye?  
 What in your life of science gain'd, impart  
 With such compliance as you favour art:  
 Come let your modesty be now subdu'd,  
 And mental treasures hope for general good:

Come HARINGTON \*\*, and bring with you the loves  
 That gently sport in Persia's scented groves;  
 Soft songs to soul-alluring girls impart,  
 And trill with melting extacy my heart.

The

\* Dr. Kœnig was a disciple of the great Linnæus. He died shortly after the institution of the Society, in consequence of the hill fever, caught when he was in pursuit of botanical researches on the Coast of Coromandel.

† The late Sir John Richardson, author of the Persian Dictionary and Arabic Grammar.

‡ This poem was written nearly about the period of the conquest of Mysore.

§ See his Lordship's elegant Latin Poem on the threatened Invasion, with a version of it; also his Ode to the Oak, (translated by Dr. Hunter), which shews from his early youth a noble spirit of patriotic pride.

|| Dr. John Fleming, 1st Vice-President of the Asiatic Society.

\*\* Mr. John Herbert Harington, 2d Vice-President of the Asiatic Society.



The pomp of thought in modern mode rehearse,  
 Of Eastern bards\*, and give us all their verse,  
 Whose pregnant fancy shines more pleasing far,  
 Than the mild lustre of yon morning star!  
 The British fair shall then your praise proclaim,  
 And with soft gratitude pronounce your name;—  
 By them a pleasing meed shall be prefer'd,  
 Theauteous Nooree—Fancy's favourite bird!  
 Champac †, with intermingled roses placed—  
 Harmonious Ovid of the genial East!

Come forward ye, whom rosy Flora loves,  
 Whose labours all that blooming queen approves:  
 See ROXBURGH first the high assembly grace,  
 To him just judgment gives a prior place.  
 Roxburgh! for you the long-hair'd Gopia spread,  
 Ind's odorous nard ‡, to deck your honour'd head.  
 Go, favour'd man, the blue-ey'd goddess greet,  
 Go, lay Jonesia § sprigs before her feet;  
 At her command bright butea || buds unfold,  
 Whose vivid pigment vies with burnish'd gold;  
 Go, studiously explore the flowery fields,  
 And taste the bliss the pleasing study yields!

In zealous ANDERSON \*\* we see conjoin'd,  
 To skill profound, a persevering mind.  
 Son of the Swede! the powers of verse present  
 To you all luscious fruit of fragrant scent,  
 Or aught in Nature pleasing to your sight;  
 Say will Alphonso mangoes give delight?  
 On you the gaudy garden nymphs have smil'd,  
 And Flora ranks you as a darling child.

Next comes a votary of equal powers,  
 Adorned with D'hawry and Morinda flowers! ††  
 Flora emits on him her musky breath,  
 And bids Malavian shepherds twine his wreath!  
 But not the garden only claims his care,  
 Each Muse for HUNTER myrtle sprigs prepare;  
 He pleases when he treads their laurel bower ††,  
 Or when we join him in the instructive tour §§.

Behold

\* His elegantly tender Translations are in the Asiatic Miscellany.

† Michelia Champaca.

‡ Valeriana Jatamanfi.—See A. R. vol. 4, p. 433.

§ The Ruffuk of the Bengalese.—See A. R. vol. 4, p. 355.

|| Butea Superba, the Tiga Maduga of the Hindus.—See A. R. vol. 3, p. 469.

\*\* Dr. James Anderson, of Madras.

†† The Aal of Malwâ, where it is cultivated to a great extent—the Atchy of Oude—See A. R. vol. 4, p. 35 and 42.—D'hawry is a shrub which grows wild in the hills and on the banks of rivulets; the flowers are of a beautiful red colour. (Grisea Tomentosa, ROXB.)

‡‡ See his very tender and affecting poem of "The Spanish Husband."

§§ Narrative of a Journey from Agra to Oujein, see *Asiatic Reg.* vol. 2, *Misc. Tracts*, p. 277.



Behold him Learning's every path pursue ;  
 He shew'd the force of the mechanic's screw \* :  
 Explain'd by him, we see its power increas'd,  
 It makes elastic bodies more compress'd.  
 Labour's rough sons may now with manual ease,  
 A mighty mass of ponderous matter raise,  
 Which in a dark unletter'd age would foil  
 The common impetus of human toil.  
 Th' ingenious man in this refin'd pursuit  
 The nice micrometer made more minute ;  
 The index turn'd, to cause its fall or rise,  
 Will take the smallest measurement precise.  
 His hours are now † to heighten commerce given,  
 And now ‡ to trace th' expanse of starry heaven !

HARDWICKE ! to you we give a double crown,  
 Who made the little meloë § our own ;  
 Who boldly dar'd adventurously to go,  
 And cut the boorans || from the mountains brow :  
 The renovating queen allows your fame,  
 And bids Linnæus chronicle each name.  
 So great your honours ! men of kindred powers,  
 Who know the gaudy progeny of flowers !

Peculiar favours be to FRANKLIN paid,  
 Ye Shirauz girls, fix chaplets round his head \*\* ;  
 And maids of Delhi, cull to deck his brow,  
 The sweetest sprigs in Shalimar that grow !  
 History, all-seeing, palm crown'd queen, commands  
 This mark of merit at your tender hands.  
 His faithful pen records the painful strife  
 Of modern Priam's †† variegated life.

Unhappy

\* His Essay "On a new Method of applying the Screw," was presented to the Royal Society of London, by Lieutenant-General Melville, in the year 1780, and published in the 71st volume of the Philosophical Transactions.—There is an abstract from it in the Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. 10, part 2, p. 742.

† See his account of Pegu, chap. 8.

‡ Alluding to the three papers of Astronomical Observations, in the A. R. and one on the Astronomical labours of Jayasingha.

§ By this discovery (says Dr. Monro) Captain Hardwicke has certainly made a most useful addition to our Asiatic Materia Medica—The Meloë Cichorei, described by Captain H. is found in Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, and possesses all the blistering qualities of the Cantharides.—See A. R. vol. 5, p. 231.

|| A large and beautiful tree, discovered by this gentleman, in the mountains near Sirinagur.

\*\* This gentleman has published a pleasing account of his Tour to Persia.

†† Captain Franklin has lately obliged the world with an account of the life of the present Emperor, Shah Aalum, whom I have styled the modern Priam. I thought, when I wrote the following lines, that there was a similitude in the destiny of the Trojan and Mogul monarch.

Where Delhi smiles on Jumna's holy flood,  
 Shah Aalum reigns—a second Priam he—  
 His counterpart in kingly misery !

Both



Unhappy monarch! pre-ordain'd to feel  
 The dire extremities of human ill.  
 I read—and issue sympathizing sighs—  
 Compassion's pearls float trembling in mine eyes;  
 Imperial miseries our hearts impress,  
 As much as beauty in extreme distress;  
 A sight which makes the finer passions roll,  
 Which, while a man can feel, must touch his soul.  
 Successive ills conspir'd to overwhelm,  
 This hoary remnant of his plunder'd realm,  
 Who, when he pays th' inevitable debt,  
 The sun of Timur shall for ever set.

Merit's gold medal is to GLADWIN due.  
 Who gave imperial Ackbar to our view,  
 His prudent laws—his sentiments on things—  
 This living portrait of the first of kings\*.  
 Persia! thy lore was early Gladwin's care,  
 The Graces saw, and bade him persevere †.

GILCHRIST, with odes conveying tender truth,  
 Smooths the rough path of science for our youth;  
 India to him such commendation owes,  
 As on her Johnson, England now bestows:  
 While he in Asian learning dives so deep,  
 Ye scribblers, o'er your *Moorish jargon* sleep;  
 Long since your treatises neglected lie,  
 And ere yourselves are dead, your *grammars* die ‡;  
 Unlike those works of universal praise,  
 Which more than emulate meridian rays,  
 Stamp'd with the signet of immortal fame;  
 Such bear a Gilchrist's or Kirkpatrick's name;  
 Or such fair tomes as science now demands,  
 From Blaquiere's one, and one from Forster's hands.  
 Poetic eyes with pleasure can survey,  
 Of the pure Hindu tongue the rising day!  
 The youths assembled!—the lyceum fram'd! §  
 And to preside o'er these a Gilchrist nam'd!

Patron

Both broke with sorrows—bow'd with weight of years—  
 Both truly venerable with silver hairs—  
 Both doom'd alike—so heaven's severe decree,  
 Their kingdom's fall and children's end to see.

\* The Ayeen Ackbery, translated by Mr. Francis Gladwin: His name (says Colonel Dow) lives, and will ever live, the glory of the house of Timur, and an example of renown to the kings of the world.

† Mr. Gladwin projected the Asiatic Miscellany, in which many elegant little productions are preserved from the fate attendant on fugitive publications. He still continues his plan on a smaller scale, under the title of the Oriental Miscellany, the first volume of which has been lately published.

‡ I here allude to Hadley and Ferguffon.

§ The good, the persevering Gladwin, thus concludes the Preface to the late edition of his Persian Moonshce: "With these improvements, I presume to hope that the book may be used with advantage in the Oriental seminary, lately established by Government



Patron of Asia's long neglected lore,  
 Like the fam'd Medici in days of yore,  
 O Mornington! yourself of arts the grace,  
 Encourage learning with a fond embrace,  
 Cherish her toilsome sons—a drooping train,  
 And call the days of Leo o'er again!  
 Go, be his favour, Gilchrist! your reward—  
 Enjoy the honours which you earn'd so hard,  
 Or when you por'd in Study's orient bowers,  
 Or fix'd the pauses of the fleeting hours\*.

He who endeavours well deserves applause,  
 More, if he labours in the public cause;  
 BALFOUR! observer nice, then come, receive  
 The just encomiums which the Muses give.  
 Early you learn'd and op'd the precious store  
 Of knowledge chronicled in Persian lore †.  
 Whenever Fever, in his baneful chace,  
 Shall dull the bloom on Beauty's lovely face,  
 Be your's the bliss, O scientific sage!  
 To check the progress of his savage rage—  
 To soothe the fair—alleviate her pain,  
 And bring her smiles and dimples back again.  
 Pleasure refin'd the feeling man must know,  
 Who eases mortals on the bed of woe.

Hear SCOTT in modest words the power impart,  
 Of nitric acid in the healing art.  
 Ye giddy youths, who spend nocturnal hours  
 In sensual pleasure's fascinating bowers,  
 Whose limbs enfeebled, scarcely can sustain  
 Your bodies, half consum'd with rooted pain,  
 Hear Scott a milder remedy proclaim ‡,  
 Than that strong metal § which impairs the frame!

VOL. 3.

\* H

Rejoice,

vernment at this presidency, under the superintendance of Mr. Gilchrist, so eminently distinguished by his laborious and useful publications on the Hindustanee language."

"The great encouragement which Oriental literature now experiences under the auspices of the Earl of Mornington, by exciting a general spirit of emulation, cannot fail of effecting its rapid advancement; and we may reasonably promise ourselves, that the influence of his Lordship's patronage will form an illustrious epoch in the history of learning in this country, like what the Medici accomplished in Italy through their munificence, erudition and taste."

\* Alluding to his paper on Horometry, in the 5th vol. of the A. R. to which is affixed an Hindustanee Horal Diagram.

† Dr. Francis Balfour was one of the first who endeavoured to facilitate the study of the Persian language, by the publication of the *Insha-y-Harkern*, with an English translation: he is also the author of a paper in the A. R. on the introduction of Arabic into Persian, and has laboured in the improvement of his own profession by several treatises, wherein he illustrates the influence of the moon in fevers.

‡ Dr. Helenus Scott's paper on the Use of the Nitric Acid, with an account of the success attendant on it, is to be found in the 2d vol. of Dr. Beddoes's *Collection of Medical Cases, and Observations on Factitious Air*, published at Bristol in the year 1796.

§ Mercury.



Rejoice, ye youths, who tread in folly's round;  
 Ye men of riot, hear the silver found!  
 The nitric acid will your strength restore,  
 And kill *that* subtle poison's direful power.

But deep learn'd men—ye sage physicians say,  
 What can the asthma's smothering pain allay?  
 Say, what can ease me by its might oppress'd,  
 This slow consuming tyrant of my breast?  
 Whene'er yon golden sun shall next embrace  
 The heavenly lion in his annual race,  
 And watery monsoons cover every plain  
 With copious torrents of descending rain,  
 Faint and afflicted then, in torture dire,  
 I'll catch for breath, and scarcely shall respire:  
 But should a peeping sun one hour make fair,  
 I'll pant and labour then in steamy air.  
 Ye sages say, when I those pangs endure,  
 What from the mines or from the fields can cure?

WILFORD! to you be most exalted praise,  
 You, great mythologist of modern days\*!  
 To public view the truth your labour brings,  
 And clears th' obscure from antiquated things.  
 In vain has scythe-arm'd Time consign'd to dust,  
 The letter'd stone and imitative bust;  
 Your piercing eyes with nice exactness pore  
 Each venerable record o'er and o'er;  
 Whether you write of mystic Samothrace,  
 Or at the urns of Nile Papyrus place.

MARSDEN! your work the tedious hours beguiles,  
 Which speaks Sumatra Queen of Sunda Isles!  
 A work which pleasure exquisite affords,  
 Wrote with such ready energy of words!  
 How can Sumatra's nymphs your brows adorn?  
 What their historian give in just return?  
 Will dark green Tanjong give to him delight?  
 Or Sandal Mallam—Harlot of the Night †?  
 Or may they Mangusteens, of grateful scent,  
 Or their own favourite Doorean present?  
 Or in soft whispers may he be address'd,  
 By girls who lip th' Italian of the East ‡?  
 Go, ye Brunettes, if children of the Loves,  
 Bestow him from Canango-scented groves,

Your

\* See the 1st, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th volumes of the A. R. for the labours of this great mythologist.

† So called from the circumstance of its blowing only at that time.

‡ "The Malay language has been celebrated, and justly, for the smoothness and sweetness of its sound, which has gained it the appellation of the Italian of the East. This is owing to the prevalence of vowels and liquids in the words, and the infrequency of any harsh combination of mute consonants. These qualities render it well adapted to poetry, which the Malays are passionately addicted to." See Marsden's *History of Sumatra*.



Your far-fam'd Argos pheasant—first in place  
 For beauteous plumes, of all the feathery race :  
 Then shall your Marsden reassume the pen,  
 And charm us with expression's flow again,  
 In Study's bower, the polish'd work extend,  
 And bring his splendid volumes to an end\*.

See patient WILKINS to the world unfold,  
 Whate'er discover'd Sanscrit relics hold † ;  
 But he perform'd a yet more noble part,  
 He gave to Asia typographic art ‡.

The great Translator of the Hindu Laws  
 Succeeded him, and mighty his applause !  
 Ind's modern Blackstone §, in dark Sanscrit veil'd ||,  
 Just commentator ! might have lain concealed,  
 If COLEBROOKE's knowledge had not given such light,  
 As brought the venerable code to fight :  
 Obscur'd no more the sacred volume lies,  
 Or to vernacular or alien eyes,  
 Colebrooke, in plain familiar English; dress'd  
 The jurisprudence of the gentle East.  
 Our fires, misled by prejudice or pride \*\*,  
 Thought India's sons to letters unallied,  
 Till Jones arose, bright Sun ! and beam'd such day,  
 As drove the superficial mist away.  
 Men more enlighten'd since, can plainly trace  
 Ind's old progenitors a letter'd race,  
 When Britons were (now lords of science deem'd)  
 By Julian, Rome †† a barbarous race esteem'd,  
 But Britain now, monastic darkness pass'd,  
 Learning's fix'd polar star shall ever last.

Another COLEBROOKE next inspires the lays,  
 Whose various talents claim distinguish'd praise,  
 Whose mental power pre-eminent appears,  
 Or when he studies the bespangled spheres ††,

\* H 2

Or

\* This gentleman has promised the public a continuation of his most valuable History of Sumatra.

† See the first vol. A. R.—“ Mr. Wilkins,” says Sir William Jones, “ by decyphering and explaining the old Sanscrit Inscriptions lately found in these provinces, has performed more than any other European has learning enough to accomplish, or than any Asiatic had industry enough to undertake.”

‡ To this celebrated Sanscrit Scholar, Asia is indebted for the preparation of types for the Oriental languages.

§ Jagannátha Tercapanchánana. This commentator's voluminous work has been translated by Mr. Henry T. Colebrooke, at the desire of the late Governor-general, Sir John Shore.

|| “ The Hindu and Mussulman laws are locked for the most part in two very difficult languages, Sanscrit and Arabic, which few Europeans will ever learn, because neither of them leads to any advantage in worldly pursuits.”

*Sir William Jones to the Supreme Council.*

\*\* *Barbarous Ganges.* POPE.

†† *Visam Britannos hospitibus feros.* HORACE.

And another writer says,—*Toto divisos orbe Britannos.*

‡‡ Alluding to Captain Robert H. Colebrooke's *Astronomical Observations in the 4th vol. A. R.*



Or in description's faithful words pourtrays,  
 Yon neighbouring islands, people, and their ways\*.  
 Now see him to unsullied white impart,  
 The grandest views for imitative art,  
 O'er the wove sheet see Hyder's doom expand ;  
 Work of the pencil in his master's hand !  
 Nature's stupendous scenes he gave to fight,  
 Exciting awful, but extreme delight † !

Whoe'er expounds the sacred Sanscrit tongue,  
 Which to the world has been abstruse so long,  
 And perseveres in such industrious toil,  
 Of Science surely will deserve the smile :  
 Hindu, laborious Gilchrist has made known—  
 By whom can Sanscrit equally be shown ?  
 A work immense—but if I justly view,  
 The task, O BLAQUIERE ! is reserv'd for you ‡.

Philologers ! one language yet remains,  
 Bengal ! the language of thy passive swains.  
 Harken, O FORSTER § ! and your work display,  
 And add a star to Learning's milky way.  
 Your perseverance henceforth shall produce  
 Some great Thesaurus for scholastic use ;  
 Then shall your soul that conscious pleasure feel,  
 Which conscious merit ought not to conceal,  
 When Fame on topaz-tinctur'd wings shall tower,  
 To found you worthy of the smiles of Power.

In yonder empire where the Burmahs reign,  
 Lies an extensive populous domain,  
 On which Inquiry's dawn has seldom shone,  
 Their learning, language, and their ways scarce known :  
 Return, BUCHANAN ! to their regions go,  
 Explore whatever Burmah sages know !  
 Remark what minerals their country yields,  
 And, lovely study, read their flowery fields || !

This

\* See his description of Nancowry, Comarty, and the Andaman Islands—A. R. vol. 4.

† The six latter lines allude to his Views in Myfore, most of which are awfully grand, but the Mausoleum of Hyder pleases me most.

‡ Mr. William Coates Blaquiere, a profound Sanscrit scholar. He has presented to the public, in the 5th vol. A. R. a translation of one of the Purans on the sanguinary sacrifices of the Hindus, and from him we may hope for a Dictionary on the Sanscrit language.

§ Mr. Henry Pitts Forster, whom Mr. Gilchrist, in the Dedication of the Oriental Linguist to Sir John Shore, thus alludes :—"The intended philological work of one gentleman alone, if finished on the grand scale at present projected, of an Oriental Thesaurus, must prove a stupendous literary monument in the honourable Company's annals of the truth of this verse—

*"Sint Mæcenates non deerunt Flacce Marones."*

Mr. Forster is the supposed author of the Letters of Agricola\*, which display his knowledge in the finance of this country, and his abilities as a politician.

|| "Botany," says the great Father of the Society, "is the loveliest and most copious division in the History of Nature."—For this study Dr. Francis Buchanan is peculiarly adapted, as well from ability as inclination.

\* Major Henry White, and not Mr. Foster, was the author of those able letters.—Eds.



This page of Nature view'd with Learning's eye,  
Exhibits treasures—shall they hidden lie?

So long as stars shall twinkle in the night,  
And favour mortals with their silv'ry light,  
So long, O studious DAVIS \*! shall your name,  
Rank with those men of literary fame!

Is there no other spends inquiring hours,  
In sacred Cafi's † consecrated bowers?

Yes, WILLIAMS! you—your praise is surely great—  
Williams! men snatch'd from death your name repeat,  
You check the progress of envenom'd pain,  
And make the poison of the adder vain ‡!

Who are yon maids array'd in heavenly white,  
Whose beauteous aspect shines divinely bright?  
Yes!—'tis the lovely Virtues I behold,  
(I know their tresses of loose floating gold)  
In sweet assemblage seated to proclaim,  
How much they reverence their KIRKPATRICK'S name!

But first see Chastity—that blushing fair—  
The doves of Innocence for him prepare.

In ready concord all the sisters join,

To celebrate the man in songs divine,

Whose genius plann'd the charitable dome—

Who bade th' unguarded houseless orphan come §.

Eternal echoes shall his name repeat,

In yon green groves round Howrah's sacred seat!

O man of sense refin'd!—how justly due,

The thanks of rising virgins given to you!

Sweet blooming black-ey'd girls, of shapely forms,  
Whose speaking looks my melting bosom warms.

To virtue form'd by your paternal care,

And more, preserv'd from the seducer's snare.

Could mortals trace whence every matter springs,

And penetrate the secret source of things,

Or dive into futurity's dark womb—

Or prophesy of people yet to come—

Hence, Asians born, may rise of deathless fame,

To make states tremble at the British name!

Perhaps I owe from hence (in chaste embrace)

Two smiling infants now before my face.

From

\* Mr. Samuel Davis, author of a most valuable paper on Hindu Astronomy.—  
Mr. Davis (says Sir William Jones), of all men living, is the best qualified to exhibit  
a copious and accurate History of Indian Astronomy.

† Cafi, the ancient name of Benares.

‡ His remarks on the use of Caustic Alkali, against the bite of snakes, are published in the 2d vol. A. R.

§ Colonel Kirkpatrick was one of the most active promoters of the Bengal Orphan Institution. His example in India was followed by Lady Campbell, under whose patronage the Female Asylum at Madras was erected in 1787. Posterity will place their names on the list with that most humane and best of women, the Lady Arabella Denny, the foundress of the Magdalen Asylum in Dublin.



From lower origin and meaner birth,  
 Sprang the proud Romans—rulers of the earth!  
 Kirkpatrick gone to climes our arms subdu'd \*,  
 Will teach another people to be good.  
 Then shall his God in holy radiance shed  
 Perpetual blessings on his honour'd head,  
 Give him to slumber each revolving night,  
 Entranc'd in pleasing dreams of soft delight;  
 Then shall his years unknown to care be spent  
 In one eternal round of true content:  
 And when the awful messenger of death,  
 Shall wave the flaming sword and snatch his breath,  
 On silver wings shall vigil angels fly,  
 And gently bear him to the realms of joy †.  
 Father of India! Saviour of the East!  
 In what exalted class can you be plac'd!  
 HASTINGS! say, do you now from toils of state,  
 Enjoy repose in your paternal seat?  
 Posterity your semblance shall behold,  
 (Like your own spotless self) in virgin gold!  
 The medals mix'd with Roman coins shall lie,  
 Your face then catch each keen researcher's eye,  
 Who'll say (with thoughts of former times impress'd)  
 "Behold the greatest statesman of the East!"  
 But yet you live, yet shall your sovereign's ray,  
 Emblaze the eve of your declining day!  
 Although long since the wide Atlantic past,  
 Your name yet trembles on each passing blast;  
 I hear it now, it vibrates on my ear,  
 I hear it, and I shed a pearly tear—  
 I can no more—Ye powers of verse! I find,  
 That feelings exquisite impress my mind.

\* When this part of the Poem was written, Colonel Kirkpatrick was one of the Commissioners for managing the affairs of Mysore.

† I might equally have celebrated Colonel Kirkpatrick as a great Orientalist, but I chose this more splendid part of his character.



