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S. 47

THE LIFE

OF

THE REV. ANDREW BELL,

D.D. LL.D. F.A.S. F.R.S. Ed.

PREBENDARY OF WESTMINSTER, AND MASTER OF SHERBURN HOSPITAL, DURHAM.

COMPRISING

THE HISTORY OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE
SYSTEM OF MUTUAL TUITION.

THE FIRST VOLUME BY

ROBERT SOUTHEY, ESQ., P.L., LL.D.

EDITED BY MRS SOUTHEY.

THE TWO LAST BY HIS SON,

THE REV. CHARLES CUTHBERT SOUTHEY, B.A.,

OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,

PERPETUAL CURATE OF SETMURTHY, AND ASSISTANT CURATE AND EVENING LECTURER
OF COCKERMOUTH.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



JOHN MURRAY, LONDON;

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD & SONS, EDINBURGH.

M.DCCC.XLV.

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PREFACE.

IN laying the present Work before the public, some explanation seems necessary, both of the circumstances which induced my father originally to undertake it, and of those which led to its completion being committed to me.

It is also necessary for me to explain some of the causes which have delayed its appearance to the present time, and to express the many obligations I am under, both to those who intrusted it to my hands, and to those who have assisted me in its progress.

Several years before Dr Bell's death, he made provision for his papers being intrusted to my father, for his use in any way he might think proper; and clauses to this effect were inserted in most of the wills he then executed.

He also, in one of these wills, gave direc-

tions for a complete edition of his works, to be prepared jointly by Mr Wordsworth and my father ; but, in consequence of this being afterwards commenced by Dr (now Bishop) Russell, this clause was omitted in his final will, in which, instead, he submitted to my father “ his books, papers, letters, and college essays, for his use and perusal.” In a codicil, however, he again made some further alterations ; adding, “ but not so as to interfere with Mr Southey’s designs, who will, of course, have access to all my papers.”

He also, in a codicil, requested his trustees and executors to appoint a confidential committee to inspect his papers, essays, and correspondence ; to destroy such as were useless, and, if any were worth preservation, to lodge them in appropriate places.

These were his last instructions on this subject ; and after a correspondence between Mr Cook of Edinburgh, (one of the trustees, and chief agent under Dr Bell’s will,) Mr Davies, (Dr Bell’s amanuensis, and assistant agent under his will,) and my father, in which it appeared that, though not formally expressed in his will, it had been Dr Bell’s wish that my father should write his life, a meeting of the trustees was held,

at which it was resolved—"That the trustees were of opinion, that Mr Southey ought to be requested to write the 'Life of Dr Bell;'" and that "it was their anxious wish that he would have the goodness to undertake this task."

He was also requested to proceed to Cheltenham to examine the papers, where Mr Davies would assist him.

This, however, my father, from his many other literary avocations, was unable to do; and he requested Mr Davies to go through the papers, saying that, "in his careful examination of them, he would easily distinguish those which would be of no use to him; and that the others could be sent to him whenever the committee thought proper."

Mr Davies had also been requested to prepare the papers for the inspection of the confidential committee.

Meantime, the Rev. W. S. Philipps, chaplain to the Bishop of Gloucester, (one of the trustees,) had been appointed the representative of the confidential committee, and in that capacity looked over the great body of Dr Bell's papers, marking such as he thought would be most necessary for the biography.

It was then proposed by Mr Davies that he

should remove the whole of the papers, letters, &c., to Keswick, take lodgings there, and then draw up from them a series of narratives for my father's use ;—which course, having been approved of by all parties, was immediately adopted.

Such a preparation for this work may appear extraordinary ; but when the nature and extent of the materials is considered, from which a biography had to be composed, it will be seen that it was absolutely necessary. Indeed, a similar collection of papers was, I suppose, hardly ever brought together for such a purpose. The Doctor himself speaks of them, shortly before his death, in a letter to Lady Burke, as “ a cumbrous load of letters, papers, and correspondence, accumulated, during sixty years, in every quarter of the globe ;” and these were afterwards greatly increased by a number of printed papers, reports, &c. &c., as well as by many letters and papers which my father obtained from the Doctor's friends and correspondents.

These, when all collected together, amounted, as may well be conceived, to a vast and most formidable mass of materials. And it must be borne in mind that these were not all important

letters, containing specific and available information, but that perhaps several hundreds had to be searched, even for a single fact or date; and the Doctor's pursuits and employments being often so complicated as to require a number of distinct notices, the same papers have often passed forty or fifty times through Mr Davies's hands.

As soon as the papers had arrived at Keswick, and been arranged by Mr Davies, my father commenced his labours; but being only able to devote a small portion of each day to this purpose, he proceeded but slowly.

The materials being too cumbrous to be conveniently removed to Greta Hall, he regularly went down to Mr Davies's lodgings, remaining from seven until nine o'clock in the summer mornings, and from daylight until that time in winter.

His first step was to read through the great body of the letters, and mark such as he wished Mr Davies to copy. This alone occupied him twelve months; and so many papers were afterwards sent him, that twelve months more were similarly employed.

Meantime Mr Davies, with unwearied patience and industry, was collecting all the mat-

ter that could possibly be available into a series of connected narratives, from which my father now commenced composing the Life ; but many circumstances combined to retard his progress.

In the summer of 1838, when he made a short tour on the Continent, he had brought the Life down to the point where it has fallen to my office to resume it ; and on returning home for some of the winter months, he partly occupied himself in hearing Mr Davies read over the notes and memoranda he had made during a visit to Swanage.

From the spring of 1839 until the following August he was again absent ; and from the period of his return until his death, I deeply regret to say, he was totally incapable of resuming his literary labours.

The work consequently remained in abeyance until the spring of 1841, when I was requested by Dr Bell's trustees, in the most handsome and considerate manner, to undertake its completion. Had the papers remained in their original state, I should not have ventured upon the task, but so admirably was Mr Davies collecting and arranging all the information they contained, and so valuable was his assistance and advice, that the way lay open before me.

I had not, as I otherwise should have had, to search through vast confused piles of papers, to decipher almost illegible letters, and spend many days in looking for a single, and, when found, perhaps a very unimportant, fact. All this was ready done to my hand, as it had been to my father's when he commenced the biography. It must, however, be borne in mind, that when all this preliminary labour had been performed, there was still considerable difficulty in selecting what was worth bringing before the public from the vast mass* of matter which was thus brought into a connected form.

The value which my father attached to Mr Davies's services, will be seen from the following allusion to them in a letter from him to Lord Kenyon, in 1833:—

“As long as any part of the trust remains to be fulfilled, I have no doubt that Dr Bell looked upon Mr Davies as the depositary of all the knowledge required for its fulfilment. This indeed he said to me expressly when urging me not to withdraw my name as one of the trustees. But it is also certain that

* The narratives, &c., drawn up by Mr Davies would, if printed, amount to from twelve to fourteen large octavo volumes.

our late friend regarded the task in which Davies is at present engaged, as that of most consequence, because it is that in which no one could supply his place. Without him, indeed, it is hardly possible that this object, upon which we know that Dr Bell had set his heart, could ever have been accomplished, as I dare engage that it now will be according to his wishes."

And again, four years afterwards, he observes in a letter to Mr Cook—"Mr Davies's assistance is indispensable, and will be so till the work is completed. Indeed, both the sort and the mass of materials on which we are employed are such, that the whole time of one person is required for collecting from them the matter necessary for my purpose, and arranging them for use.

"This no one could perform so thoroughly and so well as Mr Davies is performing it, unless he were as well accustomed to it, nor then unless he took what I may call as dutiful an interest in it. Dr Bell was so well aware of this, and of the time and labour required for the kind of work which he certainly contemplated, that as you remember, in one of his wills he had appointed seven years for the ser-

vices expected from Mr Davies here, and left it unlimited by his last."

From the peculiar nature of Dr Bell's pursuits, his Life has necessarily comprised the history of the rise, progress, and results of that system of education of which he was the discoverer; and as there were many other individuals who took a very active part in its diffusion, it was due to them to give an account of their exertions also.

To those who look for amusing anecdotes of personal character, or for an insight into private affairs and domestic life, this biography will present no attractions. In truth but little matter of this kind came before me, and that little was of far too private a nature to be brought before the public. Had the publication of this work been delayed for another ten or twenty years, the case might have been different; but as there are individuals still living who were most closely connected with Dr Bell, there are some points on which I have necessarily been silent.

I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to follow the plan upon which my father has commenced the work; but as the Doctor's pursuits became more involved, and his correspondence

much more extensive, I have been compelled, in some instances, slightly to differ from it. Where several contemporaneous subjects had to be handled, I have followed the arrangement which Mr Davies had adopted, and have carried each separately down to its conclusion, to avoid the confusion that would otherwise have occurred.

I have also thought it preferable to interweave a larger proportion of the letters in the text, instead of placing them at the end; for they were the chief, and indeed almost the only, materials which came before me, and I have been anxious, as much as possible, to let every one tell his own tale in his own words.

To those who take an interest in the very important subject of national education, this work will, I believe, afford much new and valuable information; and the amount of testimony I have been enabled to bring forward, as to the success and good effects of the system of mutual tuition, cannot but convince the reader, that, when properly conducted, it is a powerful and very valuable engine.

I have now to express my obligations to those individuals from whom I have received kind-

of this work, and in particular to the trustees* under Dr Bell's will, to whom I beg to render my best thanks and acknowledgments for the confidence they have placed in me.

I have also to return my sincere thanks to my father's old friend, Mr Wordsworth, for his valuable advice and suggestions.

Some apology is necessary for the use which I have made of those letters and memoranda which were either found among Dr Bell's papers, or transmitted by his friends to my father, and of some of which I have availed myself without the express permission of the writers. Indeed, I should, on no account whatever, have published them as I have done, had their contents been of a private or domestic nature ; but relating, as they almost entirely do, to what I may call public matters, and in no case, I believe, containing what can possibly wound the feelings of any individual, I trust I may stand excused for this liberty.

Almost all the information concerning Dr Bell's residence at Swanage, was collected ver-

* The Right Hon. the Earl of Leven and Melville; the Right Hon. the Lord Kenyon; the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol; the (late) Bishop Walker; the Right Hon. Lord Justice-Clerk Boyle; and Walter Cook, Esq., W.S.

bally by Mr Davies during a visit he paid there for that purpose.

It is necessary to state, that the first volume of this work contains the whole of that part which my father had completed, together with the correspondence which he had selected to accompany it.

Before concluding, I wish to take this opportunity of stating upon the best authority, what will be most satisfactory to all the friends of Dr Bell, as well as gratifying to every reader to know—that the Madras College at St Andrews, concerning which so much correspondence and controversy appear in the concluding part of this work, has proved fully equal to Dr Bell's wishes and intentions—that it has attracted to it youths from all parts of the kingdom—that it is annually attended by upwards of 800 children—that teachers are sent to it from all parts of Scotland, to acquire a knowledge of the system of mutual tuition ; and that it is, in all respects, a fitting monument to its benevolent and munificent founder, a credit to the trustees whom he has appointed, and a blessing to his native city.

CHARLES CUTHBERT SOUTHEY.

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LIFE OF DR BELL.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and parentage of Andrew Bell—School—College—St Andrew's—
Professor Wilkie—Dr Watson.

ANDREW, the son of Alexander and Margaret Bell, was born in the city of St Andrew's, on the 27th of March 1753.

His father was a barber in that city—a personage of more importance in the age of periwigs, and when considered as a surgeon of the lowest class, than in those times. He had been educated for a better station, but was thus reduced by a complication of misfortunes brought upon him, his son says, in early life by his inexperience and credulity. That his immediate ancestors were persons of some consequence appears from this circumstance, that they are remembered to have been the first persons in the city of St Andrew's who introduced the luxury of tea, and could boast of a china tea-service. He was a man of extraordinary abilities; and having acquired no inconsiderable degree of mecha-

nical and practical science, added to his original trade that of clock and watchmaker; regulated by observations the timepieces in the public library of the university, and assisted Dr Walker, the professor of natural philosophy, in preparing his experiments.

His habits and appearance were singular, yet not so as to lessen the respect in which he was held for his talents, probity, and strength of character. He is described as tall and ungainly, with thick lips and a great mouth, which he commonly kept open, and wearing a large, bushy, well-powdered wig. Persons are still living who remember him hastening through the street, with a professor's wig, ready dressed, in each hand, his arms at half-stretch to prevent their collision. After trimming one professor he would sit down and breakfast with him, and then away to trim and breakfast with another; his appetite, like his mouth, (and his mind also,) being of remarkable and well-known capacity. He was at one time bailie of the city; and once by his personal influence, after all other means had failed, he quelled what is called a "meal-mob"—riots upon that score being then so frequent as to obtain this specific denomination.

The house in which he lived, and which was his own, stood in South Street, on the east side of the town or parish church, and adjoining it. It consisted of two stories, with an outer staircase supported by wooden pillars, and a wooden projection into the street. This served for his shop, and there he enjoyed his afternoon lounge. This style of building was formerly common in old Scotch towns; particularly in Edinburgh, Kirkcaldy, and St Andrew's. It has now become rare in Scotland; and the specimens of it which were common

in the north of England a generation ago, have almost all been replaced in a manner which, if it be as much more commodious as it is less picturesque, must be considered a great improvement.

Bailie Bell was a proficient at draughts, backgammon, and chess. Such of the students, and of the professors also, as were fond of these games, used to meet at his house, and Andrew, while a mere child, acquired such singular skill in all of them, that the best players were fond of engaging with him. A more remarkable instance of the Bailie's versatile talents is, that he engaged with Mr Wilson, afterwards professor of astronomy at Glasgow, in a scheme for casting types upon some plan of their own. They were employed upon this, his son said, day and night, night and day, in a garret; and though they did not succeed, yet, after the professor's removal to Glasgow, the well-known printers Robert and Andrew Foulis are said to have been beholden to him for the beauty of their typography. Bailie Bell, having saved a little property, retired from business a short time before the close of his life.

Margaret Robertson, his wife, was of respectable parentage. Her grandfather, David Robertson of Brechin, married Margaret Glendie, whose brother, Walter John Glendie, was dean of Cashel, and prebendary of St Michael's, Dublin. Dean Glendie left by his will, in 1690, the sum of £120, for founding a bursary at St Salvator's, or the old college of St Andrew's. The sum was to be put out on good security by the provost and masters of the college; and "the rent thereof to maintain one of the dean's relations at his humanity course, until he were fully fit to enter into the college; and then to maintain him till his laureation, and after-

wards to continue with him for four years more, while he studied divinity, or any other liberal art or science." If, at any time, it should happen that there was no one of the founder's kin capable of holding this bursary, a native of the town of Brechin was to be appointed.

James, the eldest son of David Robertson and Margaret Glendie, first a student of divinity, and afterwards a shipmaster at St Andrew's, married for his second wife a daughter of Captain Cavale, of the Horse Grenadier Guards, who came over to England with King William, and having retired from the service, settled at St Andrew's, and there commenced business as a wine-merchant. Captain Cavale had one son who went to the East Indies as a physician, and of whom nothing more has been ascertained, and two daughters; the younger married — Mercer, Esq. Their son, General Mercer, (a distinguished, able, and excellent man,) was the oldest artillery officer in the king's service, when he died in 1816. James Robertson, by his marriage with the other, had three daughters, Margaret, Agnes, and Euphemia. Agnes married Robert Birrell, shipmaster, and Euphemia married Laurence Norie, merchant, both of St Andrew's. Margaret became the wife of Bailie Bell, though her friends disapproved of the connexion. She was of an eccentric disposition; a little of this tendency appeared in some of her children; it assumed the character of decided insanity as she advanced in years, and conclusive proof of this appeared by her putting an end to her own life.

Bailie Bell had eight children, of whom two sons and as many daughters arrived at years of maturity. Andrew was the second son. His parents having lost two children by the natural smallpox, had him inocu-

lated, notwithstanding the great prejudice against inoculation which prevailed at that time in St Andrew's, where he was among the first subjects upon whom it was tried. He was then above three years old, and had the disease so severely, that he was given over by his medical attendant; he was not, however, marked by it, even in the slightest degree. The sister who survived him, and from whom all that was remembered of his childhood was obtained, related as a family anecdote, which being of good omen was likely not to be forgotten, that when, soon after his recovery, some one gave him a penny, so desirous was he of commencing schoolboy, that he set off to school, taking one of his brother's books, and offered the penny as his quarter's pay. From that time he attended regularly; but if he went first as a volunteer, it was not with any good-will that he continued there. He never spoke of the discipline, or rather tyranny, which he witnessed and endured in those years of his life, without indignation. "Oh, it was terrible!" he said, "the remains of feudal severity! I never went to school without trembling. I could not tell whether I should be flogged or not." His father, he used to say, had been driven from the grammar-school by cruelties that would now hardly be believed; yet neither his father nor he were wanting in capacity or diligence. Schools were every where conducted in those days upon a system of brutal severity, which never ought to have existed except where the master happened to be a man of singular humanity. In proof, however, that the severity of Scotch parents was then little less in degree, Dr Bell instanced the case of a little boy, who, on his return from school after

the father examined him, and though he saw that a great wound had been made, he merely observed there was room enough for more! "But mind," Dr Bell added, "he did not forget to remonstrate with the master."

Between the fear of punishment and the earnest desire of improvement, his thoughts were so wholly engrossed by his lessons, that the family often said it was a wonder Andrew did not go east instead of west when he went out of the door; and, indeed, though he did not lose the way, yet when he was going to any particular place he generally overpassed it, being lost in thought as he went along. What he knew he knew well, and never forgot; but a want of verbal memory rendered that which, for common capacities, is, however unattractive, the easiest of their tasks at school, to him the most difficult. According to his own account, he never could correctly get by heart a single rule in the Latin syntax, though he perfectly understood the meaning, and was at no loss to apply it. My old master, Dr Vincent, used to say, "Give me a reason, boy! I would always rather you should give me a reason than a rule." But under a more Busbeian system than that of Westminster had become in my days, and a less reasonable master, this natural defect or peculiarity sufficiently accounts for the fear with which Andrew took his way to school. Notwithstanding this, he made good progress in Latin. Greek, in his country, was seldom or never taught at that time in such schools. "I do not suppose," he said, "the master could have taught it; so we began our Greek alphabet when we went to the university."

The inclination which led him to scientific studies was manifested at this time in the earnestness with

which he applied himself to arithmetic. Dissatisfied with the book of arithmetic which was used in the school, he set about composing one for his own improvement, taking, it is said, Mair's for the foundation. Not only his leisure hours were devoted to this object, but much nightly labour also—so early did he acquire that uncomfortable and injurious habit; and, young as he then was, he completed the task so much to his own satisfaction, that when, about ten years afterwards, most of his papers were lost in a shipwreck, he particularly regretted the loss of this.

The person to whom he considered himself as most beholden during this part of his life, and whom, next to his father, he remembered with most affection and reverential respect, was his great-aunt Mrs Mercer, who, having lost her husband early in life, lived with her sister Robertson. He always spoke of her as an amiable and accomplished woman, who had been the friend and guide of his early youth.

The name of Andræus Bell is found in the matriculation list of the united college for the year 1769. Two Andrew Bells were matriculated in 1771; but there is no doubt that the earliest* entry is that of our Andrew, though it is not known wherefore he then Latinized his Christian name, nor that he ever did so on any other occasion. He was the youngest pupil in the mathematical class, and obtained the prize in that class when still young enough to be called little Andrew. Mr Thomas Bowdler, afterwards so well known for his

* The certificate which he took out with him to America proves this. It is dated on the last day of December 1773, and certifies that he had gone through a regular course of education at the university. The regular course is four years.

good works, was one of his contemporaries and friends at college, and used to say he never should forget when little Andrew received the silver mathematical prize. This was not his only prize; it is stated in his testimonials that he "obtained several public and honourable marks of distinguished merit and proficiency." During these years he held the Glendie bursary as next of kin, and eked out his scanty resources by private teaching; having for pupils some who were in the same class with himself, and considerably his seniors in age. He has often said that he never refused to teach any thing; for he could always by nightly study prepare himself for giving the next day's lesson, and thus what he had to teach he acquired as he went along.

But though he applied himself diligently to the usual course of studies, mathematics and natural philosophy were those to which he was most inclined. The treatment which he received from his first mathematical master, might indeed have disgusted him with the science, if he had not found more attraction in it than any ill usage could counteract. This person was not satisfied with his pupils unless they demonstrated their problems in the exact words which he had prescribed; any departure from which, though nothing were lost in precision, and something might be gained in neatness, offended and provoked him. Andrew's clear understanding was not allowed to compensate for his want of verbal memory; he was thus continually brought under this teacher's displeasure, and he never forgot the injustice which, on one occasion when he had deserved a prize, awarded it upon this pretext to a block-head, who, he said, had not two-ideas of his own.