## HAFIZ.

رو بر همش نزا دم و بر من گذر نکرد  
 صد لطف چشم داشتم و یکظر نکرد  
 سبل سر شک ما ز دلش کین بدر بزود  
 در سنگ خاره قطره باران اثر نکرد  
 یارب تو آن جوان دلادر نگاه دار  
 کز تبر آه گوشت نشینان حذر نکرد  
 مایه و مرع دوش نخفت از فغان من  
 و آن شوخ و بده بین که سر از خواب بر نکرد  
 میخواستیم که میرمش اندر قدم چو شمع  
 او خود گذر بما چو نسیم سحر نکرد  
 جانا کدام سنگ دل یکفا نیست  
 کو پیش زخم تیغ تو جان را سپر نکرد  
 کلک زبان بر بده حافظ در انجمن  
 باکس نگفت راز تو تا ترک سر نکرد

*The following Translation of the above we have taken from the BENGAL HIRCARRAH, a very interesting and well-conducted Journal.*

I stood in the way of my Fair,  
 Yet she purposely turn'd her aside :  
 I knelt with a woe-worn air,  
 Yet I gain'd not a look from her pride.

With tears I beheld her depart,  
 Yet she left me to stifle my pain ;  
 For, before they shall melt her hard heart,  
 Yon marble shall yield to the rain.



How shall I requite her for this?  
 For I bless, when to curse I'm inclin'd;  
 O God! then, show'r every bliss  
 On my love, though she's passing unkind.

I lament me the long of the night,  
 And the moon seems awake to my pain:  
 While she, who alone can requite,  
 Seems alone to be deaf to my strain.

At last I long'd only to die,  
 Could I die like a lamp by her breath:  
 Yet she would not vouchsafe me a sigh,  
 To extinguish my longing with death.

They tell me I've parted with sense,  
 Thus to woo such an obdurate fair;  
 But with thousands I share the pretence,  
 And I'm proud of the heaviest share.

Yet I'm truer than thousands beside;  
 For was treason e'er HAFIZ'S vice?  
 For his tongue of the trusts you confide  
 Shall not blab, though his life were the price..

SADIQ.

ابو سعيد ابو انجبر  
 گفتم ضما لاله رخا دلدارا  
 در خواب نما اچ مره باري مارا  
 گفتا که روا بخواب بي تا انکه  
 خوابي که ديگر بخواب بيني مارا

Once I wrote to my Charmer, Ah! pity my case,  
 And, tho' in a dream, let me see thy fair face.  
 She replied, If in absence your eyes you can close,  
 My presence shall never disturb your repose.

DOO PEEAZ.



AN

## ACCOUNT OF BOOKS,

FOR THE YEAR 1801.

§ *An Account of an Embassy to the Teshoo Lama, in Tibet; containing a Narrative of a Journey through Bootan, and Part of Tibet, by Captain SAMUEL TURNER; to which are added, Views taken on the Spot, by Lieutenant SAMUEL DAVIS; and Observations, botanical, mineralogical, and medical, by Mr. ROBERT SAUNDERS.* 4to. pp. 501. Nicol. 1800.

THE fertile plain which once constituted the opulent kingdom of Gaur, now the Suba of Bengal, is skirted on the north by a ridge of Imaus, mountains piled on mountains, their sides covered with trees, and separated by deep chasms, through which rivers rush with immense velocity, rear their snowy summits to the skies, and compose the kingdom named Bootan by European, Tangut by Mahomedan, and Bhatta by Hindu geographers. Advancing in the same direction, the traveller gains what has been considered as the highest level of the antient continent; the mountains disappear; an arid plain swept by wintry winds, offering few vegetable productions; but abounding in wild herds of animals, which the bountiful hand of nature has defended against the intense cold of the climate, presents itself to his view. In the latitude of 29 degrees he experiences the temperature of the polar regions; whilst the mighty rivers which have their sources amidst these

mountains, by pursuing their amazing length of course in every direction, through China, Hindustan, Transoxania and Siberia, manifest the superior elevation of the site whence they derive their origin; and convey to the Pacific, the Frozen, and the Indian Ocean, a tribute of waters drawn from the moisture condensed in the lofty centre of Asia. If we except Marco Paolo, this country, previously to the English embassies, had only been explored by a few missionaries of the Roman catholic church; but their attention was slightly impelled towards the objects best calculated to engage the attention of the philosopher; and even their accounts of the native superstitions is formed with too evident a bias towards an hypothesis, improbable in itself, and supported only by suspicious analogies and mistaken etymologies. Could these, indeed, constitute the foundation of a system, we should, with Pere Georgi, view in the votaries of the Grand Lama, sectaries of the Manichean heresy;



heresy; their god Sakya, born of a royal virgin, would present a disfigured image of the immaculate conception; and Indra extended on a cross, pierced with wounds, and covered with thorns, might typify the crucifixion of the Son of God. Yet this country is interesting to the philosopher both in a moral and physical point of view. The most splendid talents have been employed in tracing the progress of science and letters from the Hyperborean regions; in fixing their station in the centre of Asia; and marking their diffusion from that focus to the various countries where they now flourish. But the religion, and the literature of Tibet, unquestionably prevail as far north as those terms are understood, at the present day. Marco Paolo represents the inhabitants of Camul as constantly employed in reading and writing "after their fashion:" the number of books extant in the Tibetan language is supposed to exceed the number even of Chinese publications. Bernier mentions a physician of that country whom he had seen in Cashmir, with a collection of medical books. The Czar Peter I. discovered, in a deserted city of Siberia, an immense library, of which all the volumes written in the Tibetan tongue, had been composed by Lama priests. Some of them were sent to the celebrated Fourmont, who, assisted by one of his friends, decyphered several passages, sufficiently to prove that they treated of the immortality of the soul and its transmigrations. It is from Tibet that the religion and science of the Hindus have been supposed by the French philosophers immediately to derive. These considerations, independent of the intrinsic merit of Captain Turner's valuable work, have induced us to

submit a very full analysis of it to our readers, accompanied with illustrations, derived from sources both European and Asiatic.

*Introduction.*—In the year 1772, the Rajah of Bootan invaded the district of Cooch Behar, situated at the foot of the Bootan hills, and meeting with little resistance from the natives, rapidly gained possession of it. The English government detached a military force, which repelled the invaders, and was preparing to carry its arms into the Bootan territory, when at the intercession of the Teshoo Lama, a peace was concluded with the Rajah, and the former boundaries were restored. Mr. Hastings judged the opportunity favourable for the establishment of a commercial intercourse between the inhabitants of Bengal and their northern neighbours. Mr. Bogle was accordingly deputed on an embassy to the Teshoo Lama; he reached Deseripghé in October 1774; and after having resided there and at Teshoo Loomboo till April 1775, he returned to Bengal; but his death, soon after his return, deprived the world of the information which he had acquired during his residence in Tibet. At this period, the Dalai Lama, who fills the highest office of their hierarchy, was still a minor, and the Teshoo Lama governed as regent the temporal interests of the Tibet church. Amongst its votaries are reckoned all the Tartar tribes, who have not been converted to the religion of Islamism; and, with the rest, the Manchus, whose chiefs fill the throne of China. When the late Emperor Kienlong had almost attained his seventieth year, the Teshoo Lama was earnestly solicited to honour that anniversary with his presence. A narrative of his journey from Teshoo Loomboo



to Peking, given by Poorungheer Ghosain, who accompanied him thither, will be found in our last volume; an account of his death in July 1780, in that capital, and a letter from the Emperor to the Dalai Lama, written on that occasion. This intelligence had scarcely reached Calcutta before it was succeeded by that of the re-appearance of the Lama in Tibet. "The soul of the late Lama, according to the doctrines of their faith, having passed into, and animated the body of an infant, who, on the discovery of his identity, by such testimonies as their religion prescribes, was acknowledged and proclaimed by the same title and appellation as his predecessor. Mr. Hastings, upon the receipt of these accounts, proposed to the board, to send a second deputation to Tibet;" and Captain Turner was nominated to this service on the 9th of January 1783.

*Chap. 1.*—Captain Turner received his final instructions in the beginning of 1783; and Lieut. Samuel Davies, and Mr. Robert Saunders were included in the commission; the former as draftsman and surveyor, the latter in the capacity of surgeon. They left Calcutta in the beginning of May, and passing Murshedabad, the capital of the province, and Baulea, a considerable manufacturing station, travelled through a rich and fertile country to Rungpur, two hundred and sixty miles from Calcutta, where they waited for passports from Bootan. The flourishing town of Mungulhaut, situated on the Durla, was their next station, where they found the Zeenkaubs deputed by the Rajah, who were to conduct the ambassador to their master's capital. Here they entered the province of Cooch Behar. "We proceeded," says our

author, "through a very highly improved and fertile country, where the luxuriant growth of the trees, among which the most conspicuous were the *areca*, *cathecu*, *bombax*, *pentandrium*, and *ficus indica*, intermixed with clusters of the bamboo, and the rich verdure of the fields, covered with rice almost ready to shoot into ear, presented on every side a most pleasing prospect. As the day dawned, we obtained a transient view of the summits of the mountains of Bootan, which resembled a deep shadow in the distant horizon; but the sun soon raised up an impenetrable veil of thick vapor from the marshes at their base, and they were no longer visible. The vastness and obscurity of this enormous boundary, remote and indistinct as it appeared, when it first burst on the sight in ill-defined and fantastic shapes, could not but excite very powerful emotions in the mind; and I looked upon the formidable barrier I had to pass with mingled awe and admiration. The favorable aspect of the Cooch Behar district was of no long continuance; the country became full of marshes as they advanced; cultivation was neglected, and the appearance of the inhabitants indicated the unhealthiness of their climate, aggravated by extreme poverty. In this district, if a peasant owes a sum of money, and has not the ability to satisfy his creditor, he is compelled to give up his wife as a pledge, and possession of her is kept until the debt is discharged." In his route to-day, our author remarked some pine apples growing wild, which leads to a digression concerning the introduction of this fruit into Hindustan, by Portuguese priests, in the reign of Akbar; and he supposes they were brought to Cooch



Behar by Mir Jumla, on his expedition against Assam. We cannot accede to this supposition; first, because the historians of the expedition mention that Mir Jumla found the district of Cooch Behar abounding in fruits and fragrant plants; and, secondly, because the ananas is expressly mentioned as one of the fruits which that General found in Assam. This plant was first made known to European botanists by Don Gonçalo Hernandez de Ovi-edo, governor of St. Domingo, in 1535. We must, however, remark, that the name is Arabic, and descriptive of the fruit, which is seldom the case with any but indigenous productions.

*Chap. 2.* brings us from Chichacotta, the frontier station, to Buxaduar, a distance of twenty miles. The former consists of a habitation situated in the centre of a large square, formed by a strong embankment, with a double row of bamboos, and this they termed a fort. At the foot of the Bootan mountains, a plain extends for about thirty miles in breadth, choked, rather than clothed, with the most luxuriant vegetation. The exhalations necessarily arising from the multitude of springs which the vicinity of the mountain produces, are collected and confined by these almost impervious woods, and generate an atmosphere through which no traveller ever passed with impunity. Yet, even this spot is not without inhabitants, although its influence hath wholly debased in them the form, the size, and the strength of human creatures. The hill on which Buxaduar stands, terminates this noxious climate; Santabari is half way up, famed for its extensive orange groves; Buxaduar is placed on the summit of a hill levelled by art.

It consists of a range of temporary sheds designed to shelter a garrison that may be stationed to defend that important pass; and a village of ten or twelve houses placed on a second table of levelled rock. Here our travellers were received with much urbanity by the Suba, and were regaled with chong, a slightly acid and spirituous liquor, extemporaneously prepared by the infusion of a mass of grain in a state of fermentation; and arra, (probably arrack) a spirit procured from it by a rude process of distillation.

*Chap. 3.* conducts us from Buxaduar to Tasisudon, a distance as we imagine (for Captain Turner has sometimes omitted to specify this important particular) of about 100 miles. Our travellers ascended the lofty mountain of Peachucom, by a road, some parts of which consisted of stone steps. On the summit, they were warned by the natives to avoid speaking, and assured that the concussion of air occasioned by loud conversation would infallibly bring down on them, torrents of rain. The Oomkoo presented itself next, a mountain higher than the former, covered to its summit with trees, all clothed with moss, and with creepers intertwined among them. It is composed in some places of clay; but for the most part it consists of a flinty stone, striated with talc, and intermixed with marble. The road passing the sides of the perpendicular rock, Pheadinchim, is only two feet broad, and formed entirely of loose stones, projecting over a deep precipice below. Here was lost a fine Arabian horse sent by Mr. Hastings, as a present to the Daeb Rajah. He started at the overhanging rock; and falling from the road, was dashed to pieces



pieces at the bottom of the precipice. The village of Gygoogoo consists of five or six houses, supported on bamboo props, twelve miles from Buxaduar. The Tehinchieu, which waters the vale of Tasisudon, rolls in a deep channel at the foot of this mountain. It is to be lamented that our author did not ascertain where this river joins the Berhamputra. Is it the Gadadhara, whose confluence is near Rangamatty? Thirteen miles further, on the summit of a lofty mountain, lay Muricham, consisting of twenty houses, built of stone, and abundantly commodious. Having heard that there was cinnamon growing in this neighbourhood, I sent a native into the woods to search for the tree; he returned to me within half an hour, with a great quantity both of its roots and branches. Its leaves are much used in cookery in Bengal, and known by the denomination of Teezpaut. Strawberries, raspberries, and peaches were found here in great abundance. Mountains of still more abrupt ascent produced themselves on the view on the way to Chuca; the cascade of Minzapeezo throws a stream from so great a perpendicular height, that before it is received in the thick shade below, it is nearly dissipated, and appears like the steam arising from boiling water. Stone steps, sustained by beams let into the rock, and secured with cramps of iron, facilitated the ascent. "At every pause we beheld a different prospect, each of which, perhaps, might justly be reckoned amongst the grandest and most awful in nature. Cascades of water issuing from the bosoms of lofty mountains, clothed with noble trees, and hiding their heads in the clouds: abrupt precipices, deep dells, and the river

dashing its waters with astonishing rapidity, over the huge stones and broken rocks below, composed the sublime and variegated picture."—Near the castle of Chuca, the Tehinchieu is crossed on a bridge constructed on five chains that support the platform. The castle is a square building of stone, on elevated ground, and makes a very respectable appearance. From hence to Punugga, the road side was covered with strawberries, docks, nettles, primroses, and dogrose bushes; here also appeared the first pine and fir trees, which became still more common as our travellers proceeded.—The mountains near Kepta, were the highest they had yet seen; a great deal of unmelted snow still covered the summit of Lomeela, on the 27th May. At Nomnoo, hermitages and villages spread over the sides and summits of the mountains, to each of which is allotted a spacious portion of cultivated ground: an orchard in the neighbourhood, afforded walnuts, peaches, apples, pears, apricots and barberries. From thence to Wangoca, the country began to open; the Tehinchieu ran with less rapidity, over a more even bed of ground, watering a most beautiful narrow valley, in which not a spot of land was unemployed. Eight miles farther brought out travellers to the vale of Tasisudon, the capital of Bootan. The valley appears to be about three miles in length, and one in breadth, the Tehinchieu running through it. "There is no regular town, nor any village within a mile of the palace. The banks of the river are lined with willows, and the surrounding mountains have some timber trees, intermixed with the pine and fir, as well as a great variety of flowering shrubs; whilst



a number of single houses, and some monasteries, having orchards and hanging fields of corn about them, ornament the finely romantic views, with which we were delighted from every part of this valley."

*Chap. 4.* On the 3d of June, the ambassador paid his visit of ceremony to the Rajah of Bootan, commonly styled Deva Rajah, the celestial king.

"We followed the Zoondonier, (treasurer), with many Zeenkaubs accompanying us, through several passages, and up a number of lofty ladders, which connect the different floors, till at length, we arrived at the elevated station occupied by the Rajah, near the summit of the citadel.

After a short pause upon the landing place, the door was thrown open, and we were ushered into a small, but well-proportioned room, having on the west side an arched balcony with sliding curtains, being the only aperture for the admission of light, immediately opposite to the door by which we entered, and before which a skreen, projected nearly one third of the breadth of the room. The remaining space on the wall, beyond the skreen, was decorated with the portraits, wrought in silk, of some champions of their faith, as stiff and formal as any heroes that ever appeared in tapestry. The walls of the room were coloured with blue, and the arches of the balcony, pillars, doors, &c. were painted with vermilion, and ornamented with gilding. The Rajah was habited in a deep garnet-coloured cloth, and sat cross legged upon a pile of cushions, in the remote corner of the room, with the balcony upon his right hand; upon his left side stood a cabinet of diminutive idols, and a variety of consecrated trink-

ets: close upon his right was placed an escrutoire, for the deposit of papers required to be at hand; and before him was a small painted bench, to place his tea-cup on, and answering all the other purposes of a table." Tea is always presented on such occasions. "We found," says Capt. Turner, "this liquor extremely unlike what we had been used to drink, under the same name; it was a compound of water, flour, butter, salt, and bohea tea, with some other astringent ingredients, all boiled, beat up, and intimately blended together." Trays of fruits were produced, consisting of oranges, dried apples, walnuts, vegetables, and some preserved fruits of China and Cashmir. The Rajah's deportment was distinguished by a degree of urbanity, little to be expected in one secluded from all intercourse with any but his own subjects, by a mass of impervious mountains. His sentiments breathed all that humanity, which the doctrine of the metempsychosis seems calculated to inspire. "My food," said he, "consists of the simplest articles; grain, roots of the earth, and fruits. I never eat of any thing that has had breath, for so I should be the indirect cause of putting an end to the existence of animal life, which, by our religion, is strictly forbidden." This prohibition either does not extend to the laity, or is neglected by them. The description of the features of this people is applicable to those of all the nations which occupy the east of Asia. "The Booteas have invariably black hair, which it is their fashion to cut close to the head. The eye is a very remarkable feature of the face: small, black, with long pointed corners, as though stretched and extended  
by



by artificial means. Their eye lashes are so thin, as to be scarcely perceptible; and the eye-brow is but slightly shaded. Below the eyes, is the broadest part of the face, which is rather flat and narrows from the cheek bones to the chin; a character of countenance appearing first to take its rise among the Tartar tribes, but is by far more strongly marked in the Chinese. Their skins are remarkably smooth, and most of them arrive at a very advanced age, before they can boast the earliest rudiments of a beard." The Rajah of Bootan is at the same time a Lama, uniting the regal and ecclesiastical authority in his own person; the palace serves also the purpose of a monastery, being inhabited by fifteen hundred Gylongs, or priests, to whom the most rigid celibacy is enjoined. Frequent ablutions are prescribed and practised by the religious orders; but the laity of Bootan are extremely deficient in personal cleanliness. The goitre or tumid neck, which deforms the persons, and debilitates the minds, of the inhabitants of Alpine regions, is also frequent among the Bootees. To the use of snow water, it has sometimes been attributed; but analysis can discover no additional principle in the water derived from snow, and the prevalence of this disorder amongst the mountains of Sumatra, and of the Deccan, where snow never falls, obliges us to have recourse to some other circumstance, common to mountainous regions, to account for this phenomenon.

*Chap. 5.* From the borders of Bengal to the capital of Bootan, our travellers have not mentioned a single town; a few villages, of which the largest contained only twenty houses, marked the stations

from the frontier. Even Tasisudon can scarcely merit that appellation; the palace stands near the centre of the valley; another palace and a handsome villa lie at some distance from it, and a few clusters of houses distributed through the fields, accommodate the inhabitants of the capital of Bootan. The palace is of a quadrangular form; the walls thirty feet high; above the middle space, is a row of projecting balconies, to each of which are curtains made of black hair, which are always drawn at night. "The grand entrance is on the east front, which is ascended by a flight of stone steps. Even with these, we entered a spacious gateway, having two massy doors, fortified with knobs of iron." We passed through this gateway and came opposite to the central square building, which I must call the citadel; and this is the habitation of the supreme Lama. It contains also the chief of their idols, Mahamoonie, amidst a multitude of others of inferior note. It is a very lofty building, being no less than seven stories high, each from fifteen to eighteen feet; it is covered over with a roof of a low pitch, composed of fir timbers, sheathed with boards of deal, which project on each side a great way beyond the walls; from the centre there rises a square piece of masonry, which supports a canopy of copper richly gilt; and this is supposed to be immediately over the great idol, Mahamoonie. Lama Rimbochay, the present Daeb Rajah, lives upon the fourth floor from the ground; above that there are two other stories; and the seventh ladder leads to the temple of Mahamoonie, which is covered with the gilded canopy."

We may remark that the style of architecture above described,



seems co-extensive with the religion of Buddha, called by Capt. Turner, Mahamoonie, or the great anchoret. More magnificent structures in the same style, it will be our province to describe, when we accompany Col. Symes, to the court of Ava, where the gilded canopy also marks the station of Buddha, in the inmost recesses of the temple. The agriculture of Bootan is promoted by artificial irrigations, the water being conveyed to the fields through hollow cylinders, formed of the trunks of trees. Paper is manufactured from the bark of a tree, named deah, by a process very similar to our own, and proves of a texture much more durable. A small square temple, erected to contain an image is seen, "placed like a sentinel, as it were, by the road side, on each approach towards every consecrated habitation, proportionate in dimensions to the magnitude and importance of the edifice, with which it is connected: on each of the three great roads, that lead to Tasisudon, a very spacious one is found. I remember to have seen one of these buildings, which was dedicated to the junction of the Hatchieu, with the Tehintchieu, near Kepta. They are often placed at the meeting of two principal roads. I have seen them also at the base of a remarkable mountain, and they are invariably met with at the entrance of every capital village. Near the top are inserted large tablets, with the words *Oom mannie paimie oom*, carved in relief."—Georgi has devoted a section of his work to the explanation of these mystic words, the second of which he was led by his hypothesis to refer to the name of Mani, or Manes, the founder of the heresy, from him denominated

Manichean. The Pere Horatio has preserved and translated a commentary on them, composed by Rabgiamba Ngavang, a Gylong in one of the monasteries of Lassa. From this we learn, that the first and last words is the invocation to the deity, common to the Tibetans, with the Hindus; "Mani" signifies a gem, and Paimi, the flower of the lotos. From this explanation it were impossible to dissent, since Mani also signifies a gem, in Sanscrit; and Paimi, is a manifest corruption of Padma, the Sanscrit appellation of the *nympha nilotica*; these admired productions of nature having been apparently selected as emblematic of the purity and excellence, which they ascribe to Buddha, their chief object of worship.

*Chap. 6.* During Capt. Turner's residence at Tasisudon, a bloodless insurrection shook the throne of Bootan. The commandant of Wandipur, at the head of a party of mal-contented advanced to the vale, and took possession of three villages, which he connected by a line, in front of the palace. The measures adopted both for attack and defence, betray a total ignorance of military discipline and manœuvres. "Every kind of discipline and order is totally disregarded in their mode of warfare; stratagem is more practised than open assault: they engage in general as marksmen, and wait their opportunity to fire unobserved. Both parties are so careful to conceal themselves, that seldom any thing is visible but the top of a tufted helmet, or the end of a bow." Hostilities terminated by the retreat of the rebels, though the palace was entirely defenceless, and the castle of Wandipur was soon after reduced by blockade.

*Chap. 7.* describes an excursion to



to the castle of Wandipur, twenty-four miles from Tasisudon, and to Pudukka, the winter seat of the Rajah. Still no towns are mentioned as occurring in the route. "The castle of Wandipur towers high upon the narrow extremity of a rock, which stands between the Matchieu-Patchieu, and the Tahantchieu rivers, both which streams unite at its sharpened point: they then form together a river of considerable magnitude, that takes the name Chaantchieu, and shapes its course between the frontier mountains, flowing finally along the flat surface of the district of Bijnee, into the Berhampooter." The united stream is manifestly the river Suniacasa, which traverses Rangamatty, and combines with the Gadadhara (or Tehinchieu) before their confluence with the Brahmaputra. Chiew signifies a river in the Tibetan tongue; hence we find it annexed to all the proper names of the streams which water these mountainous regions. The bridge of Wandipur is of singular lightness and beauty, constructed entirely of fir, without the smallest piece of metal to connect its parts. Pudukka is placed in a less elevated situation, and a more genial soil produces in abundance the fruits of tropical and temperate climates. A citadel and gilded canopy rises in the midst of the palaces of Pudukka and Wandipur, similar to that described at Tasisudon.

*Chap. 8.* is enlivened by a detail of the Rajah's efforts to amuse his guests, and many particulars of his conversation. This monarch had travelled incognito, with a single attendant from Tasisudon to the extensive city of Lassa, had paid his devotions at the sacred shrine of a Pootala, (Buddhalay, the mansion of Buddha), and after

a residence of about fourteen days, returned in the same manner to Bootan. His villa was ornamented with drawings of that city; of Lubrong, the residence of Teshoo Lama in Tibet; of Cattamandu, the capital of Nepal, and Patan, in the same kingdom, as well as of other places of famed resort. Their representations partook both of plan and perspective, though without the advantages of light and shade. A bull-fight constituted one of the entertainments, and the Rajah was engaged in preparations for the festival of Durga, at the autumnal equinox, when our travellers left Tasisudon.

*Book II. Chap. 1.* brings us from the capital to the frontier of Bootan. The route lay south-west from Tasisudon, till our travellers reached the river Patchieu: they crossed Pomœla, covered with snow at midsummer; Phajudee, the place of the Rajah's last regeneration was distinguished by its palace, and inscribed flags. An extensive monastery occupied the summit of the mountain, the president of which was, as usual styled Lama; to the prevalence of these monastic institutions the scanty population may doubtless be attributed. But in Bootan, superstition and ambition concur to control the most genial propensities of nature: celibacy is the road to distinction and power in this ecclesiastic government; and Capt. Turner remarks, "that the higher orders of men, entirely engrossed by political or ecclesiastical duties, leave to the husbandman and labourer, to those who till the fields and live by their industry, the exclusive charge of propagating the species." Nor is this entirely the case, for custom obliges every family that has more  
than



than four boys, to contribute one of them to the order of Gylongs. The prosecution of their route conducted our travellers to Paimatong and Paibesa, in the midst of picturesque mountains; hence they descended to the vale of Paro, stretching along the banks of the Patchieu. The castle is a handsome building of stone, ornamented in the centre with a gilded canopy, in the manner of all the Rajah's palaces, and calculated for defence. "Paro boasts the only market in Bootan; and it appears to be much frequented. It is also famous for the manufacture of gods, and forging of arms, particularly of swords and daggers, and the barbs of arrows." The sides of the mountains were covered with groves of pine; they contained also numerous clusters of houses, and some handsome villas, with gardens and orchards. A stage of nine miles brought our author to the fortress of Dukkajeung, built upon the crown of a low rocky hill; and eleven more to Sana, the last village of Bootan, consisting of about ten houses. Here the thermometer stood at  $46^{\circ}$ , on the 13th of September; the Patchieu pursued its rapid course through the valley, and on its banks grazed a herd of chauery tailed cattle, tended by the itinerant Tartars, named Dubka. The yak of Tartary is about the height of an English bull, which he resembles in the general figure of the body, head, and legs; but is covered all over with a thick coat of long hair. The tail which supplies the oriental luxury of chaeries, is composed of a prodigious quantity of long, flowing, glossy hair; and is so abundantly well furnished, that not a joint of it is perceptible; but it has much the appearance of a large cluster

of hair artificially set on. The chain of mountains situated between the latitudes of  $27^{\circ}$  and  $28^{\circ}$ , which divides Tibet from Bootan, and whose summits are most commonly covered with snow, is their favorite haunt. Extremely useful as beasts of burthen from their great strength; tents and ropes are manufactured of their hair; their tails furnish an article of great demand in commerce, and they yield an abundant quantity of rich milk. The last mountain of Bootan, the dreary Somoong, now remained to be passed; it offers no habitation to the traveller, but numbers of the natives were met on the road. I never, says our author, beheld a more florid picture of health than was exhibited in the complexion of the mountaineers; the women in particular, with their jet black hair, and clear brisk black eyes, had a ruddiness, which the most florid English rustic would in vain attempt to rival.

*Chap. 2.* On the summit of Somoong, a long row of little inscribed flags, fixed in rude heaps of stones, fluttered in the wind; they marked the boundaries of Tibet and Bootan. The distance of Tasisudon from this station appears by the route to be about 55 miles, yet as the first part of it lay in a southerly direction, the latitude of the frontier is only a few miles north of the capital.

"If Bootan, compared with Bengal, exhibits a vast contrast of country and climate, there is no nearer analogy between Tibet and Bootan."

"Bootan presents to the view, nothing but the most mishapen irregularities; mountains covered with eternal verdure, and rich with abundant forests of large and lofty trees. Almost every favourable aspect of them, coated with the smallest



smallest quantity of soil, is cleared and adapted to cultivation, by being shelved into horizontal beds; not a slope or narrow slip of land between the ridges, lies unimproved. There is scarcely a mountain, whose base is not washed by some rapid torrent, and many of the loftiest, bear populous villages, amidst orchards, and other plantations, on their summits and on their sides. It combines in its extent, the most extravagant traits of rude nature, and laborious art."

"Tibet, on the other hand, strikes a traveller, at first sight, as one of the least favoured countries under heaven, and appears to be in a great measure incapable of culture. It exhibits only low rocky hills, without any visible vegetation, or extensive arid plains, both of the most stern and stubborn aspect, promising full as little as they produce. Its climate is cold and bleak in the extreme, from the severe effects of which, the inhabitants are obliged to seek refuge in sheltered valleys, and hollows, or amidst the warmest aspects of the rocks. Yet perhaps, Providence, in its impartial distribution of blessings, has bestowed on each country a tolerably equal share. The advantages that one possesses in fertility, and in the richness of its forests and its fruits, are amply counterbalanced in the other by its multitudinous flocks, and invaluable mines. As one seems to possess the pabulum of vegetable, in the other, we find a superabundance of animal, life. The variety and quantity of wild fowl, game, and beasts of prey, flocks, droves and herds, in Tibet, are astonishing. In Bootan, except domestic creatures, nothing of the sort is to be seen. I recollect meeting with no wild animal except the monkey, in all my tra-

vels, and of game, I saw only a few pheasants, once near Chuka."

The Tibetians like the Persees of India neither inhume nor burn their dead; their bodies are exposed in the open air, and left to be devoured by ravens, kites, and other carnivorous birds. A place appropriated to this purpose, was seen on descending the mountain of Somoong into the plain of Phari. The fortress of Phari and its extensive suburb was left on the west, whilst our travellers proceeded to Chassa Goombah, where they were received by the Lama. A rocky plain intersected by numberless streams, extended on every side: the mountains which bound it are the retreat of the musk deer, an animal which delights in the most intense cold, and is always found in places bordering on snow. They are about the height of a moderately sized hog, which they resemble much in the figure of the body; they have a small head, a thick and round hind quarter, no scut, and extremely delicate limbs. The long hair with which it is covered, partakes in its texture, less of the nature of hair than feathers; or rather, it resembles the porcupine's quill. Two long curved tusks proceed from the upper jaw, and are directed downwards; the musk is a secretion formed in a little bag, or tumour, resembling a wen, situated at the navel; and is found only in the male. Numbers of wild horses were seen at a distance; they were very shy, but our author could distinguish long ears, like those of an ass, or mule; the ears, neck, body and tail, were of a fawn colour; the face, belly, and legs almost white. Here our travellers appear to have attained their greatest elevation, for after passing a river, which shapes its course towards Nepal, those they afterwards



afterwards meet with, all ran in a northerly direction. After leaving the sterile plain of Phari, the small village of Dochai was the first station; from hence the lake of Ramchieu skirted the road, frequented by great abundance of wild geese, ducks, teal, and storks, with prodigious numbers of saurasses. At Chalu, appeared the first traces of successful cultivation; beyond it they crossed a plain white with incrustations of natron (soda), which rises in an efflorescence from the dry plains, resembling a hoar frost. The village of Sumdta lay 14 miles farther, where a few willows were the first trees observed in Tibet.

*Chap. 3,* conducts us from thence to Teshoo Loomboo, following the course of the Painomchieu, which at the latter place unites with the Berhampooter; at Gangamaar, they found a concourse of invalids attracted by the medicinal virtues of its hot well, which raised the thermometer from  $44^{\circ}$  to  $88^{\circ}$ . Rocks split by the frost covered the adjacent plains with their fragments; a gigantic figure of their mahamoonie was carved in relief upon an immense stone. From Shoofoo the country assumed a much more favourable aspect; the village of Nainee presented the appearance of regular buildings, some of them bordered, others striped with red and partly hid by branches of willows. The castle of Jhansu-Jeung rises in the midst of an extensive valley, which tradition and observation concur to prove had been once a lake. A considerable manufacture of coarse woollen cloths exercises the industry of the inhabitants; abundant crops of ripe corn bordered the road, and numerous clusters of villages were scattered on each side. From Dukque to

Teshoo Loomboo is a distance of only ten miles, and our travellers reached the latter place at sunrise. "If its magnificence was to be increased by any external cause, none could more superbly have adorned its numerous gilded canopies and turrets, than the sun rising in full splendour directly opposite. It presented a view wonderfully beautiful and brilliant; the effect was little short of magic, and it made an impression, which no time will ever efface from my mind.

"We ascended by a narrow street through the middle of the monastery, and were conducted to very splendid apartments, bright with gay colours, and situated in the centre of the palace, amidst a profusion of gorgeous finery. At the instant of our entrance, we heard the deep tone of many sonorous instruments, which were summoning the religious to their morning orisons."

*Chap. 4.* Our travellers were now lodged in the palace built by the late Lama; their reception by the Regent was marked by much urbanity; he expatiated on the friendship which the Lama entertained for the English, which was equally strong now as in his last incarnation, though his infant years denied expression to his sentiments. The presence chamber was supported by pillars painted with vermilion, and ornamented with gold, representing symbolical devices. The walls were painted blue; the floor was composed of brown and white flint, and admitted of a high polish. The throne of the late Teshoo Lama, elevated about five feet from the floor, stood at one end, decorated with silks, and cushions of yellow sattin, before which tapers were constantly burnt, which filled the  
hall



hall with aromatic odours. Captain Turner's arrival happened at a period of high importance in the annals of Tibet, for the infant Lama was about to be removed from the house of his parents to the monastery of Terpaling, on which occasion he was to receive the first public recognition of his sacred character. The ceremony was conducted with suitable pomp, and a party of Chinese troops escorted the procession, by command of the Emperor. The influence of the Chinese officers was manifestly hostile to the mission of the English ambassador, and that influence though founded entirely on fear, was still more considerable at the court of Lassa, though the Tibetians are said to consider the Chinese as a gross and impure race of men.

*Chap. 5,* contains an animated and perspicuous description of the splendid mausoleum, which contains the remains of the late Teshoo Lama. The court-yard before it was paved, and surrounded with a colonnade, for the accommodation of the pious; the pillars were painted with vermilion, and ornamented with gilding. In the centre a large gate opened to the principal avenue of the monastery; two ponderous doors being thrown open, discovered a most beautiful pyramid, at the base of which the body of the Lama was deposited in a coffin of pure gold. An effigy of gold crowns the pyramid, before which incense is burnt; the sides of the pyramid were encased with plates of solid silver, and on each step were piled the most costly articles. "Another image of the Lama of solid silver, as large as life stood on the right side; offerings of fruits, flowers, and corn were placed on an altar in front; and on the floor were

high piles of their sacred books." The shell or covering of the pyramid, which constitutes the exterior of the mausoleum, is a structure, when viewed at some distance, of considerable magnitude and beauty. The pillar, scalloped arch, and pediment of Hindustan, prevail in the interior apartments; the external decorations are of Chinese, or Tartar origin, similar to those of the watch-tower, or temple of the former; the tented canopy and imperial dragon. In the centre of the front, on a tablet, the mystic sentence *oom maunie paimee oom*, is engraved. A frieze and whitened cornice surrounds the top; and a spacious tented canopy, richly gilt, which is supposed to stand immediately over the remains of the Lama, crowns the whole structure; its edges swell with a bold and easy sweep, the convolutions of the Chinese dragon fill up the space of the ridge, and a prodigious number of small bells hung round it, make an inconceivable jingle with every breeze that blows.

*Chap. 6.* is occupied with a long and amusing account of his interviews with the Regent, previously to his leaving the capital. Capt. Turner found him particularly inquisitive on geographical points, and to have formed a more extensive acquaintance with distant countries than might have been expected. In common with the rest of his countrymen he entertained a profound veneration for the places held sacred by the Hindus, Gaya, Allahabad, Benares, and Ganga-sagar. The late Empress of Russia attempted to establish an intercourse with Tibet, for commercial purposes; a bible with plates in the Russian language was exhibited as a present from that sovereign. One interview



interview was terminated by the arrival of Tartars, to pay their homage to the sovereign pontiff. They came from a place situated on the Sullum, at a distance of fifty-two days journey, which at the rate of twenty miles per diem, must be one thousand and forty miles. Their route was thus divided; from Teshoo Loomboo to Lassa, twelve days; from Lassa to Daum, ten days; from Daum to Sullum, thirty days.

Capt. Turner was anxious to investigate “the traces of an ancient nation, supposed to have once inhabited the borders of the Baikal sea, in the interior of Tartary, and from which some persons conjecture, the learning, arts, and sciences of India, and even of Europe, to have been originally derived. If such a nation ever existed, the remembrance of it seems now to be buried in the deepest oblivion.” Soopoon Choomboo had traversed the borders of the Baikal sea, which he affirmed was remarkable only for the production of large pearls. Its neighbourhood was thinly inhabited by a race of Tartars more ignorant than their southern neighbours, and dwelling in tents. He and the Regent concurred in deriving the religion, arts and sciences, which prevail in Tibet, from Hindustan; and considered Benares as the source and centre of learning and religion, from which they emanated at a very distant period to civilize and reform the adjacent nations. As a proof of this antiquity, the Regent urged the similarity of their alphabet to that of the Sanscrit, from which they avow it to have been formed.

*Chap. 7.* Subsequent to the Regent's departure, our author extended the sphere of his excursions in the vicinity of Teshoo

Loomboo, and had frequent interviews with Soopoon Choomboo, who governed in his absence. That officer spoke with much respect of the distant region of Eunanani, which Capt. Turner mistook for Egypt, though Greece was unquestionably the country meant. The frequent use of the lion as an architectural ornament he traces to that country, but the bearer of the consort of Siva, was more probably derived from Hindustan.

“Teshoo Loomboo or Lubrong, the seat of Teshoo Lama, and the capital of that part of Tibet immediately subject to his authority, is situated in  $29^{\circ} 4' 20''$  north latitude, and  $89^{\circ} 7'$  east longitude from Greenwich. It is a large monastery, consisting of three or four hundred houses, the habitations of the Gylongs, besides temples, mausoleums, and the palace of the sovereign pontiff; in which is comprised also, the residence of the Regent, and of all the subordinate officers, both ecclesiastical and civil, belonging to the court. Its buildings are all of stone, none less than two stories high, flat roofed, and crowned with a parapet, rising considerably above the roof, composed of heath and brushwood, inserted between frames of timber.” A little beyond this monastery lies the fortress of Shigatzee-jeung, which commands the entrance of the valley; still further the Painomtchieu unites its waters with the Berhamputer, called in Tibet Erechoomboo. This river, and the Ganges are said by our author to issue both from the sacred lake Manserer (Mansaravara). The Tibetians could scarcely be ignorant of the real sources of these celebrated streams; the lake was said to be a month's journey northwest from Teshoo Loomboo.

In



In Tibet, the spring is marked from March to May, by a variable atmosphere; heat, thunder storms, and occasionally, with refreshing showers. "From June to September is the season of humidity, when heavy and continued rains fill the rivers to their brim, which run off from hence with rapidity, to assist in inundating Bengal. From October to March, a clear and uniform sky succeeds, seldom obscured either by fogs or clouds," and a degree of cold is felt, rarely experienced in Europe. The flesh of sheep exposed to the frosty air is deprived of its juices and remains in good preservation during the winter. Capt. Turner used it without any further dressing, but the people of Tibet are accustomed to eat their mutton, almost the sole article of animal food which they use, recently killed, and raw.

*Chap. 8th*, contains some strictures on the religion of Tibet. That country is denominated by the inhabitants Puekoachim, which our author explains, "the snowy regions of the north." The religion of Tibet appeared to Capt. Turner, the schismatical offspring of the Hindu system, introduced from that country; and to have traversed over Mantchieu Tartary, and been disseminated through China and Japan. "The principal idol in the temples of Tibet is Mahoomeni, the Buddha of Bengal, who is worshipped under these and various other epithets, throughout all Tartary, and among all the nations to the eastward of the Berhampoater." But the Devata of Hindustan, participates with Buddha, in the votive offering of the people of Tibet: Durga mounted on her lion, and Cali delighting in bloody sacrifices; Ganesa, or the emblem of wisdom, and

Cartikea brandishing a thousand arms. A regular hierarchy superintends the spiritual government of the people, descending from the sovereign Lama, immaculate and omniscient, through the gradations of Gylong, Tohba, and Tuppa. Two sets divide the votaries of Buddha, the Gyllookpa, distinguished by robes of yellow cloth, and the Shammar clothed in red. In ancient times, the latter are reported to have been the most numerous; till the Gyllookpa assembling a mighty army, drove them from their possessions, and forced them to take refuge in Bootan, whose inhabitants are all of that sect. It was at that period, Teshoo Loomboo, rose from the ruins of a Shammar settlement, but their ruin was not complete, till the Emperor of China, adopting for himself the distinction of the yellow hat, turned the scale irretrievably in favor of the Gyllookpa. The short residence of Capt. Turner in Tibet, and his ignorance of the language, must have been insurmountable obstacles, to acquiring an extensive knowledge of the history, geography, and polity, civil and religious, of a country so interesting to the philosopher. Indeed, it is impossible not to admire the industry by which he procured so much information as his work exhibits, in so small a portion of time. We subjoin a few particulars, calculated to reflect some light on the ancient and modern state of that country, but which being extraneous to the review of Capt. Turner's work, we have compressed as much as perspicuity would permit.

Tradition refers the population of Tibet, to Prasinpo and Prasinmo, but we know not on what authority their appearance in that country



country is fixed, at 1340 years before the æra of our Saviour. About 300 years later, the god Saca or Buddha, descended from the skies, to restore a purer system of faith; he was born of a virgin named Lamoghiuprul, daughter of a powerful monarch, who carried the infant to Benares, where he was consecrated to the gods. The Lahæ, or inferior divinites, attended to witness the ceremony, and the astrologers predicted the wonders of his future life. After a long period spent in retired contemplation, he returned to the world, and promulgated that system of belief, which now prevails throughout the east. It is remarkable, that none of his votaries in Tibet, Pegu, Siam, China, or Japan, pretend that he was a native of their countries, but refer to Hindustan, as the birth-place of Buddha, and the cradle of his doctrines. The first king of Tibet Gniatbritz-hengo, was a son of Macchiaba, who reigned in Hindustan; his capital was Jarlon, and his death is fixed at 1102 years before Christ. Twenty-four kings reigned successively from him to Tyhong-tyheng-Chambo, who removed the seat of government from Jarlon to Lassa, and constructed the palace of Putala, (Buddha-alaya, the abode of Buddha,) in the vicinity of that city. He was contemporary with Christ, and in his reign, Samtanputra brought the Devanagari alphabet from Hindustan, which he altered, so as to express the harsher sounds of the Tibetan language; at this period also, the religion of Buddha is said to have been introduced into Tibet, Siam, and China. In the reign of Tri-srong-teutzhen, A. D. 225, Patisati a faint, nearly as sacred as Buddha, was brought from Hindustan by

the king, to restore and regulate the religious discipline. After the death of Lhatæ in 456, according to the annals of Tibet, various pretenders to the throne appeared; the country was divided into several petty kingdoms, and for three centuries, presented a scene of discord and warfare, till the inhabitants voluntarily submitted to the Emperor of China in 790. It may be remarked, however, that the historians of China, place this event in 1125. Kank-ka-grinbo was the first Lama, who pretended to the sacred character of an incarnated deity; the Emperor of China convinced of the truth of his pretensions, conferred upon him the regal and ecclesiastical functions, in the year 1100. In the following century, three Lamas ruled in Tibet, and the same discipline existed as at the present day, though the number of independent Lamas occasionally varied. When the arms of Chenghiz subjected Asia, Tibet followed the fortunes of China; Cublai Khan divided it into provinces, and established the Lama Pasepa, as chief or sovereign Lama, from whom the Dalai Lamas of the present day derive their pre-eminence. To his successor is attributed, the foundation of the monastery of Trascilhunbo, or as Captain Turner writes it, Teshoo Loomboo, in the neighbourhood of Sgigatzé. The limits of the ecclesiastical authority continue obscurely defined, for it appears, that Tibet has still a king, notwithstanding the power granted by the Chinese Emperors to the sovereign Lamas. The contest between the Gyllookpa and Shammar, appears to have taken place in the year 1426, from which the latter took refuge in Bootan. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Dalai Lama,



ma, called in the Tartars of Conor, to emancipate Tibet from the yoke of kings; Tsang-pa-pahan who then ruled in Segigatze, was dethroned. The Jesuit Andrada, visited the court of this monarch, who appears to have been the last king of Tibet. About a hundred years later, Cingkhir Khan, king of the Eleuths, entered that country with a large army, deposed the Lama, and ruled in Tibet till his death, in 1720. From the disorders which ensued, the people had again recourse to the Chinese Emperor, by whom governors were appointed to exercise the civil authority. But the popular prejudices running strong in favor of an ecclesiastical government, several of these governors were successively cut off; and the late Emperor of China, Kienlong, in the year 1752, transferred the sovereign authority to the Dalai Lama, Losang-kel-sang-kiamtzo, who was probably the immediate predecessor of the present Dalai Lama. Such are the principal facts recorded in the annals of the Tibetians; of their wars with the Chinese, in which they more than once carried their arms to the gates of Peking, it were foreign to our purpose to treat, still less to attempt to reconcile the wide discrepancy between the historians of Tibet and China, respecting the period of the same events. Such, indeed, is the obscurity which pervades the subject, that it is not perfectly clear, that there are not kings in Tibet at this day; since Captain Turner casually mentions that Gesub Rimbochay, Rajah (king) of Lassa, had usurped from the hands of Dalai Lama, the greatest portion of his temporal power. From this historical digression, we hasten to accompany

our author, on his return to Bengal.

*Chap. 9.* The commercial arrangements which the embassy was designed to promote, experienced little difficulty on the part of the Regent, and Captain Turner having completed the object of his mission, left Teshoo Loomboo on the 3d December. He proceeded to Terpaling, the residence of the infant Lama; "he resided in a palace, in the centre of the monastery, which occupies above a mile of ground in circumference, and the whole is encompassed by a wall." The behaviour of the young pontiff, though then only eighteen months old, and unable to speak, furnishes a singular example of the effects of early tuition. His parents entertained the ambassador during four days, with much hospitality; they were both adepts in music; and from them Captain Turner learned that the Tibetan airs, some of which he thought very pleasing, were preserved by a regular system of notation.