In another branch he was more fortunate in his

instructor. The professor of natural philosophy, Dr Wilkie, particularly noticed him. "Mind what I say, Andrew," Wilkie would say to him, laying his hand on his head and stroking it; "pursue your studies, and they will make your fortune. I never knew a man fail of success in the world, if he excelled in one thing. Mind what I say, Andrew; persevere in your scientific studies; mind this one thing, and you will be a great man." This advice—to mind one thing, and persevere in it—was what Dr Bell impressed upon others in his course through life; and, in his latter years, he adhered to it himself too literally and too long.

The professor from whom Andrew received this lesson, was the most remarkable person at that time connected with the university of St Andrew's. William Wilkie was born at Echlin, in the parish of Dalmeny, West-Lothian, October 5, 1721. Wilkie of Rathobyres was one of the oldest families in Mid-Lothian; his great-grandfather was a younger son of this family, and his grandfather rented the farm of Echlin, and purchased a part of the Rathobyres' estate. This part he transmitted, with the farm, to his son, who was a worthy, generous, intelligent man; and whose wife is described as "a woman of distinguished prudence and understanding, able to express her thoughts in the most grammatical manner." Their son William received the first part of his education at the parish school of Dalmeny, where he began to write verses in his tenth year; in his thirteenth he was placed at the university of Edinburgh. Robertson and Home were two of his fellow collegians with whom he formed an intimacy, and he afterwards became acquainted with Hume, Ferguson,

Before he had completed the course of his studies, his father, who had been struggling unsuccessfully with difficulties through life, died, having sold his property at Rathobyres, a little before his death, to pay his debts ; and leaving to his son no other inheritance than the stock and unexpired lease of a farm at the Fisher's Tryste, about two miles west of Edinburgh, and the charge of three sisters. Young as he was, William Wilkie was thoroughly qualified, by education and strength of character, for the situation in which it had now pleased God to place him. He had been accustomed, as he grew up, to work upon the farm, which, as usual in those of small extent, had been chiefly cultivated by the family. His attendance at college had only occasionally interrupted this part of his education, because his father's house was near enough still to be his home. As he had then found time for assisting in the business of the farm, so now, when the whole management devolved upon him, he found time for prosecuting his studies ; and, conforming himself to his circumstances, he acted upon a system of severe economy in all things, including time, the most precious of all. When his father died, he had to borrow money for the funeral expenses ; and, asking ten pounds from an uncle on that occasion, was refused the loan. He felt this the more strongly, because he loved his relations, and had a deep sense of the obligation of kindred. His situation at that time he always remembered with bitterness ; the parsimony to which it compelled him became his pride and his pleasure, and after the generous resolution of making himself independent, in which it originated, had been completely effected, it continued to be so. He used to say, " I have shaken hands with poverty up to the very elbow,

and I wish never to see her face again." The object which he had most at heart was to lay up some provision for his sisters, who would otherwise, in case of his death, be left destitute.

Fortunately for Wilkie, as well as happily for herself, one of these sisters soon married Mr John Cleghorn, a farmer at Granton, in the parish of Cramond, a man of strong parts, very amiable disposition, and singular skill in agriculture. This connexion led to the most intimate friendship between Wilkie and his brother-in-law, from whom he is supposed to have learned the maxims, and most of the practices, which made him one of the most successful farmers of that time. Rejecting chemical theories as uncertain at best, and dangerous for one who could not afford to risk any thing on experiments, his simple and intelligible rule was to plough well and manure well; to lay the earth open to the influences of the sky, and return to it the remains and refuse of its own produce, and to keep the ground clean. Like Oberlin, he applied his system of minute economy to the dunghill, and allowed nothing to be lost which was convertible to compost; and having, unlike Oberlin, a large city near at hand, it is said that he was at pains to pick up dead cats, dogs, and horses, for the purpose of giving them, not decent burial, but profitable interment.

By pursuing this course, by prudent, careful, well-directed, unremitting industry—by the severest parsimony as regarded his own food, clothing, and accommodations; yet knowing how to spend as well as how to spare—for he gave better wages than his neighbours, and thereby obtained better servants, always proportioning, in the way of rewards, their pay to their deserts—he

made farming a lucrative occupation. He had high notions of the art of agriculture, and used to say, that to discern the real qualities of different soils, and successfully apply to each its proper culture, required the greatest exertion of the human mind. But it is more likely that one who was, at that very time, exerting his faculties in the studies of natural philosophy and theology, and in the practice of poetry, should have said this in sportive exaggeration, than that he should seriously have thought it required greater intellectual power to become a good farmer than a great philosopher, poet, or divine. Even the consciousness, if he felt it, that, of all his pursuits, this was the one in which he had succeeded best, and indeed the only one which he thoroughly understood, would not so far have warped his judgment.

One sad conclusion he drew from his experience as a farmer—that, however innocent and healthful the operations of agriculture, however favourably they may be regarded by moralists and described by poets; yet when pursued, as they necessarily are and must be in our state of society, with a view to gain, the selfish spirit that tempts men to deceit and dishonesty, is as actively employed in the simple business of farming as in the complicated interests of manufactures and trade. “I can raise crops,” he would say, “better than any of my neighbours, but I am always cheated in the market.” There was nothing in the general character of the lower ranks which struck him so much as their cunning.

Self-interest, however, was a ruling passion with Wilkie himself, as well as with those who overreached him in their dealings, though his objects were higher, and he made use of no unworthy means for obtaining

them. He had, as it became him, his own advancement in the world at heart, and after much deliberation he came to the extraordinary conclusion, that the likeliest way of promoting it was to write an epic poem. If his own avowal may be believed, (and certainly there is no reason why it should be doubted,) it was not the ambition of making himself "for ever known," and living in the hearts of future generations, that influenced him; but the hope of introducing himself by such a work to the notice of the great, who had something more solid to reward him with than fame. A philosophical work, he considered, would find few readers and excite little attention. The thought of a theological one, though in the direct line of his profession, (for at this time he occasionally preached,) seems not to have been taken into consideration; on that subject he had little feeling, and was probably sagacious enough to apprehend, that in that line he was less likely to tickle a patron's ear than to rouse a hornet's nest. It remained for him to choose among the various branches of fine literature. As for tragedy, it would have been deemed scandalous for a minister of the kirk even to see one represented. A novel was liable to none of these objections; no work of any other kind was so likely to be generally read, there was no danger of provoking enmity by it, and it was not interdicted:—a novel, therefore, it was his first intention to write; but then he considered that this was not the kind of work which could be produced as a claim for preferment. In his whole circle of possible pursuits there was not any other that appeared at once so congenial to his inclinations, so suited to his powers, and so conducive to his interest, as poetry; and no form of poetry would so surely

attract attention as that which advanced the loftiest pretensions.

The choice of a subject was the next question. Subjects for epic poetry should always, he thought, be taken from ages before the commencement of true history : the poet has then more scope for invention ; and he has the advantage of that principle in human nature which leads men to admire past times, those especially that are most remote ; and of that traditional persuasion among the multitude, that men have greatly degenerated from the stature, and strength, and heroic qualities of their ancestors. But of obscure ages those which we call the heroic are best adapted to the poet's purpose : because all persons who have as much classical learning as is acquired at school, are better acquainted with the manners and customs of those ages, than with those of their own country a few centuries, or even a few generations back ; and the unlearned had in the Bible such pictures of the simplicity of early times, that they were able to enter into the spirit of any work wherein it should be justly represented. A heathen story, he argued, ought to be preferred for two reasons : machinery was in his opinion essential to an epic poem ; the human personages of the poem ought to be represented not as perfect, but as under the influence of passions and prejudices, for the sake of the lesson to be conveyed : now the superior beings who are introduced, must of necessity assume the passions and opinions of those whom they favour ; it was therefore safer to employ a set of imaginary beings, than to introduce those which ought always to be the objects of our reverence. But of false theologies those which are least connected with the true should preferably be employed ;

and of these that of the ancient Greeks seemed on every account the fittest. Two other points he thought necessary—that the fable should be founded upon some historical groundwork, of which enough was known and not too much; and that the chief personages, instead of being altogether new to the reader, should be such as he might be supposed to be familiar with, not by name alone, but by the characters which received story had assigned them. These reasons determined him to choose the Second War of Thebes for his subject; and as the leaders, being the sons of those chiefs who had fallen in the first war, were known in Grecian story by the collective appellation of the Epigoni, he named his poem the *Epigoniad*.

His manner of life, while he was engaged in this design, is described by those who knew him as the most respectable that could be imagined. He tilled the ground, employed the poor, provided for his sisters, preached extemporaneously when any neighbouring minister asked his assistance, pursued his studies, and went on with his epic poem. With his farming he had the best reason to be satisfied, for it was profitable, and acknowledged by all persons to exceed any in that neighbourhood; and with his poem he pleased himself, and the only person to whom he communicated it during its progress:—this was an old woman, Margaret Paton by name; whenever she found fault, he, after Molière's example, altered the passage till it met with her approbation.

Meantime he was introduced to the notice of influential men in the more ordinary course of things by the friendly offices of Mr Lind, sheriff-substitute of Mid-Lothian, whose property was near the Fisher's

Tryste. This gentleman becoming acquainted with Wilkie as a neighbour, soon perceived the strength and singularity of his character, and seeing him to be what has been called a presentable person, gave him a general invitation to his house, and made him known to many people of rank; and in 1752, when the minister of Ratho became incapable of discharging his functions by reason of age and increasing infirmities, Mr Lind recommended Wilkie to the Earl of Lauderdale, who was patron of that parish. The Earl, when Wilkie was introduced to him, was so much pleased with his knowledge and the originality of his genius, and so much entertained, it is said, with a thousand peculiarities in his manner of thinking and reasoning on every subject, that he not only appointed him assistant and successor, but established a fund of £30 a-year for him, that the aged minister's stipend might not be diminished in his latter years. Accordingly, he was ordained by the Presbytery of Edinburgh assistant and successor to the minister of Ratho. In this situation he continued three years and a half, living the while on his little farm, which was about four miles off, and faithfully performing the duties of his office; on the old man's death in 1756, he came into full possession, and removed with his sisters to the manse.

Here he brought a neglected glebe into good order, and taking into his own hands five acres of marshy ground, which had been of so little value that the highest rent given for the whole was half-a-guinea, he enclosed it with a deep ditch and hedge, and intersected it with drains in a manner that astonished some of his neighbours, and was ridiculed by others; but the cost was amply remunerated by a succession of good

crops, and the permanent improvement of the land. Here, too, he established a husbandry club, long before agricultural societies became common; it was well supported during many years, and its good effects survived it. He himself so much excelled all about him in the culture of potatoes, that he was often called the potatoe minister; perhaps it may be inferred from this appellation, that he was thought to be more diligent in the affairs of his farm than in his cure of souls.

As a preacher, one who had often heard him says, he was rather original and ingenious than eloquent, and though he never pursued the ordinary arts of popularity, never failed to fix the attention of his auditors. The peculiarity, variety, and even eccentricity of his sentiments or reasoning, secured this effect; but that they should have invariably obtained approbation, as has been asserted, would, if it could be thought credible, show that the character of the congregation must have been quite as peculiar as that of the minister. The same person observes that there were a thousand oddities and inattentions in his public conduct, that he generally preached with his hat on, and often forgot to pronounce the blessing at the conclusion of the service. "Once," he says, "I saw him dispense the sacrament without consecrating the elements. On being told of this, he made an apology, consecrated, and served the second table; after which he went to the pulpit to superintend the service, forgetting to communicate himself, till informed of this second omission by the elders."

"While he cultivated the ground," says Dr Anderson, "the Epigoniad was going forward; and, with the scythe in his hand, he meditated on the times when princes and heroes boasted of their powers and skill in cutting

hay, ploughing land, and feeding swine. The rural scenes and simple manners that were ever present in his imagination, accorded well with the tone of a poem, the subject of which was taken from a very early period of society, and contributed to give a justness and exactness to his images which are not to be found in the compositions of city poets, who draw little from nature, and take every thing at second-hand." But this was the opinion of a good-natured and indiscriminating editor, who read with so little reflection that he retained no distinct recollection even of what he had recently perused. There is hardly an image in Wilkie's poem which bears the slightest appearance of having been drawn from life. The similes with which it is sprinkled are of wolves and lions attacking the fold; dragons, bulls, bees, and billows; torrents, meteors, and storms; young trees or old ones falling under the woodman's axe; and opposite winds, in glorious contempt of nature, blowing against each other—the old stock in trade from which all epic aspirants have been supplied since the days of Homer.

After, it is said, fourteen years' application to the work, the *Epigoniad* was published at Edinburgh in 1757, without the author's name. Wilkie, after stating in his preface that the language of his poem was simple and artless, had proceeded to say—"This I take to be a beauty rather than a defect; for it gives an air of antiquity to the work, and makes the style more suitable to the subject. The quaintness of Mr Pope's expression, in his translation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, is not at all suitable, either to the antiquity or majestic gravity of his author, and contributes more to make his fable appear vain and absurd, than any circumstance

that seems of so little moment could easily be supposed to do." The monthly reviewer made this passage his excuse for a certain criticism, which was intended to be as clever as he was capable of making it. He said, the author's "presumptuous attack of so superior a character as that of the late Mr Pope, had justly divested him of all title to favour; and he must be a tasteless critic indeed who could remain unmoved after perusing so dogmatical a sentence, pronounced by *such a poet* upon SUCH A GENIUS!"

This part of the critic's censure Wilkie ought to have disregarded, because it only insolently contradicted an opinion which it was impossible to confute. But as the passage had proved obnoxious, he omitted it (notwithstanding its truth) in the second edition, which was published with his name in 1759; and he corrected some of the errors into which a want of scholarship had betrayed him. His friends and countrymen exerted themselves with extraordinary zeal to serve him by extolling his poem. Hume recommended it in the Critical Review as one of the ornaments of our language; and Smollett, in his History of England, enumerates it among the glories of George the Second's reign. "Even the *Epopæa*," he said, "did not disdain an English dress, but appeared to advantage in the '*Leonidas*' of Glover and the '*Epigoniad*' of Wilkie." But Hume, though perhaps as sincere in admiring Wilkie's poetry as Locke was in his admiration of Sir Richard Blackmore, confessed in his private letters, even while he still hoped "it would do," that it was "somewhat uphill work." And indeed it was impossible to force into reputation an epic poem upon a classical story, written by one who, though a person of remarkable attainments and

strength of mind, was neither a poet nor a scholar. Wilkie's object, however, was answered; he was thought to be a great poet by those who believed in Hume and Smollett and the Critical Review, and as such he had honour in his own country.

Soon after the publication of his second edition, the professorship of natural philosophy at St Andrew's became vacant, and he offered himself as a candidate. He had not a single acquaintance among the members of that university; but the vacancy happened during the meeting of the General Assembly. He was introduced to such of them as were on that occasion in Edinburgh, and "found avenues of application to them all." Dr Watson, the professor of logic, was the only one with whom the application was successful. The other professors were equally divided between two other candidates; and Watson, resting his hope upon the animosity which a contested election always excites between two well-balanced parties, held out for his new friend. His sagacity was approved by the event. The whole of one party, when it became certain that he was not to be moved, came over to his standard, and Wilkie was accordingly elected. Upon this he resigned his living, and removed to St Andrew's.

The unhealthiness of the manse is said to have been the cause which made him desirous of leaving Ratho. On first settling there, he had contracted a sort of irregular ague, which was never entirely cured. This made him apprehend that he should not be a long-lived man; and that apprehension making him more anxious to secure a provision for his sisters before his death, confirmed and strengthened the habits of parsimony which he had formed in times of need. Other and more offen-



sive habits clung to him. He was immoderately fond of tobacco, and in its most disgusting use, chewing it to an excess which all his friends thought hurtful, but which he had persuaded himself was salutary to his enfeebled constitution. Like most valetudinarians, he was diseasedly observant of his own symptoms, and was considered whimsical both in his complaints and in his management of them; and, though fond of receiving medical advice, he always disputed and often rejected it.

In his dress he was uncommonly negligent and slovenly, and in his whole manner totally inattentive, says his friend, to all those little formalities on which the generality of mankind are apt to value themselves. But in some of his habits he was worse than eccentric, for he abhorred nothing so much as clean sheets. One evening at Hatton, being asked by Lady Lauderdale to stay all night, he expressed an attachment to his own bed, but said that if her ladyship would give him a pair of foul sheets he would stay. Whenever he met with clean ones he took them out, threw them aside, and slept in the blankets. He fancied that the state of his constitution required more perspiration than takes place in the ordinary course of nature, and therefore always slept under a great weight of bedclothes. There is a story of his requesting that he might have enough one night, when he was visiting a relation in the neighbourhood, and of the woman of the family putting four-and-twenty blankets on his bed for the joke's sake: in the morning they asked him if he had plenty of bedclothes, and he answered that he had just enough, and had slept well.

At his removal from Ratho, the sale of his little stock, and the savings of at least fifteen years, amounted

only to about £200; for Wilkie, though penurious as he was, was no niggard in his private charities. With this money he purchased some land in the neighbourhood of St Andrew's, enclosed it, and cultivated it in a manner which soon found admirers and imitators when it was seen to be successful. The people in that part of the country acknowledge to this day that they have derived many useful lessons from Dr Wilkie's management of his farm.

The university conferred upon him the degree of doctor of divinity before he published a volume of fables in verse, in 1768. Yet he is said by one of his friends to have laid aside the character of a divine, to have become sceptical concerning the essential truths of revealed religion, and often to have exclaimed in the confidence of intimate friendship, "Oh, if I could firmly believe all the doctrines of Christianity, how vain and insipid every enjoyment and every pursuit in this world would appear!" But with whatever doubts Wilkie may have been disturbed, they proceeded in him from an error of the intellect; he had nothing of that unbelief which is a sin of the heart. It is affirmed that his religious feelings were deep and strong, that much of his time was employed in studying the Scriptures, and that his family devotions bore all the marks of sincerity and fervour.

His friend Mr Liston says, "it seemed on all hands agreed that no mortal was equal to him in conversation and argument. His own explanation of it was, that he took the right side, while his antagonists took the wrong, to display their ingenuity and learning. Dr Wallace, author of the 'Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind,' said, 'nobody could venture to cope

with him.' His knowledge on almost all things was deep and solid; his reasoning plain to a child; and in shrewdness he had no rival. Both his manners and thoughts were masculine in a degree peculiar to himself. Adam Smith remembered an observation of Lord Elibank's, that in whatever company, learned or unlearned, Wilkie's name was mentioned, it was not soon dropped, for every body had much to say of him. In short," concludes Mr Liston, "he was a great and an odd man. His character, I will venture to say, will never be successfully written but by a great hand; and even when written, the theory of the man is above common comprehension."

Wilkie died at St Andrew's, Oct. 10, 1772, after a lingering illness, having nearly completed his 51st year. The land which he had by that time acquired was estimated at £3000. His property he bequeathed to the two sisters for whose sake he had accumulated it; his manuscripts to Mr Liston: none of them have been published, and if Dr Anderson had not included his countryman's works in a General Collection of British Poets, the Epigoniad and its author would now be known only by their occasional appearance in a catalogue. But though Wilkie's poems contain nothing which can procure for them a further reprieve from oblivion, the singular man whose advice made so deep an impression upon Andrew Bell, deserves the full mention which has been here made of him. It is fitting that the debt of gratitude for early and discriminating kindness which Dr Bell always acknowledged to Wilkie, and evidently felt pride as well as pleasure in acknowledging, should here be paid. It is as little to be wished that the St Andrew's professor should be imitated in

his epic poem and in his motives for undertaking it, as in those unclean habits which may properly be termed sordid; but few men have ever set a more excellent example of the true spirit of independence. Strength of character like his must indeed be the gift of God; but his practical philosophy and his domestic virtues may be held up for imitation as well as admiration.

Another professor who noticed Andrew Bell with kindness, and encouraged him in his pursuits, was Dr Watson, to whom Wilkie was beholden for his election. Robert Watson, the son of an apothecary and brewer at St Andrew's, was born in that city about the year 1730. Having gone through the usual course of education in the school and university there, he repaired first to Glasgow, and then to Edinburgh, for the prosecution of his studies, to which, it is said, he devoted eight hours a-day during the whole course of his life, and strictly adhered to this rule. After he had been licensed as a preacher, he delivered lectures on rhetoric by advice of Lord Kames, and with the countenance and support of Hume, and others of his countrymen not less influential as men of letters in their day, though they will not be equally remembered by posterity. He offered himself as a candidate for one of the livings in St Andrew's without success, but was soon afterwards nominated professor of logic there, and obtained a patent from the crown, constituting him also professor of rhetoric and fine literature. Logic had till that time been taught there merely in the old scholastic forms; but Watson prepared and read to his pupils a course, in which it is said, that, uniting metaphysics with it on the most enlightened plan, he analyzed the powers of the mind, and entered deeply into the nature of the

different species of evidence, and knowledge of truth. He obtained considerable reputation by a history of Philip II., written as a continuation of Dr Robertson's Charles V.; and he left an unfinished history of Philip III., which, after his death, was completed and published by Dr William Thomson. On the decease of Principal Tulideph, Watson, through the Earl of Kin-noul's interest, was appointed to succeed him. He held the situation only a short time, and died in 1780.

CHAPTER II.

Choice of Professions—Turns his views towards the Colonies—Offers from Virginia—Goes to America—Honourable Testimonials—Introductory Letters—Engages in Mr Braxton's family as private Tutor—Agency—Returns to Europe, his Pupils with him—Sea Journal.

WHEN Andrew Bell had gone through the ordinary course of education at St Andrew's with more than ordinary diligence and success, the world was all before him. If he had at any time turned his thoughts toward any profession, he had made choice of none. At an age when most men enter upon the course which they have chosen for themselves, or which circumstances have determined for them, he relied upon his attainments and the consciousness of those convertible talents which are most useful, and least likely to deceive the person who possesses them. In his own country, narrow circumstances were likely to render his advancement difficult and slow; he looked to the colonies, therefore, as a more promising spot, and having received some offers from Virginia which it was thought advisable to accept, embarked for America in the twenty-first year of his age.

He went provided with the most ample and honourable testimonials. Those from the rector and professors of the university, stated that his behaviour had all along been blameless and irreproachable; that in all the classes of languages and philosophy he was esteemed a good scholar: and that in those of mathematics and

natural philosophy, he had distinguished himself as possessing a genius much superior to the generality of students; as a private teacher, too, he had for some time acquitted himself with great approbation, and proved himself highly deserving of encouragement, and extremely well qualified to act in the station of a tutor.

The two ministers of the church and the session-clerk gave their testimonies in these words—"The bearer hereof, Mr Andrew Bell, of very respectable parents in this town, has grown up among us from his infancy. He has enjoyed a liberal education, and has prosecuted his studies with much diligence and success at this university, in which he obtained several public and honourable marks of distinguished merit and proficiency.

"His moral conduct has from his earliest years been sober, circumspect, and virtuous; wherefore, being about to leave home, and go into foreign parts, he is entitled to carry with him this testimony of an irreproachable good character. In regard to all which we are not only bound by justice to certify, that there is nothing known here which may hinder him from being admitted into communion with any Christian congregation or society, but also further to recommend him as deserving favour and countenance as a teacher of youth, or in any other sphere of public usefulness, and that where Divine Providence may order his lot, is in our name, and by appointment of the kirk-session, attested by

"JAS. GILLESPIE, Minister.

JON. ADAMSON, Minister.

• DA. KERNOCK, Sess. Clk."

He took out with him, also, a letter of introduction to a Dr Tarpley in Virginia, from his friend Hugh Cleghorn, who had then lately taken the professorship of civil history. The letter recommended him to Dr Tarpley's notice as a young adventurer, who had gone through his different classes of that university with much and deserved approbation from the professors under whom he had studied. "I have had particular opportunity," he said, "to be well acquainted both with his moral and his literary character. I am certain his manners are irreproachable, and that in every department of science he has made very considerable progress; in mathematics and natural philosophy he was here excelled by none; and from my knowledge of him, I can with confidence recommend him as a young man who, I am convinced, will make a very respectable figure as a man of letters. If it ever be in your power to show him any favours, I shall always regard them as done to myself."

With these testimonials he sailed from Glasgow, early in the year 1774. There is no part of his life concerning which so little is known, as the first five* years of his residence in America. It appears that he was engaged in tuition for the most, if not the whole of that time, and that he went out with some definite engagement of this kind; but what that engagement was, or even where, there are now no means of ascertaining. It is certain, however, that when he was employed as a tutor, he discharged his office to the satisfaction of the parents; for in two instances he was solicited to resume the charge of some former pupils.

* The only document during these years is the subjoined certificate.

The information becomes more distinct from the year 1779, when he engaged as private tutor, at a salary of £200 a-year, in the family of Mr Carter Braxton,* who was then a wealthy merchant of West Point, Virginia. This connexion continued about two years, and then, in consequence of the political state of the province, he thought proper to return to his own country for a while. Tuition, however, had not been his only business during his abode in Virginia. From a memorandum-book, commencing in January 1775, there appear to have been some money transactions, upon a small scale, carried on between him and a Mr John White of King and Queen county, which continued till the time of his departure. That he had miscellaneous dealings with many other persons on his own account, and that he was employed at the same time in collecting debts for Mr Braxton on his journeys, appears from a brief journal commencing in September 1780. From the latter end of December in that year, till his departure on the March following, he was continually on the move, equally engaged in business and in visiting a very extensive circle of acquaintances in the best ranks of life. This part of his journal is filled with memoranda of dealings in American currency and tobacco.

His connexion with Mr Braxton was not broken by this removal, that gentleman being (in his own words) induced by the high sense he entertained, after two years' experience, of Mr Bell's morality and great abili-

* It seems from Mr Bell's book of accounts, that Colonel Barwell Bassett's sons were under his care at the same time, as if some agreement had been entered into between the Colonel and Mr Braxton, in whose family Mr Bell resided.

ties as a tutor, to send his two younger sons, Corbin and Carter, under his care to Europe. The letter of instructions which he received on this occasion, left it at his discretion to determine where the youths should be placed—"relying," says the father, "on their being fixed at some genteel academy, where they will have intercourse with young gentlemen of family and fortune." He was particularly desirous that the youths themselves should be satisfied with the choice, lest any disgust on their part should take place. "My desire," he says, "is to have them both made good Latin and Greek scholars, and to have them acquainted with arithmetic, mathematics, and any other useful science that is to be obtained at college. I have often told you my design was to give Corbin a liberal education, and then to form him for a merchant; for which purpose, after leaving college, I could wish him to be made a perfect master of accounts; to learn the different rates of money in different countries; to visit the most celebrated trading towns, and then acquire the language, and become acquainted with the merchants and merchandize of each particular country." This was the large and liberal scheme which Mr Braxton devised for the one son. The other he intended for the bar, in conformity with his own inclinations, and in the persuasion that his abilities, if properly improved, would raise him to some degree of eminence in that line. When his preliminary education should be completed, he was to be transferred to some great university, or to the Temple at London, where Mr Braxton thought law might be read to greater advantage than in any other part of the world.

“Frugality,” said the father, “is a thing so necessary for youth, that I cannot too warmly recommend its being often urged, if either of them attempt to depart from the strict rules of it. I will allow any sum that shall be necessary to carry on and complete their education, and to permit them to dress as gentlemen, and partake of all innocent amusements. This, it is supposed, will be within the compass of £200 annually for each. If a private tutor, a man of abilities and morality, could be engaged at the college to attend and advise and read with them, I should wish such a one to be procured at the annual salary of £40, beyond which I could not afford to give. If you could sit down with them at the same college, I should be most willing for you to undertake this office yourself, in which case you would be both tutor, friend, and companion.” Mr Braxton had no expectation that Mr Bell would devote himself to these youths, as in the event he did; for in a former part of this letter he says, “if, after they are situated at college, you could make it convenient once in a month, or oftener, to visit them, and give your advice in what manner they should pursue their studies and conduct themselves, you would greatly oblige me, and I should think myself bound to make you compensation for it.” The letters which Mr Bell took to England for Mr Braxton’s correspondents, he was charged to convey with safety, and not by post: from time to time he was to send the best magazines, Annual Register, and any papers and pamphlets; and if a good opportunity should offer, by a gentleman going to Virginia, to send a neat genteel gold watch, Mr Braxton desired that one might be sent to him.

Upon winding up his affairs, and converting his pro-

perty into tobacco,* he disposed of 25,634 lbs. to Mr Braxton, receiving from him a bond payable in three years, with five per cent interest. Mr White was his debtor for 8000 lbs., and a Mr Roscow for 4500 lbs., to be paid for on demand. He took with him £30 in specie, mostly in half guineas; bills for £70, 7s. 7½d., which, at a discount of three shillings upon a guinea, he says in his Journal, is £60, 6s. 7½d., and a bill of exchange from Mr Samuel Garlicke upon his brother, Mr Cam Garlicke of Bristol, for £162. Thus it appears that in the course of seven years he had acquired between £800 and £900, which, considering that he had nothing but his credentials and his talents to begin with, and that his manner of life had been far from parsimonious, is proof both of good conduct and good fortune. He had also from Mr Braxton for his sons' expenses thirty-six dollars, and private bills for £150.

The testimonials which he received on his departure from Virginia, were not less satisfactory than those which he brought out with him. They were in these words:—

“ It is a debt due to merit, and therefore incumbent upon us to certify, that the bearer, Mr Andrew Bell, who has resided in our neighbourhood for the last seven years, has done honour to the recommendations which accompanied him from Great Britain.

“ In his profession of a teacher of the learned languages, which he has exercised both in a public and private capacity, he has given the utmost satisfaction as a diligent and able tutor.

* Three years afterwards, tobacco was selling in Virginia at from thirty to forty shillings per cwt.

“As a man and a Christian, he has gained universal confidence and esteem.

“ARCHIBALD DICK, rector of St Margaret's parish, Caroline county, Virginia.

“HENRY SKYRING, rector of St John, King William county.

“EMMANUEL JONES, rector of St David's parish, King William county.”

And now it will be fitting to proceed in the words of his own Journal:—

“1781, March 15th.—At York by twelve o'clock, ready to sail. Wrote to Mr Braxton. Sent father's address, and 600 dollars, desiring to be credited in tobacco. Sailed two o'clock, after seeing Marquis de la Fayette and his family, who had just arrived at York to command the army destined to storm Portsmouth, where was General Arnold.

“Captain Goffigon our pilot. Came out by the Cape. Two and a half fathom water. Brig drew two fathom. Fine wind.

“16th—Rainy and foggy. Saw fleets steering north—not chased. Sick. The fleets were Arbuthnot's and the French, which engaged that day about noon. We saw them at ten o'clock.

“17th.—St Patrick's. Very sick. Indifferent wind. Very sick.

“18th.—Sunday. Extremely sick. Becalmed in the day. Fine winds. Having sailed east for a day or two, we now steer north-east. After some time, water remarkably calm and wind north-west; yet we continue north-east course. Severe and violent frost at sea. Fine winds.

“ 23d.—Saw sea-fowl. Asked now, and before, many questions to no purpose. *Stoliditas et morositas ipsa*—[Stupidity and morosity itself.] Sailing at the rate of ten and a half miles per hour, when, on the morning of the

“ 24th,—We struck ground, in cold and rainy weather, and in sleet. From two till daybreak we were filling with water. By day we took to the boat, and providentially all of us escaped to land, not a rock, as we thought. Walked round a sea-girt coast in snow ten or twelve miles. Returned to brig, above low water, afternoon. Saved all we could of our provisions and things, and pitched our tent on the only place on the shore not entirely covered with frost and snow. Three hands laid up by walking in the snow. Two frost-bitten. In the latitude 45° . An uninhabited country.

“ 25th.—Renewed our tent. The cold and frost so intense that all safety is despaired of. Snow seldom remitting but for a few hours, which allowed us to continue our exertions for saving some things. All attempts to explore the country impracticable by reason of the cold and snow.

“ 26th.—Almost constant snow. Rebuilt our tent. Terrible prospect.

“ 27th.—Revised my accounts; and, in expectation of death, devised what I had in my pocket-book, if human being should ever come this way.*

* In a small memoranda book appears the original will, of this date:—

“ March 27th, latitude 45° .

25,634 } March 12.
8000 } Bonds.
4500 lbs. of tobacco in promissory-note } March 6.
from Mr Roscow.

“ I, Andrew Bell, beg for God's sake, that, into whosoever's hands this may fall, they may forward it, with its contents, to Mr Samuel Garlicke and

“ 28th.—Snow for sixteen hours. Fair night, and most intensely cold. Observation 45° 50'. A fisher's tent seen in ruins to the south-west.

“ April 1st.—Sunday. All alive, and in good way. Not much frost for two and half last days. Snow goes off slowly, notwithstanding rains, &c. Live on fresh provisions, boiled and toasted biscuit, steeped in salt water, and crumbled to pieces; yet no scantiness nor sparing yet. *Nulla religio, nulla disciplina.* For two or three days we were so afflicted with smoke, that one man was, for a while, deprived of sight; and the rest of us grievously sore in the eyes, and could scarcely see.

“ 2d.—Fine sunshine. Boat put on stocks, and cut to be lengthened. A better prospect. A dreadful night of rain. Wet to the skin. Little sleep.

“ 3d.—Rainy still and thaw, as for several days. Not a stroke of work upon our boat to-day, much shattered as it is. *Ignorantia, desidia, irreligio, incuria, sermo malus et stultissimus.*

and bequeath every thing I have, or may have, in Virginia, as witness my hand and seal.

(Signed) “ ANDREW BELL.

“ For Messrs Samuel Garlicke and John White, Virginia.”

But the above bequest was on the same day crossed out, and in another part of the same book the will stands as follows:—

“ 27th, [March.]—Revised this book, and, settling all my accounts, I owe nothing to any man in America; and declare, on the word of a man who expects death, that Mr Braxton owes me by bond 25,634 lbs. of tobacco, and upwards of £10 sterling; and Mr John White of Virginia owes me by bond 8000 lbs. of tobacco, which, and all I possess in Virginia, I bequeath to Mr Samuel Garlicke and Mr John White, of King and Queen's County; praying them to forward my bills of exchange in their hands to my father, Bailie A. Bell, of St Andrew's, North Britain, as I hereby give them power; as also that they will remember that he and his heirs are my proper heirs.

(Signed) “ ANDREW BELL.”

“ 4th.—Snow going off. Ice breaking away from the bays and creeks, four, five, and even eight feet thick, along the shore. Bad colds and coughs. Ducks. A dead one killed by Paddy. The sea covered with ice as far as the eye can reach every way.

“ 5th.—The ice gone off in one night, (as it came,) save on the strand, brink, and beach; and large floats or islands, here and there, in the sea. A small boat passed close along shore; but would not call from apprehension of danger.

“ 6th.—Hard frost last night. Fine sunshine morning. Weather now more temperate. For two or three days at first, we could get no water but by melting snow; and could scarcely cut wood enough, in a country where there is nothing but wood for use. *Conjuratio sexdecim sceleratissimorum, omnium quos terra habuit, relinquere nos et castra*, and to rob and plunder.

“ 7th.—Islands of ice every where. Fine weather. Clear after frosty night. Spoke to whale-boat to-day to come for us. Violent remonstrances; the boys strictly prohibited by terrible menaces from going up to Halifax then.

“ 8th.—Skipper Cooke and brother, half Indians, and two Indians, bring their boat for us. The boys not allowed to accompany us. Sailed about ten leagues. Encamped. A wedge covered on the sides with two moose skins, and open on the ridge.

“ 9th.—Spent the day there. Spoons of birchwood and of shells. Punk like the substance of cork in lightness, but compact and close, and inflammable like tinder or gunpowder. Awaked at midnight in terrible plight with wet.

“ 10th.—Ten leagues further. Windy. Clothes constantly on from 15th March.

“ 11th.—Ran aground in the entrance to the harbour of Halifax. After four hours got off, and arrived at night. The shallop which passed before was also from Sheddy Buckby bay, (twenty-five leagues to the east, as Halifax was thirty to the west of the wreck,) St Mary's, and loaded with venison, wild-geese, ducks, and moose. Very cold and unsheltered on our way.

“ 12th.—Spoke to Mr Wallace, and put affairs in his hands. *O! me miserum*. Shallop to go off immediately for the boys and things. Took lodgings with Mr Culleton at 40s. currency, 36s. sterling, per week. Things very dear. The whole coast infested with Yanky privateers. Beef at 9d. sterling per lb.; a turkey, 21s.; veal, 1s. 6d.; a goose, 6s., &c. Bad wind.

“ 14th.—Ice blocks up the shallop, in which the captain and sailors were going for the boys and crew; and the whole coast from the Gulf of St Lawrence.

“ 15th.—Dr Marshall at Mr Wallace's.

“ 16th.—Wrote to the boys anew. Supped with Dr Marshall.

“ 17th.—Whale-boat gone for them. The Adamant and St Lawrence arrived from London. Sailed with the fleet under Admiral Derby for Gibraltar.

“ 18th.—First fine day since my arrival here.

“ 20th.—Snow several inches deep in the town this morning.

“ 22d.—Rode out with Mr Wallace seven miles. Trotting horse and stony road. Surveyed the basin in which the French fleet was sunk last war, to prevent its falling into the hands of the English. Fine harbour.

A most barren country all along this coast. Nothing but potatoes cultivated.

“ 27th.—A week of good weather.

“ 29th.—To church, infinitely superior to the meeting.

“ May 1st.—Tuesday. Bad weather, as also on the 2d; and on the 3d, a terrible day of rain and dreadful night; yet went for the boys in an open boat, and brought them up from an island, at the distance of some miles, to town, at twelve at night.

“ 4th.—Introduced them to Mr Wallace, who shows them every act of civility and hospitality, as he had done to me.

“ 6th.—Sunday. The funeral of General M'Lean, with great procession and pomp, music, artillery, musketry, &c.

“ 10th.—Sailed in the Adamant, Captain Wyat, with the St Lawrence, for London.”

On the 6th June they landed at Gravesend.

CHAPTER III.

London—Anxiety about his Pupils—Letter to Mr Corbin—Journal—Returns to St Andrew's—Visit to Mr Dempster—Sends his Pupils home.

ON their arrival in London, the young men waited, with Mr Bell, on their uncle, Mr Corbin, to whose care, in the first instance, they were consigned. He took them immediately to Osborne's Hotel in the Adelphi; from whence, after a week, they removed to lodgings in New Bond Street.

Mr Bell remained in London about five weeks, seeing every thing that time allowed him to see there and in its neighbourhood, visiting old friends from America and from Scotland, and acquiring new acquaintance through their means, and through Mr Braxton's connexions. Early in July he went to Bristol, leaving his pupils under their uncle's care; but he was not without much uneasiness concerning them at this time. The first intimation of this appears in a letter from Mr Thomas Hall, one of his American friends, who had been tutor to Mr Braxton's eldest son George, and in that capacity had travelled* with him in Europe. Mr Hall was now in Hertfordshire; from whence, writing to Mr Bell, he says—"Summon up your accustomed resolution, exert that manly fortitude and those excellent abilities which I know you to be

* Mr Bell says in his American Journal, Jan. 21, 1781:—"George Braxton returned quite the man of fashion, possessed of the graces, having spent some thousands in the course of an eighteen months' European peregrination."

possessed of, and all will yet be well. Come, rouse up your spirits, and make not yourself miserable with imaginary evils : anticipate them not ; they crowd fast enough upon us, God knows, though we exert ourselves never so much to ward them off. Whatever Mr Power *can* do for you, rest assured he *will*. I have his own words for it :—‘ I pity, from my soul, Mr Bell and the boys, who are thus, by uncommon improvidence, thrown upon the world without any support by any means adequate to their necessary subsistence, even for a short time. I am persuaded I need not say how happy I should be if I found myself in a situation to relieve them from those anxieties to which they must be subject.’ This is what he wrote to me on first seeing you. Happy, thrice happy shall I be, if any thing should turn up to enable him to do what his inclination would readily prompt him to. Consult him in your affairs. You will find him not only an able councillor, but a warm, discreet, and faithful friend. If there be truth or sincerity on earth, it is to be found in him—a more honest, honourable, and amiable man does not exist.”

Business was the primary object of Mr Bell’s journey, relating to a bill which he had brought over ; but Mr Cam Garlicke, on whom it was drawn, was one of his most endeared friends, and the desire of seeing Bath and Bristol entered into his motives ; for he had a more than ordinary share of ardour and curiosity, (which, indeed, characterized him through life.) He was then at the most active age, and was by no means sparing of his money.* At Bristol it appears that he had the best

* “ Aug. 27. Spent about fifty guineas of my own money, during my stay in England, in ‘extra’ expenses.” Sight-seeing and coach-hire in London cost him sometimes a guinea a-day.

introductions ; and, having partaken of its hospitality and its amusements, seen its vicinity, with the beauty of which he was greatly delighted, and visited Bath also at leisure, he returned to London towards the end of the month, arriving there, as he notes in his journal, just at the time of M. de la Motte's execution.