*Chap. 10.* After quitting Terpaling, our author passed Annee Coomba, where he was shewn a large nunnery occupied by females, who had embraced a life of celibacy from religious motives. These are less frequent than the monasteries for the other sex. The practice of poliandry universally prevalent in Tibet, seems to indicate that the number of female births bears an unequal proportion to that of males. One female associates her fate and fortune with all the brothers of a family, without any restriction of age or numbers. "The choice of a wife is the privilege of the elder brother; and, singular as it may seem, I have been assured, that a Tibetan wife



is as jealous of her connubial rights, though thus joined to a numerous party of husbands, as the despot of an Indian zenana is of the favors of his imprisoned fair." From Terpaling to Bootan, our author retraced the route, by which he proceeded to Teshoo Loomboo; the lakes and rivers presented a smooth surface of solid ice, on which our travellers amused themselves with skating, in the low latitude of 28°. "The shawl goats were feeding in large flocks, upon the thin dry herbage that covers the naked looking hills. This is perhaps the most beautiful species amongst the whole tribe of goats; their colours were various: black, white, of a faint bluish tinge, and of a shade something lighter than a fawn. They have straight horns, and are of a lower stature than the smallest sheep in England. The materials used for the manufacture of shawls, is of a light fine texture, and clothes the animal next the skin. A coarse covering of long hair grows above this, and preserves the softness of the inferior coat.

Captain Turner found the Rajah of Bootan at Pুনুক্কা, his winter residence. "Compared with the land we had left, we now beheld this garden of Lama Rimbochay in high beauty, adorned with groves, crowded with rich loads of the finest oranges, citrons, and pomegranates. The mango and the peach tree had parted with their produce, but hords of apples and of walnuts were opened for our gratification; and this vast profusion of ripe fruit, added to the temperature of the air, most gratefully convinced us of the prodigious disparity of the climate within so short a distance." From hence to Rungpore, the frontier province of Bengal, the journey

presents no incident requiring notice.

"Report delivered to the Honourable Warren Hastings Esq. Governor general of Bengal, upon the result of Captain's Turner's mission to the court of Teshoo Loomboo."

Notwithstanding the hostile influence of the Chinese officers stationed at Lassa defeated all attempts at intercourse with that capital, yet a considerable trade seemed about to open with Teshoo Loomboo, from the Company's territories. The commercial productions of Tibet, are numerous and valuable: mines of gold are wrought in that country; a few years ago, during the prevalence of an excessive drought, the earth, by cracking and opening in uncommon chasms, is said to have discovered such an abundance of gold, that the quantity collected, "greatly reduced its value." Mines of lead, cinnabar, and copper, are also found there; which, with musk, shawl wool, tincal, rock salt, and chowries, compose the articles for exportation.

Mr Saunders's observations on the botany, mineralogy, and meteorology of Tibet, present much that we could with pleasure extract, but we have already exceeded the limits of a review. The natural historian will be gratified by an account of the manner in which tincal is procured. It is a fossil, brought to market in the state in which it is dug out of the lake, and afterwards refined into borax. The lake is said to be twenty miles in circumference, and fifteen from Teshoo Loomboo, and the tincal is formed or deposited in its bed, near to the bank; from the deeper parts of it, rock salt is procured, and during one half of the year, its surface is condensed into a smooth



smooth expanse of ice. A judicious summary of the diseases prevalent in Bootan and Tibet, concludes his valuable communication, which he thus terminates. "I have dwelt long on this subject, because I think the knowledge and observation of these people on the diseases of their country, with their medical practice, keep pace with a refinement and state of civilization, which struck me with wonder, and no doubt, will give rise to much curious speculation, when known to be the manner of a people, holding so little intercourse, with what we term civilized nations."

Poorungheer Gossein returned to Teshoo Loomboo, on a mercantile adventure, in the year 1785, and carried letters from Mr Hastings; he found that other speculators from Bengal, had already availed themselves of this newly opened channel, and that the trade exceeded what might have been expected, at so early a period from its commencement. The young Lama had been solemnly inaugurated, on the 4th October 1784, when he attained his third year, the Dalai Lama, Chinese Viceroy, and an ambassador from Pekin, attending to honour that political, and religious ceremony.

It only remains to state, the circumstances which have since unfortunately occurred, to interrupt the intercourse so happily begun. In the year 1792, the Nepalese instigated by a desire of plunder,

invaded Tibet; the young Lama and his court unprepared for resistance, fled from their capital; Teshoo Loomboo was plundered, and the rich spoils carried off to Nepal by the invaders. An army of Chinese troops advanced to punish this unprovoked aggression; the Nepalese suffered successive defeats, and the Rajah imploring the mediation of the Bengal government, Capt. Kirkpatrick was ordered to Nepal for that purpose. But the suspicious character of the Chinese court, did not fail to extract from this circumstance, inferences extremely prejudicial to the intentions which had actuated the English, in their intercourse with Tibet; and a Chinese guard stationed on the northern frontier of Bootan, precludes all access from the Company's possessions to the territory of the Lama.

The length of our remarks, and the multiplicity of our quotations, sufficiently indicate the high opinion we entertain of the instructive and amusing work, on which we have so long arrested the attention of our readers. To a very extensive range of observation, Captain Turner unites no common talent for description; whilst the grandeur of the natural scenery, the novelty of the manners, and singularity of the customs, furnish ample scope for the exertion of those qualifications, and have concurred to produce one of the most interesting performances, with which we are acquainted.

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"*An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava, sent by the Governor General of India, in the Year 1795, by MICHAEL SYMES, Esq. Lieutenant Colonel in his Majesty's 76th Regiment.* 4to. NICHOL, 1800.

FROM the eastern frontiers of Bengal to the confines of China, a fertile and populous region, wa-

tered by many navigable streams, is interposed. A variety of nations inhabit this extensive tract, whose



whose languages are dissimilar, but whose corporeal configuration strongly indicates the same origin; and the schism introduced by Buddha, the ninth Avatara, into the antique system of Brahmanical faith, constitutes the general creed. Amongst these people, four kingdoms have been distinguished as of prominent importance; 1st, Ava, the name by which the land of Miamma is known to Europeans, derived from that of its ancient capital, and situated inland in the centre of the tract above described: 2d, Pegu, called by the natives Bagu, bounded Ava on the south, and stretched along the coasts as far as Martaban: 3d, Aracan, occupied the western coasts of the Bay of Bengal, more valuable from the luxuriant fertility of its soil, than the extent of its territory. A ridge of lofty mountains divided this maritime country from the land of Miamma: 4th, Siam stretches a level plain from the coast of Tenasserim to the ill-defined limits of Cambodia and Laos. In the progress of research, some perplexity must be expected to ensue from the multiplicity of proper names; few of these countries are known to the natives by their European names, though all of them are distinguished by two appellations, a vernacular one, and a scientific, derived from the Pali tongue, which appears to correspond with the Sanscrit.

Of these divisions, the first is occupied by the Burmans, a warlike nation, who during the last half of the sixteenth century, and great part of the last, asserted a supremacy, and exacted a tribute from the King of Pegu. In 1744, the Peguvians threw off the yoke, carried their arms into the Burman territories; and in 1752, the capture of Ava, and the captivity of

Divipadi its monarch, terminated a long line of Burman sovereigns. The conquest was complete, and after stationing a garrison in Ava, and the most considerable towns of his newly acquired dominions, the Peguvian prince returned to his capital in perfect security; when these sudden acquisitions were as suddenly lost, by an insurrection, in a quarter where it was least apprehended. Alompra, a Burman of low extraction, expelled the Peguvian guard from Monchabu, his native village, north of Ava. The intrepidity of his character, the insolence of the Peguvian soldiers, and the dread of a foreign yoke, brought numbers to his standard as soon as it was erected; and in 1753, the invaders were entirely expelled from the northern provinces. Thus commenced a new dynasty of Burman sovereigns; the military exploits of the founder, the entire conquest of Pegu and extinction of the reigning family, the judicial and political institutions which he devised for the regulation of his empire, with the foundation of the now flourishing port of Rangun, mark the energetic and comprehensive mind of this Burman peasant. The last expedition which he undertook was directed against the Siamese, and his army was blockading Yudia, the capital of that empire, when Alompra was attacked by the disorder which put a period to his life, in 1760, after a brilliant and busy reign of six years. The short reign of his eldest son, Namdogi Pra, was agitated by successive rebellions, which were successively reduced; but his death in 1764, exposed the state to new disorders. His brother, Shembuan, usurped the sceptre from the infant heir, and adopting the ambitious designs of his



his father, attacked the neighbouring dominions of Siam, which were reduced, the capital taken, and a Siamese governor appointed, who engaged to pay a tribute to the Burman monarch. But the total destruction of an immense army of Chinese, which issuing from the contiguous province of Yunnan, advanced into the heart of his dominions, was the most brilliant event which distinguished the reign of Shembuan. For the transitory possession of Siam was soon after lost by a general insurrection of the people, in favor of Pitic Singh, a relation of the former king. Shembuan died in 1776; the debauched character of his son and successor occasioned a revolution in 1781, which terminated by the accession of his present Majesty, Mindragi Pra, to the throne. This prince is the fourth son of the deceased Alompra, and when he assumed the reins of government was 43 years of age, which he had spent in that obscurity, which could alone have protected him from the jealousy of the successive candidates for power. The dominions to which Mindragi Pra thus succeeded, in addition to the Burman territories, comprehended the whole of Pegu, as far south as Mergui, on the coast of Tenasserim. Zemi, (the Chiami of La Loubere) and Sandepura, better known by the name of Laos, on the east, were governed by tributary chiefs. To consolidate this powerful state, nothing was wanting but the addition of Aracan, which had hitherto escaped the horrors of warfare; whilst its unwarlike monarch and inhabitants, inured to peace, presented no very formidable obstacle to a nation so long accustomed to arms. This expedition was undertaken in 1783, and was

successful; a few months put the Burmans in possession of that fertile maritime tract, with the highly cultivated isles of Cheduba and Ramari, which constituted two of its provinces. The king of Aracan was carried a prisoner to the Burman capital, where he soon after died a natural death. "Mogo," Colonel Symes informs us, "is a term of religious import and high sanctity, applied to the priesthood and the king, whence the inhabitants of Aracan are often called by Europeans, Mughs." This is not impossible; yet in the Sanscrit dictionary, entitled *Viswa-pracasa*, or the *World Illustrated*, Mogho is said to be the name of a country, which we have always considered as Aracan.

"Indisputably pre-eminent among the nations inhabiting the vast peninsula that separates the gulf of Bengal from the Chinese sea; possessed of a territory equal in extent to the German empire; blessed with a luxuriant climate, and a soil capable of producing almost every article of luxury, convenience, and commerce, that the east can supply; Miamma or Burmah, thus happily circumstanced, enjoyed the pleasing prospect of a long exemption from the miseries of war," when an event occurred which had nearly embroiled them with a more formidable enemy than they had hitherto encountered.

The trade of Aracan had suffered repeated interruptions from piratical banditti, who, not contented with their depredations on private merchants, had even the hardiness to attack fleets, laden with the royal customs, which are usually received in kind, in the proportion of one-tenth. The booty thus acquired they conveyed across the river Naf, which se-



parates Aracan from Chittagong; where they remained, secure from pursuit, under the protection of the British flag. "The banks of the Naf are covered with deep jungles, interspersed with scanty spots of cultivation, and a few wretched villages, where dwell the poorest class of herdsmen, and the families of roving hunters, whose occupation it is to catch and tame the wild elephants, with which these forests abound. The asylum that such unfrequented places afforded to persons concerned in a lawless traffic, rendered it easy to be carried on without the knowledge of the English officers of justice." The offender and the offence were equally unknown in Calcutta, when government received information, that an army of Burmans, crossing the Naf, had encamped on the Company's territories. This party consisted of 5000 men; 20,000 more were held in readiness in Aracan to support them, and the instructions of their commander were, not to return without the delinquents dead or alive. This officer seems, however, to have entertained a more accurate conception of the arduous nature of the enterprise, than the government whose agent he was. The negotiations which ensued, terminated in his re-crossing the Naf; the delinquents were apprehended, tried, and convicted of piracy; and the execution of justice removed all cause of dissension between the neighbouring states. Lord Teignmouth, with the ability characteristic of that judicious governor, saw the opportunity favourable for adjusting the commercial intercourse between Bengal and Pegu, which, though harassed by subordinate imposition, took off annually to the amount of 200,000*l.* in Indian

commodities, and supplied from the forests of Ava and Pegu, inexhaustible stores of teak timber for ship-building. But the importance attached to cultivating an amicable intercourse with the Burman government, was not limited to commercial relations; and the preponderance of this rising state in the scale of eastern nations, rendered it desirable, in a political view.

"The Burmans, under their present monarch, are certainly rising fast in the scale of oriental nations; and it is to be hoped, that a long respite from foreign wars will give them leisure to improve their natural advantages. Knowledge increases with commerce; and as they are not shackled by any prejudice of casts, restricted to hereditary occupations, or forbidden from participating with strangers in every social bond, their advancement will, in all probability, be rapid. At present, so far from being in a state of intellectual darkness, although they have not explored the depths of science, nor reached to excellence in the finer arts, they yet have an undeniable claim to the character of a civilized and well-instructed people. Their laws are wise, and pregnant with sound morality; their police is better regulated than in most European countries; their natural disposition is friendly, and hospitable to strangers; and their manners rather expressive of manly candour than courteous dissimulation; the gradations of rank, and the respect due to station, are maintained with a scrupulosity which never relaxes. A knowledge of letters is so widely diffused, that there are no mechanics, few of the peasantry, or even the common watermen (usually the most illiterate class), who cannot read



read and write in the vulgar tongue. Few, however, are versed in the more erudite volumes of science, which, containing many Sanscrit terms, and often written in the Pali text, are (like the Hindu Sastra) above the comprehension of the multitude: but the feudal system, which cherishes ignorance, and renders man the property of man, still operates as a check on civilization and improvement. This is a bar which gradually weakens, as their acquaintance with the manners and customs of other nations extends; and unless the rage of civil discord be again excited, or some foreign power impose an alien yoke, the Burmans bid fair to be a prosperous, wealthy, and enlightened people."

*Chap. 1.* Col. Symes being appointed agent plenipotentiary, to treat with the emperor of the Burmans, embarked at Calcutta, on the 21st of February 1795, on board the Sea-Horse, an armed cruizer belonging to the East India Company, Capt. Thomas commander, attended by Mr. Wood, assistant and secretary, and Dr. Buchanan, surgeon to the mission. A small party of sepoy, with their native officers, a pandit, munshi, and menial servants, increased their numbers to more than seventy persons. On the 5th of March they entered Port-Cornwallis on the Great Andaman; this infant settlement consisted at that time of 700 persons, who had cleared away an area of about a quarter of a mile, then under cultivation. This island is about 140 miles in length, and not exceeding 20 broad, covered in every part with thick forests of tall trees, intertwined by innumerable creepers. Its inhabitants present the curious spectacle of a race of negroes in

the lowest stage of human society, speaking a language peculiar to themselves, in the centre of a bay, surrounded by nations whose civilization extends beyond the most ancient records, and whose language and configuration decidedly indicate a different origin. Ptolemy has peopled his *Insulæ Bonæ Fortunæ*, of which the Andamans constitute a part, with a race of *Anthropophagi*; the frequent famines to which the inhabitants are still exposed from their scanty means of subsistence, renders his assertion, at least, probable. Our philosophic readers might expect a more particular account of a people thus singularly circumstanced, had we not extracted the entire passage, in our last volume.

On the 18th of March, the Sea-Horse entered the river which leads to Rangun, the principal port of the Burman dominions. A pilot being procured from thence, she advanced up the river, which is nearly a mile broad, and brought to, twelve miles below the town. A fleet of from twenty to thirty boats appeared in sight next day, and brought three persons deputed by the Governor to wait on the Ambassador; they seated themselves without ceremony, sitting being the posture of respect in their country, a circumstance which, before it was explained, seemed to bear a different interpretation. When the Sea-Horse arrived before Rangun, none of the English ships were permitted to have any intercourse with her; a house on shore was assigned for the residence of the Ambassador, but neither he nor his people were allowed to enter the town, and the conduct of the Governor of the place produced repeated remonstrances before these inconvenient



and disrespectful restrictions were intirely removed. A caution bordering on suspicion characterised the reception which the Embassy experienced on its first arrival.

In consequence of an invitation from the Viceroy of Pegu, Col. Symes prepared to visit that city; the annual festival at the great temple, was about to be celebrated with sumptuous magnificence, and the Viceroy had expressed a desire that the English gentlemen should witness the rejoicings. The distance by water from Rangun to Pegu is about ninety miles; the country exhibited a luxuriant soil, destitute of inhabitants, who had fallen in the long wars between the Burman and Peguvian kingdoms. A level plain, with clumps of trees at distant intervals, and covered by a thick reedy grass, trodden by herds of wild elephants, hogs, tygers and antelopes, extended along the banks of the river.

At this season of gaiety, a succession of sports concludes the solar year of the Burmans, on the 12th April. A temporary theatre, erected for the occasion near the great temple, was the scene of their exhibitions, at which the Viceroy assisted; boxing and wrestling occupied the first night, at the latter of which they are extremely dextrous. The fireworks which were exhibited next day were furnished by the several districts, each of which selects a company of their men and women to represent them at the general festival. The females were for the most part girls of sixteen or twenty years of age, comely, and well-made, but their features wanted the delicacy of the damsels of Hindustan, and the bloom of the soft Circassian beauties.

The fireworks were let off in the day time, from a humane apprehension, that fatal accidents might attend their performance at night. "It was a spectacle," says our author, "not less pleasing than novel to an European, to witness such a concourse of people of all classes, brought together for the purpose of hilarity and sport, without their committing one act of intemperance, or being disgraced by a single instance of intoxication." On the 10th of April, a drama was performed in the open court of the Viceroy's house, which was illuminated by lamps and torches. The actors were from Siam, and displayed no common talents for dramatic representation. "The dialogue was spirited without rant, and the action animated without being extravagant; the dresses of the principal performers were showy and becoming." The plot was taken from the Sanscrit poem of Valmicka, entitled Ramayana. It were to be wished Col. Symes had informed us if it were translated into the Pali, or vernacular dialect of the Burmans, or recited in the original Sanscrit verses, in which case it must have been unintelligible to the whole audience. The last day of the year is solemnized by throwing water on every person they meet, in order to wash away the impurities of the past, and commence the new year free from stain.

In the Pali language, the city of Pegu is named Hansavati, which signifies in it (as well as in Sanscrit) "whose standard, or emblem is a goose," and this bird, held sacred in both mythologies, as also by the Romans, surmounts the principal temple. Alompra, when he got possession of the city in 1757, razed every dwelling to the ground,



ground, and dispersed or led into captivity all the inhabitants. The present king issued orders to rebuild it, about five years ago, and removed the seat of the Viceroy of Pegu from Rangun to this city. Its antient extent may still be traced by the ruins of the ditch and wall that surrounded it; the new town has been built within the side of the antient city, but the number of its inhabitants altogether, does not exceed six or seven thousand. "The streets of Pegu are spacious, as are those of all the Burman towns that I have seen, The new town is well paved with brick, and on each side of the way there is a drain to carry off the water." Throughout the Burman empire the houses of the meanest peasants are raised from the ground either on wooden posts, or bambus, but brick edifices being permitted only to the king, and to the Gods, those of the people are constructed solely of mats. The noble edifice of Shoemadoo Praw, or the temple of the Golden Supreme, (as Col. Symes has rendered it) attracts most notice. Shoe, he informs us, signifies "golden;" Madoo, he considers a corruption of the Sanscrit Mahadeva and Praw, a sovereign and sacerdotal title; he appears, (somewhat fancifully) to refer to the Egyptian Phra; whence he thinks Potiphera, and even the regal title of Pharaoh, to be derived. If the word be of Pali or Sanscrit origin, we have no hesitation in pronouncing it "Somadeva Praw," a temple of the moon. "This extraordinary pile of building is erected upon a double terrace, one raised upon another. I judged a side of the lower terrace to be 1391 feet; of the upper 684; these are ascended by flights of stone steps.

Shoemadoo is a pyramidal building, composed of brick and mortar, without excavation or aperture of any sort; octagonal at the base, and spiral at the top; each side of the base diminishes abruptly, and a similar building has not unaptly been compared in shape to a speaking trumpet." Two rows of small spires, 27 feet high, and 40 in circumference, encircle the pyramid; its sides are ornamented with a variety of mouldings, and the whole is crowned by an umbrella of open iron work, from which rises a rod with a gilded pennant. The neighbouring country is thick strewed with the ruins of former grandeur, and the fields, destitute of inhabitants, exhibit the fatal effects of destructive warfare.

After three weeks spent at Pegu, Col. Symes took his leave of the Viceroy, who declined all conversation on the objects of the Embassy, and returned to Rangun, where they found themselves freed from the restraint they at first experienced. This city, by its increasing trade and consequent population, has stretched greatly beyond the limits of the town founded by Alompra; the magnificent temple of Shoedagon, of which the spires and umbrella are richly gilded, stands about two miles and a half north of it, but the adjacent country has not yet recovered from the desolation of war. The population of Rangun is considerable; there are 5000 registered taxable houses in the city and suburbs: if each house be supposed to contain six people, the estimate will amount to 30,000." The liberal maxims of the Burman government, and tolerant spirit of their religion, have attracted multitudes of foreigners to this port. "Malabars, Moguls,



Moguls, Persians, Parsees, Armenians, Portuguese, French and English all mingle here, and are engaged in various branches of commerce. In the same street may be heard the solemn voice of the Muzzin, calling pious Islamites to early prayers, and the bell of the Portuguese chapel tinkling a summons to Romish christians. There were at this time several ships from 600 to 1000 tons burthen on the stocks; whilst we admired the structure and materials of these ships, we could not overlook the mode in which the work was executed, and the obvious merit of the artificers." At last, a letter from the Viceroy of Pegu, announced the important intelligence, that the emperor had determined that the English embassy should proceed to the capital, and that the Viceroy should accompany it, who reached Rangun accordingly soon after.

On the 29th of May, the gentlemen embarked for Amarapura, preceded by the Viceroy of Pegu; the number of boats in company exceeded 100, forming a cheerful and agreeable spectacle. The heat of the climate, which at Rangun had raised the thermometer to 98°, in the shade, abated considerably in the current of the stream. On the 1st of June, they entered the great river Iravati, on which the whole of their future journey was performed; it was about a mile broad where the Rangun river separates. An infinite variety of ever changing scenery presented itself on the banks, as they sailed with a favorable breeze, or were dragged by the laborious efforts of the athletic mariners against the rapid current. Numbers of populous villages appeared on each side; sometimes extensive tracts, covered with reeds and long

grass, marked a scanty population; sometimes the gilded spires and umbrellas of temples appeared above groves of plantain and mango trees, which shaded the houses of the priests; now the Iravati flowed through a rich plain, and now the western hills, covered with forests of lofty teak, closed on the river. The antient city of Lunzai, distinguished by numerous temples, and public granaries, to guard against the ravages of famine, was left on the western bank.

Further on stood the city of Prome, renowned in Burman story, and which formerly marked the boundaries of the neighbouring kingdoms of Ava and Pegu; it appeared industrious and thriving, and was said to be more populous than Rangun. Miadai, situated in a country abounding in romantic views, being the Jaghir of the Viceroy, detained our travellers for some days; rice, sisamum, tobacco, and indigo were the plants cultivated in that neighbourhood. An impression of the foot of Gautama, whom Col. Symes confounds with Buddha, was placed on a pedestal of masonry, and venerated by the pious. "On the plane of the foot upwards of one hundred emblematical figures are engraven on separate compartments: two convoluted serpents are pressed beneath the heel, and five conch shells, with the involutions to the right, form the toes: it was explained to me as a type of the creation, and was held in profound reverence."