He had written to Mr Braxton from Bristol, representing the uncomfortable circumstances in which he and his pupils found themselves placed. The prospect at this time was gloomy ; it became more so after his return to London. The shipwreck, in its consequences, had occasioned an extra expense of more than a hundred pounds on their passage. Besides this defalcation from their means, one of the bills which they had brought over was not negotiable because it was not dated, and the person on whom it was drawn had died in the mean time ; payment for another could not be obtained ; and continental bills, which appear to have followed them from America, were obliged to be sent back because they had not been endorsed.

But these were not the only evils. The young men, finding themselves their own masters, were strongly inclined to continue so, and were acquiring a dangerous liking for expense and dissipation. This was in no degree attributable to Mr Bell. It was against his opinion, and his warm and repeated remonstrances, that they had remained in London more than a fortnight. They were not willing to remove ; and the funds which should have been at his disposal for removing them, had failed. "What, indeed," he says in one of his letters, "can a man do without money ?" Mr Braxton's connexions were either backward in

extricating them from their difficulties, or had it not in their power; and, during this state of embarrassment, no place for their education had been arranged. Mr Bell found it necessary, therefore, about a week after his return from Bristol, to take some decisive measures for himself, as well as in their behalf, and presents, accordingly, the following paper to Messrs Corbin and Power:—

“ Andrew Bell, more and more solicitous about the welfare of the young gentlemen, with whose education he has the honour to be charged, impressed with a deep sense of their present unhappy situation, and conceiving it essential to their salvation to be immediately withdrawn from this city, would be deficient in point of duty to Mr Braxton and his sons, if he were to forbear to submit his sentiments on this occasion to Messrs Corbin and Power. He doubts not but their present circumstances, after a stay of almost two months in this city, will be a sufficient apology for his doing it in this manner.

“ Their present mode of life is not only foreign to their father's intentions, his instructions, and their destinations, but is also productive of habits that may be of the most fatal tendency to young students; and even in the deranged state of their finances, they must live, while here, at an expense far beyond their annual allowance. A longer stay may involve them beyond the possibility of being extricated; whereas, if something could be done for the present, Mr Cam Garlicke gives the warmest hopes for the future. The total suspension of their education, which may be their sole inheritance and dependence, is a most alarming circumstance.

“ These considerations fill him with such serious apprehensions as constrain him to declare, in the most earnest manner, that he is of opinion that he cannot fulfil Mr Braxton’s instructions, if his sons be not immediately withdrawn from this place.

“ Conscious of his own inutility in their present situation, and at the same time unable, from the derangement of his own finances, to remain longer in England, it cannot be expected that he will expose himself to difficulties and distresses, without a prospect of benefiting the young gentlemen.

“ Under these circumstances, he conceives it a duty incumbent on him to decline the further exercise of an office which is expensive to Mr Braxton, unserviceable to the boys, and ruinous to himself.”

He remained about three weeks longer in London, hoping that this representation might produce some effect, but he found that nothing was likely to be done. Having then “luckily obtained payment for one of his own bills,” he says in his journal, “and Carter refusing all obedience, and Mr Corbin giving his tacit consent, I resolved upon setting out, after suffering much, and expending much in the boys’ service.” Mr Hall, who, because of his late connexion with the Braxton family, was one of the persons whom he naturally consulted, approved of this resolution, seeing, indeed, that it had become necessary : “But,” he says, “what, my God, will become of the boys ! Had they not better return to Virginia with Lord Dunmore, than remain in England without the smallest prospect of support ? Pray, hint this to their uncle, who can easily procure them a passage. They will be utterly ruined if they remain in London. I feel for you on this occa-

sion, as I know it, from sad experience, to be a trying one. I would to God it was in my power to take charge of Corbin myself, and educate him; but my means will not permit of this."

Mr Bell accordingly left London, and put himself on the road to Scotland. His journal shows that he made his way sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot, and sometimes by stage, or other conveyances, as inclination and opportunity invited. This mode of travelling allowed him to see something as he proceeded; and, indeed, he may be considered almost as a foreigner in his own country, having seen little more of it, before he went to America, than what lies between his native city and Glasgow, from whence he embarked. On the first day's journey, after breakfasting at Whetstone, he notices, in this brief journal, the obelisk at Barnet and Bushman Park—which he turned aside to see—the seat of Sir Charles Cox, who is now in Germany, he says. "His eldest son was drowned the other day in the Thames, getting out of a boat. The gardens are the first of the regular kind that have fallen under my observation. They consist of four squares enclosed with high brick walls, each wall lined with fruit-trees, and each square having within it four squares of posts and rails, with fruit-trees intertwined. [He had never seen espaliers before.] The park, a fine one, with fruit-trees, walks, avenues, plats, and circles. The house, a clever brick one. Coaches, and chariots, and carriages towards the metropolis infinite. Bocket Hall, Lord Melbourne's seat, on a bank which slopes to the river Lea, and forms a delightful terrace. The gardens not to compare with those at Bushman; but the park is perhaps superior, being more diversified

with water, wood, hills, vales, tents, alcoves, and lodges. The house, as it fronts the river, has a fine appearance. Below is a beautiful stone bridge ; and below the bridge is a delightful artificial fall. At the top of the fall is a large pavement, over which the water rapidly glides an inch or two deep. Little stones and moss appear in the perpendicular fall, which is upwards of six feet, and then a foot or two lower is a descent of two feet more. Two pleasure barges on the river, one with an octagonal awning in the middle, and two rectangular end ones ; the other has an apartment in the middle surrounded with glass windows and doors, the ends open, with a helm and oars. The first has two prows, and serpentine bows to go both ways. Flags flying in both. They are confined within a niche on the river. Below is a wooden bridge. Corn in all over Middlesex and Hertfordshire.

“ 28th.—Slept at Wade’s Mill, and rode to Stevenage, Hard by are seven hillocks, said to be Roman burial-places, and opposite to them, in the woods on the hill, are seven corresponding holes. The common people say the devil threw them from the wood to the road-side. A man was laid here in a leaden coffin in the loft of a barn, according to his own will, in 1724. People raking together the stubble, cut with scythes after the wheat has been gathered in. •Dined at Bugden. From Bugden to Grantham the country appears inferior in point of richness. Arrived between nine and ten at Grantham. Supped at the Angel with an Israelite, and slept there.

“ 29th.—Set out at three. The country we are in by daylight is now finer, and the climate is changed, as the peas are yet standing in some parts. Breakfasted

at Tuxford, being 136 miles from London. Rain to-day and yesterday. A fine country to Doncaster; dined there. To Wetherby, taken in a left coach. Yorkshire a delightful country; oats and barley yet standing in many parts. From Wetherby to Walford, where I slept, on foot and in chariot.

“30th.—Northallerton, thence to Darlington in chaise. On the east of the Northallerton road from Borough-bridge is a ridge of extensive hills called Hambleton, making a delightful prospect. The people unintelligible in conversation, though much Scottish. The country fine, the people poor. Not only peas and oats, but hard corn standing, that is, wheat and rye, in great quantities. Great floods and much rain. In Durhamshire (a fine rich country) and in other northern parts, the corn, not being in before the rains, which have continued for a week, is injured. Monstrous conversation, but savouring of Scottish, as in Yorkshire.

“31st.—To Durham on foot, and in diligence, with a lady. Durham is a bishopric, the bishop inhabiting the castle. The abbey church is a venerable and ancient structure, with curious spires and a square. A tower near the palace, surrounded, and ruined in appearance, by little houses huddled together; it looks like an old fortification or castle, and somewhat resembles the tower of London. There is said to be a curious clock in the abbey, not having its fellow.”—There was a time when Dr Bell was better acquainted with the city and cathedral of Durham.

“On horseback to Gateshead, south of Newcastle, divided from it by the Tyne.

“Sept. 1st.—Saturday. Went back $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to see some coal-pits. The water drawn by fire-engines, and in one

instance by a windmill. A large wheel, thirty feet diameter, has two strong poles opposite, to each of which, by means of an iron gig that turns on an axle fastened to a bar, which bar hangs from the end of the pole, two horses are fixed. A little round flat piece of wood is suspended from the end of the pole, on which a little boy sits to drive. Four turns of the wheel bring up one coff (basket) and lower another, and then the horses turn, and so alternately. The pit sixty fathom deep (360 feet.)

“To Ayton camp, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Newcastle. Entered Sir Cecil Wray's tent for company, and his sleeping tent, and also one of the soldier's tents.

“In Newcastle is a place like Rag-fair. The exchange and church are ancient and venerable buildings. The town is large, with a prodigious market, for Saturday is market-day. It communicates, by a bridge over the fine river Tyne, with Gateshead. 270 miles from London.

“A curious traveller! having left behind me on the first day my penknife; on the second a handkerchief; on the third a nightcap; and on the fourth my glass!

“Morpeth, a fine town with an old exchange, though both much inferior to Newcastle. From Newcastle the country abounds less in inns; from Morpeth still less.

“2d.—From Longhorsley (293 miles from London,) where I lodged, the road became hilly and moory. The Remside Moors much resembling those of Scotland, uncultivated, though affording sheep pasture, and showing that Northumberland is inferior to the other counties through which I have passed. The road almost dried by yesterday's wind, and the harvest just begun, having been interrupted for a week by the rains. The

moor commences at Framlington, and you pass over the east side of it for some miles of hill and dale and craggy rocks. It extends a prodigious way to the west, producing nothing; and is the most barren part of England I have seen. For many miles westward you will scarcely find a road or hut. To the east, or right hand as you come down, is a fine and well cultivated country. From Wittingham to Wooler is hilly, but not so much so as between Longhorsley and Wittingham. From Wooler the country is surrounded with hills, but the road level.

“By Millfield, seven miles from Wooler and eight from Coldstream; on the plain and on the north side is the Field of Flodden, (East, West, and Mid Flodden farms,) where the battle between the English and Scots was fought, in which James IV. disappeared. I passed over the plain, preferring the scene to the wood.

“When I arrived at Coldstream bridge, I first surveyed the river, then walked down to one side and counted the arches, four, and two on *terra firma*; then I walked down to the other side. I entered the bridge, advanced, paused, stopped, and looked up and down the river. Does this stream constitute such a difference? It was past seven and somewhat dark, and I had lost my glass. I walked on and fell upon the ground and saluted it, neither like Brutus nor William, but thanking Providence that had delivered me from such dangers, and praying that my *Patria* might give me some better encouragement than I had much reason to expect.

“I advanced, attentive to every object. Two or three little girls cry *rin rin*. I entered the first tolerable-looking inn, ‘Can I have a bed?’ ‘What a pity! we

are just full." This is my first entrance into my native country after seven years' absence, and it is inauspicious that I should meet with a disappointment upon my first application. The *gude*-wife was sorry, and dismissed the *gude*-man to find a lodging for me. I followed. Something happened there when I enquired about supper, and I was told that the gudewife here was far gone, and did not know any minute what might take place. The *maister*, however, waited upon me to a tavern, where I was well accommodated at last, in Coldstream, 331 miles from London.

" 3d.—A woman on the road gave me a long story of herself in true Scots language. In Northumberland and Yorkshire it was only a Scottish dialect of the English, which, with its accent, I did not easily understand; now the genuine Scots is fully and perfectly intelligible. Part of the town stinks. The country and road to Greenlaw excellent. That over Greenlaw moor is eight miles of delightful road; but the moor is barren in appearance, and seems to show the inferiority of Scottish soil; yet it is cultivated in several parts, and produces excellent corn, not inferior to what I have seen upon good soil in England; and the oats, perhaps owing to the week's rain, appear better. The harvest just begun on this side of the Tweed, having been kept back by the rains. Rainy again to-day. Got more wet than when travelling on a coach through an inland country during the great rains, by which the rivers were prodigiously swelled.

" From Coldstream there are no tolerable inns (and scarcely any of another description) but those erected for the Fly. Even the cultivated spots of the *muir*,

which produce so well, are in general unenclosed, and without the English improvements of hedges, ditches, trees, &c. Whiteburn, at the west end of the moor, (for the road is now east and west,) is a dirty Scottish inn, where the rain tied me. Scottish cheese here. Even in the towns of this new, out-of-the-way, nearest road, the churches want the grand, venerable, and antique appearance of those in England. Superstition and bigotry made terrible havoc! As you enter Middle Lothian the aspect of the country improves; this new road being made through a wilderness only about twelve or fifteen years ago. Breakfasted at Fallowden for sixpence, good green tea; at Greenlaw it was eightpence. Thence to Edinburgh in chaise; the weather so thick, and drizzly, and rainy, that I could see little of the country. Dalkeith appeared but a small town; the country between it and Edinburgh very fine.

“ At Edinburgh put myself under the hands of the hairdresser. Sent cards to Mr Campbell, and to Mr and Mrs Peter and family, informing the latter that I would wait upon them at five in the afternoon, if convenient. It was now between one and two. I was covered with confusion by the following reply:—‘ Mr and Mrs Peter, and their daughter Mrs Kenion, return their most affectionate and friendly compliments to their much esteemed Mr A. Bell, are incapable of expressing their delight in the most welcome news of his arrival in Edinburgh, are to a degree anxious to see him, and intreat his immediate company at Hunter’s Park, if possible. They feel all the ardour and impatience of the most sincere friendship, and must once

more solicit his presence as soon as convenience will permit.

“ ‘ Hunter’s Park, Tuesday morning.

“ ‘ Pray come, dear Mr Bell.’

“ The reception was beyond the expression, if possible. Dr Campbell and his lady were there.

“ Spent two days thrice happily in Edinburgh ; and then on the 6th to Kinghorn. Disappointed in the diligence.

“ 7th.—To Kettle. Nanny* there, &c. To Cupar. Mrs Methven, to whom I had sent my name, did not recognize me. Arrived in the dark at St Andrews, and was not known by mamma.”

The first weeks after his return to his native place were given to his relations and friends and old acquaintance. Seven years of absence had neither chilled their feelings nor his, however they might be changed in other respects ; and he was received as one whom all regarded with good-will and esteem and hope. “ My dear Andrew,” says one who had settled at Perth since his departure, and to whom he had written upon his arrival at St Andrews, “ although I have just left the fatigues of a public school, and must prepare a new sermon for Sabbath first, yet neither haste, labours, nor a distant concern, shall prevent me from writing to my old friend and dear acquaintance. Often since your departure have I regretted your silence ; often have I called you to my thoughts ; and when I recollected our ancient ties and close correspondence, I thought—I did not know what to think, unless that a seat of rebellion, or rather war, was always a place of confusion, and required caution. I heartily sympathized with you

* His sister.

when I read the account of your shipwreck. Now that you are returned, I would wish much that we should have an interview, when I should listen with pleasure to your history, and you should have mine in exchange."

Few feelings are more salutary than that which the sense of time and change brings with it when two persons, who have formerly lived in habits of intimacy, meet after an interval of many years. The time was not come in which Mr Bell found this painful. He had little or nothing to embitter recollection; and though there was nothing bright in his prospect, a spirit conscious of its own strength, like his, is never without hope. He was not of a temper to take no thought for the morrow; but during this part of his life he seems never to have let the thought of it add to the evil, or diminish the enjoyment of the day.

At this time, however, it appears to have been that he was engaged in an affair not more curious in its kind than comic in its conclusion. A quarrel, arising in circumstances too trifling to have been remembered, led to a challenge and a duel between him and an English student at St Andrews, Crookenden by name. They met early in the morning on the Witch Hill, a rising ground west of the city, so called, because the poor creatures who in former times were condemned for witchcraft, were put to death there. The ground was measured, the pistols charged by the seconds in due form, and delivered to the principals; lots were drawn for the first fire: good fortune, as the event proved, gave it to Mr Bell, and he, who was short-sighted from his youth, and always in haste when any thing was to be done, wheeling round when the signal was given, pointed his pistol in a wrong direction, and before the

cry that was set up could arrest his hand, fired at the seconds instead of his antagonist. As the shot happily missed them, a burst of laughter followed; the seconds properly took advantage of the good-humour which was thus produced, and saved themselves from the chance of a second mistake by reconciling the parties, who from that time became good friends.

During his stay in London he had received many marks of characteristic kindness from Mr Dempster of Dunnichen, who was acquainted with his family, and had known him from his infancy. He had now visited that gentleman at his paternal seat, and his diary of the days that he spent there shows how warmly he was welcomed, and how heartily he enjoyed his reception.

“ Dec. 22d.—After breakfast rode to Dunnichen on the finest horse in this part of the country; and was received most kindly by the good lady as well as by Mr Dempster.

“ 25th.—Christmas goose weighed $10\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. Eel, three feet long and nine inches round. Mince-pies as well as goose for Christmas dinner. Daily fare is grouse, roast-beef, giblets, tripe, soup, oysters, &c. &c. &c., strong beer by Hunter, 22 years old, most excellent. Three wines. Bravo!

“ 31st.—Most happy, fine air, fine spirits, fine living. Most rainy weather, yet a most mild winter hitherto, like the rainy weather of a hot climate—battledore and shuttlecock daily. Held up with Mrs Dempster 304, with Mr Crookenden (his friend of the Witch Hill,) 910. Played at draughts, backgammon, chess, cards (*vingt-une*.)

“ Jan. 2.—Much dancing. Fouquiér admitted. In France the valet-de-chambre, as well as the fille-de-

chambre, is admitted to dance with the ladies at private parties, even among the nobility. Their servants and domestics are treated like children of the family.

“ 7th.—Came off most reluctantly in Mr Dempster’s chaise to Dundee.”

But Mr Bell, while thus enjoying himself, had not been unmindful of the young Virginians whom he had left in such uncomfortable circumstances. Toward the close of October letters from their father had reached him by way of Glasgow, apprizing him that he had sent tobacco, out of the proceeds whereof £400 was to be paid into the hands of Messrs Govan and Calts of that city, for the use of the young men, and that, by a good opportunity, he would send a remittance more to be depended on. Mr Bell immediately wrote to his friend Cam Garlicke upon this business, and received a reply, stating that the youths were applying to every one for money, that they assured him they were in want of every thing but bread, and that he had offered £200 to extricate them from London, and £300 provided they would immediately proceed to St Andrews and place themselves under Mr Bell’s care, on which condition alone this assistance would be given. Some fortnight afterwards, Mr Govan, who was their father’s agent at Glasgow, wrote to Mr Bell, saying that he had received £100 for the use of the young men, and promising £300 more in the spring, (the produce, no doubt, of the tobacco.) That Carter Braxton had written to him, saying it was his father’s desire that he should be fixed at Edinburgh, but that he (Mr Govan) considered St Andrews to be on many accounts the fitter place, and desired to know if Mr Bell would undertake the charge of them there, or if he would

recommend any other seminary. But Mr Cam Garlicke's timely offer had then been accepted, and on the day after Mr Bell departed for Dunnichen, an express reached him with tidings that his pupils had arrived at St Andrews.

They brought a melancholy letter from the good man who had extricated them from their embarrassments. Cam Garlicke, when Mr Bell went to visit him at Bristol, was confined to the house by illness; he seemed to regain health as well as spirits while enjoying the society of his friend; but as winter came on, the symptoms of his disease could no longer be mistaken, and a speedy return to a warmer climate was thought to afford the only chance of prolonging his life. The first intention was that he should go to France, and proceed immediately from thence to Virginia; but the case was so urgent that this plan was changed, and he embarked on board a Hamburg ship in the Thames for Lisbon, with Mr Hall, who gave up his prospects in England to accompany him on this hopeless destination.

When this determination was made known to Mr Bell, he wrote to Hall, offering him any assistance that it was in his power to afford, and saying that his heart, head, and purse would be always at his service. The two former, Hall replied, he should continually stand in need of, as he long had done; for the latter he had no occasion—it was a sacred fund which nothing but friendship in distress had a right to draw on. His name, he told him, stood so high in the books of his Hertfordshire friends, that when they wished to enforce any thing by emphatic asseveration, they were ready to

was the same thing, by Mr Bell; and concluding his letter with an apprehension (which was verified) that perhaps they might never meet again in this world. His last words were, "Adieu, thou best of all good men, adieu!"

Cam Garlicke and Hall were the two friends whom Mr Bell, during this part of his life, regarded with most affection. They left London in the middle of February, and on June 28th Hall wrote thus from Lisbon:—

"Dear Bell,

"How much have I longed for your assistance in the office I undertook, of accompanying a sick friend who was beyond all hope of recovery! How much have I suffered both in body and mind! Alas, my dear Bell! our worthy friend, Mr Garlicke, expired at Elvas, a frontier fortified town on the borders of Spain, on the 20th of this month. Ill and weak as he was, he insisted (contrary to the advice of all his friends) upon undertaking the long and fatiguing journey to Madrid, in order to get to Cadiz; and from thence embark for America. This was the only way of getting to Cadiz, for the Spanish ambassador is not permitted to grant passports to any seaport town, but he readily presented us with one for Madrid, as Americans. It is inconceivable how distressing my situation was rendered by this melancholy event. To lose my best of friends in a strange country, among a people who were not only themselves unknown to me, but their language also, at the distance of 120 English miles from Lisbon: that was not all. There was not the smallest prospect that he would be allowed even a burial—as a Protestant, the body, by the

custom of the country, was to be left exposed and unregarded. Except at Lisbon and Oporto there are no burying-places allowed for Protestants. But to my great surprise the governor of the town and fortress politely waited on me, and desired that I would lay my commands upon him, for that he was perfectly disposed to render me every assistance in his power. This he did in the most effectual manner, and conducted the whole ceremony himself in a style superior to any thing you can have an idea of. The body was deposited in a beautiful retired spot, in one of the curtains of a demi-bastion in the fortifications. He has assured me he will have a monument erected over him. He took me to his palace and treated me like a brother; and then sent a guard to escort me to Lisbon. Sure never did any one act with more urbanity, benevolence, and kindness towards a stranger.

“I am again, my dear friend, left alone, without a farthing that I can with certainty call my own. I am waiting in this city till I can hear from Pollard what steps he would advise me to take. It was the office of a friend that I undertook, and I hope I shall not be deserted. Providence, however, I have no doubt, will never desert me. Adieu, thou best of all good and friendly hearts! Expect in a short time, when I am more composed, a long letter. Once more adieu!—Yours affectionately,

“THOMAS HALL.”

None of the other letters which he wrote to Mr. Bell from Lisbon reached their destination; but it appears that he was presently relieved from pecuniary difficulties. Mr Allen, chaplain to the British factory

in that city, had just died, and during the interval that elapsed before a successor was appointed and could enter upon his duties, Mr Hall was requested to officiate. In December he wrote from London to his friend, saying he had just received from the factory a letter of thanks for his services, with a bill of exchange for 120 guineas, which, with the considerable presents he had received at Lisbon, had enabled him to discharge his debts, and left him with some surplus. Cam Garlicke had made him executor to his estate in England, with an allowance of £100 a-year from the commencement of his engagement with him. Soon afterwards he accepted a curacy at Bristol; but he had not held this more than three months before he obtained the very desirable appointment of chaplain to the British factory at Leghorn. About a year after he had settled there, a letter from him reached Mr Bell—some earlier ones having been lost on the way. He mentioned in it the arrival of a young man with an introduction from Mr Bell, in consequence of which he had invited him to his house. Then, after expressions of the highest regard as well as warmest attachment, he enquired concerning the views of his old friend, whether they were in the western or the northern hemisphere; and cautioned him against putting too much reliance on what Mr Braxton could do for him. “His good wishes,” said he, “doubtless, you are entitled to, and his endeavours you would as certainly find would be to serve you. But be cautious how you make a step towards that part of the globe. Your abilities, nay, your interest in England, demand this of you. I have no doubt that in England you would meet with good preferment in the Church; and that you may decide in favour of this is my ardent wish.

In America a clergyman is not so well off as the meanest overseer. Adieu, my dear friend.

“THOMAS HALL.”

Though this letter was not written till after Mr Bell had taken orders in the English Church, it is not unlikely that he was encouraged to that determination by the example of his friend's good fortune. The letter which advised him to this course appears to have been the last that he received from Mr Hall; and, considering the cordial attachment that was felt on both sides, it may be inferred that their intercourse was terminated by Mr Hall's early death, for Mr Bell dropped none of his friendships* through life.

At this time he was altogether undecided as to his future views, and applied himself with that earnestness which characterised him in whatever he undertook, to make the most of the present time both for his pupils and himself. They were entered immediately at the university and placed at a boarding-house;† and as he had just received from Virginia a promising account of his tobacco concerns, he began this course of application in high spirits.

There were some unfavourable habits in his pupils to overcome; they had been their own masters in

* Mentioning Mr Cam Garlicke's death in his journal, he calls him his “best and worthiest friend,” and adds “*O me miserum!*” And in another place he says of him, “the world has lost an honest man, and I a warm friend. Alas! his poor family!”

† Shortly afterwards this notice occurs in his journal:—“March 23. Rode to the coast, horse fell, hung in the stirrup. Anniversary of our shipwreck. Here is something ominous.”

In the following month:—“Purchased coat of plaid, striped linen waistcoat, and black prince's stuff breeches, as also drab superfine cloth coat.”

London, and it was not with their own good-will that they had consented to go to St Andrews; but upon this the friend who came to their assistance in time of need insisted; and when they saw the necessity of complying, no young men could have entered upon a new course of life with better resolutions. During the sessions Mr Bell superintended their studies, and attended the classes with them, being thus at once their tutor and their fellow student. During the vacations they bound themselves, at his advice, by written regulations, to a strict allotment of their time, rising at five, and applying themselves to the languages and sciences at stated hours, with intervals for exercise and lighter reading. The observance of these rules was so rigorously enforced, that if any part of the day had been diverted from its appointed use, even by unavoidable circumstances, the time so lost was to be made up by subsequent application at extra hours. Any failure of attendance, or interruption of study by irrelevant conversation, was to be punished by a fine. To these regulations the young men subscribed. Yet, though Mr Bell exacted from his pupils more than any other preceptor in that university would have required, or any one who was not, from a deep sense of duty, solicitous for their advancement, he made himself their companion and their friend, and obtained their confidence in the highest degree—thus perfectly performing in every respect whatever their parents had expected and hoped when they committed them to his care. Early as the pupils rose, their tutor was generally up an hour before them. During the winter months he used to put a large coal on his fire when he went to bed, that he might find it burning in the morning.

In July 1783 the tutor and both his pupils were seized with fever and sore throat, then endemical throughout Europe. Corbin's illness continued for some weeks, and left him in an alarming state of debility. But Mr Bell's was the most severe attack; for three days he was unable to swallow any thing, because of the swelling in his throat. Two physicians attended him; but the constant attention of a true friend did more for him than any medical skill. That friend was Dr George Berkeley, prebendary of Canterbury, and son to that Bishop Berkeley whose name will always be held in honour. He was never out of the sick man's chamber, who ascribed his preservation entirely to him, and long afterwards often repeated a saying of his, that in that illness, under God, a poached egg saved Bell's life.

After their course of studies had been persevered in little more than two years, Mr Bell had the satisfaction of announcing to the father that one of his sons had obtained the prize, in the class of moral philosophy, for a discourse on the Immortality of the Soul, and the other, in the private Greek class for an essay on Grecian Eloquence, and the eloquence of Demosthenes in particular. The honour was enhanced by an assurance, that since prizes had been instituted at St Andrews, there never had been essays to compare with those of that year.

But while the young men were proceeding successfully in their studies, matters were on the eve of taking a very different turn. No instructions concerning their future destination were received from America, and so long a time had elapsed without any communication of any kind from Mr Braxton, that in the letter which

conveyed the intelligence of his pupils' success, Mr Bell began thus—"It is scarcely possible for me to express my astonishment at your silence. God grant you be all well, and that the same fears may not reach my noble friends that often obtrude themselves on me! My anxiety about their destination, and about my own destination, is increased greatly by not hearing from you. If I can quit them, I will visit Virginia. However short or long my visit there may be, will depend on circumstances." He had before intimated that in the following spring he must do something or other for himself:—"I can continue no longer," said he, "in this very ineligible situation, which the great goodness of the boys, their excellent disposition, and their proper attention as students, have confined me longer than I intended.

It is not surprising that Mr Bell should have felt a growing dissatisfaction at employing his time and talents in so laborious an office for the poor remuneration of forty pounds a-year. Most of the property which he had left in America was in Mr Braxton's hands, and he began too surely to apprehend that he was in some danger of losing it. "I have often hinted," he says in a subsequent letter, "that the fees which I receive are altogether unequal to the office I have exercised, and the hard duty I am performing. For the most part of two sessions I have been employed day and night in the service of your sons. I have been obliged to take from my usual hours of rest to devote to their behalf. I assure you that the fees I have hitherto received, which barely enable me, with other advantages of situation, to discharge my necessary expenses, do not in any degree answer my services, and are not any thing like the

usual reward of mere boys who are employed as tutors, who have no charge but stated hours of reading, who have no experience, no influence, little learning, and less knowledge. When I quit the boys, if I must employ a successor who is to perform any part of what I have done (who can perform it?) an entirely new establishment must take place. But enough of this."

Shortly afterwards he says—"I am in some measure persuaded by the letter which I have now received, that I may depend that I shall not have passed the prime of my life in hard services which shall be totally unrewarded even for the present. I know the boys too well ever to believe that I shall not receive the most ample recompense from them, if they ever be in a situation to repay extraordinary services. There is nothing in the world but my being every hour in the day with them, and observing their extravagant ideas, would have prevented their accounts rising to more than double that sum at which you had estimated their allowance. Other students, who do not live more genteelly, spend far more; and all the difference is, that they keep a servant out of livery, who knows as little of economy and practises it less than his master. I shall perhaps send out, by some opportunity this summer, my bills to be negotiated, and to have my tobacco shipped. If you should choose to comply with my requisition, which I would not make if I did not know that the whole world will think it reasonable, I may be enabled to do something for myself. You know the years which to me are most valuable are passing away in the service of my friend, when I can, in any part of the east or west, get employment which would produce at least some fruit."

At this time it became apparent that the elder brother, ~~who~~ had never recovered from the effect of his illness, must be removed to a warmer climate ; and at the same time, circumstances which are not explained, but were certainly connected with the failure of remittances, induced Mr Bell to terminate the engagement with his pupils, and listen to the advice which his friends pressed upon him. Accordingly he wrote as follows to Mr Braxton :—

“ St Andrews, July 15, 1784.

“ From the style of my former letters, you would be surprised at the contents of this but for the late occurrences in our affairs. My attachment to my dear pupils was such that I would willingly have engaged to attend any one of them for years to come, could I only have enjoyed a competency in the mean time. I would have relied on their generosity, on their justice, to have more than compensated for temporary deficiencies. Under this mind I regarded not the advice of my friends, and only acted according to my inclination. But late events foreboded an immediate separation ; and the prospect, the certainty I may say, of a separation, took place before I would even let my friends believe I was disengaged. Immediately I came under new engagements, the success of which, as well as their event, is entirely doubtful at present.

“ That Corbin will return to his native country I have no manner of doubt. It is a case in which I have no right to advise ; if I had, it is too clear to admit of a moment's hesitation. The state of his health is such as might be injured by a Caledonian winter. The voyage and his native climate put the

certainty of his cure almost beyond a doubt. The case of Colin Campbell was exactly parallel; and, ~~when~~ every other remedy failed, this succeeded. The opinion of his physician is alone sufficient to determine this point; not to mention that the mercantile, or any department which demands a sedentary life, and much writing, is entirely impracticable till his entire recovery. But what shall be done with Carter? It were a pity that he should be obliged, through want of funds, to break off for a moment the laudable train of study in which he is engaged. His success, his unremitted diligence, his studious habits, are infinitely beyond what I could ever have hoped for. If he must for a while visit Virginia, (which God forbid!) let him, I beseech you, be told not to take up for a moment the manners—I mean the inattention to study—of young Virginians, and never to pass a morning that can be helped but in study. Know that on this every thing depends. It is not the trifling loss of a few weeks I would mind; but once let him drop his present habit, and, you may flatter yourselves as you please, never will he (in all probability) recover it. I know better than any man on earth how it has been acquired—with what difficulty, with what labour, with what watching, with what pains-taking, with what uninterrupted assiduity; yet may it be dropped in a few weeks. Only advise him; he needs no more, and I will rather promise for his execution than that of any boy I ever knew. Only put proper objects before him, and his strong sense, his laudable ambition, his great genius, will grasp at them. Nothing is impossible to such a man; and if he turns not out a great man, it is—I speak with confidence—it is the fault of those about him, not his own.

“ The solidity of Corbin requires little to be said, where it is impossible to say too much. He has the most heavenly temper and disposition ever young man was blessed with, joined to the most solid understanding. Carter has improved in this respect, but is capable of much further improvement, if the overweening fondness of parents will allow them to observe and to correct (I mean point out) his offences. Corbin’s improvement, considering the first year’s total idleness, and the last year’s total sickness, will give you the highest satisfaction, as it has done me ; but it has been my business oftener to check his attention to study, than to push him on. Carter’s ardour, uninterrupted but by his brother’s sickness, is far, far beyond any thing that has been seen in any young men of half their fortunes, at this college. I will not dissemble the pride I take in having the extreme felicity to have effected with them what, perhaps, was never effected with two brothers. There is not a professor at college but I could get to give them the highest character students can ever merit. After all, do not think that there is any charm in a college to make men either universally learned, or to impart universal knowledge. All a college can do, (and it is a great deal,) is to give a habit of attention, to enlarge the ideas, to exalt the mind, to call forth the exertions, and to discover the genius of a young man. Your sons are now capable of reading or studying in any line, and a college can do no more.

“ There are only two things I have to apologize for in their education. The foundation of knowledge, you are fully satisfied, is all that they could acquire here ; and the foundation they have acquired. The superstructure is now to be raised. But what I have to

apologize for is, that they have read little French. The reason is, we have no French masters worth a farthing, and they did little good with him. The second is, that they have read so little mathematics. You will readily believe that this, too, was no fault of mine. You know well what were my favourite pursuits. But in their education it was necessary to study their genius, not my own. After all, were they to educate anew, I should attempt greater exertions, if greater exertions could be made, to have recommended these studies. These were now making, and this summer, but for the untoward and unhappy event which has broken off our studies, would have made up all deficiencies. But why should I make apologies? Is there, do you, do they think, the man on earth—you will wonder at the strength of my language—but I ask is there the man on earth, myself excepted, that was fitted to do what I have done? My having been in America, and my prejudices or attachments, or what you please to call them, in consequence of having been there, did more for me as a tutor, than a man of ten times my abilities could, independent of these things, have done.

“One word more: it respects myself—a subject on which I must think you will feel what it is impossible for me to say. Whatever may be my future fortune in life is altogether uncertain; but this point only is certain, that what I left behind me in America will be a great object to me. Whether I shall ever revisit America is altogether uncertain. It would be doing an act of kindness to a person who, I trust you believe has deserved it at your hands, if you will put it immediately into the power of my friend and your son, the merchant, to secure the amount of my bond for me.

It can never, under any circumstances, be that object to you that it is to me ; and I hope you will not rank me in the list of common claimants. My young friends, who know how much I have tried to do for them, will, in their turn, make a point, I am certain, of doing what they can for me. Let it then be done quickly."

Though it appears that when this letter was written the time for Corbin's departure had not been fixed, and there was then no intention of removing Carter from St Andrews, both brothers were at Glasgow a week afterwards, on the point of embarking for Virginia. The separation, however, had certainly taken place in perfect friendship. They reached their father's house, at West Point, after a voyage of eight weeks. Their unexpected appearance was less a matter of joy than it would have been, because while they were on the seas £500 had been remitted to Scotland for their use. Mr Braxton was perfectly satisfied when the circumstances by which they had been actuated were explained. But there is reason to believe that three affectionate letters, written within six weeks after their arrival, were the last communications of any kind which Mr Bell ever received from that family.

CHAPTER IV.

Opens a Mathematical class—Dr Berkeley—Mr Laughton—Goes to London—Mr Thomas—Lord Dacre—Bishop Banington—Ordained Deacon—Lord Conyngham—Letter from Mr Dempster—Advantageous offer—Turns his thoughts toward India—Takes degree as Doctor of Medicine—Sails for India.

WHEN Mr Bell commenced his residence with his pupils at St Andrews, a note in his journal shows in what high spirits he entered upon a new academical career. “Bravo! flattering is the prospect at this moment!” This was written immediately after his visit to Mr Dempster at Dunnichen. The salary for which he had engaged was not such as he could exult in, nor indeed would it have induced him to settle himself with them at the university, unless he had other objects in view than for his own advantage. The first and most important of these, was to carry on his own classical and philosophical studies, in which, if he had lost nothing during his residence in Virginia, he had certainly made no progress. He had the hope of obtaining more pupils, and no unreasonable expectation, founded on his diligence and strength of purpose, and on the influence of his friends, of obtaining some situation in the college. In the first of these objects, as depending wholly on himself, he succeeded, and in the second he was not altogether unsuccessful. A nephew of Mrs Dempster’s was placed under his care; but before twelve months had elapsed, the young man, going into the county of Angus, was put

into a damp bed, and died in a few days of a rheumatic fever, brought on by this wicked carelessness. He had another pupil, Price by name, who, as much to the tutor's satisfaction as to his own and his father's, obtained the premium for the Greek class.

Mr Bell also opened a mathematical class "with five Englishmen," (all in the university,) he says, "and three Americans," (including his pupils,) "among others." During this part of his life, however, he was better versed in the ways of expending money than of acquiring and accumulating it. His whole receipts from tuition amounted, in two years and a half, to *nearly* L.180; and in an excursion which he had taken for his sister Jessy's recreation, soon after his arrival in Scotland, he expended thirty guineas, including the purchase of a few presents, tokens of kindness and friendly remembrance, in which he was liberal to the last. Mean time, the chief hope which at first had reconciled him to a scanty and precarious income, began to fail him. "I am here," said he in a letter to a friend in Virginia, from whom he asked advice, "living from hand to mouth. There has not been a vacancy in the literary department since our arrival, and there are only a few which I believe my influence would procure for me." Sometimes he thought of going again to Virginia, for the purpose, at any rate, of settling his affairs there, and perhaps of settling there as a minister of the gospel. "What prospects," he says to Mr Braxton, "may I indulge from a re-visitation to Virginia? Any academies erected? Any encouragement in the line of the Church? Shall I come out in holy orders? What is now the mode of obtaining them for America? Can they be come at with you?

Speak freely ; for I do not at present expect to quit before I receive an answer to this, if I do then." This was written while the young men were still under his care.

" It is, indeed, to me very pleasing," he says to one of his friends in Virginia, " to hear from the person with whom I had so long lived in habits of entire amity, and who, I began to suspect, had entirely forgotten me. It is pleasing to hear from a country to which, independent of my intention of revisiting it, I shall ever feel the warmest attachment. In every thing that befalls you as an individual—in every thing that befalls the State in which you live as a body politic—in every thing that befalls our numerous and respectable friends in the western regions, I shall ever feel a warm interest." " What is your encouragement?" he asks a clergyman in that country; "your situation? your prospects? Would you advise me to enter into holy orders? What are the prospects of success in the line of the Church? What do your acquaintances say to the scenes that are past? What does the voice of the country say? Let me beseech you to be particular and candid in the reply to this. It may determine my conduct and my fate." At this time Mr Bell had made up his mind to take orders in the English Church; and it is certain that, if circumstances had been favourable, he would rather have settled upon a benefice in Virginia than any where else, because of his liking for the country and his attachment to the friends whom he had left there.

Little encouragement could be given him. The Church establishment in Virginia had been abolished by an act of its republican legislature; most of the clergy had been driven out, and most of the churches

destroyed. Disappointed in his hopes there, he took counsel with the two persons who, of all his friends, were most willing and most able, as well to assist as to advise him; these were Dr Berkeley and Mr Dempster. Dr Berkeley liked him for his own sake; Mr Dempster had formed a just opinion of his character and talents; but he had also a debt of gratitude to discharge which Mr Bell the father had made over to his son.

The city of St Andrews in those days, conjointly with four other burghs, returned one member to parliament, the counsellors of each appointing one delegate, and the five delegates deciding the election by their votes. The seat was once contested between Mr Dempster and one of the Breadalbane family; two of the burghs declared for the one candidate, two for the other; and at St Andrews an equal number of the counsellors had engaged themselves to each—the casting vote of the burgh, and consequently of the election, rested in Baillie Bell, the only counsellor who was under no promise to either. It was reported and believed in St Andrews, that the friends of the Breadalbane candidate offered him, at this critical time, £500, and Mr Dempster, even if he could have been satisfied to carry his election by dint of money, was not wealthy enough to make the experiment. Greatly, however, to his surprise, when the day of election came, Mr Bell's voice determined it in his favour. Mr Dempster took the first opportunity of expressing his obligations to the bailie, and said how happy it would make him to have an opportunity of showing his gratitude. The bailie replied, that he could not think himself entitled to any thanks for having only done his duty in voting for that candidate, who, he verily believed, would make the best

member; but, upon further professions from Mr Dempster, he said, that if at any time he could render some service to his son, he should ever consider it as a most acceptable act of kindness to himself.

In reliance not so much upon this recent circumstance, as upon Mr Dempster's judgment and goodwill, Mr Bell wrote now to consult him concerning his future course of life.

“ St Andrews, 26th May 1784.

“ Dear Sir,

“ You will give me leave to unite my weak voice with that of your friends, in their gratulations on your late election. It is a new era in the history of these boroughs, that the abilities, the public spirit, the private virtues, and amiable character of one man, should convert venality and corruption into disinterestedness and patriotism.