From Miadai, the banks continued to present numerous villages to the eye of the traveller, and numbers of boats taking in and unloading their cargoes appeared in the harbours. The river was

now



now nearly four miles broad, and formed many islands in the middle of the stream. "We passed a village named Shoe-Lee-Rua, or Golden Boat village, from its being inhabited by watermen in the service of the king; whose boats, as well as every thing else belonging to the sovereign, have always the addition of "Shoe," or golden, annexed to them. When a subject means to affirm that the king has heard any thing, he says, it has reached the golden ears." We strongly suspect this observation to originate in mistake; su in Sanscrit, signifies excellence, superiority, the super of the Romans; su-varna, of a beautiful colour, is a name of gold; su-carna, the ear of the chief, might very possibly be applied to that of the king, without any reference to the precious metal. A barren valley, displaying a few stunted trees and scanty vegetation, contained the wells of petroleum, which supply the kingdom with oil; numberless specimens of petrifications were scattered over it. "The Burmans said it was the nature of the soil that caused these transmutations; and added, that leaves of trees shaken off by the winds, were not unfrequently changed into stone before they could be decayed by time." Pagahm, the ancient capital of the empire, and the residence of forty-five successive monarchs, exhibited a wide extent of ruins, covering a space of six or seven miles along the river, and three miles inland, with the remains of its mouldering temples. It was abandoned about 500 years ago, and a flourishing little town now occupies a small portion of this magnificent city; the adjacent fields were barren and unproductive. At this place the ambassador was received by a de-

putation of Burman nobles, sent from the capital for that purpose.

Tirup-mieu, or Chinese Town, commemorates the defeat of another Chinese army who invaded the Burman dominions; five miles farther on, the Keenduem mingles its waters with those of the Iravati; this great river comes from the north-west, and divides the country of Cassay from that of Ava." "The Burmans say it has its source in a lake three months journey to the northward; it is navigable as far as the Burman territories extend for vessels of burthen." The most distant town in the possession of the Burmans on the Keenduem was named Nakioung, and the first Shaan town, says our author, was called Thangdat. Shaan, he informs us, is a term given to different nations; thus the Yudra Shan, is Siam, the Cassay-Shan, Cassay. This word is manifestly the Sanscrit Sthan, of which the Persians have made "Stan," the Burmans, "Shan." We may venture to predict that when the geography of this terra incognita is somewhat better understood, the Keenduem will be found to be a branch of the Sanpo, or Brahmaputra; Thangdat the most southerly town of Asham; and the lake three months to the northward, the Man-saravara of Tibet, whence both the Ganges and Brahmaputra derive their source. But to this subject we shall probably take occasion to revert. Though the rains had proved unusually deficient, the periodical rising of the Iravati had caused it to overflow its banks, carrying fertility and moisture through the interior of the country. "As our distance from Amarapura diminished, towns and villages on each side recurred at such short intervals, that



that it was in vain to inquire the name of each distinct assemblage of houses." The lately deserted city of Aungeva or Ava, lay in ruins on one side of the river; the temple of Shoegunga from its peculiar sanctity is still used to administer the oaths to officers of government. Thus we find the Su-ganga, or sacred Ganges, revered in Ava, as in Hindustan. "On entering the lake, near which the city of Amarapura is situated, the number of boats that were moored, as in a harbour, to avoid the influence of the sweeping flood, the singularity of their construction, the height of the waters, which threaten inundation to the whole city, and the amphitheatre of lofty hills that nearly surrounded us, altogether presented a novel scene, exceedingly interesting to a stranger." The mansion assigned to the British ambassador was commodious and pleasantly situated, across the lake, and nearly opposite to the fort; the courtiers who received him intimated his majesty's absence, at a country seat; and that it was expected he should not go into the town till he had been formally introduced.

Adjacent to the residence of the English ambassador were houses occupied by three Chinese, who had recently arrived at Amarapura, on a deputation from the provincial government of Yunan in China. They visited the colonel on his arrival, who has supplied an amusing account of the insipid solemnity of their manners, their indolent habits, and bad taste in music, of which, unfortunately for their neighbours, they were great amateurs. An eclipse of the moon rendered it impossible for the court of Amarapura to receive the ambassador before the 30th of August; an interval which he judi-

ously and successfully employed in acquiring a knowledge of the customs and manners prevalent amongst the Burmans.

The thirteenth chapter contains an instructive account of the religion, laws, civil institutions, distinctions of rank and the insignia annexed to each gradation; together with the marriage and funeral ceremonies, the population and revenue of the country. On these it were superfluous to enlarge, having inserted the chapter entire in our last volume.

The Burmans may be termed a nation of soldiers, every man in the kingdom being liable to be called upon for his military services. These conscripts are supplied with arms, ammunition, and an allowance of grain, but are not entitled to pay; whilst their families are retained as hostages for the good conduct of their relation. The musquet, the sabre, and the spear are the warlike instruments of the Burmans; but the most respectable part of their military force is the establishment of war boats, furnished by each town, in proportion to its magnitude, and of which 500 might be assembled at a short notice. The largest are from eighty to one hundred feet long, but the breadth seldom exceeds eight feet; they are constructed out of the solid trunk of the teak tree, carry from fifty to sixty rowers, provided with a sword and lance; and when they go to war carry a piece of ordnance on the prow, besides soldiers armed with muskets.

Though the religion of the Burmans forbids the slaughter of animals, yet the interdiction is observed only with regard to those that are domesticated. Game, and even reptiles, are eaten by them. The vigour of the natives furnishes



furnishes a sure test of the salubrity of the climate. The southern provinces produce luxuriant crops of rice; to the northward, the country is more mountainous, but the vallies yield good wheat, together with most of the small grains and esculent vegetables of India. Sugar canes, tobacco, indigo, cotton, and the different tropical fruits, in perfection, are all indigenous productions of that country. Nor is it less rich in minerals, since our author mentions mines of gold, silver, rubies, sapphires, iron, tin, lead, antimony and arsenic. "Amber, of a consistence unusually pure and pellucid, is dug up in large quantities near the river." Marble equal to the finest of Italy is dug from quarries near Amerapura, and confined to the formation of images of Gautama. The foreign commerce of the Burmans is altogether trifling; but a considerable internal traffic is carried on, by means of boats, navigating the Iravati. Like the Chinese, they have no coin; silver in bullion and lead are the current monies of the country; hence the necessity of bankers to ascertain the degree of purity in which these metals are brought to market. The animals of Ava are all to be met with in Hindustan, but it is a fact not a little singular, "that there should not be such an animal as the jackal in the Ava dominions, considering that they are so numerous in the adjoining country."

"Of the ancient Pallis," says Col. Symes, "whose language constitutes at the present day the sacred text of Ava, Pegu and Siam, as well as of several other countries eastward of the Ganges, and of their migration from India to the banks of the Cali, the Nile of Ethiopia, we have but very im-

perfect information." We are altogether at a loss to conjecture on what grounds our author has decided the sacred language of Ava to be the same with that spoken by the Pali, whose migrations in remote times have been traced by Capt. Wilford. We cannot imagine that the mere resemblance of the name has furnished the sole ground for this hypothesis; yet no other is even hinted at. The Pali language is to the eastern nations what the Sanscrit is to the Hindus; yet none ever imagined the latter to be derived from the name of a nation who spoke it. "On a probable calculation from Dr. Buchanan's papers, of the extent of the present Burman empire, it appears to include the space between the 9th and 26th degrees of north latitude, and between the 92d and 107th degrees of longitude, east from Greenwich, about 1050 geographical miles in length, and 600 in breadth; these are the ascertainable limits taken from the Burman accounts, but it is probable their dominions stretch still farther to the north." It should, however, be remarked that the breadth varies, and is in some places very inconsiderable.

The scrupulous attention paid to the various gradations of rank at the court of Ava, and the etiquette with which each is received there, rendered it necessary to ascertain before the introduction of the English ambassador, what ceremonies were to be observed to him. In a country where so much attention is paid to punctilio, Col. Symes judged these particulars deserving of more solicitude than he probably would have assigned them under other circumstances. On the 30th of August, the deputation crossed the lake, and proceeded



ceeded through the town and fort to the palace gate, where they were detained till the princes had arrived from their own houses. They were preceded by a pompous equipage, proportioned to their respective rank. The Lotoo, or grand hall of consultation and of audience, is situated within an inclosure, and separated by a brick wall from an inner court which comprehends the palace, and all the buildings annexed to the royal residence. They were ushered up a flight of stairs into a very noble saloon, or open hall, where the court was assembled. On entering this hall, a stranger cannot fail to be surprised at the magnificence of its appearance: it is supported by seventy-seven pillars, disposed in eleven rows, each consisting of seven: the space between the pillars I judged to be about twelve feet, except the central row, which was probably two feet wider. The roof of the building is composed of distinct stages, the highest in the centre. The row of pillars that supported the middle, or most lofty roof, we judged to be thirty-five or forty feet in height; the others gradually diminish as they approach the extremities of the building, and those which sustain the balcony are not more than twelve or fourteen feet. At the farther part of the hall there is a high gilded lattice, extending quite across the building, and in the centre of the lattice is a gilded door, which, when opened, displays the throne; this door is elevated five or six feet from the floor, so that the throne must be ascended by means of steps at the back, which are not visible, nor is the seat of the throne to be seen, except when the King comes in person to the Lotoo. At the bottom of the lattice there is a gilt

balustrade, three or four feet high, in which the umbrellas and several other insignia of state were deposited. The royal colour is white, and the umbrellas were made of silk of that colour, richly bespangled with gold. Within this magnificent saloon were seated, on their inverted legs, all the princes and the principal nobility of the Burman empire, each person in the place appropriated to his particular rank and station. The space between the central pillars that front the throne is always left vacant, for this curious reason, that his Majesty's eyes may not be obliged to behold those whom he does not mean to honour with a look." It is worthy of remark, that instead of priests of Buddha, a chorus consisting of eight Brahmans appeared in sacerdotal gowns, and chanted a prayer at the foot of the throne, in not unpleasing recitative. When this was finished, the letter and presents from the governor-general were delivered to the proper officers; and a person appeared who proposed three questions as if from his Majesty, retiring after receiving the answer to each, as if to communicate the reply. "You come from a distant country; how long is it since you arrived? How were the king, queen, and royal family of England, when the last accounts came from thence? Was England at peace or war with other nations, and was your country in a state of disturbance?" A handsome desert was then introduced, and the court soon after broke up, without his Majesty having once appeared. Our author afterwards understood, that his non-appearance was predetermined, in order to afford a pretext for spreading abroad that the representative of the English nation had delivered his



his dispatches, and rendered tribute (for so they denominated the presents) without being honoured by an interview of their king.

The following days were occupied in visiting the princes, where the deputation was received with suitable respect, but as none of them spoke, it was impossible to form any judgment of their characters, but what their countenances afforded. The royal library adjoins a splendid kioum or monastery; the library was locked when our author went there, and the librarian did not think himself authorised to open it, without a special order. "But he assured us that there was nothing in the inside different from what we might see in the virando, where a number of large chests, curiously ornamented with gilding and japan, were ranged in regular order, against the wall. I counted fifty, but there were many more, probably not less than a hundred. The books were regularly classed, and the contents of each chest were written in gold letters on the lid. The librarian opened two, and shewed me some very beautiful writing on thin leaves of ivory, the margins of which were ornamented with flowers of gold, neatly executed. I saw also some books written in the antient Pali, the religious text." In this expression, our author manifestly considers the Pali, not as a language, but a written character. This also is our own opinion; the few words he has given as belonging to the Pali language are Sanscrit; the character, however, differs materially from the Devanagari, though it corresponds with it in order and syllabic arrangement. To this only, we are disposed to believe, the name of Pali, (nourishing, assisting) is annexed; and

should require strong proofs to induce us to believe that the Burmans have any thing in common, with the Palis of Captain Wilford. "Every thing seemed to be arranged with perfect regularity, and I was informed that there were books upon divers subjects; more on divinity than any other; but history, music, medicine, painting and romance, had their separate treatises. The volumes were disposed under distinct heads, regularly numbered; and if all the other chests were as well filled as those that were submitted to our inspection, it is not improbable that his Burman Majesty may possess a more numerous library than any potentate from the banks of the Danube to the borders of China."

Col. Symes afterwards visited the high priest of the empire, or Seredaw, a title probably equivalent to that of Lama in Tibet. He received the ambassador in a kioum, of which we extract the description. "Being prepared, we were conducted into a spacious court, surrounded by a high brick wall, in the centre of which stood the kioum, an edifice not less extraordinary from the style of its architecture, than magnificent from its ornaments, and from the gold that was profusely bestowed on every part. It was composed entirely of wood, and the roofs rising one above another in five distinct stories, diminished in size as they advanced in height; each roof being surrounded by a cornice, curiously carved and richly gilded. The body of the building, elevated twelve feet from the ground, was supported on large timbers driven into the earth, after the manner of piles, of which there were probably 150, to sustain the immense weight of the superstructure. On ascending



ascending the stairs, we were not less pleased than surprised, at the splendid appearance which the inside displayed; a gilded balustrade, fantastically carved into various shapes and figures, encompassed the outside of the platform. Within this, there was a wide gallery that comprehended the entire circuit of the building, in which many devotees were stretched prostrate on the floor. An inner railing opened into a noble hall, supported by colonnades of lofty pillars, the centre row was at least fifty feet high, and gilded from the summit to within four feet of the base, which was lackered red. In the middle of the hall there was a gilded partition of open latticed work, fifteen or twenty feet high, which divided it into two parts, from north to south. The space between the pillars, varied from twelve to sixteen feet, and the number, including those that supported the galleries, appeared to be not fewer than one hundred, which, as they approached the extremities, diminished in height; the outermost row not exceeding fifteen feet. The bottom of these was cased with sheet lead, as a defence against the weather. A marble image of Gautama, gilded and sitting on a golden throne, was placed in the centre of the partition; and in front of the idol, leaning against one of the pillars, we beheld the Seredaw sitting on a sattin carpet."

The Chinese ambassadors, who were introduced at the same time, prostrated themselves before the image of Buddha, which confirms, as Col. Symes observes, the confident assertion of the Burmans, that the Chinese are worshippers of Buddha. Our author's expression, is not calculated to convey a distinct idea of the fact, which was

before too well known to require confirmation. The emperor of China, his Tartar subjects, and a great proportion of the Chinese, are unquestionably votaries of Foe or Buddha, under the spiritual guidance of the Lamas of Tibet; but China also comprehends, the philosophic followers of the doctrines of Confucius, and another superstition prevalent amongst the vulgar, of which the tenets are but little understood. It cannot, therefore, we presume, be correctly affirmed, that the Chinese are Buddhists.

"The fort of Amarapura is an exact square: there are four principal gates, one to the centre of each face; there is also a smaller gate on each side of the great gate, equidistant between it and the angle of the fort, comprising twelve gates in all. At each angle of the fort, there is a large quadrangular bastion, that projects considerably. There are also eleven smaller bastions on each side, including those that are over the gateways. Between each of these bastions, is extended a curtain, about 200 yards long. From this calculation, a side of the fort occupies 2400 yards." Four gilded temples are placed at the corners of the fort, and along one side, extends the public granaries and store-rooms.

The animated remonstrances of the English ambassador, concerning the circumstances which he judged derogatory to the dignity of the government which he represented, were at length productive of a change of conduct, and it was intimated to him, that he should be honoured with an interview of his majesty when the answer to the Governor General's letter should be delivered. All the splendor of this ceremonious court, was exhibited on this occasion. "We had



had been seated little more than a quarter of an hour, when the folding doors that concealed the throne opened with a loud noise, and discovered his majesty ascending a flight of steps that led up to the throne, from the inner apartments. His crown was a high conical cap, richly studded with precious stones; his fingers were covered with rings, and in his dress, he bore the appearance of a man cased in golden armour, whilst a gilded, or probably a golden wing on each shoulder, did not add much lightness to his figure. His looks denoted him to be between fifty and sixty years old, of a strong make, in stature rather beneath the middle height, with hard features, and of a dark complexion; yet the expression of his countenance was not unpleasing, and seemed, I thought, to indicate an intelligent and inquiring mind." Four Brahmans, dressed in white caps and gowns, chanted the usual prayer at the foot of the throne; after which an officer recited, in a musical cadence, the name of each person who was to be introduced. Some of them were invested with the order of the nobility, after which the king withdrew without speaking, except to give that order.

The commercial propositions, which the ambassador had submitted to the consideration of the Burman ministers, experienced no difficulty; the obvious justice of fixing the financial demands on exports and imports, and protecting foreign traders from the rapacity of subordinate officers, being universally admitted. An imperial mandate to that effect, addressed to the governors of provinces, was issued in consequence; and this important point being effected, Col. Symes left Amarapura, after a residence of three months.

The rise of the waters had now subsided, and the Irawati flowed smoothly within its channel, whilst the boats conveyed the deputation through a rapid current down the river, retracing the same scenes which had presented themselves before. An account of the Petroleum Wells, will be found in our last volume; and Col. Symes has furnished some interesting particulars, illustrative of the pastoral manners, and simple theology of the mountain tribes, who under the appellation of Cains and Carians, occupy the high tract of land, between Aracan and Ava.

To review the account of an enlightened and judicious traveller of countries previously unknown, or so imperfectly described, as to differ slightly from terra incognita, is only to furnish a copious abstract of his most prominent remarks. This duty we have endeavoured to perform, in reviewing the interesting publications of Col. Symes and Capt. Turner. To compare these with the scanty accounts supplied by preceding travellers, less qualified to form correct opinions, and in situations less calculated to afford the data requisite for that purpose, were a task slightly conducive to the interests of literature. The public are now in possession of authentic descriptions, of the principal routes to the capitals of Ava and Tibet; the manners and customs of the natives, so far as they influence their intercourse with strangers, have been amply elucidated, and much light has been thrown upon these in other particulars. The expectations which might have been formed, from the short residence of the authors in the countries they described, have been equalled and surpassed: a new and prolific source has been opened by each,



to the indulgence of a rational curiosity, and the applause of the public which has already crowned their labours, is the just reward of their meritorious exertions. The sciences of geography, botany, and mineralogy, have each derived some important additions from their inquiries; but it is principally to the philosopher, engaged in contemplating the nature of man, as displayed in his actions and opinions, under every diversity of climate, government, and religious system, that travels into distant regions, supply an inexhaustible fund of materials.

The warlike nation to which this volume relates, has acquired a decided preponderance in the countries which separate Hindustan from China, and appears to possess a spring of activity, a de-

sire of extended dominion, and a capacity for corporeal exertions, which may probably add, in future times, to the importance they have already attained, in the scale of oriental nations. When the study of the language of the Burmans shall have furnished a key to their history, science, and antiquities, it will then appear whether they assimilate most strongly to their eastern or western neighbours; whether, as the Brahmans assert the Burmachinas to be a tribe of Khyetria, who, emigrating from their country, have forgotten the Vedas; or whether, as their language and appearance seem to indicate, they be of Chinese origin, and have adopted the religion of Buddha, with its dogmas, as preserved in the Pali character, since their settlement on the banks of the Iravati.

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“PERSIAN LYRICS, or scattered Poems, from the *Diwan-i Hafiz*; with Paraphrases in Verse and Prose, a Catalogue of the Gazels as arranged in a Manuscript of the Works of Hafiz, in the Chetham Library at Manchester, and other Illustrations.” pp. 161.—HARDING. 1800.

Shemseddin Mahommed, better known by his poetical title of Hafiz, flourished in Shiraz, in the middle of the fourteenth century, when that city was the capital of an empire, more distinguished for the valour and generosity of its princes, than the extent of their dominions. Yet Sultan Shuja, son of the celebrated Emir Mobarizeddin (the founder of the dynasty) ruled the provinces of Faro, Carman, and Irac Agemi. To an undaunted courage, by which he secured the possession of a still tottering throne, this prince added all the accomplishments of his age, and Khondemir expatiates on his talents and virtues, and even on the beauty of his poetical compositions, which are still, says the historian, universally read and ad-

mired. The reign of such a prince must have been propitious to the rising genius of the young poet, but his fame soon passed the narrow limits of his master's empire, and attracted the attention of foreign princes. Ferishta relates the overtures which induced our poet to visit the Deccan, his arrival at Lahor on his way thither, and the accident which induced him to return. A second attempt does still less credit to his perseverance: for it appears by the same author, that two opulent merchants, who were about to embark for Hindustan, knowing how acceptable a visit from Hafiz would prove at the court of Calberga, prevailed on him to accompany them. After arriving at the port of Hormuz, and



and embarking on board the vessel, a violent storm completely overturned the resolution of Hafiz, who finding a pretext to go ashore, sent off a fine ode expressive of his determination never again to brave the dangers of the seas.

Hush'd was the breeze: and smooth the main,

Reposing on her pearly bed;  
When Hafiz left his native plain,  
By airy dreams of riches led.  
But can the gorgeous stores of Ind,  
The mountain billow's fury stay?  
Or treasures calm the fear-struck mind,  
As on they rush in dread array? &c.

Sultan Shuja died in the year 1383, and was succeeded by his son Zinulabeddin, whose virtues attracted universal popularity, but could not secure him from the fate of much more powerful sovereigns. He had reigned little more than two years, when Tamerlane entered Persia on an expedition against Azerbaijan, and summoned the young prince, with expressions of friendship, to join his standard at the head of his forces. Zinulabeddin declined to comply. The capture of Ispahan, the massacre of its inhabitants, the conquest of Shiraz and the expulsion of Zinulabeddin, it were foreign to our purpose to relate. Timur visited Shiraz in person, and it is reported that Hafiz had an interview with this fatal conqueror, whom an insurrection in Maverulnehr forced to leave Persia, and the throne of Shiraz was soon after occupied by Shah Mansor, a grandson of Emir Mobarizeddin. The accession of this prince is celebrated by Hafiz in an ode, which commences thus:

“Repair to Shiraz, for the auspicious reign of Mansor has dawned; our acclamations of joy reach the skies.

“Victory has snatched the veil

which concealed the charms of fortune; Astrea has been restored to our vows.

“Fair is the vault of heaven illumined by the beams of the moon; smiling the earth since the return of her sovereign.

“The delight of Egypt (Joseph) who wept for the woes of his house ascending from a dungeon, mounted to the pinnacle of glory, &c.”

This ode was written in 1388, and before the close of the same year, the poet was no more. The reign of Shah Mansor was not destined to survive much longer; for in 1392, Timur returned to Persia; Mansor marched against him with a handful of forces, and after performing prodigies of valour was left dead on the field of battle. The other descendants of Mobarizeddin were sent prisoners into Tartary, and never more heard of. Thus terminated the dynasty of the Muzoferians, to which we have adverted more particularly, because the account given of these princes, and of the poet Hafiz, by M. D'Herbelot, has not been compiled with his usual accuracy.

The tenets of the Sufis have been ably illustrated by Sir William Jones, in his dissertation on “the mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus,” printed in the Asiatic Researches. These tenets appear to constitute the poetical religion of Persia; there are few poets of that nation whose verses do not breathe the same spirit of mystic fervor, and abound in the same voluptuous imagery. The learned orientalist, last quoted, considers the hymns of the Hindus, which sing the loves of Crishna and Râdhâ, as partaking of the same genius; the book of Canticles, in its figurative sense, has been held an allegory on divine love; and we may certainly add the poems



of antiquity which celebrate the loves of Cupid and Psyche, to the best of those mystical compositions. Sir William Jones places Hafiz and Sadi at the head of the eminent poets whom this sect has produced in Persia. The following quotation from Kempfer will shew the esteem, in which the works of the former are still held in that country. Speaking of the poetry of Hafiz: "It pervades, says he, all ranks; you meet with it every where, *in collegiis et scholis, in palatiis et casis, in officinis et tabernis. Haud satis admirabere quanta cum animi delectatione otiosum vulgus in foris et officinis suis, quin in ipsis Cofcæ popinis, quæ nostris tabernis cerevisiariis et vinariis respondent, scripta hæc lætitent, et exiis ingenii nectar capiant; dum confidentium iis, qui libro instructus est epiphonema attentis sociis prælegit; mox literum claudit, ut meditandi silentium indulgeat; tum lectissimam iterat, interposita subinda ad meditando mora, donec interveniat quod lectionem interrumpat, vel dissolvat concessum.*" Those who have visited Hindustan well know the rapture with which the Moslems of that country speak of his odes; many of which are retained in their memory, and frequently quoted in conversation.