“ It is not however, I confess, my motive for troubling you at this time, to say what you would readily imagine, whether I said it or not. It is the style of your conversation when I had the honour to be with you; it is the interest which you took in my affairs, that have determind me to lay my situation before you, and ask your advice.

“ When I came home from America, I meant only to wait the return of peace that I might then revisit the western world. I had no dependence on this country, and wished not to throw myself on my friends, or give them any trouble. Agreeably to this resolution, I was on the eve of my departure for Virginia, and had converted what I had saved from the wrecks of war and sea to the use of my father, who opens shop

in his low house, when I learned by my friends in the new world, that the political ferment there had not yet subsided ; and I feel much reluctance at the thoughts of re-emigration while this spirit subsists. One of my pupils enters, as soon as the state of his health permits, into the mercantile department. The other will commence, I know not how soon, the study of the law ; and I have some intention of entering into holy orders, which, even on the event of returning to America, I conceive eligible, if there be yet no mode of ordination in the United States. In this design I shall meet with every assistance and furtherance from Dr Berkeley, of whose little flock I have the honour to be one, and who alone is privy to my design. The prebendary, with a warmth characteristic of the goodness of his heart, interests himself in my behalf, and next to his son's tutor, to whom he is under previous obligations, would serve me with all his power. His abilities are not perhaps equal to his good wishes and candour. I fear much that a man of no interest, though of the humblest ambition, could have no future prospects, even were he to obtain a temporary curacy.

“ I should be covered, sir, with shame and confusion on having presumed to trouble you, on a short acquaintance, with this detail, and soliciting your opinion in regard to my conduct, did I not feel within myself something which assures me that, were my acquaintance still less than it is, you would take in good part what I have done, and that you will feel for my situation what I cannot utter.

“ My father desires to offer his best *services* to you. My best respects and wishes ever wait on you and Mrs Dempster, to whom I beg you will commend

me.—I have the honour to be, dear sir, with the utmost respect and esteem, your most devoted humble servant.”

To this letter Mr Bell received a most characteristic reply.

“ London, May 31, 1784.

“ My dear Sir,

“ You never conjectured righter than when you supposed me interested in whatever concerns your welfare. I wish I were more capable of offering you sound advice on the important subject you mention. My advice, though perhaps not sound, is very decided. Orders in the Church of England, with an intention to remain in England, are not to be taken by a man without interest. Whoever takes them, has ten to one of being condemned to a miserable forty-pound curacy for the rest of his life. In the dearest country that ever was, he must live on the most wretched salary that ever was. Orders taken by a man who has only one patron, is a dangerous experiment. But if that one patron has one prior engagement, the danger is quadrupled; the danger, indeed, is converted into a certainty of starving, and not alone; for among the fine girls in England even a curate cannot resist matrimony; and then God have mercy on the poor curate, his poor wife, and poorer children! It is not to be done. But orders, to return to America, in the clerical line, is not so bad. Of this you are better able to judge yourself. To be sure, if you have a *call* to the ministry—if the spirit prompts you to it, and if you reverse the bishop’s profession, and say—*Volo*

Episcopari—there is no help for it. The spirit that prompts you will, I hope, provide for you also.

“No, no; stay you where you are. You are a comfort to my worthy friend, your father. Private tuition you will have the pick of; and it is impossible that you must not soon become one of our professors, which I think an honourable, creditable, enviable situation. None has my good wishes in preference to yourself. I only wish my wishes were horses; you should soon ride in at the great gate of the united colleges.

“Many thanks for your kind congratulations on my re-election, and for the share your father had in its being done in the most honourable and obliging way to me. My wife joins me in kindest respects; we both reflect with pleasure (not, however, unalloyed) on the satisfaction your short visit at Dunnichen afforded us.—With my kindest respects to your father and family, I am, most sincerely, my dear sir, your faithful humble servant.”

Fortunately for Mr Bell, he did not upon this occasion, highly as he respected Mr Dempster, follow his advice, being confirmed in his own inclinations by the opinion of Dr Berkeley, who encouraged him to take orders in the English Church, and promised to render him all the good offices in his power. Dr Berkeley was not only a warm and sincere friend, but a most active one. He could count on the friendship of the primate Dr Moore, of Dr Porteus, then Bishop of Chester, and of Lord Dacre, with a relation of whom, Mr Thomas, Mr Bell had become intimate at St Andrews. The doctor had resided about three years in that city for the education of his only surviving son, pre-

viously to the young man's being placed at Oxford; and as the Episcopalians there were divided into jurors and nonjurors, he was in the habit of officiating to a congregation of the former in his own house, and Mr Bell and Mr Thomas seem to have been members of his flock. He was now preparing for his return to England, intending to go by sea, and take Mr Bell with him; this intention he announced to Mr Thomas, who had left St Andrews, and was then on a visit at Lord Dacre's. How highly Dr Berkeley was esteemed by his friends, and what his recommendation was worth, appears by that gentleman's immediate reply.

“Belhouse, 18th June 1784.

“My dear and honoured Sir,

“Your letter of the 10th, which I have just received, has made us all here very happy; and though you say you can hardly receive an answer from us, yet I cannot resist venturing a few lines to say how overjoyed I shall be to see you and your company. Lord and Lady Dacre desire me to say, that if you come *up the river*, they shall be glad to see you and your son, and Mr Bell and your suite. We are but two short miles from Purfleet; so for God's sake land at Purfleet, and enquire for Mr Matchet, and he will be proud of having the honour of giving you house-room till he can send some one to Belhouse, which, when he does, I will come and bring carriages and horses to transport you to this dear place, and its dear owners, who long to see you. Pray, make my compliments to Mr Bell, and tell him that nothing will make us so happy as his accompanying you to Belhouse. I send this express to London, and shall write to you at St Andrews, lest this should not reach you.

I would have written to Bell myself, but have not time.
—Adieu my dear sir, and believe me, yours unalterably
“THOMAS THOMAS.”

Dr Berkeley could not leave Scotland so soon as he had intended, being detained there by his mother's illness; but that this might not occasion any loss of time to Mr Bell, he advised him not to delay his departure, but proceed at once to London, provided with letters to the Primate and to the Bishop of Chester, who had both been previously written to in his behalf; he was then to be introduced by Mr Thomas to Lord Dacre's family, and afterwards meet him at Canterbury, where the doctor was to keep residence in the course of the summer. Mr Bell was then in Edinburgh, whither he had gone to treat with Mr Laughton of Laughton Hall, in Cheshire, concerning some engagement in his family. Thither Dr Berkeley wrote to him, and addressing him sportively by anticipation as *the reverend*, he told him that he had said a great deal concerning him to the Bishop of Chester, to whom he had sent one of his Dissertations as a proof of his abilities, and from whom he had received a favourable reply, and an assurance that he should be glad if any such curacy as was wished for should fall in his way. Be assured, said the doctor, of my warmest wishes and best exertions in your service. Three reverend FRIENDS I have in Scotland; two of them are only deacons. Oh, that I could see the third an English *archdeacon*! This was said in allusion to the superscription; and as in the same letter Dr Berkeley says, I agree with you entirely in your idea of Cookham,

upon furnishing him with a little more. The reply from the Primate was not so favourable as that from Bishop Porteus. "I shall receive Mr Bell," it said, "with much satisfaction, when he favours me with a visit; but I should do him injustice if I did not recommend it to you to use the occasion which offers in his favour, as at present I certainly have no situation to offer him; nor, considering the uncertainty of such events as my powers of employing a gentleman of his description depend upon, can foresee when I may." The occasion alluded to must have been the pending transaction with Mr Laughton.

It was also Dr Berkeley's opinion that the proposed engagement would be more for his friend's advantage than any thing which he could procure for him. Nevertheless, when he expressed this opinion, he gave him, at the same time, the heartiest assistance, and the most minute instructions for proceeding, as if there were no such contingency in view.

" 24th July 1784.

" My dear Sir,

" You will act in direct opposition to my advice if you neglect to close *with Mr Laughton*, (or whatever else his name is;) *but* I request of you to go to Maidston in a machine, and from thence in a chaise proceed to Hunton, five miles, the parish of the Bishop of Chester, on a Sunday morning, so as to be at Hunton by a *little before ten*. You will then be able to attend the right reverend rector to his little parochial church in the morning. He will, of course, invite you to dinner. You will attend his lordship and Mrs Porteus to evening prayers; and, *after tea*, you will

proceed in your chaise to the Rectory-house at Langley, near Hunton—there to lodge with my dear friend, Mr Kennedy, rector of that parish. This same rector will, for my sake, receive you with a *cordiality* not very common in this selfish world. You will be pleased to send *this very letter* in a cover to the Rev. Mr Kennedy, rector of Langley, near Maidston, whenever you shall be able to fix the day, the Sunday, of your paying your respects to the Bishop of Chester; for—N.B.—waiting on the bishop on any *lawful day*, would be rather unlawful according to rules of English etiquette. In his parish on Sunday he is always at home, as in his diocese on his weekly public days he is always at home. Bishop Porteus is a polite, affable, cheerful man. His lady is an amiable, unaffected woman: and I promise you a *pleasant day there*—at *Langley* I promise you that you will be *as much at home* as if you were in my study at St Andrews. When you shall arrive at Hunton, on Sunday morning, contrive to reach the bishop's house a quarter before ten. Breakfast before you leave the *Bell* at Maidston. *There* inform yourself of the road from Hunton to Langley, or rather let your driver inform *himself* at Maidston. Stipulate for the operations of the day, and take your trunk, your little trunk, with you. Remember you go to an *old friend* at Langley. Supposing that you should hear of somewhat preferable to Mr Laughton's connexion, yet, as I write *with that* in contemplation, my card to the bishop will *still be ostensible*; and on your arrival at the rectory gate at Hunton, you have nothing to do but barely to send in that same card.

“Now, as to the Archbishop of Canterbury, I fancy his grace may be absent from Lambeth Palace, just at

the close of the session—not improbably he may be at Tunbridge Wells, distant ten miles from Langley. Of this Mr Kennedy will be able to give you most accurate intelligence; and should his grace be at Tunbridge, I would advise you to deliver, in person, the enclosed card, after you have visited the Bishop of Chester; or, if his grace should be at Lambeth when you receive *this letter*, in *that case* I advise you to wait on him by half after eight in the morning *exactly*, or *exactly* at ten in the morning. You will *seal* the card to the Archbishop.

“ His grace is a man of great benignity and liberality; and if he was not constitutionally liable at times to depressions of spirits, he would uniformly be the most engaging man in his *province*. I mention this circumstance lest he might be in a *flat key* (which yet is not to be expected, as the chances are nineteen to one against it) when you shall happen to be introduced to him. I write to his grace this day again about you; and I would have you to write to Mr Laughton, and say that you cannot know what answer to send him before the last week in August. Consult our friend Mr Thomas, and from him you will learn what may be expected from that quarter: tell him that I have encouraged you to the freest and fullest communication on your own affairs. *If* you get a better settlement yourself, I shall recommend our friend *Jemmy Bruce* if the Earle connexion ceases, or our other friend *George Gleig*—either of whom will do honour to their recommenders.

“ When you wait on the Archbishop, if his grace is busy, ask whether you shall wait on, or wait on him at another hour, or on another day. Call for his

secretary, Mr Dix, and make my compliments to him, and let him be your *dernier resort*. Remember to carry a card thus inscribed—‘ Mr Bell from Dr Berkeley, lodges at ———.’

“ Adieu, my dear sir: if you write to me directly, I shall receive it at St Andrews. Most affectionately am I your true friend,

“ G. B.

“ Nothing do I know about the Earles, except that they come not to St Andrews. My son still at Edinburgh.

“ N.B.—I have a reason which induces me to hope you will be able to visit the Bishop of Chester on the *second Sunday in August*. August 8th is that second Sunday.”

In his next letter, within three days afterwards, Dr Berkeley says, “ As Bishop Porteus, in whose diocese Laughton Hall is situated, is already so prepossessed in your favour, that local circumstances may be of no inconsiderable importance, I am still, and decidedly of opinion, that unless the Archbishop or Belhouse shall prevent you, you should close with Mr Laughton. If opportunity offers—that is, if the Archbishop gives the smallest encouragement—I wish you to enclose all your testimonials to his grace, in a cover containing some such words as these,—

“ ‘ Mr Bell presents his humble duty to his Grace of Canterbury, and takes the liberty to enclose certain testimonials, bearing date before he had the honour of being acquainted with Dr Berkeley in the year

Upon his arrival in London, at the end of July, Mr Bell took up his quarters at M'Daniel's hotel, Arundel Street, Panton Square, and from thence notified his arrival to his friend Mr Thomas. This produced an immediate invitation in the kindest terms.

“ Belhouse, July 29, 1784.

“ Lord Dacre's compliments to Mr Bell, and is glad to hear of his arrival in London ; and having received from Dr Berkeley very favourable impressions in regard to him, is desirous of a personal acquaintance with him ; and if, therefore, Mr Bell has no particular engagement at present, Lord Dacre will be glad to have the pleasure of his company at Belhouse as soon as it suits him ; and if Mr Bell would signify by a line what day he can come, Lord Dacre's chaise shall meet him at Hornchurch, five miles from thence, as the best way for Mr Bell to come will be by the Hornchurch coach, which sets out from Whitechapel every afternoon, soon after two o'clock, from the Three Tuns.”

A note from Mr Thomas was enclosed, congratulating him upon his safe arrival in Old England, pressing him to accept the invitation without delay, and saying—
 “ Remember, the sooner you can conveniently come, the happier you will make us.” To Belhouse accordingly he went, and that introduction led the way to all his future prosperity. There he received a letter from Dr Berkeley, enclosing the primate's reply, and saying—
 “ You will see by the Archbishop that I have mentioned to him the offer of Mr Laughton, with which *I request* you to close by the end of September, or early

in October, if nothing offers immediately from Lord Dacre's. N.B.—You will be equally under the kindest care of course in Cheshire, as elsewhere. I cannot give up Laughton Hall. A curacy may be had near. You will be better received elsewhere for being in such a situation. I believe I shall not sail before the 24th from Dundee. I saw your father to-day; he is very well, and so are your sisters, whom I saw also. In vast haste, I conclude, dear Bell, yours most affectionately,
“G. B.”

No letters of Mr Bell, during his stay in England at this time, have been preserved, nor are there the draughts of any among his papers. It appears, however, that he applied for ordination to the Bishop of Salisbury, upon the title with which Dr Berkeley accommodated him, and the difficulties which at first occurred were soon obviated. The then bishop, Dr Barrington, with whom in after years he was so much concerned, informed him that the curate of Cookham, though he had not received any notification from Dr Berkeley of his dismissal, had very handsomely expressed his readiness to resign in his favour. “My difficulties,” said the Bishop, “are therefore removed; and I shall be ready to admit you to examination on Saturday morning, the 11th of next month, at ten o'clock, previous to your ordination the next day.”

The resignation was a mere form, to oblige the rector by accommodating his friend with a title. It had never been intended that Mr Bell should be fixed as curate at Cookham. Before the time fixed for his examination, the Berkeleys arrived at Belhouse; and Mr Bell, who had left that hospitable mansion, soon re-

ceived from the Doctor the following startling communication :—

“ Belhouse, Monday, 6th September 1784.

“ My dear Sir,

“ I have just been closeted by good Lord Dacre, who wishes much to send you, and with a very liberal allowance indeed, as a fellow commoner of Emanuel College, Cambridge, in character of tutor and companion to Mr Thomas ; at the same time that my lord, not having any ecclesiastical patronage *in England*, (in Ireland he has,) desires me to have you comprehend his inability to promise preferment. As *your* friend therefore, without consulting you, I declined the offer, telling his lordship the contents of the letter received by you yesterday from Mr Kenion, respecting the immediate possession of a curacy of £40 per annum, and the good prospect from the patronage of the Laughton family.”

Dr Berkeley would not have declined the offer without hesitation, if there had been no weightier consideration to take into account than the proposed curacy and the contingent patronage. He knew that great as the abilities, and agreeable as the manners were, which had made so favourable an impression at Belhouse, it would have been injurious to all parties if Mr Bell had been placed in a situation for which his acquirements did not qualify him.

On the day appointed, Mr Bell attended at M~~onge~~well ; and there on the following day, September 12, he was ordained deacon by Bishop Barrington, and licensed to the curacy of Cookham in the county of

Berks. The warmth with which he was congratulated upon this by Lord Dacre, shows how well he had borne out the favourable representations made of him by Dr Berkeley :—

“ Belhouse, 18th September 1784.

“ It gives me a very sensible pleasure,” (said he,) “ to find that every thing succeeded so well in your visit to Mongewell house. There was, indeed, no doubt of this, whether one considered how well you were qualified for every examination, or the bishop’s humanity and politeness; and be assured that it is my sincere wish that your deserts may, in future, be rewarded with equal success. You by far overrate the little attentions that Lady Dacre and myself had the pleasure of showing you. The satisfaction we had in your company greatly overbalanced them; and I beg you will believe that you will always be most welcome here. Dr and Mr Berkeley left us yesterday, after having done us the favour of staying here a fortnight, and making us very happy in their most agreeable society. They are by this time with Mrs Berkeley (the mother) in Kent. Lady Dacre and Thomas join in all kind compliments to you; and I intreat you will believe me, with sincere esteem, dear sir, your obedient humble servant.”

This letter was directed to London,* and then re-directed to Edinburgh. He returned to Scotland ~~in~~ expectation of closing with Mr Laughton;† for

* The lodgings were sufficiently humble.—“ To the Rev. Mr Bell, at Mr Rogers’s, hairdresser, Old Round Court, Strand.”

† In a letter of September 13th, Mr Kenion says to him, “ I supped

some unexplained reason, however, the long-pending engagement was broken off, and he had now a situation to seek. When he had been about three months in Edinburgh, preaching occasionally at the old chapel there, there happened to be a vacancy in the Episcopal chapel at Leith. He had preached in that chapel a little before, and with such acceptation as encouraged him now to offer his services. Accordingly, he was admitted to preach as a candidate before the managers and congregation on the 12th of December. He took for his text—"Let your moderation be known unto all men. The Lord is at hand."—Philip. iv. 5. The sermon was divided into parts for the morning and afternoon; and five days afterwards he received the following communication from the treasurer of the chapel:—

John Cundell, Esq., Treasurer, to Mr Bell.

"Leith, 17th December 1784.

"Dear Sir,

"To the enclosed official letter you will please favour me with an answer.

"I am happy to assure you, that, in your election, there is not one dissenting member in the whole chapel.

"I am only very sorry we have it not in our power to present you with a bishop's salary of £500 per annum.

"Sunday next will present you with your first little with Mr and Mrs Laughton on Saturday night, and communicated ~~your~~ intention of soon being with them, which seemed to give them the utmost satisfaction. I learned something new. I sincerely hope you will find every thing agreeable. I am sure it is impossible for me to express how much I am interested, and Mrs Kenion, in the event.'

flock; may the blessing of God preserve you and them! To-morrow week is Christmas-day; by then it will be proper to have some clergyman in view to administer the Sacrament. Of this we shall speak at meeting.

“If you please to transfer last Sunday’s promise to next, and breakfast with us, please let us see you as near nine o’clock as convenient. We are in common a sober, early family, which, I hope, is not repugnant to a clergyman.”

Copy of the Official Notification of his Election to the Chapel.

“Leith, 17th December 1784.

“Sir,

“In consequence of your preaching here last Sunday as a candidate for our chapel, a meeting of the managers was held on Tuesday, when they unanimously made choice of you as their minister. They wished to have the opinion and concurrence of the members of the chapel individually; this has now been collected, and I have the pleasure to inform you they have unanimously approved also.

“A meeting of the managers this day have, therefore, empowered me to offer you the charge of our congregation, with a salary of fifty guineas for one year from this date, with the promise of an increase to your stipend as the funds of the chapel increase.

“Please know that, as we have no certain funds belonging to the chapel, we cannot agree with any clergyman but from year to year, which we think proper to explain, that you may not take amiss that part of our letter.

“And as the continuance or increase of our congregation depends much on the behaviour of their pastor,

we make no doubt of your diligence in doing every thing in your power for the good and support of the community."