Notwithstanding the celebrity of the poet of Shiraz, it may still be doubted whether, even a good translation of his Diwan would add the suffrages of Europe to the applauses of Asia. A taste formed (perhaps too exclusively) on the exquisite models of Greece and Rome, is disgusted with the want of connection, and perpetual recurrence of similar imagery, which the verses of the Gazel present. The embroidered veil which half conceals the mystic sense from the Asiatic, is altogether impervi-

ous to the European eye. Perpetual invocations to pleasure, the joys of wine, and the charms of beauty, cloy by repetition; and the moral reflections, though sometimes exquisitely beautiful, occur too seldom, to relieve by contrast. To appreciate the merits of Hafiz, by a comparison of a few of his odes, with those of Anacreon and Sappho, to which alone they can be justly compared, from being composed in an analogous strain, is a task which still remains to be executed. The songs of the Bacchants in Milton's *Comus* might afford another point of comparison. Between the odes of Hafiz, and those of his contemporary Petrarcha, none can be instituted; the tender querulousness, and plaintive elegance of the Tuscan bard, is too remote from the Bacchanalian festivity, and exuberant joy of the Persian muse. One exception alone, we recollect, in an ode in which Hafiz bewails the death of his wife:

"The sweet companion who rendered my cottage the envy of the fairies, had like them a faultless form," &c.

The publication before us affords little information and little novelty; from an enthusiastic admirer it were vain to expect a candid appreciation of merits. Besides, neither Mr. Hindley's verses, nor his style, are calculated to inspire us with a high idea of his qualifications for such a task; of the latter a fondness for uncommon and flowery expressions is the characteristic, which seldom accompanies a correct taste in composition.

"A student, moderately versed in the Persian language, may be able to pronounce, even from a slight experience, that the plain and simple meaning of one of these Gazels, (totally laying aside its isocata-



isocatalectical and symphonious beauties, as well as the exquisiteness of its peculiar concise and metrical construction), will always please, by mere dint of its simplicity and beauty, as a faithful and correct representation of natural imagery, and as the poetical outlines of a mind cast in a superior mould, and gifted with the most energetic powers of expression: so truly insinuating, so inimitable and unique are the compositions of this illustrious poet. Their variety and peculiarity are not less striking: grave and gay, plaintive and sportive, encomiastic and satirical, tender and querulous, simple and dignified, voluptuous and sublime, they adapt themselves to all dispositions, and seldom fail to interest and to take a deep hold of the feelings of the human heart. The metre is regular, though varied; the measures are subject to the common rules of scansion, and run in pauses altogether melodious, and heightened by the agreeable returns of corresponding sounds. One favorite rhyme also is characteristic of each Gazel, and invariably terminates every couplet. The style too, is so effu'gent and dazzling, yet so finished and concise, that the loss of the most trivial word is the loss of a beauty. What, then, can we do in this case? is it possible to hit upon a brilliant conciseness, a melody, or somewhat analogous to it in our own language, that may enable us to give some faint idea of the unparalleled elegancies of the original?"

It only remains, to enable our readers to determine whether Mr. Hindley has "hit upon" any of these desiderata, by the insertion of a specimen. This work contains eleven odes; eight of which had been previously translated by Sir

William Jones, or Revisky; three others now appear for the first time in an European dress, one of which we insert.

“ Nothing, no, nothing from my heart  
shall tear  
That damsel's image, to my soul so  
dear;  
No, thou most graceful cypress of the  
grove,  
There grows thy root, deep-planted by  
my love:  
Nor shall stern fate, in grim misfortune  
drest,  
E'er scare thy lips memorial from my  
breast;  
In infant life thy locks my passion mov'd,  
And something early told me that I lov'd:  
The league, which then with love and  
them I made,  
Shall ne'er by treacherous mem'ry be be-  
tray'd.  
With unborn time the innate fondness  
rose,  
And shall with deathless time expiring  
close.  
All but that love may quit my goaded  
heart,  
But that, O! never, never shall depart:  
Nought shall destroy it, nought its force  
control;  
It clings so close united to my soul,  
That from this body sever'd were this  
head,  
E'en then my unchang'd love would not  
be dead.  
But, tho' my wounded heart the fair pur-  
sues,  
Pity my feeble frailty will excuse;  
Sick is my soul, and why not seek to find  
Some bland restorative to ease my mind?  
Whoe'er from wild distraction would be  
free,  
And 'scape the frenzy which thus preys  
on me,  
Let him, by Hafiz warn'd, avoid his fate,  
And shun the sex lest soon it be too late.”

Before we conclude, we must point out a material (possibly a typographical) error. The year of Hafiz's death, 791 of the Hejirah, is said in the preface to correspond with the Christian year 1340. This would render every important incident in the life of our poet, utterly irreconcilable



with chronology; but the fact is, that year corresponds with the Christian year 1388, in which Ti-

mur visited Shiraz, and Shalsmanaser ascended the throne.

“*A DICTIONARY of the MALAY TONGUE, as spoken in the Peninsula of Malacca, the Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Pulo Pinang, &c. &c. in two Parts, English and Malay, and Malay and English. To which is prefixed, a Grammar of that Language. Embellished with a Map. By JAMES HOWISON, M. D. Member of the Asiatic Society.*” 4to. pp. 235.—SEWELL. 1801.

THE inhabitants of the isles scattered over the Indian archipelago, may be classed under two grand divisions, Mahommedans and idolaters. It is to the former of these classes, that the name of Malayan is applied by foreigners, and by themselves. They are usually found settled on the sea coasts; trade, and sometimes piracy, are their usual occupations; a ferocious intrepidity distinguishes their general character, and the Portugueze experienced on their first arrival, a fiercer resistance from these hardy navigators, than from the numerous armies of the continental powers. The relative proportion between the Malayan and the idolatrous inhabitants varies in each island; in some the whole of the inhabitants have been converted to Islamism; in others the sovereigns of particular districts have embraced that faith, and been followed by their subjects, whilst the majority have adhered to their pristine superstitions. We are aware that our account of this people is not altogether free from objections. Sir William Jones has stated his persuasion, “that they descended from Arabian traders and mariners after the age of Mahommed.” We are disposed to believe that many individuals of that nation settled amongst them, and produced the conversion to Islamism; but the very peculiar configuration and cast of countenance, common to the Malayan, with the other na-

tions eastward of Hindustan, does not permit us to consider them as a distinct race. The tradition of the inhabitants of Malacca, recorded by the Portugueze historian, John de Barras, appears to us a preferable hypothesis. This states the city of Malacca to have been founded in 1260, by a Javan of the name of Parameswara; and that in the reigns of his successors, the people were gradually converted to Islamism, by the influx of Persian and Guzerat merchants. Doubtless, traders from the commercial cities of Arabia, would also resort to Malacca, which soon became the most flourishing emporium of the east. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Mahommedan religion had spread considerably, and extended itself through the neighbouring islands. In this hypothesis, we consider the commercial city of Malacca as the centre, whence the tenets of Mahommed emanated, and were diffused amongst the isles, with the name of Malayan ascribed to its votaries. But this name itself has its difficulties; for Malaya is the name of a mountain celebrated in the Puranas, for the production of the most fragrant sandal. It is usually supposed to be one of the western ranges of the Ghauts, which intersect the Deccan. The coast of Malabar is named by its inhabitants Malaya; in its vicinity, we find the Malaya-dwipa, (vulgo, maldives) or Malayan isles; both appear



pear to have derived their name from their proximity to mount Malaya. If we suppose Parameswara, (a common Hindu name) to have led a colony from Malaya to the golden Chersonesus, every difficulty will be obviated by this simple and probable hypothesis. It accounts for the name of the city and peninsula of Malacca, and for the general designation of those who adopted the religion disseminated from that city, amongst the isles.

Mr. Marsden, (whose history of Sumatra is incomparably the most scientific and complete performance, which the connection between Great Britain and the east has hitherto produced), speaks of the Malayan language in the following terms. "The Malay language is original in the peninsula of Malaya, and has from thence extended itself throughout the eastern islands, so as to become the lingua franca of that part of the globe. It has been much celebrated, and justly, for the smoothness and sweetness of its sound, which have gained it the appellation of the 'Italian of the east.'" Had the ingenious author only stated that the Malayan language originated in the peninsula, he would have expressed himself more accurately; as the passage now stands it might lead to a supposition, that a dialect of which at least a fourth of the nouns are pure Arabic, was the original language of the eastern peninsula. In literature, the Malaysians have made slender proficiency; their books are for the most part, either transcripts from the Koran, or legendary tales of little merit as compositions. Like the other nations converted to the Moslem faith, the Malaysians have adopted with it the Arabic character, in which they

now write; that they possessed one previously is indisputable; and like those of Sumatra, it probably betrayed its origin, by an alphabetic arrangement similar to that of the Devanagari.

We learn from Dr. Howison, in his advertisement to the work before us, that the first attempt to form an English and Asiatic grammar, was one of the Malayan language, published by Mr. Bowry, in 1701. The extreme scarcity of that work suggested the utility which must result from this, at a period when the conquests of Great Britain have enlarged the sphere of her intercourse, with the countries in which it is vernacular.

"The peninsula beyond the river Ganges, which stretches down to Johor, the extreme southern point (indeed it is the most southern point of land on the continent of Asia), is generally known by the name of Malacca, or the country of the Malays; and that appellation is very properly retained, since Malay is the true mother tongue of that country. It is likewise the chief language of Junkselon, Pulo Ladda, Pulo Pinang, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Bava, Lombok, Cumbava, Flores, Timor, Timorlaut, Celebes, Ceram, the Molucca islands, and innumerable others; it is, in fact, as observed in our advertisement, the lingua franca, or trading language of a great part of the eastern world. Again, it is the more necessary for English voyagers to become acquainted with this language, since the European inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope (which important place now belongs to this nation) have always accustomed themselves to speak to their servants in the Malay tongue. In some of the islands, however, particularly Borneo, the largest island



island in the world except New-Holland, it being about eighteen hundred miles in circumference, there are several kingdoms, each of which has a dialect peculiar to itself: with several of these, Mr. Bowrey says, he conversed. But that a more general idea may be formed of the extent of country over which the Malay is spoken, we shall refer to the accurate map, engraved by Arrowsmith, and prefixed to this volume; by which it appears, that the Malay is the principal vernacular tongue used by the people who inhabit that vast region and chain of islands comprehended between ninety three and one hundred and thirty five degrees of east longitude, a space of about two thousand, two hundred and twenty miles; and extending from fourteen degrees north to eleven degrees of south latitude, comprehending twenty five degrees, about one thousand seven hundred and forty miles.

“The inhabitants of this immense group of islands are supposed to have proceeded originally from the peninsula of Malacca; and of this there can be little doubt, since it is the nearest continent, from which the islands proceed in a constant and regular progression, all over the southern and eastern seas, as far as New Guinea.”

In adapting the Arabic alphabet to the sounds which compose the Malayan tongue, it has undergone no alteration, excepting in the letter Ghain, which in this language is destined to represent “ng.” The Grammar occupies only 26 pages; yet such is the simplicity of the language it illustrates, that it seems to comprehend in that short space, every essential particular. The inflexions of nouns and verbs are performed by means of particles prefixed;

the plural number is formed by repeating the word; and the conjugation of one verb furnishes an exact model for all the rest.

Mr. Marsden has criticised by anticipation this and all future Malayan grammars. “Attempts,” says that gentleman, “have been made to compose a grammar of the Malay tongue, upon the principles on which those of the European languages are formed. But the absurdity of such productions, is obvious. Where there is no inflexion of either nouns or verbs, there can be no cases, declensions, moods, nor conjugations. All this is performed by the addition of certain words expressive of a determinate meaning, which should not be considered as mere auxiliaries, or as particles subservient to other words. Thus in the instance of Rooma, a house: *derree pada rooma*, signifies from a house; but it would be talking without use or meaning, to say that *derree pada* is the sign of the ablative case of that noun, for then, every preposition would equally require an appropriate case, and as well as *of, to, and from*, we should have a case for *deatas rooma*, on the top of the house. So of verbs, *Callo sayo boolee gellan*, if I could walk; this may be termed the subjunctive or potential mood, of the verb *gellan*, whereas it is in fact a sentence, of which *gellan, bodee, &c.* are constituent words. These endeavours to square every thing to our own local and partial ideas, puts me in mind of some vocabularies I have seen, in which the country titles were thus explained.—*Pangeran*, a duke: *Dattoo*, an earl; *Dupatty*, a lord-mayor. It is improper, I say, to talk of the case of a noun, which does not change its termination, or the mood of a verb, which does not



not alter its form. An useful set of observations might be collected for speaking the language with correctness and propriety, but they must be as different from the artificial and technical rules of our grammarians as the dress of an European lady from the simplicity of a Malay habit."

With this passage, probably, in his eye, Dr. Howison observes that, "In our grammatical department it may be objected, that we have forced the inflexions of our nouns and verbs into a resemblance to those of European languages beyond what the simplicity of the Malay will admit of: we must, however, insist that although we have made use of words as auxiliaries, which grammarians might not consider strictly as such, still a ten years' acquaintance with the Malays and their language, authorize us in adopting the words and arrangements, which, we are certain, will be understood and are used by them."

Notwithstanding the ingenuity of Mr. Marsden's observations, we entirely approve of Dr. Howison's retaining the grammatical arrangements of European languages in his work, as the best calculated to facilitate the acquisition of the Malay tongue, to an European. In the example quoted, the objection applies with equal force to the English subjunctive, "if I could walk," as to the Malay synonymism. In fact, Mr. Marsden's reflections would be just, if no reference be made to the grammatical standard existing in the mind of the student, who will always experience less difficulty in accomodating a foreign idiom to his own preconceptions, than in acquiring a language in which they shall prove of no assistance.

In turning over the pages of the

dictionary, we find the Malayan tongue may still be distinctly traced to its two sources, Sanscrit and Arabic. We have not taken the trouble to ascertain the relative proportion of each; but it is deserving of notice, that the former occurs infinitely more frequently in the language of Malacca, than in those of Pegu and Siam, the intermediate countries. The number of words, which can be traced to either, is inconsiderable; therefore it were superfluous to pronounce examples of them. In order to satisfy our readers of the existence of Arabic and Sanscrit words, without alteration in the Malayan tongue, we insert a few, as they present themselves in turning over the pages: 1st. Sanscrit, Gaja, an elephant; Varna, a colour; Laba, advantage; Satru, an enemy; Carija, an affair; Samania, all; bala-tantra, an army; Boodee, wisdom; Sama, like as; Madu, a bee; ghinta, a bell; Pandita, a bishop; Chintta, fear; Rupa, mien, appearance; Rata, a cart; Guha, a cane; Denda, a tax; Dermawan, charitable. Courteous, Dr. Howison says, is Soopun and Choombu; Soopun Choombu was the name of a courtier at the palace of Tasisudon. Do the languages of Malaya and Tibet bear so strong a resemblance? Both words are Sanscrit, though slightly deflected from their original meaning. Examples of Sanscrit words might be multiplied *ad infinitum*; the same is true of the Arabic, of which we also insert a few. Muslihat, craftiness; Vakeel, an agent; Hucum, an order or sentence; Fajer, morning; Mati, dead; Maut, death; Laic, decent; Feker, reflection; Sualu jawab, question and answer; Tabib, a doctor; Amur, life; Maf, an excuse; Adil, just; Hyran, astonished. It were superfluous to multiply



ply examples; the first inhabitants of the golden Chersonesus spoke a dialect of the Sanscrit language; an admixture of Arabic terms consequent to the change of religion, has produced the modern Malayan.

“A DIGEST of HINDU LAW,” (continued from our last Register.)

OUR last publication comprised a succinct, but we flatter ourselves, no uninteresting sketch of the law of contracts, as delivered by the legislators of ancient India, and modified by the commentaries of modern lawyers. In the performance of contracts, and succession to property, the British Parliament has provided that the Hindus shall be governed by their own laws; the digest consequently proceeds to consider the doctrine of successions; and in pursuing our analysis through this branch of jurisprudence, the distinguished talents of Jagannátha Tercapanchánana, the venerable compiler, and of Mr. Colebrooke the translator, will not appear less conspicuous than in the former.

*Sect. 1. On Property.* The Indian legislators, have not traced the gradual existence of individual property from those remote ages, when, *erant omnia communior, et indivisa omnibus*. Such a state of society, indeed, is no less incompatible with their mythological history, than with the Mosaic records, in which the right of property derived from manual labour is recognised, *ab initio*.—Much dialectic subtlety is displayed in the definition of the term “property.” “Is property included in the seven categories, substance and the rest, or is it distinct therefrom?” According to one opinion, “property is a certain faculty subsisting in the several substances;” to another, “ownership is a relation between cause

and effect, attached to the owner who is predicated of particular substances, and subsisting in the substance by connection with the predicable.” If there be any who doubt the analogy between the doctrines of the Peripatetic school, and the dialectic system comprised in the Nyaya Sastra, we apprehend a perusal of the work before us, can scarcely fail to remove his suspicions. Whether the tradition, that Aristotle received from India by means of Callisthenes, a technical system of logic, be fully corroborated by this analogy, we presume not to decide; the syllogistic mode of reasoning was prevalent both in India and Greece, and the æra of Gautama unquestionably preceded by many centuries the existence of the celebrated Stagyríte.

“Menu:—After the death of the father and the mother, the brothers being assembled, may divide among themselves in equal shares, the paternal and maternal estate; but they have no power over it while their parents live, unless the father choose to distribute it.”  
 “Nareda:—The father being degraded, or become an anchorite, or having resigned, or deceasing naturally, his sons may divide his estate.” The eldest son becomes the manager of the property, during the absence or incapacity of his father; a partition of the inheritance does not of necessity ensue, subsequent to his demise, and only in case of requisition by the younger children, for whose subsistence



sistence he is otherwise bound to provide. This right of primogeniture rests on the following text. “ Menu : By the eldest, at the moment of his birth, the father having begotten a son, discharges his debt to his own progenitors : the eldest son, therefore ought, before partition, to manage the whole patrimony.

“ That son alone, by whose birth he discharges his debt, and through whom he obtains immortality, was begotten from a sense of duty ; all the rest are considered by the wise, as begotten from love of pleasure.”

Property acquired by the father, may be distributed by him amongst his sons at his pleasure ; nor is this absolutely debarred in the case of inheritance. But “ Nareda :—A father has no power if his intellect be disturbed by sickness, or his mind agitated by wrath, or his affection partially set on the son of a favorite wife, to make a portion different from the law of inheritance.” That law directs an equal partition among uterine brothers, or brothers of the same class, with an addition of a twentieth to the oldest son. Though the compiler remarks, that “ at this time in our country, the practice of deducting a twentieth part or the like, is almost wholly disused : but some chattel of small value is given to the eldest as a token of veneration.” Brothers born of mothers of different classes are suitably apportioned.

*Chap. 2. On the distribution made by a father in his life-time.*

We find the following rules suggested for the regulation of this distribution, yet the infringement of some is rather considered as a breach of moral duty, than an act tending to invalidate the settlement. “ Nareda—When the mo-

ther is too aged to bear more sons, and all the sisters have been given away in marriage, and the father either refrains from pleasures, or withdraws from worldly concerns, then shall partition be made.” At this period the father may divide amongst his sons, or retain property acquired, or recovered by him ; but over the landed patrimony the father and son have equal dominion, it must therefore be equally divided. We do not however, perceive, that the sons can at any time compel a division, even of this heritable patrimony. Grandsons and great grandsons, are entitled to the shares of their respective fathers, as far as the fourth in descent. “ Devala—As far as the fourth in descent, relatives are sapindas, or connected by funeral oblations, beyond him the funeral cake is rescinded : Sages declare partition of inheritable property to be co-ordinate with the gift of funeral cakes.” The efficacy of these funeral cakes in accomplishing the beatitude of the deceased, when offered by his progeny within the fourth generation, is in some measure considered as the price paid for the succession. This notion is the key to the whole Indian law of inheritance, and hence its connection with the ceremonies performed at obsequies.

*Chap. 3. On partition among brothers.*

“ Vyasa :—For brothers a common abode is ordained so long as both their parents live ; but, by making a partition after the death of their parents, their religious duties are multiplied.” Hence it is inferred that the common property should not be divided till subsequent to the death of both parents. The multiplication of religious duties arises from the separate performance of rites at the respective



houses of the brothers. "Y'ajnyawaleya:—Let the sons, after the death of their parents, equally share the assets, and equally pay the debts of the deceased." But this equable partition seems overturned by a text which afterwards occurs. "Vrihaspati:—All the sons shall succeed to their father's estate as is ordained; but he who is distinguished by science and good conduct, shall take a greater share than the rest. Progenitors become truly the parents of a son, through him whose fame is spread in this world, for science, skill in arts, courage or wealth, and for knowledge, liberality and virtuous actions." We presume that none of the sons are allowed to decide on their own superior merit, yet the legislator has omitted to specify whose judgment should regulate this important point. "A share of the heritage with the brothers shall be allotted to their widows, who have no offspring, but are supposed pregnant, to be held by them until they severally bear sons." If none is born the brothers divide the share reserved, and support the widow at the common expence.—The equal partition prescribed, extends to every species of property. "Vrihaspati:—Thus Menu declared, that household utensils, beasts of burden, weapons, milch cattle, ornaments and slaves, must be divided, when discovered, among the heirs; and that, if effects are justly suspected to be hidden, a discovery must be obtained by the Cosha." The Cosha is a particular form of trial by ordeal. "Menu:—To the unmarried daughters let their brothers give portions out of their own allotments respectively: let each give a fourth part of his own distinct share; and they who refuse to give shall be

degraded." The commentator explains the portion of the daughter to be appropriated solely to defray the charges of her nuptials, in a manner suitable to her rank; consequently, if requisite, as far as the proportion of a fourth, must be given by the brothers for that purpose. The expences attending the several religious ceremonies for younger brothers, for whom they have not yet been performed, must also be deducted from the common stock. "Menu:—Let the father himself perform the eight ceremonies which perfect the birth of a twice born man, like the ceremony on conception: or on failure of him, let another perform them in regular order. But let not a twice born man remain a single instant excluded from the four orders." We extract Mr. Colebrooke's instructive account of the ceremonies above alluded to.

"By these ceremonies I understand, 1st. J'atamarca; a ceremony ordained on the birth of a male, before the section of the navel string, and which consists in making him taste clarified butter, out of a golden spoon. 2d. Namacarana; ceremony on giving a name, performed on the 10th day after birth; or on the 11th, 12th, and even 101st day. 3d. Nishermana; carrying the child out of the house to see the moon, on the third lunar day of the third light fortnight after his birth; or to see the sun in the third and fourth month. 4th. Annaprāsana; feeding the child with rice in the sixth or eighth month, or when he has cut teeth. 5th. Chudācarana; the ceremony of tonsure, performed in the second or third year after birth. 6th. Upanayana; investiture with the marks of the class, performed in the eighth year from the conception of a Brāhmana; but it may be anticipated in the fifth, or be delayed to the sixteenth year. 7th. Sāvītri; the ceremony of investiture hallowed by the Gayatri, which must not be delayed for a Brāhmana beyond the sixteenth year; it should be performed on the fourth day after the first investiture. 8th. Samāvartana; ceremony



mony on the return of the student from his preceptor's house. The whole number of ceremonies called Sanscára, as expiating the sinful taint contracted in the mother's womb, and as effecting regeneration, in other words, as perfecting the class of a twice born man, are ten. To the eight ceremonies now enumerated must therefore be added the ceremony which precedes conception, and marriage, which is the last of these sacraments."

A coheir is not compelled to refund money disbursed before partition; but a double share of the property is usually allotted to him, through whose industry it was acquired. A disquisition ensues relative to sons born of mothers of different classes, which might suggest some important inferences: in fact we find the casts in the age of the legislators quoted, were by no means separated by such infrangible barriers as at present. A Brahmana might choose a wife from each of the inferior classes, so that only the Sudra, the lowest of all, was strictly excluded from this privilege. Such marriages are, indeed, censured as immoral, but not prohibited as criminal, excepting in the Cali age; the text presents a singular association, worthy the attention of those desirous to investigate the state of ancient India. "Vrihat Narediya Purana:—Undertaking sea voyages to circumnavigate the ocean; the carrying of a water pot by a householder; the marriage of twice born men with damsels unequal in class: the wise have declared, that these practices must be avoided in the Cali age." Here we find the strict prohibition of intermixture of class, coeval with that of maritime enterprise; both then were admissible at an earlier period, and if the Sanscrit language bears a striking analogy with that of the Greeks and Romans, whilst those of intermediate nations offer no

affinity, the connection must be traced to a period when the Hindus circumnavigated the ocean.