The congregation were pleased with their minister, and he with them. Almost immediately, and without any solicitation on his part, they raised his salary from fifty guineas to £70; and occasional presents were made him by the wealthier members. About six months after he had been settled there, his zealous friend Dr Berkeley informed him that Lord Conyngham was in immediate want of a tutor for his second son, Mr Nathanael Burton, a youth of nineteen, who had just left Hackney school, and was intended for the parliamentary or diplomatic line. His education, for some years, was chiefly to be carried on on the Continent; and the terms which Lord Conyngham, who was an old friend of Dr Berkeley's, offered to Mr Bell, was a salary of £150 while he was employed, and an annuity of £100 for life, when the young man's education should be completed. With these terms Dr Berkeley very earnestly advised him to close, which he did without hesitation; and the Doctor then, with the solicitous kindness which marked his whole conduct toward Mr Bell, drew up for him a letter to signify his acceptance. Before he left Leith to enter upon his new situation, he obtained from his friend, Professor Cleghorn, an outline of a plan of study to be pursued with his pupil. He applied also to Mr Dempster for advice, and received from that remarkable person a kind and characteristic reply.

George Dempster to Dr Bell.

“ London, July 13, 1785.

“ Dear Sir,

“ It was very unkind in you to content yourself with twice leaving your card—*Mr Bell, City Coffee-house*. Could you not have added the reverend, or something to distinguish you from the rest of the chime? You will see, by a letter I sent you to Lord Dacre’s on one of the days you called upon me, how little I dreamt of your being in town. It is a subject of sorrow and regret, both to Mrs Dempster and me, that we did not see you. Should you come to town again, pray drop me a line. I repeat my congratulations on your late appointment, and join with the rest of your friends in grateful thanks to your valuable patron Dr Berkeley, for having provided for you so handsomely. I know you’ll give satisfaction to Lord C., and do credit to the Doctor’s recommendation, whatever you may think. You need none of my assistance to direct his political studies. A course of these studies is very well pointed out in the old proverb—‘Honesty is the best policy.’ This is worth Montesquieu, Bolingbroke, and De Lolme, who are only good masters when they stick close to this text. The first never departs from it, and is most assuredly the most valuable book of this age. Dr Adam Smith’s and Ferguson’s ‘Roman History’ the next. I dare not mention D. Hume to any body with a reverence before his name; but if I durst indeed, ~~as a~~ philosopher and politician. I will Blackstone’s first volume should be gotten by heart. Necker’s late account of the French finances may be considered as a

code of political wisdom on that branch of politics. If your pupil relishes these works he has a turn for politics. If not, for something I hope still better; though a rich man, in a free country, can hardly find a nobler pursuit than the study of how to become a good member of parliament. Let him know there is a higher character in this state than that of a courtier. If he is fully sensible of this advantage we enjoy over all the rest of Europe, there is no fear of him.

“Please return my thanks to Dr Berkeley for his elegant occasional sermon, which he had the goodness to direct to be sent to me, and which I read with great pleasure.

“Your letters shall be duly cared for, either up or down. How your appointment must delight your worthy father! Farewell, my dear sir, your faithful, humble servant.”

This letter appears to have reached Mr Bell at Canterbury, whither he went to visit Dr Berkeley, and where he preached twice in the Cathedral. Lord Conyngham and his family were then at Ramsgate; but the engagement which had been concluded was broken by his lordship, for what reason is not known. That Mr Bell, in the opinion of his friends, had some cause to complain, is evident by the course which was afterwards pursued in his behalf.

He did not prolong his stay in England after this disappointment; and as it happened that the Bishop of Carlisle, Dr Law, was to hold a general ordination at Rose Castle on the 7th of August, he took this opportunity of being ordained priest on his way back, and then resumed his situation at Leith, dispirited

by his disappointment, but being on the best terms of mutual satisfaction with his congregation. Dr Berkeley, mean time, was devising how to establish him in the south, where he might be near those persons whose good-will he had already gained for himself, and by whose means he hoped eventually to obtain preferment for him.

At the beginning of the year 1786, that warm-hearted friend communicated to him the projects which he had conceived for his removal.

Dr Berkeley to Mr Bell.

“ Canterbury, January 4, 1786.

“ My dear Sir,

“ Believe me, I am never either cool or careless in your concerns. The letter which I supposed you to have received was written *on the following subject*, and was detained by the following revolution in Mr L.’s ideas.

“ My curate at Cookham had written to notify to me, that his health required change of air for five or six months, and desiring my permission to transfer the office of curate to a *friend of his*, to be, in future, approved by the diocesan.

“ This letter arrived a day or two after I had been stunned by your melancholy one, on the subject whereof the death of Mrs Porteus’s father prevented my applying to the Bishop of Chester. In reply to Mr L., I sent a letter to you, open to him, showing ~~that~~ I was rejoiced to have it in my power to call you back to Cookham, and fixing the 3d of February for the day of your attendance there. Lo, and behold! Mr Leycester’s health allows him to correspond with

me on different terms from what I supposed. He detained my letter, and declined to quit the cure. This second epistle had set my vertiginous head at work again, in quest of an establishment for you in Kent, as assistant to an amiable and learned instructor of a few pupils, and as assistant to that same gentleman in his church, almost directly opposite to Purfleet, and on the water's edge. I shall not decline this matter, which cannot, I find, take place before September, nor shall I cease from looking about me elsewhere; but I rejoice that meanwhile you are stationed at *Leith*, and in habits of acquaintance, the more intimate the better, with my friend Dr Cooper and his two colleagues. By exchange with them you may, for the present, procure the stated administration of the Lord's Supper in your chapel. Be assured that I am, and shall be, your true friend. In your present situation you may always have, I suppose, one or two pupils, who may attend classes; or you can subsist without such aid. Study divinity, compose sermons—study Bishop Jeremy Taylor, of Down and Connor. His voluminous, but ingenious, and pious, and learned works are to be had in every library. Bishop Hurd considers him as the *first* of divines; and Hurd has made Taylor his model.

“Mr Charles Leslie hath left two folio volumes of theological works, with which, I believe, my good friend and your good friend, Bruce,* hath contracted some acquaintance.

“Your success in your chapel gives me much pleasure. Take not any anxious thought for the morrow; being myself naturally of a temper like yours, I preach

* Mr Bruce had been tutor to Dr Berkeley's son.

to myself when I suggest this hint to you. I thank God my vertigo has not been so frequent, or so formidable, for a week or ten days past, as it was before that period. But be assured, if you had £1000 per annum, I should not have written to you half so long a letter. Guard, my good friend, against low spirits, and against anxiety. Be in no hurry to quit your present situation; even when you can do it with advantage, do not make the change with precipitation. I repeat it, you are remembered kindly at Belhouse, and by me.

“Pray, give my love to honest Bruce. A more faithful heart, I think, I never knew.”

These schemes also fell to the ground. In the course of that year, Lord Dacre died. It was necessary that his will should be proved in Chancery. Mr Bell had been one of the witnesses to it. He was reminded of this by Mr Thomas, who had now, in pursuance of that will, taken the names of Barrett and Lennard. “And as you,” said Mr Lennard, “are a living witness—but unfortunately, on every account, in Scotland—there must be a commission to examine you as to your having seen Lord Dacre execute his will, and being a witness thereto. This commission must be sent to commissioners for the purpose of examining you touching the said matter; but I am at a loss who to name that knows you. If, therefore, you know any writer of the signet that lives near you, and will show him this part of my letter, and get him to name any two persons with him to be commissioners, the commission shall be sent to him; and his expenses, and also yours, shall be paid.” Or, if you do not know any writers of the signet, I must beg you to let me

know the names and places of abode of any three persons near you, that I may send the commission to them, which I shall do, with proper instruments and instructions how they are to act."

Instead, however, of allowing Mr Lennard to send down a commission, Mr Bell offered to go to London himself. The proposal was gladly received, as saving much trouble and expense; and, accordingly, he left Leith towards the end of November, having obtained leave of absence from his congregation, but little apprehending that he should never return to them as their minister. Mr Lennard's business was soon transacted. There was also some business of his own which he wished to bring to a conclusion. Lord Conyngham had come to no terms concerning his broken engagement. Mr Dempster, who was then residing at Knightsbridge, laid the case before Erskine, and was told by that eminent advocate, that, if Mr Bell had suffered any loss from the non-performance of the agreement, he ought to be indemnified for it, as far as an estimate could be made of its amount; but then it must be shown that some positive and certain advantage had been lost, for it was not a case in which arbitrators could go upon speculative disadvantages and probable consequences. But, at all events, the costs of his journey to and from Scotland must be paid, and whatever expenses had actually been incurred for the arrangement of his affairs preparatory to his removal. A year and a half elapsed before the affair was finally adjusted, and it was then determined, by an award of umpirage, that Lord Conyngham should pay Mr Bell £110 within three days of the demand made thereof,

and that Mr Bell execute a general release to Lord Conyngham.

Mr Dempster now gave the most substantial proofs of his gratitude to Bailie Bell, and his regard for his son. His house was, as it were, Mr Bell's home at this time; he introduced him every where as his friend and guest; and he proposed to him that, instead of contenting himself with a scanty subsistence at Leith, and looking forward to indefinite hopes of preferment in England, he should go to India, where there was every probability that he might turn his talents and acquirements to good account as a philosophical lecturer, and in the way of tuition. He offered him a passage to Bengal in the ship *Rose*, commanded by his near relative Captain John Dempster, obtained permission for him to go out, and promised him introduction to the persons in authority there. This opportunity of advancing himself Mr Bell thankfully took, with the advice and concurrence of all his friends. He then notified his intention to his late congregation in these terms:—

“ To the Managers of the Episcopal Chapel, Leith.

“ Dated London, January 22, 1787.

“ Gentlemen,

“ Ten days ago I took some measures with a view to be prepared for an event which was then under consideration, and seemed likely to happen. The event has since taken place; and I am engaged to go to the East Indies.

“ When I reflect on the uninterrupted series of civilities, attentions, and kindness, which I experienced

during my residence amongst you—when I call to mind the unsolicited augmentation of salary, which was so delicately and honourably presented to me; and when I consider the late instance of your indulgence and favour, I am filled with the warmest sentiments of gratitude, and feel the utmost regret at being torn, for a while, from a situation which, in every respect but one, was entirely to my mind. It is not with any view to my present happiness—for of this, I think, I am making a great sacrifice—that I have taken this resolution; but it is with a view to make an honourable provision for old age, for my friends, and myself—if it shall please God to spare my life and prosper my endeavours—that I am induced to relinquish an office, which, in easier circumstances, I should be proud to hold.

“Whether I succeed in my endeavours or not—whether I act wisely or not—I am flattered by being daily told, that my conduct meets with the strongest testimony of approbation from every person to whom it has been communicated in this part of the world.

“There is indeed no situation in which it has pleased God hitherto to place me, however lucrative it may have been, in which I have enjoyed so calm and heartfelt satisfaction, as in the circle of my friends amongst you, and in the discharge of the functions of my office; and in my present mind there is no situation of the same nature and tenure to which I would more gladly return. Meanwhile, I beg leave to assure you that I shall ever pray for the welfare, prosperity, and happiness of the managers and congregation of the Leith chapel.

“I beg permission to add, that I feel myself strongly obliged by the very particular attentions to the service

of the chapel of my good and worthy friend, Mr Carter, of whose integrity, sincerity, good sense, prudence, piety, and abilities, I entertain, after an intimate confidential acquaintance, the highest opinion; and that I write thus unmasked and unknown to him.

“I have the honour to be, gentlemen, with the utmost respect and esteem,” &c.

Bailie Bell, who had the highest opinion of his son's abilities and character, was well pleased at the course which he had resolved to take. “I am very much flattered,” says he, in a letter to one of his relations, “by very intelligent gentlemen, who have come from that country lately, that with his parts he will soon do his business. I pray God he may be spared; but, at my time of life, I can scarcely expect to see him again. He goes out well recommended; and he has assiduity and sobriety; and, as he says himself, he goes out with a stock of experience, having been formerly abroad.” His Leith friends hoped he would soon come home a small nabob; for they were sure, they said, if that country did not alter his disposition, he would be satisfied with a competency. This, indeed, he promised to his father that he would be.

Mr Dempster, omitting nothing that could contribute to Mr Bell's success in India, thought it fitting that he should be dignified before he went out with a doctor's degree. Accordingly, he applied for one to the University of St Andrews; and not apprehending difficulty or delicacy of any kind there upon such an occasion, the degree for which he asked was that of doctor of laws. Somewhat to his surprise, and to Mr Bell's disappointment, he received that of doctor of medicine

instead ; for, though it conferred upon him the same appellation in society, it had not the same respectable sound before his name. M.D. for one who had neither pursued nor studied the art of medicine—had not the same respectable appearance after it which LL.D. would have been held to carry. The cause of this disappointment was explained by Principal M'Cormick, to whom Mr Dempster's application had been made. "I found," says the Principal, "that the university could not, in consistency with certain regulations, (laid down before I came hither, and of which I am ignorant,) grant any other degree than that which I procured. It is the degree they always give to men eminent for their literary qualifications without following any professional line. Accordingly, it was the honour they conferred upon Dr Robert Simson of Glasgow, upon Dr Franklin in America, and several others, who published with great celebrity without any other title. The degree of LL.D., they reserve, it seems, for persons of another description, men in the highest rank, who have been eminently serviceable to their country or to the university."

Dr Bell had no time to lose in preparing for his voyage. He had left Scotland about the 20th of November ; it appears to have been the end of the year before his determination was finally taken, and the *Rose* was to sail in February. The money which he could then command, including the sum which he now received from Lord Conyngham, £70 borrowed at interest from his friend Mr MacTaggart, and £20 borrowed in like manner from the Rev. J. Rudd of the new Episcopal chapel, Edinburgh, amounted to little more than £550 ; and when he had fitted him-

self out, and purchased such an apparatus as was necessary for his intended lectures, the whole of his worldly wealth (except his expectations of payment from America) consisted in the remaining balance of £128, 10s. With this scanty provision, but with just confidence in himself, and in the friendship of Mr Dempster and Lady Dacre, he sailed from the Downs on the 21st of February 1787.

CHAPTER V.

Arrival at Madras—Appointed Chaplain to 4th European Regiment—Deputy Chaplain to 19th Regiment of Cavalry—To His Majesty's 36th Regiment—To the 74th Regiment—To the Army—At Vellore—At Fort St George—Joins the Army before Pondicherry—Taking of Pondicherry.

On the 2d of June 1787, the ship *Rose* arrived at Madras, after the shortest passage, Dr Bell says in his notes, that had ever been made from England to that place. Calcutta was his destination; but the letters Mr Dempster had written, warmly recommending him to Earl Cornwallis and Sir John Macpherson, were dated the day on which he sailed from the Downs, and did not reach him before his departure. He was not provided with any letters to Madras, because there had been no intention of his remaining there, and he had no other introductions than what Capt. Dempster and his fellow passengers might have it in their power to give him. But these were of the best kind: for Dr Bell had given good proofs of his scientific attainments during the voyage, by assisting in the observations and in other ways, and he had made himself, as he always did, personally agreeable. His immediate reception, therefore, was so good, that before the *Rose* was ready to proceed on her voyage, a proposal was made to him which induced Capt. Dempster to agree with him in thinking it would be to his advantage to continue where he was. Measures had recently been set on-

foot at that Presidency for establishing a Military Male Orphan Asylum, and the committee for carrying this purpose into effect, looking upon Dr Bell to be, in their own words, "a person eminently qualified to superintend the education of children," proposed to the government that he should be allowed to remain at Madras, and the government accordingly desired that Capt. Dempster would permit him to stay. At Madras, therefore, Dr Bell was left. He had his fortune to seek, and the small sum of £128, 10s. to subsist upon, till the intentions of his new friends could be realized on his behalf. His plan of delivering lectures seemed to meet with so little encouragement, that in his first letter to Mr Dempster he expressed himself hopelessly upon that score; but having been led to suppose that something of more importance might be within his reach, he requested him to solicit for him a chaplain's appointment from the court of directors.

His new friends, however, were persons who had the power, as well as the will, to serve him, and they soon proved themselves to be friends indeed.* On the 10th of August the board appointed him chaplain to the 4th European regiment, stationed at Arcot. This was on the recommendation of the governor, Sir Archibald Campbell. But there were some circumstances which rendered it uncertain whether he should be able to retain it; the court of directors at home did not wish any appointments to be made abroad which ought to flow from them, and upon that principle they generally annulled all such. Aware of this, Dr Bell

* It appears that, for six months or more after his arrival, he lived in the house of Mr Andrew Ross, a remarkable and influential man, who lost no opportunity of promoting his interests.

immediately wrote to Mr Dempster, Lady Dacre, and Dr Rudd, informing them of his good fortune, and requesting them to exert their interest for having his appointment confirmed. Nine days afterwards, Colonel Floyd nominated him to the deputy-chaplainship of the 19th regiment of cavalry, in the king's service. In October, on the application of Major Gratton to Colonel Knox, he obtained a second deputy-chaplainship to his Majesty's 36th regiment, then at Poonamallee, and on the day following, through the same friendly* influence, he was appointed to a third, in the 52d regiment, by Capt. Hunter, who commanded it.

Those deputy-chaplainships needed no confirmation from England: but as some doubt was still felt concerning the more lucrative appointment, Mr Petrie, who was one of his earliest and most efficient friends, seems to have recommended that he should draw up an address to the board, and through his influence Dr Bell was mentioned by them in their next general letter to the court of directors, as a person with whose qualifications they were so well satisfied, and of whose moral character they entertained so favourable an opinion, that for these considerations, as well as from a regard to the good wishes of the society in his favour, they were induced to request he might be appointed to succeed on the first vacancy of a chaplainship at that Presidency. Dr Bell's address, owing to some mistake, had nearly been too late. "I had, however," (said Mr Petrie in a letter to him,) "the satisfaction

* Major Gratton says in a letter to him, (Nov. 4, 1787,) "I hold it to be an indispensable obligation, not only on myself, but on the community at large, to treat with its due distinction every character so respectable as that of Dr Bell, and shall, therefore, be particularly happy in any future opportunity of doing so."

of getting your application properly registered, and your request recommended to the court of directors, in a manner which (if not *so warm* as I could have wished to make it) the board think will be attended with good effect. Heaven grant it! I thought it best to send in all your testimonials, that the board might see the grounds of your expectation to be employed. They were examined, and have been returned to me, where they wait your orders. No apology is necessary to me for my endeavours to serve you: when they succeed I am amply gratified. It is seldom that men of your merits visit this country: when they do, it is the duty of every man to contribute his mite to their welfare."

At first Dr Bell had thought there seemed little chance of success for the philosophical lectures by which, when he left England, it was expected that he should lay the foundation of his fortune in India; but making friends in proportion as he became personally known, he was soon encouraged to undertake them. Mr Petrie, who was a man of science himself, assisted him by every means in his power; the course was given a few months after he arrived, and it produced him the sum of 972 pagodas.* When it was concluded, he appears to have passed a considerable part of his time with the different corps to which he had been appointed, being now at ease in his circumstance and enjoying the new scenes and manners with which he was surrounded, and the excellent society in which it was his good fortune to be placed. Meantime he was preparing for a second course of lectures, which his zealous friend, Mr Petrie, advised him to undertake.

* About L.360—eighty-one tickets at twelve pagodas each.

“ I am really ashamed,” Mr Petrie writes, “ at the too great acknowledgments which you make for the very inconsiderable attentions you received from me at Madras. At the same time, I confess that I am much gratified to perceive that my wishes and sincere desire to promote your success and welfare has proved so acceptable to you. When I have the good fortune to meet with a person of your merit, and to acquire his friendship, I think myself amply repaid for any services which an accidental difference in our situations may enable me to render him. I am happy to find you are so well satisfied with the success of your late labours ; although I shall continue to be of opinion that it has been much inferior to your merit, and to the utility of your instruction. I hope our next experiment will answer better. You give me too much credit. Your merits have powerful claims : which, alas ! I have had but little ability to support.”

In another letter Mr Petrie says : “ I have got some chëmical matters from Willis, with some portable furnaces ; and from my bookseller the last edition of the English Encyclopædia, a very ingenious work on Climate by Kirvan of Dublin, and Bergman by Cullen. I have much satisfaction in the company of Mr Lindley, and wish you could spare time to run down for a few days ; you could have a couch at my house, and I think you would not reckon your time misspent. I have a plan on foot for your lectures, which I hope will succeed. I shall give you notice in time.”

Whether these lectures should be delivered in the morning or evening was a question concerning which Dr Bell consulted his friends. Mr Petrie thought, with him, that an evening hour was preferable ; “ but,”

says Mr Goldingham, "as the votes of the ladies are to carry the point, nothing can be determined upon till they are consulted. If I might be permitted to advance any thing upon this head, I should undoubtedly concur with you in favour of an evening hour, as having many advantages. The ladies will not have to come in the sun; the gentlemen's business in the public offices, &c., will then be finished for the day; the port will then be quiet, which will not be the case in the forenoon, especially as the Europe ships will have arrived; the coolness of the time is to be considered; and also that, as public entertainments are generally exhibited in the evening, people are more accustomed to it. But there are two objections which, though they would not turn the balance, when justly poised, against a single one of these advantages, may perhaps weigh them all down: the morning hour is more fashionable for lectures, and the ladies' card-parties are formed in the evening; but I hope science will get the victory over these." Mr Goldingham's apprehension proved to be better founded than his hope. "The ladies," said he, in his next letter, "are determined to encounter every inconvenience for fashion's sake, and to attend you at the usual time. They would not hear of the evening when Mr Petrie mentioned it."