"Menu:—A son begotten thro' lust on a Sudra by a man of the priestly class, is even ás a corpse though alive, and is thence called in law a living corpse."—The word is Cunapa. Might not this text throw some light on the story mentioned by Syncellus, of a dynasty of dead men who reigned in Egypt, and from one of whom Canopus is by some thought to have received its name?

*Chap. 4. "On Sons legitimate and adopted."*

The several modes of filiation are thus enumerated. "Menu:—1. Of the twelve sons of men whom Menu sprung from the self-existent, has named, six are kinsmen and heirs: six not heirs, except to their own father, but kinsmen.

"2. The son begotten by a man himself in lawful wedlock, the son of his wife begotten by a kinsman duly appointed, a son given to him, a son made or adopted, a son of concealed birth, or whose real father cannot be known, and a son rejected by his natural parents, are the next kinsmen and heirs.

"3. The son of a young woman unmarried, the son of a pregnant bride, a son bought, a son by a twice married woman, a son self-given, and a son by a Sudra are the six kinsmen, but not heirs to collaterals."

By adoption, a son loses all claim to the family and estate of his natural father; it is invalid if the ceremony of tonsure had been previously performed, or if the child had past his fifth year. After defining what the law understands by a son begotten in lawful wedlock, the commentator proceeds to the next in rank, or



son begotten on the body of an appointed daughter. “Vasist’ha:—She who has no brothers acquires filiation, reverting to the family of her ancestors; the appointed daughter is considered as the third son, but equal to the son of the body, for she may perform his duties. “Menu:—He who has no son may appoint his daughter in this manner to raise up a son for him, saying: the male child who shall be born from her in wedlock, shall be mine, for the purpose of performing my obsequies.” Thus in the descent of property, a daughter’s son, after such appointment, is considered as a grandson in the male line. The appointment whether public, or merely mental, is nevertheless valid, and deprives the natural father of all civil rights over his son, who is thereby affiliated to the maternal grandfather. The third mode of filiation is by appointing a wife to raise up progeny by a kinsman, or person of superior class; if the appointment be regular and the prescribed ceremonies observed, the offspring is son of both fathers and succeeds to the property of both.

The fourth rank in affiliation is held by the son of concealed birth. “Menu:—In whose mansion soever a male child shall be brought forth, by a married woman whose husband has been long absent, if the real father cannot be discovered, he is called a son of concealed birth.” When the real father is known, it becomes a question to whom the son belongs, which leads to a curious discussion on the relative superiority of the male and female powers of generation, to which we allude, from its exhibiting the principles of the atomic philosophy as delivered by Epicurus, and maintained by the sect

of Udayacharana at this day. “Menu:—The woman is considered in law as the field, and the man as the grain; now vegetable bodies are formed by the united operation of the seed and the field.” But to determine their relative importance, the commentator proceeds to observe, “that the constituent particles of earth might be supposed to enter into the plant, because vegetation consists in the increase of component parts: but the inference would not be accurate; for the properties of the soil, such as blackness and the rest, are not found in vegetating bodies, although their component parts be increased. As a jar produced from a black lump of clay is black, not so those vegetable substances. It should not be objected, that the plant produced from grain, does not retain the small bulk of the seed; a small germin is first produced from the minute ordinary particles of the seed, which becomes fixed; afterwards the same plant grows by assimilating particles of earth and of water, which are most important in comparison with those which are foreign.

“Seed watered in a vessel of hardest iron puts forth a shoot, even without soil; but earth alone, sprinkled with water, produces no plant without seed. Does not earth sprinkled with water produce grass and other plants, which have not been sown? And is it not consequently found that, in some instances, soil does produce plants without seed? To the question proposed, the answer is, no; for even seed appertains to the terrene element. All vegetable, mineral, and animal bodies are produced from the minutest particles of earth, called atoms, by means of inchoative union; but such



such particles being in no respect dissimilar, since they are eternal, the plastic centers of various kinds spring from adhesions mutually dissimilar." Here we find our author explaining the theory of vegetation on the principles of the Epicurean school.

—" eadem fruges, arhusta, animanteis ;

Si non omnia sint, at multo maxima pars est

Consimilis: verum positurâ discrepitant hæc."

Another solution derived from the Pouranica or mythological system, afterwards occurs, in which the deity is represented as diffusing the seeds of organized beings through the universe. " This universe, of moving and unmoving beings is celebrated as the production of that prolific seed which was sown in the waters by thee, O unborn being."

The fifth in rank according to the arrangement adopted by our author on the authority of Y'ajnyawalcya, is the son born of an unmarried woman; he is considered as the son of his maternal grandfather, if he be destitute of male progeny. Next to him is classed a son by his twice married woman, who belongs to his natural father; in these doubtful filiations, which are always mentioned with disapprobation, the virtue of the litigants is stated to deserve weight. We insert an illustration of this singular doctrine, which occurs here. " As in the case of witnesses, should an equal number on both sides give contradictory evidence, it is directed by Y'ajnyawalcya that their characters be taken into consideration, so in the present case also the same principle must be adopted." - Y'ajnyawalcya having noticed six sons affiliated through a right derived

either from the seed or receptacle, proceeds to mention six other sons adopted without any such claim; and first he describes the son given, because he holds pre-eminence among them. " Vasist'ha :—Both parents have power, for just reasons, to give, to sell, or to desert a son; but let no man give or accept an only son, since he must remain to raise up a progeny for the obsequies of ancestors. Nor let a woman give or accept a son, unless with the assent of her lord. He who means to adopt a son, must assemble his kinsman, give humble notice to the king; and then, having made an oblation to fire with words from the Veda, in the midst of his dwelling-house, he may receive, as his son by adoption, a boy nearly allied to him, or on failure of such, even one remotely allied." The above form is the only one held valid in the present age; the boy thus adopted becomes entitled to a maintenance, but his succession to the estate depends on his future conduct: it implies also that he is of equal class with his adopted father. The same rights and restriction devolve to the eighth, or son bought. The ninth is a son made by adoption, it is understood of an orphan, of equal class, and under the age of five years. The next is a son self-given to the adopter, who though mentioned subsequently has precedence over the last; the son of a pregnant bride succeeds, who if his natural father be unknown is accounted son of the bridegroom; the eleventh is a son rejected by his natural parents, and the last in rank is the son begotten through lust on a Sudra woman. " Menu :— On failure of the best, and of the next best among those twelve sons, let the inferior in order take the heritage ;



heritage ; but if there be many of equal rank, let all be sharers of the estate.”—We have been thus particular in explaining the antient law of affiliation and succession, as it will be found to illustrate many transactions recorded in the Puranas. But those laws are now obsolete, since among the twelve descriptions of sons begotten in lawful wedlock and the rest, any others but the son of the body and the son given are forbidden in the Cali age. “Vasist’ha :—The endless abodes are allotted to those who leave male issue ; it is recorded, that heaven is not for him who leaves no male progeny.”

*Chap. 5. On Exclusion from Participation.*—A vicious son or brother, an outcast, a professed enemy to his father, an eunuch, a leper, a madman, an idiot, an impostor, and a man born blind, deaf, or lame, are excluded from heritable successions, but all entitled to maintenance from the next heir, excepting the outcast, and his offspring. The commentator is chiefly employed in supplying strict definitions of the import of the above terms. Their sons, however, are intitled to succeed if the same cause of exclusion does not subsist. Eight sorts of leprosy are enumerated ; this disease is considered as the effect of some heinous crime committed in a previous state of existence ; and cremation and funeral rites are denied to the persons afflicted with it. Some curious analogies occur between the Levitical and Hindu codes in the case of elephantiasis. The wives and daughters of persons excluded from succession are intitled to a maintenance from the heir ; and to complete the list of these exclusions, we must add the issue of marriages in the inverse order of the classes, spurious off-

spring, and persons who have retired from the world for religious purposes.

Certain property too, is excluded from participation ; in this predicament stands whatever is defined the acquisition of science, or of valour, where the personal merit of the acquirer alone, was the cause of the property. “Cattyayana :—What has been acquired by learning, after instructions received from a stranger, and a maintenance provided by one of a different family, is called wealth gained by learning. What is gained by proving superior learning, after a prize has been offered by some third person, must be considered as the acquisition of a scholar, and ought not in general to be divided among coheirs. So what has been received as a gift from a pupil, as a gratuity for the performance of a sacrifice, as a fee for answering a point in casuistry, or for ascertaining a doubtful point of law : or what has been gained as a reward for displaying knowledge, or for victory in a learned contest, or for reading the Veda with transcendent ability.” Such wealth have the sages declared to be the acquisition of science, and not subject to distribution ; and the law is the same in regard to liberal and elegant arts, and to increase of price from superior skill in them. “Parceners are not obliged to share their separate acquisitions, unless maintained by the joint stock during the period of acquisition, or enabled to gain it by instruction received in the family, in which case they are only entitled to a double share. Gifts proceeding from personal attachment are not partible ; apparel, ornaments, cattle and female slaves, if they cannot be equally distributed among the coheirs, may be sold



sold and the produce divided, or successively enjoyed by each. Land lost to the family but recovered by the exertions of a single heir, shall be divided, after allotting him a fourth. Wealth gained by valour which constitutes the remaining exception is thus defined. “Menu:—When favour is shewn by a leader, pleased with a gallant action which a soldier performs, well knowing his danger. Whatever is then received as a reward shall be considered as wealth gained by valour: that, and what is taken under a standard, are declared not to be partible.”

*Chap. 6. On partible Property.*—With the exceptions above stated all other property is divisible amongst the coheirs, after the payment of just debts, and the fulfilment of legal promises. Undue expences and alienations of any of the parceners shall, if discovered, become part of his allotment; “for the patrimony cannot be aliened by one parcener on his separate account.” If it be afterwards discovered that a part of the assets belonging to the deceased, has been fraudulently concealed, it shall be divided in the same manner as the rest, but no punishment inflicted on the culprit; a new partition may be required, if strong circumstances occur to indicate that the first was unjust, but otherwise a coheir claiming a new division incurs an amercement. If it be disputed whether a partition has previously been made, the proofs of it are derived from separate acts of ownership performed by the coheirs. “Nareda:—When coheirs have made a partition, the acts of giving and receiving cattle, grain, houses, land, household establishments, dressing victuals, religious duties,

income and expences, are to be considered as separate, and as proofs of a partition.” The legal terms which should be included in the record of distribution, are afterwards specified; possession is considered as the most irrefragable proof of title, and that of a part is construed to extend to the whole of the chattels included in the same grant. A title is gained by undisturbed possession during twenty years, and, on the contrary, forfeited by silent neglect during the same period.

*Chap. 7. On the Rights of Coheirs.*—After partition, whether before or after the death of the father, each of the parceners has a distinct power to alienate his own share; should a son be born subsequent to such partition he succeeds to the whole portion reserved by his father. A partner living abroad and returning after partition, shall have his share made up by a proportionate deduction from each of the coheirs; his title is not subject to reduction by twenty years adverse possession, and his posterity, even to the seventh generation from the original proprietor, may still compel the payment of his share, or a new distribution.

*Chap. 8. On collateral Succession.*—On failure of male issue either by generation, adoption, or any of the modes of affiliation above enumerated, the widow who performs the prescribed duties shall succeed to the whole estate.—“Vrihaspati:—In scripture, in law, in sacred ordinances, in popular usage, a wife is declared by the wise to be half the body of her husband, equally sharing the fruit of pure and impure acts. Of him whose wife is not deceased, half the body survives; how should another take the property while half the body of the owner lives?”



The duties prescribed to the widowed female are, indeed, abundantly austere, but we here see how far voluntary cremation is, from being a positive injunction of the Hindu code, since the estate of the deceased devolves to the exclusion of brothers and all but male issue. After her demise it devolves to the legal heirs of her husband. “Vrihaspati:—Those near or distant kinsmen, who, becoming her opponents, injure the property of a woman, let the king chastise with the punishment of a robber.” We will now content ourselves with exhibiting the order of collateral succession as specified in a text of Vishnu, without stating the exceptions to which it may be incidentally subject. “Vishnu:—The wealth of him who leaves no male issue goes to his wife; on failure of her, to his daughter; if she be dead, to the son of a daughter; if there be no such grandson, to the father; in his default, to the mother; on failure of her, to the brother; if he be dead, to the brother’s sons: in default of these, to the remoter kinsman; on failure of kindred, to one descended from the same original stock; if there be none such, to the fellow student; on failure of him, to the king, except the property of a Brahmana.” The age of minority for the three first classes, is limited by their return from the houses of their preceptors; for the lowest, to sixteen years; the king is the universal guardian of minors and widows. Excepting in the case of escheats, it is a general rule of law, “that he who takes the estate shall perform the obsequies.” The above rules apply to the order of housekeepers, but “Yajnyawalkya: The heirs of a hermit, of an anchorite, and of a student in theo-

logy, are, in inverse order, the spiritual teacher, the virtuous pupil, and the brother by religious duties being pupil of the same preceptor.” A section here occurs on a second partition, after re-union of parceners; in this event the rights of primogeniture are not acknowledged by any additional allotment; should one of the re-united parceners die without issue, the joint estate becomes the sole property of the survivor.

*Chap. 9. On Succession to Females.*—The first section is occupied in defining what is to be considered as the exclusive property of women, which is stated to be six-fold. “Menu:—What was given before the nuptial fire, what was given at the bridal procession, what was given in token of love, and what was received from a mother, a brother, or a father, are considered as the six-fold separate property of a married woman.” Over property accruing in any other mode, her husband has a controul. The estate devolving to her by his death without male issue, is, as we have already stated, the property of his legal heirs after the demise of the widow. To the exclusive property of women, daughters succeed in preference to sons, and an unmarried daughter in preference to one who is married. In case of her death without issue, her father is heir in some instances, her husband in others, and sometimes her brothers; the principal circumstances which regulate this succession derive from the form of marriage by which the parties were united, but the succession of brothers is confined to the property of an unmarried sister.

To this concise summary of the principal enactments of the Hindu code compiled by the orders of the Bengal



Bengal government, it was our intention to have subjoined some historical illustrations, with a view of the state of society resulting from this specific system of jurisprudence, and a succinct account of the legislators whose labours

have completed the fabric, of which the institutes of Menu laid the foundation. This plan, however, we have been induced to relinquish as better calculated for a distinct disquisition, than the confined limits of a critical analysis.

“OBSERVATIONS on the REPORT of the DIRECTORS of the EAST INDIA COMPANY, respecting the Trade between India and Europe, by THOMAS HENCHMAN, Esq. to which is added, an Appendix, containing the Papers referred to in the Work.” pp. 229.—4to. GILLET, 1801.

“A LETTER to Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY, Bart. Member for Shrewsbury, on the Subject of the Trade between India and Europe, by Sir GEORGE DALLAS, Bart. Member for Newport.” pp. 102. 4to. STOCKDALE, 1802.

THOUGH some months intervened between the publication of Mr. Henchman's disquisition and that of Sir George Dallas, yet the arguments adduced in both are either identical, or so nearly similar, that we have thought it necessary, in order to avoid repetition, to consider them conjointly. Both oppugn the arguments and resolutions of the Court of Directors, in so far as they exclude India-built shipping from the Thames; those arguments are contained in a Report drawn up, certainly, with ability, and attributed, we believe justly, to Mr Grant the Director, to which consequently it is in the first instance necessary to advert.

In a letter addressed to the Chairman in April 1800, Mr Dundas presses the subject on the attention of the Directors, and states his own sentiments on it in a very explicit manner. The government of India and monopoly of the trade, should remain as at present in the hands of the East India Company; but he considers it equally true; 1<sup>st</sup>, “That the exportable produce of India, exceeds what at present

the capital of the Company is capable of embracing; and 2<sup>dly</sup>, That the monopoly of the Company does not rest on principles of colonial exclusion; for the trade to and from India, is open to the subjects of other countries in amity with Great Britain.” No commercial agents should be permitted to reside there, except under the permission and control of the Company; “it would rapidly, though insensibly, lead to the settlement and colonization of the worst kind of adventurers taking root in that country, than which there could not be a more fatal blow to the permanence of the British power and pre-eminence in India.” The conclusion drawn by the Right Honourable Gentleman is, that the surplus produce of India, should be considered as the means of transferring the fortunes of the servants there to Great Britain, and that by the conveyance of India built shipping. That India ships should be employed for this purpose, he contends, 1<sup>st</sup>, From the policy of proportioning the regular tonnage to the expected investment; and 2<sup>dly</sup>, From the tried inefficacy of



the tonnage allotted in them for private goods.

The Report of the Court of Directors, prepared in consequence of the above requisition, is dated in January 1801. They observe, that "innovation once admitted, cannot easily be set aside, but rather has the power of acquiring in every step it proceeds, an increased impulse towards further advancement." The capital applicable to this trade, say they, is coeval with the acquisition of the Dewani, when the rapid and immense fortunes of individuals finding no mode of remittance through the Company, naturally flowed through foreign channels. British merchants at last engaged in it clandestinely, to whom remittances were the means, not the motives, of trade. In 1793, it was to a certain degree legalized, by permitting British residents in India not only to act for foreigners, but to export from thence annually a certain quantity of goods in the Company's ships. But this indulgence was primarily conceded to British manufacturers, who have not availed themselves of it; on the other hand, the free merchants of India state the uncertainty, expence, and delay, attending their trade conveyed through the medium of the regular ships, as equal to a continuance of the prohibition, and enlarge on the advantages which must accrue to both countries, from the removal of impolitic restrictions. Whilst the Directors candidly admit the inconveniences individuals might have sustained from the uncertain departures of their ships in time of war; they state it as a probable conjecture, that independently of the profits of trade, the mere profit on their ships might be an object with the free merchants. Their advocates in England contend for

it as a right inherent in British subjects, to export their own goods in their own ships; if granted to one class it does not appear how others can be excluded; the trade will be conducted on the same principles as that to the American colonies, and colonization will ensue as a natural consequence. The fair line of policy with regard to foreigners, is to allow them to supply their own wants, by their own funds, but to prevent them from trading on British capital: their right to trade there is coeval with our own, and that trade has not, as asserted, undergone any considerable increase. In proof of this assertion of the comparative insignificance of the clandestine trade, (or that carried on by foreigners on British capital) a statement is exhibited, the result of which is, that on a medium of four years ending in April 1799, "of the total exports of Bengal to Europe and America, amounting to Rs. 21,700,000, only 5,600,000, go to foreign parts. Of that sum, the really neutral trade appears to be 3,100,000, and the clandestine trade carried on under foreign colours, 2,500,000, or 250,000l. per annum. With regard to the improvement of the productive powers, the export commerce of our Indian possessions, the Directors admit, that if the fertility of the soil were alone considered, its capacity is indefinite; but they maintain that the genius of the natives being adverse to foreign commerce, after India has paid by her commodities for her limited purchases of European manufactures, the tribute and the gains of British individuals, are the only means which remain of an export trade to Europe. But ought the transfer of British capital to be encouraged for that purpose? Of the old staple



ple commodities the present scale of importation seems adequate to the demand; the articles of later introduction are bulky in proportion to their value. The trade in indigo has been left entirely to individuals, and received every protection; Bengal does not raise cotton enough for her own manufactures, that imported to London is of foreign growth, and if laid open must interfere with the Company's trade to China; sugar does not yield a price sufficient to encourage a large exportation; coffee is also a foreign production, and a regular supply of saltpetre is of too much national importance to be left to the caprice of individuals. The Directors proceed to state that the remittance of private fortunes through the medium of trade, must interfere with the provision of their own investment in time of war; that it is a groundless assertion that their affairs are conducted on a scale so expensive as to deter them from engaging in profitable speculations, "and feel themselves warranted to maintain, that the Company ship their goods in India at a less aggregate of costs and charges than individuals do, and realize the proceeds here at a less expence, excepting the article of freight." If the ships of British individuals were permitted to go and come at pleasure, a great change in the political circumstances of India, must from the nature of things be expected. The proposed system would confer right and employment on multitudes who might choose to reside there; there would be a principle of progressive increase; already the merchants there discover a wish to throw off all restraint, and it might become difficult to maintain order and subordination. "That the rights and usages of our native sub-

jects might not be encroached upon in this progress, that these people though passive, might not be at length exasperated, and that they might not from example, gradually lose their habits of submission to government, no man can be warranted to deny." It results from the argument cited, that the foreign trade is not increasing; that it were neither politic nor possible to exclude foreigners entirely; that India has no capital of its own for the proposed extension of commerce; that it were injudicious to transplant British capital for that purpose, consequently, that the only desideratum is to bring the clandestine trade, estimated at 250,000l. annually, directly to the port of London. But should this be done in India built ships? Here the Directors observe, that they are not restricted from admitting such if necessary; but that the systematic admission of any class of ships must virtually form a new society with peculiar privileges; that it would not be easy to prevent British capital from engaging in it; that having once begun, they must continue, and if the usual channels of trade should be narrowed by peace, other demands would be advanced of a nature directly to lead to colonization and its consequences. For these reasons, the Directors are decidedly inimical to the admission of India built ships; they propose that in addition to the 3000 tons already allowed, as much more as can be supposed necessary shall be supplied, in ships built by the Company, of 500 tons measurement, and appropriated exclusively for private goods; and that the freight should be the same as that paid in India built ships. Such are the principal arguments contained in the Court of Directors' report; a



document at once concise, perspicuous and comprehensive, and to which we could have wished to advert more minutely, did our limits permit.

In March 1801, Mr. Dundas stated, in a second letter, his coincidence in every point, excepting what regards the admission of India produce in India built ships; he also calls the attention of the court to a letter from Lord Wellesley, in which that measure is urged in strong terms, and with great ability.

In that letter, his Lordship states that the employment of India ships for that year (1800) was no longer a matter of choice, for that the Company's expected tonnage was insufficient for their own investment, and consequently to afford the 3000 tons required by the act of 1793, for the lading of private goods: that though the merchants had considerably extended their provisions of goods, still his lordship apprehends the expence and inconvenience attending their conveyance in the Company's ships, will not afford the private trade an adequate encouragement. His Lordship therefore recommends the plan of hiring ships on the part of the Company, and of re-letting them to the proprietors of ships, leaving them and the merchants to adjust the terms of freight. The produce and manufactures of the British territories in India have increased, a large proportion of the trade is in the hands of foreigners, and unless means be adopted to counteract it, that proportion must increase. The trade of America and Portugal in the year ending in April 1800, exceeded that of the three preceding years in imports, Sicca rupees 6,398,678, and in exports 4,392,768. No dangerous con-

sequences could result from the transfer of British capital for private trade, since it would afford a beneficial stimulus to the industry of the natives, and the agents would act under the Company's regulations.

In April 1801, this letter produced a second report from the Committee of Directors. They observe that the Noble Marquis differs from them in the opinion they have expressed, "that the legitimate and only considerable object, in enlarging the private trade, ought to be the remittance of the fortunes of British residents." Also, in the propriety of encouraging the transfer of British capital, which they consider as leading directly to the colonial system. A third difference occurs with regard to the systematic admission of any class of ships but their own; another in the danger accruing from foreigners, alarming in his Lordship's apprehension, while they consider it of little importance, when properly guarded against. They add some important observations on the account of exports and imports for 1799-1800: in that year the imports exceeded the exports in 11 tons, and this was perhaps the first since our acquisition of the country in which the balance of trade was really in favour of Bengal. Since his lordship and they differ so widely in first principles, their conclusions must unavoidably vary.

Such are the leading features of the reports which have produced the strictures now under review: if we have been more diffuse in our account of the former, than we may find it necessary to be in adverting to the latter, the importance of giving publicity to the principles which will in all probability



bility regulate Indian commerce in future, will, we trust, furnish an ample apology.

After commenting on the introductory matter of the Report, Mr. Henchman states the claims of the British residents to rest upon a much stronger foundation than any claims to a participation of India trade, which might be advanced by London merchants: with the former it is only a remittance trade, which would otherwise go to foreigners; to comply with the latter would be introducing a rival capital against the Company. But "if India-built ships are allowed to come to the Thames, they will willingly export the bullion and the goods of every English merchant intended for the East Indies, at a cheaper rate than the British-built ships, and bring back their returns in India produce on terms equally advantageous." In support of this proposition he furnishes in the appendix a list of twenty India-built ships, which in the season of 1799-1800 exported from London goods to the value of 613,000l.

After remarking that "the engagements between the several governments of Europe have confirmed the privileges of foreign nations in India, and that it is therefore impossible to do them away," Mr. Henchman proceeds to consider whether the trade of foreigners is not progressively increasing, in the course of which he offers some important strictures on the account of exports and imports published by the committee. In addition to the 25 lacks of clandestine trade admitted to come from Bengal, he states that from Madras at 15, and that from Bombay and its dependencies at 18 lacks, making an aggregate of above 50 lacks, or 500,000l. which he estimates to

require 10,000 tons of shipping for its conveyance to Britain, from the data furnished by the report. But if we advert to lord Wellesley's letter it will appear, that in the year 1799-1800 the trade from America and Portugal to Calcutta alone, exceeded that of the three preceding years in 63 lacks of imports and 43 of exports; and if that year be assumed as the standard of comparison, the conclusions drawn from the comparative insignificance of foreign and clandestine trade must fall to the ground. The account exhibited by the committee might also be proved incorrect, from the number of foreign vessels cleared outwards; and its inaccuracy is corroborated by the detection of the knavery of the custom-master's native servant, who had abetted some individuals in evading the payment of duties.

Mr Henchman proceeds to remark on the trade in cotton, sugar, and indigo, of which the projected investments must principally consist: we do not perceive that he offers any arguments calculated to disprove the assertions of the Committee, who state that Bengal does not produce cotton sufficient for her own manufactures; that sugar is an hazardous speculation; and that the exports of indigo already out run the demand. The low price of labour is in favour of the enterprise; but whether this be sufficient in time of peace to enable the Bengal merchant to enter into competition with the West Indian, notwithstanding the disadvantages of a long voyage in enhancing the charge on bulky articles, and the high duties, must soon, we imagine, be ascertained by experience.

Perhaps the most important fact in the whole controversy is that asserted in the Report, viz. that there is no capital in those territories



ries applicable to an extension of their exports to Europe, from the rooted aversion of the natives to distant enterprises. This fact the candour of the respectable and able writer obliges him to admit; but, says he, the better employment of their capital “is to raise such produce and prepare such manufactures as are fit for the European markets.”

Mr. Henschman exculpates the Directors from the charge of deliberately obstructing the act of 1793, though he contends that the expense, uncertainty, and insufficiency of tonnage completely produced that effect. He afterwards considers the objection, that the increase of private trade would militate against the provision of the Company's investment in time of war, by pre-occupying the fortunes of their servants, and asks whether “they prefer having to contend with the British residents in India while trafficking with foreigners, rather than when they have a channel of trade immediately to the port of London?” Mr. Henschman next proceeds to combat the Directors' assertion, that their trade, excepting in the article of freight, is conducted in a more economical manner than that of individuals; a position which he says not only militates against received opinions, but which is false in fact. But this argument does not constitute a necessary part of the discussion: we pass to the next, which relates to the competition between the Company and private traders, where a very important reflection is incidentally introduced, which we think it useful to extract.

“The opposite characters in which the Company stand of sovereign and merchant, are on this occasion brought into view, and if any additional evidence were ne-

cessary to shew that they are incompatible one with the other, it is here adduced: for it is clearly of more advantage to the general prosperity of India, that one additional cargo should be manufactured and disposed of, than any increase of profit that could accrue to the Company on their investment, from the suppression of so much productive industry, amongst their Asiatic subjects.” In this passage the existence of a capital applicable to the extension of exports is manifestly assumed. After commenting on the little apprehension which the Report professes from the intercourse with foreigners, Mr. Henschman proceeds to a still more important topic of discussion, the dangers of colonization.

“It must be doubted,” says he, “as often as it is brought forward, that any set of men can commence colonization in a country, where the system of government is absolute, and hostile to such an attempt;—where the governors are constantly watchful in preventing it; and to that end it is made the law, that these adventurers shall not be allowed to possess lands, or ever go beyond ten miles distance from the sea-shore, and that only at the principal factories;—where all the natives without exception will unite to give information of any Europeans that may attempt to settle, some from an apprehension of their exercising power, and others from a fear of injuries or interference with the business or pursuits in which such natives may be occupied;—where the prejudices and the interests of the people at large go hand in hand with the wishes of their rulers;—where no domestic intercourses are entertained between the native inhabitants and the British;—where



—where the religion and laws of the Asiatics prevent intermarriages;— where every Englishman's name is entered in a register, and the law authorizes the governor to send home any one at a short notice, provided he transgresses the rules of the Company's government.”

Mr. Henchman next examines the arguments by which the Directors oppose the transfer of British capital, as an employment not likely to afford adequate returns, and as tending directly to the same system of intercourse which prevails with the American colonies. He argues with much force on the increasing scarcity of ship timber, and on the aggravation of that calamity by the measure proposed by the committee; and concludes with a statement of the loss resulting to the Company, from affording tonnage to the private trade, at a rate so much below what it must cost.

Sir George Dallas observes that the question derives additional interest from the peace that has recently been concluded, as “the first effects of that peace will be a struggle on the part of foreign nations to renew their influence in the east, and defeat the attempt of rendering Great Britain the general emporium of the commerce of that quarter of the globe.” He proceeds to draw a splendid picture of the opulence and wealth of Bengal during the government of her last subadars. He contrasts that situation with its present; when those sources of wealth are dried up by the appropriation of its own revenue to the purchase of its manufactures, and an annual drain constantly flowing for the support of the other presidencies, and of the China trade. Hence he infers the

necessity of bestowing every facility to her commerce, and removing all restrictions calculated to impede those efforts of industry, which might restore her to the enviable pre-eminence she once enjoyed.

We have thus endeavoured to give a concise analysis of the principal arguments which have been advanced on both sides of this important and interesting question. We shall not offer any opinion upon it; but we beg leave to advert to a measure which seems calculated to reconcile the opposite parties in the discussion. The Directors have already offered to the private merchants, an unlimited tonnage in the Company's ships, for the conveyance of their export trade. But the private merchants say, that this proposal would in effect leave them in the precise situation in which they are at present placed; for the high price of tonnage, in the British-built ships employed by the Company, would disable them from increasing their investments. But if the Directors would agree to take up India-built ships, for the specific purpose of conveying the private trade to the port of London, much of the expense complained of would be saved, and the merchants of Calcutta would thereby be able to increase their exports, as much probably as the nature of the trade and the extent of their capital would admit. This measure, which the Marquis Wellesley has already in part had recourse to, appears to us less liable to *fair* objections than any conciliatory proposal which has hitherto been made.



“*The TOOTI NAMEH, or Tales of a Parrot; in the Persian Language, with an English Translation.*” pp. 347. Svo.—DEBRET. 1801.

THE original stories from which these were extracted, were composed by a writer of some reputation in the east, named Nakhsebi, from the city of Nakhshab, in Transoxania, the place of his birth. But his style being difficult and abstruse, Mohammed Caderi compiled the work now translated, by cloathing the tales in the language of common conversation. So successful, indeed, has this writer been in the execution of his task, that the style of his work is scarcely on a level with that of colloquial intercourse; we readily admit, however, that nothing could appear more preposterous, than investing these puerile fictions in a more dignified dress. They are manifestly calculated for the amusement of children, but the amorous intrigues which are chiefly related, are but ill adapted to improve their morals. The translator has rendered a considerable service to Persian students, by his accurate and almost literal version, commodiously arranged opposite to the corresponding page of the original. The manner in which these stories are introduced is still more artless than that of the Arabian tales.

Ahmed Sultan, king of Balkh, had a son of great accomplishments and wonderful beauty, named Memûn. This prince amusing himself one day in the bazar, cheapened a parrot, and was confounded at the enormous price asked by the seller. But the parrot interrupting the conversation, by a long account of his own accomplishments, was bought, and carried to the palace. Here he informed Memûn, that in a few days a large caravan would arrive from

Cabul to purchase spikenard, and that by securing the whole quantity in the market, an immense profit would infallibly accrue. Memûn took the parrot's advice, and the consequence was what he predicted. The same prince was afterwards so fortunate as to procure a sharec (the *gracula religiosa* of Linnæus, of which Buffon has given a good description but an execrable plate) endowed with equal abilities. Memûn being desirous of seeing the world, left strict injunctions with his wife, who was also extremely beautiful, to undertake nothing in his absence without the approbation of the parrot and the sharec. After his departure, Khujista beheld from a window a young prince, then on his travels also, and a mutual passion was the effect of this distant interview. He sent a procuress to seduce her to his lodgings, who experienced no difficulty in performing her commission; but Khujista recollecting her husband's parting injunction, determined to consult the sharec before she went, thinking that she being a female like herself, would more readily yield her consent. In this, however, she was disappointed: the sharec was eloquent against indulging her inclination, and said the finest things imaginable on virtue, chastity, and connubial fidelity. Khujista, enraged at her obstinacy, took her from the cage and put her to death. She now determined to see whether the parrot would be more complaisant; but he, aware of the fate which awaited him, highly approved of her design, and illustrated his opinion by a story which lasted till morning,



morning, when it was necessary to postpone her visit till the ensuing night. Next night another story beguiled the time till morning broke; and thus matters continued till Memûn's return, when the parrot communicated to him all the circumstances of his wife's conduct; and she experienced the same punishment she had inflicted on the sharec.—We insert the nineteenth story, which appears to us the best, as well as the shortest.

“The parrot began—In time of yore, there was a wise merchant who had a vicious horse. One day, during the time the merchant was eating a meal, a person arrived on a mare, and having alighted, wanted to tie his mare near the merchant's horse. The merchant said to him, Don't tie her near my horse! The man did not mind, but tied his mare close to the merchant's horse, and then sat himself down to eat with the merchant; who thereupon said, What kind of person art thou, thus to sit down at my table uninvited? The man feigned himself deaf, and did not give any answer. The merchant imagined the man was deaf or dumb, and being helpless said nothing further. A moment after, the merchant's horse kicked the mare so violently that her belly was ripped open, and she died. The owner began to dispute with the merchant, saying, Your horse has killed my mare; certainly I will make you pay me her value. In short, he went and lodged his complaint before the cazi, who cited the merchant, and he obeyed the summons, but pretended to be dumb, and did not give any answer to all the cazi's interrogatories. The cazi observed, the merchant is dumb, and consequently not to blame. The plaintiff asked the judge, How do you know he is

dumb? At the time I wanted to tie my mare near his horse he said to me, Don't tie her there! Now he feigns himself dumb. The cazi remarked, If he warned you against the accident, what then is his fault? Go from hence! You are a bastard and a blockhead; you have made your own tongue convict you.”

*Haramzada*, in the above passage, does not signify a bastard, but a scoundrel. We have remarked other errors, such as *Mohura*, a seal, being translated a ball; *Cushac*, a palace, a bull, &c. But its general accuracy does great credit to the translator.

The arrival of the caravan from Cabul at Balkh to purchase spike-nard would furnish a corroboration, were any wanting, of Sir William Jones's discovery, that the perfume so much valued by the ancient nations of Europe was the production of countries north of India. But indeed no inference could be relied on deducible from the sole authority of Nakhsebi, who has planted a colony of Brahmanas, in the city of Babylon. The second story, intituled, “The Fidelity of a Sentinel towards the King of Tiberistan,” is a rude adaptation of the tale of Rajah Sutraca and Viravara, the Rájaputra, to Mahomedan manners. But the goddess Lekhymi leaving the mansion of the rajah, presents an intelligible image to the mind of a Hindu; whilst the life of the king of Tiberistan taking its departure, and conversing with the sentinel, offers only an absurdity. Two other apologues from the *Hitopadesa* are contained in the *Tooti Namah*, and both of them disfigured by their Persian translator. These are the fable of the jackal dyed blue, and of the barber who beat the Brahma: indeed, Brahma-

nas



nas are frequently the heroes of Nakhsebi's stories, which indicate their original source. Such of our readers as are curious in tracing literary coincidences where no suspicion of plagiarism can be sup-

posed to exist, may compare the story of the shopkeeper's wife, with *La servante justifiée*, in the Queen of Navarre's *Cent nouvelles Nouvelles*.

“ *An EXPLANATION of the ELEMENTARY CHARACTERS of the CHINESE, with an Analysis of their Ancient Symbols and Hieroglyphics; by JOSEPH HAGER, D.D.*” Folio. pp. 119. PHILIPS, London, 1801.

To the Emperor Fohi, who first reigned over China, the invention of writing is attributed by the Chinese. Previously to his time, knotted cords were used in that country, as in Peru, when first explored by the Spaniards. It will easily be imagined that the inventions of that period were soon laid aside for characters of a more complex structure, and better adapted to represent a variety of objects, since the idea of an alphabet never appears to have suggested itself. Thirty-two different systems of writing appear to have prevailed in China, either at different periods, or synchronously in different provinces of that empire; and Dr. Hager has exhibited specimens of several in the work before us. M. de Guignes believed he discovered a similarity between the Chinese characters and the Egyptian hieroglyphics; Mr. Raspe thought the same resemblance occurred between the former and the Persepolitan characters: but our author does not incline to allow weight to either of these discoveries. On this head we may be allowed to remark, that if the first hieroglyphics were mere representations of natural objects, some similarity might doubtless be expected between all of them, without its authorizing any historical inference of an early in-

tercourse. Dr. Hager himself labors to prove an analogy of a much more suspicious nature between the Romans and the Chinese. Their abacus, says he, was similar; and “there is not only this striking resemblance between the instrument for reckoning of the Chinese and the Romans, but, what is still more curious, a great similarity exists also between the Chinese and Roman numerals. The Romans, contrary to the custom of the Hebrews and of the Greeks, expressed the numbers one, two, three, not by the first letters of the alphabet, but by

I. II. III.

The Chinese express them under the same form; but, as in writing, contrary to the practice of the Romans, they observe a perpendicular order; their cyphers are written in an horizontal position, thus:

— = ≡

The Romans expressed their number ten in this manner:

X.

The Chinese, changing its direction, express it thus:

+

The Romans expressed eleven, twelve, thirteen, thus:

XI XII XIII.

The



The Chinese thus :

+	+	+
—	=	≡

But what is more singular, and seems scarcely to be a mere accident, is, that the three chief Roman cyphers I, V, X, or one, five, and ten, are denoted in Chinese by the same sounds. Thus one, according to Dr. Hager, is pronounced by the Chinese, ye; five, u, and ten, xe.

“Nor is this to be wondered at, if we consider that the Greek philosopher, Pythagoras, had travelled into India, and perhaps as far as China; that he was the founder of a famous school in Italy; and that Numa, the legislator of the Romans, by whom they were first civilized, was believed to have been instructed in that school.”

“Why, asks Deguiegnes, do both the Chinese and Pythagoreans assert, that the number five designates nature, and is holden to be the first principle of the universe? why is the number nine attributed, by the principles of this philosopher, to Vulcan, and by the Chinese, to fire? Why the number four, to Eolus, and by the Chinese, to the wind? why two to Rhea, and by the Chinese, to the earth?”

As the numerical system, so the musical, agrees in both; and, says Dr. Hager, “that such a communication must have existed, may likewise be proved from astronomy. Bailli has long since shewn it in his excellent history of that science. The same division of the Zodiac amongst the Greeks and Romans as amongst the Chinese; the same number and order of the planets; their application to the same days of the week; are coin-

cidences which could never have been merely accidental.”

In this passage we are concerned to remark a singular confusion of ideas. Does M. Bailli explain this remarkable coincidence by the travels of Pythagoras? Is the coincidence in the division of the Zodiac confined to that of the Chinese and Pythagoreans? Does not the Arabian, Persian, Indian, Burman, and Siamese Zodiac exhibit the same division marked by the same constellations? Is not the week arranged in the same uniform order by every nation who divided the month into four parts, and do not the planets follow in the same order of succession? What then is there in this peculiar to the Chinese and Romans? The similarity of the Chinese and Roman numerals is a different affair; but what a weak foundation this circumstance affords for the construction of an hypothesis will appear when it is considered. All nations have represented unity by a single line, 1; and probably, during a long period, the higher numbers were indicated by so many repetitions of this universal symbol. The people most early civilized were the first to substitute single characters for this inconvenient mode of notation; among the Hindus this invention is lost in remote antiquity, as appears from their treatises on arithmetic, astronomy, and mathematics; the date of which ascends to the earliest periods of their records, and in which all the numbers below ten are indicated by a distinct character. Can it be supposed that Pythagoras would neglect this elegant and simple mode of notation, to bring from China a rude, inconvenient, and cumbersome one? The analogy then is reduced to the names of  
the



the Chinese numerals, which, in a monosyllabic language, affords no cause for surprise, nor grounds for hypothesis.

The number of characters used in Chinese writing is supposed to exceed 80,000, of which many are synonymous; he who understands 10,000 is considered as a complete scholar. The number of words in the spoken dialect do not exceed 350, and different terminating accents produce variations of sense; hence a prodigious number of characters are announced by the same word; and the wits of Pekin amuse themselves by writing poems, which, when spoken, present a sense solemn or obscene, according to the mode of accentuation adopted by the reciter. On the whole, we may venture to assert, that the highly polished Chinese possess the most imperfect system of enunciation, oral or graphic, that is to be found amongst civilized societies. Surrounded by nations, who from time immemorial have used alphabetical characters, they have systematically rejected this manifest improvement.

We are disposed, however, to imagine that the matter has not been thoroughly investigated. Mailla relatés, that the different sects in China have their respective characters, and asserts, that the sect of Fo alone introduced 26,430 new characters. This leads to some reflexions; the god Fo is the Indian Buddha; his priests are the Tibetan Lamas, called by the Chinese Bonzes: the treatises of that sect are written in the sacred character of Tibet, which is alphabetical, and appears, both from tradition and inspection, to be derived from the Devanagari; whence then the new characters of the priests of Fo? If, to render them intelligible to the Chinese,

they translated their religious compositions, would they not have adopted the characters introduced by them? But is it not more probable that they have retained their original alphabet, with such alterations as the peculiar accentuation of their proselytes might necessitate? Our doubts on this head are augmented by finding from Sir George Staunton, that at Canton, "a vocabulary has been published of English words in Chinese characters, expressive merely of sound." Characters expressive merely of sound are an alphabet: these characters must have been invented for the occasion, or rather existed before. If the former, how were they understood? If the latter, as we suspect, an alphabetic character already existed in the empire, it may probably be found that the priests and literati of the sect of Fo, have used it much longer than is generally supposed.

The elementary characters exhibited and explained by Dr. Hager amount to 214. We could have wished that he had stated whether they be considered as elementary by the Chinese, or whether he has invested them with that designation; whether it be derived from the simplicity of the symbol, or of the idea represented. On neither ground should we have considered them *a priori*, as elementary characters: some of the symbols are infinitely complex; the ideas they represent range through all the departments of grammar, substantives, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, &c. and present an heterogeneous admixture, irreconcilable with any general principle we have been able to discover. We would be understood, however, to speak with extreme diffidence on this subject; we possess little acquaintance with Chinese literature, and the learned industry of Dr. Hager



furnishes a sort of pledge for the accuracy of his assertions. Should he prosecute his researches in this department, it would be satisfactory to the public, were he to state candidly the extent of his own knowledge in Chinese philo-

logy, and the sources whence he derives the information communicated. His conjectures are entitled to respectful attention; but the world should be enabled to discriminate conjecture from ascertained fact.

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## C O R R E S P O N D E N C E

ON

L I T E R A R Y S U B J E C T S.

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To the EDITOR.

SIR,

I AM happy to find a part allotted in your valuable undertaking for observations on Oriental languages and literature. The laudable exertions of many gentlemen in the service of the honourable East India company, at their different settlements, deserves the highest encomiums. From the press at Calcutta many and various have been the works on the native languages of Hindustan; the labours of Mr. Gladwin and Mr. Gilchrist are well known. The same spirit of inquiry seems to pervade the literati of the presidency at Bombay, from whose press I have to announce a "Grammar of the Malabar Language, by Robert Drummond, of the Honourable East India Company's Bombay Medical Establishment." This work, which is a thin folio volume, was printed in 1799. The Grammar is dedicated "To the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, whose strenuous and unwearied exertions, in opposition to political prejudices and the mutual rancour of contending religious sects, equally intolerant in matters of faith, and impatient of all legal restraint, have eminently contributed to the establishment of an enlightened system of jurispru-

dence in the province of Malabar, whereby the happiness of the people has been promoted, a state of the most atrocious licentiousness supplanted, and the permanent interests of an important appendage to the British empire secured." Mr. Drummond, speaking of the progress made by several European gentlemen in the Malabar tongue, says, "I think I may without arrogance predict, that, as this study is now become the principal pursuit of nearly all the company's servants in Malabar, the business of that fine province will in a short time be conducted in the language of the natives, with great ease to the gentlemen serving there, and dignity to their honourable employers. I am authorized to draw this inference from the progressive state of peace, good order, and deference for the officers of government, which had become conspicuous, beyond all former example, for some time previous to my quitting the province. My experience in the office of Malabar translator to the commissioners, contrasted with what passed under my observation, when acting in the same capacity under the committee of government, during the turbulent period of 1797, may, I hope, justify



tify this remark on those unerring symptoms of subordination to the laws, and its concomitant security to persons and property, produced in the short space of seven years, among a tumultuous race of Mahomedans and Hindus, bigots in religion and rivals in power, who had, for half a century before, spurned the one and disregarded the other, with equal contumacy and wantonness."

The author says, that, on account of bad health, he was compelled to relinquish his professional studies in that country; and that, therefore, he intended to have the work printed in England; but that, on his arrival in Bombay, he had the satisfaction to find a fount of types, in the Malabar character, executed in an unexceptionable manner by Bheramjee Jeejbhoy, a Parsee inhabitant of that place; the ingenious artist, who, without any other help or information than what he gleaned from Chambers's Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, succeeded in completing a fount of Guzzeratty types a few years ago.

With respect to the execution of this work, I must observe, that it appears to be drawn up in a clear and perspicuous manner. The following are its contents:—Alphabet. Chap. I. Of the vowels and consonants. II. Shewing the radical

consonants with the vowels joined, and forming the first natural or simple syllables. III. Of double and triple compound consonants, in five classes. IV. Another order of letters whereby the Malabars make another form of double consonants. Numerical marks.—Lecture first. Of the declension of substantives.—Lect. second. Of the gender and formation of the nouns, and of the adjective.—Lect. third. Of pronouns.—Lect. fourth. Of verbs and their conjugation.—Lect. fifth. Of the conjugation of verbs:—Lect. sixth. Of causal or effective verbs.—Lect. seventh. Of verbs passive.—Lect. eighth. Of the verb personal.—Lect. ninth. Of imperfect and anomalous verbs.—Lect. tenth. Of verbs of elegance.—Lect. eleventh. Of the other parts of speech.—Lect. twelfth. On the orthography.—Lect. thirteenth. Of the principal seasons of the year, and of life; the signs of the zodiac, the months, days of the week, and planets.

Such are the outlines of this Grammar, and the execution seems to be equal to the excellent plan laid down by the learned author. I am happy to find, that this, as well as many other books on oriental subjects, have been imported by Mr. Debrett. Wishing success to your undertaking, I remain,

R.

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