This course produced only about half what the former had done. The day on which he concluded it he sailed with his apparatus for Calcutta, and having touched at Masulepatam on the way, arrived there on the 17th of October. Mr Dempster's letters of recommendation, which should have reached him in the Downs, had been sent after him to Madras; so that, with these, and the introductions given him by his new

friends, he was well provided, and found, in consequence, the most gratifying reception. Some advantages too, in Bengal, as at Madras, he derived from that national feeling by which the Scotch are honourably distinguished. Among the acts of friendship which he met with, he had, in his own words, "the happiness of being domesticated in the family of Colonels John and Peter Murray," where he received "every possible kindness and hospitality." Lord Cornwallis invited him to his table, and allowed him the use of the court-house for his lectures. The course produced 1277 pagodas, and would have been much more productive, if it had not been necessary to commence it a few days' after his arrival. Two months he remained in Calcutta, and then, leaving many friends and admirers there, departed on 21st December to go down the river—sailed on the 27th, and arrived at Madras on the last day of the year.

In less than a month after his return, he was appointed deputy-chaplain to the 74th regiment, being the fifth appointment conferred upon him in little more than a year and a half; but for the most important of these no confirmation had arrived. Meanwhile his friends in England were exerting themselves to serve him. Lady Dacre says, in a letter to him: "I have lost no time, but have written this post to Mr Smith, to interest him to write on your behalf to the gentlemen in power at Madras; and I assure you I have, to the best of my judgment, given you the character you deserve; and I much wish you success. If, however, Mr Smith should have any difficulty in recommending a gentleman quite unknown to him; I can only lament that it is not in my power to serve you—and must

hope, by your own good conduct and abilities, you may obtain the desired end through some other means." By the next ship he received letters from Mr Dempster, holding out good hopes of success, in these words: "I have no doubt what Mr Dundas said to the directors respecting you last year has secured you a permanency in your present situation; and I shall be happy to find the recommendations from India still advance you higher in the clerical line. I literally have not a shadow of interest in the India House, or Board of Control, to forward your views. I recommend it to you to write directly to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, returning thanks for his interposition last year, which you may say I acquainted you of, and congratulating your *alma mater*, and the place of your nativity, in having him for a chancellor of the university, and begging his permission to consider yourself as under his protection, as long as your conduct shall entitle you thereto."

The result of another application on the part of Mr Dempster, was, that Mr Dundas wrote to the chairman; but he told Mr Dempster that he much doubted his success; for if the court should think proper, on the present occasion, to follow the rule which they had laid down, of annulling all appointments made abroad that ought to be made by themselves, he had no right to interfere. By the same ship Dr Bell heard from Dr Rudd, that Sir William Forbes had applied on his behalf to Captain Keith Elphinstone, who was one of the directors, and his answer was, that he would do what he could consistently with his principles.

While the confirmation of his first appointment was still doubtful, his patrons at Madras had still another

opportunity of testifying their regard for him. Mr Mellingchamp, the senior chaplain in that Presidency, found it necessary, on account of his health, to go to England, taking with him a recommendation from the government to the court of directors, that he might be allowed to return and resume his situation, if his health should be re-established. Besides his chaplainship at Fort St George, Mr Mellingchamp had also the chaplainship at Vellore. Mr Leslie was junior chaplain at the one place, and chaplain to the third battalion of Europeans at the other. Upon the departure of his superior, he was appointed to succeed him at both; and Dr Bell received an official communication from Mr Secretary White, that the government had been pleased to appoint him junior chaplain in the room of Mr Leslie, and to have charge of the superintendency of the undertaker's office. Two days afterwards it appears, by his journal, that he was "published as ordinary chaplain to the army, in the room of Mr Leslie, appointed chaplain at Vellore in the place of Mr Mellingchamp."

It must be confessed, that, at this time, Dr Bell partook largely of the blessings of pluralism. He held, 1st, the as yet unconfirmed chaplainship of the 4th European regiment; 2d, the deputy-chaplainship of the 19th regiment of cavalry in the King's service; 3d, that of his Majesty's 36th; 4th, of the 52d; 5th, of the 74th; 6th, the junior chaplainship at Fort St George; 7th, the superintendency of the undertaker's office; and 8th, the chaplainship of the army. Kehama, who was in eight places at once, was a type of Dr Bell at this time. Some of these offices may

have been sinecures; but there is good proof among his papers that none of them were sinesalaries.

His good fortune did not forsake him when the court of directors, conformably to the rule which they had laid down, annulled his first appointment. Mr Dundas used his influence with the chairman of the court, Mr Nathanael Smith, to whom Lady Dacre also had applied on the score of private friendship; and though the court, in their military letter of April 8th, abrogated the appointment which Sir Archibald Campbell had made, the following communication was addressed, on the 24th of the same month, to Dr Bell from the India Board at Whitehall:—

“ Reverend Sir,

“ Mr Smith, late chairman of the East India Company, having, on the particular recommendation of Mr Dundas, obtained from the court of directors your nomination of being one of the chaplains under the presidency of Madras; but as it may be uncertain whether you will receive a confirmation of such nomination by the ships of the present season, I, in the absence of Mr Dundas, at the particular instance of Mr Smith, take the liberty to inform you of your appointment, lest, by previous orders of a contrary nature, you might be induced to quit India prematurely.—I have the honour to be, reverend sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

“ WILLIAM CADELL.”

This comfortable communication arrived in the same ship with the abrogation, and the next fleet brought

out the re-appointment in these words:—"Since writing the 47th paragraph of our military letter to your presidency, under date of the 8th of April last, we have, on further consideration, thought fit to appoint the Rev. Dr Andrew Bell to be one of the Company's chaplains at Fort St George."

Lady Dacre congratulated him by the same fleet on his good fortune. "It gives me much pleasure," she said, "to be informed by my friend Mr Smith, that he had interested himself in my request, and had obtained, through the indulgence of the court of directors, to have you nominated to be a chaplain at Fort St George. I hope therefore, sir, that you will of course succeed to that appointment, and that every wish of yours may be answered during the remaining part of your life. I conclude you have been informed of this nomination in an official manner; perhaps you may now be in possession, and if so, you have my wish that it may answer you in every respect."

When Dr Bell left England, the object which he had most at heart was to make some provision for his father and his sisters. James Bell was then living at Ostend, where he carried on some business, and where his brother visited him about the time of his appointment to the episcopal chapel at Leith. The first of the changes which took place in Dr Bell's family (probably while he was on his voyage to India) was the death of James Bell at Ostend. He left his property to the Doctor by one will, against which the man in whose house he died set up another, under circumstances which were thought more than suspicious by the British consul at Ostend, and by others who were acquainted with the deceased.

The man seems to have possessed himself of part of the property, and to have removed with it to Dunkirk. The litigation concerning it was protracted till the French Revolution suspended all law and justice in that country; and, whatever became of the money, it was lost to the family.*

The earliest intelligence which Dr Bell received of his father's death, was by a letter from the first minister of St Andrews, Dr Adamson. How it affected him, and what were the circumstances of the family at that time, may be gathered from his reply, a copy of which he preserved among his papers.

Dr Bell to the Reverend Dr J. Adamson.

“ Madras, 1789.

“ My dear Sir,

“ I received, July 27th, by the packet of the Chesterfield, the afflicting news of the death of as good a father, and as just and upright a man, as ever lived. You need not blush to call him friend, as I never shall to call him father.

“ I might have been better prepared, as you think I ought to have been, for this distressful report, had I construed superstitiously the alarming letter from him, with which my heart has been wrung of late. It has pleased God to follow me through life with his merciful chastisements, and to train me up in the school of adversity. I was flattering myself that my late letters would remove any distress that my poor father suffered on the score of fortune, and that I had attained the

* There was a report at St Andrews, that James Bell had turned Papist at his death, and left his property to a priest to pray him out of purgatory.

great object of my adventuring the East, being able to make some provision for the family, when news is brought to me that my ill-fated father, who had a heart that felt too much, and a disposition that led him to all goodness, and a genius and education that elevated him far above his condition in life, had fallen a sacrifice to a complication of misfortunes, entailed upon him in early life, in the inexperience of an academic education and the credulity of youth—misfortunes which you will pity, which every good man will pity, and thank God that it fell not to his own share to suffer as he did.

“It is the never-failing effect of a depressed mind in this country to induce bilious complaints. I had not, even in point of health, recovered from the effect of my father’s description of what he suffered on this occasion, when I was nominated junior chaplain at this presidency, and thought to soften anew the complaints of European fortune, and hold out to my father the best consolation I could offer under his severe trials—the report of my private good success in life, and the assurance of my resolution, as soon as my fortune was settled, to make ample provision for him through life. But these hopes were scarcely formed when they are blasted for ever by the melancholy account of his sudden death. After trying in vain to stand this shock, I have left my duty to my friend and colleague, Archdeacon Leslie, and retired to the country, where I am secluded from every European countenance. Here I am at leisure to indulge grief, and thereby to prevent its violent effusion; to survey my past life; to correct those errors that may have brought upon me such sufferings; and to lay down rules for my future conduct, from which,

if I ever swerve, it must be from depravity of inclination, and not strength of temptation.

“ My poor sisters now claim all my attention—my affections now centre there. The only consolation I can now receive is a favourable report of them. I am much sensible of what they and I owe to you for your early attention. Your kindness to them cannot add to the opinion the world entertains of your goodness ; but it will add greatly to the obligation I feel to that goodness, and it will, somehow or other, provide a benefactor to your own children. I beseech you then, for the sake of your own family, who must one day be deprived of so good a man and so excellent a father, to regard the situation of my sisters. I wish to devolve this duty, during my absence from home, upon you and Dr George Hill. I ask it not on account of our past acquaintance—I ask it not on account of our future acquaintance—I ask it on account of the distress of my unfortunate sisters.

“ I trust that my father has done, what I often told him to do in St Andrews, and repeated to him at Leith, left the whole of his estate to my sisters, and that there will be no trouble in securing this for them. From what my father wrote to me about a will of my brother's in my favour, and a forged will in favour of others, I am apprehensive there will be much trouble in recovering what he always meant should fall to the family. The money in Mr Reid's hands, I trust, will not be lost to my sisters, to whom, as to my father, I will give the liferent of whatever may be recovered and remain, after expenses are paid. I before sent a power of attorney to my father for this purpose ; I now send one to you.

I presume not to offer any instructions, nor need you refer to me at this distance. Act for them as for yourselves, and your conduct will meet with my support and approbation, and I will be answerable for the consequences.

“ It is unnecessary to remark, that I must insist, as a preliminary article, that every direct and contingent expense which may attend your acting for me, and correspondence with me, be charged to my account. Letters should always be sent by the post. It is the only conveyance to be trusted to. There is no expense but in the postage to and from London, which is a mere trifle. I hope the school thrives. It is not my wish to raise my sisters above their present situation in life. This would not conduce to their happiness. What I wish only is to render them easy in their circumstances, and comfortable in their sphere of life; and I shall be glad of your opinion of what is necessary for this purpose.

“ I wrote to Professor George Hill, that there may be some provision for that mortality which reigns so much in my mind at present. I say nothing of Dean of Guild Kerr. I know he will not be wanting in his good offices and services, and I trust I shall be able to repay them. . . .”

Dr Bell appears not to have made any urgent application for payment of the debts due to him in Virginia, from the time when the young Braxtons left him till now, when the circumstances in which his sisters were left made him anxious to secure some provision for them without delay. In the summer of 1787, Mr White had

pecuniary difficulties ; but I shall surmount them without breaking in upon my fortune, which has considerably improved in value since you left the country. The difficulties alone have prevented me hitherto from doing you justice. I hope for your forgiveness. I will send you your tobacco this winter, or spring *certainly*. I propose to ship it to Mr Govan, or as you direct." The remittance which was thus promised had not been made, and Dr Bell wrote now in pressing terms to his former friend, the most intimate of those whom he had left in Virginia. " I am now left," said he, " by the death of the best father who ever lived, with the charge of two orphan sisters, deprived of every relation on earth, myself only excepted. It is my wish to make over to them the receipt of my Virginia debts. I have always entertained strong hopes of your setting the example to my other debtors. I have now the most assured confidence in your late promises, of which they have told me. For this purpose, I am willing to accommodate myself entirely to your wishes, and not to subject you to any inconvenience in the mode of payment, or in any other circumstance. Act to me as one gentleman does to another—as a man to his friend—and I am contented. A sure remittance to the value of your bond, sent to my sisters Agnes and Jessy Bell, St Andrews, or rather to the Reverend Dr John Adamson and Professor George Hill, will suit as well as sending the tobacco. My great object, for it is a great object to my sisters, is to insure a provision for them. I make sure, then, of your doing what is right, and friendly, and proper, and doing it soon, and I ask no more."

On the same day he wrote to Mr Braxton—" When

I reflect," said he, "upon the many sacrifices I made of every thing dear and valuable—of youth, and health, and fortune—to my young friends from America, I feel so powerful a claim upon your heart, that I think I shall not be denied the tribute of justice I now ask. It is, that you would pay at least a part of the debt you owe me to my sisters, Miss Agnes and Jessy Bell, St Andrews, or rather to the Reverend Dr John Adamson, and Professor George Hill, St Andrews. One hundred, or even fifty pounds at a time, would be a great object to them, and cannot but be spared by you. I am desirous that they shall receive as payment any sum, and in any way you can contrive a convenient and certain remittance, and am willing that the bond now in the hands of Mr M'Callum should be discharged on the most liberal terms, and the most convenient for you. It is my great object, because it is a great object to my sisters, to obtain something sure and soon for them; and I request that you will have the goodness to do what you can."

These applications produced no effect; the letters were not even answered. His Virginian friends were not loyalists; but the revolution, in its consequences, had ruined them. There were some of them whose character, as well as fortune, went in what one of his correspondents called "the wreck of men and of things;" and when, after his return from India, Dr Bell made a last effort to obtain payment of these old debts, nothing could be recovered. Thus, all that he had accumulated during a seven years' residence in Virginia was lost. But before the loss could be considered certain, it had ceased to be of any importance to him; his success in India having been so rapid and so great, that he

was enabled, without the slightest inconvenience, to make his sister Jessy an annual allowance. Agnes, the elder sister, meantime, had married Mr Baynes, an architect in Dundee, from whom a square in that town is named. He was a "highly respectable person," a widower, with several children. "I have a letter from him," says Dr Bell, "full of matter, in which he in his way, and a very satisfactory way it is, asks and answers every question most material for me to know, about himself, his circumstances, and family," &c. Bailie Bell's property was sold after his death, and Mrs Baynes obtained the purchase-money, a disposition which her brother approved. Before the marriage the sisters had opened a school in their native city, and it was afterwards continued by Jessy. Her brother thought this prudent at first; but, in the course of a year, it was deemed better that she should give it up, and board with some respectable family in St Andrews. Writing to Dr Adamson, Dr Bell says, "Your good report of my good Jessy delights me. I love her much. I would have nothing withheld from her which may be necessary to her comfort in her lonely state. If it should be her fortune to be married, and to such a companion as I could approve, it would be extremely grateful to me, who do not despair of revisiting Europe, and being able to do something handsome for her. I shall consider it as the requisite to my approbation of her marriage, that it meet with your previous consent and approval."

At one time, it was intended that this sister should come out to him, "trusting," he says, "that she is the same good, and modest, and gentle woman she ever was, and which rendered her so valuable and dear to me."

And writing to one of his Indian friends, then in Scotland, with whom, on the supposed event of his marriage and return to India, she was to have gone out, he asks, "Have you seen Jessy—the gentle Jessy—what sort of a woman is she?" But that friend did not return to the East, and the intention, therefore, was given up.

It is very remarkable that Dr Bell, when he was so advantageously established at Madras, where his success had been beyond any thing which he or his patrons could have anticipated when he sailed for India, should not have entertained a thought of removing from that presidency, and trying his fortune in Bengal. He had made many warm friends in Calcutta—as he did wherever he went through the whole course of his long life; but warmer, more constant, or more serviceable ones than he had made at Madras, it was impossible to hope for. It seems, however, as if his chief ambition at this time was to distinguish himself in experimental philosophy. He was assured from Bengal, that a second visit to that settlement would answer to him better than the first in point of the *sine quâ non*; and that, if he were ever to get any rupees together, Calcutta was the only field for him! He was elected a member of the Asiatic Society; and prospects were held out to him of rendering himself in a high degree useful to his fellow-creatures—an object to which, as was eventually manifested, he considered the acquisition of wealth as only a means. "I was reconciled" (Colonel John Murray says) "to your stay at Fort St George last winter for two reasons: the first was on account of your promotion; and the second is the hope that you

will become so well acquainted with the Persian or with the Moorish language before the next cold season, as that, if you come to us, you will be able to deliver lectures to the native gentlemen of this settlement; and I would look for more good from such a circumstance, than from all the missionaries who have ever been in this part of the world. If you could diffuse pure philosophy to the millions who inhabit these regions, how glorious would be the achievement!"

To the same effect Mr Charles Grant also wrote to him; but with more enlarged views, and in a truer spirit of philosophy.

Charles Grant, Esq. to Dr Bell.

" Calcutta, April 11th, 1789.

" Dear Sir,

" I have had to regret that the hurry in which I was engaged during the shipping season here, did not permit me to make an early acknowledgment for the polite letter you favoured me with on your departure from Bengal. The perusal of it revived a sentiment of concern that I had it not in my power to contribute more to the promotion of the views in which you were engaged in this settlement. Your sense of a little attention is alone an indication that you merited more; and I am sorry that what appeared so *generally* due, should be at all distinguishable. I had indeed, sir, the desire of seeing every encouragement given to your endeavours for the improvement of your countrymen here; and I will confess that this flowed not only from sympathy with your feelings, but the consideration also of that benefit which would be produced by the intro-

duction of a rational way of employing their thoughts and time. Adventurers to these regions bring with them in general but little science, and neither the climate, nor their other pursuits, give them much opportunity of cultivating it afterwards; whilst the mere exercise of power, the acquisition of wealth, and the indulgence of dissipation, are not calculated to raise their own characters, either intrinsically, or in the eyes of the people they govern, who see a perpetual succession of Europeans, yet have hardly any idea of the excellent knowledge of all kinds, physical, moral, and religious, which their countries possess, and which, more displayed to these natives, would both increase their respect and enlarge their minds.

“That we should contribute to the mental improvement of the people whom Providence has put under our rule, and to whom we are so much indebted, seems a reasonable and undeniable proposition; and were it generally assented to, the possibility of acting successfully upon it, and of making our Asiatic subjects acquainted with many valuable truths of which they are now ignorant, would also appear more clearly than minds indisposed and absorbed by other objects can apprehend. There are a few persons at least who are solicitous for such a diffusion of knowledge, and that it may extend to the best interests of a people blinded and enslaved by stupid idolatry, with all its attendant evils. With a hearty wish that your labours may contribute to this end, and with every other good wish, I remain, dear sir, your faithful and obedient servant.”

With a view to this field of utility, Dr Bell sent to England for very considerable additions to his apparatus. “It seldom, perhaps, happens,” he says, in

reply to one of his Bengal friends, "that a man is so much mortified by preferment as I at this moment am. I was so happy in every respect, especially in the great and essential article of society at Calcutta, that I had set my whole heart on returning thither this winter to revisit my short-lived friends there, and lay in a fresh stock of health in that cold climate, so congenial to my hyperborean constitution. Your kind letter would have determined me to ask leave; and as I have never been refused what I asked in the East, I should probably have obtained it, and have endeavoured to enjoy once again a scene which I never look back upon without great satisfaction and delight. But my appointment as junior chaplain at Madras fixes me here for this winter, and precludes me from the highest enjoyment I could have received for the present. I shall watch anxiously for an opportunity of making myself amends for the severe disappointment, and if it occur, I shall certainly not let it slip."

So much was he set upon returning to Bengal at this time, that in his letters of thanks to Lady Dacre, Mr Dundas, and Mr Nathanael Smith, for the great services they had rendered him, he earnestly solicited them to procure his removal to Calcutta, and his appointment to the first vacant chaplainship at that settlement. Mr Smith replied, that two years of illness, and the little attendance he had been able to give at the East India House, had greatly lessened his former interest; however, if any opportunity should offer of obtaining his removal, he would not fail to make use of it. What other replies he received is not known. Perhaps his patrons thought the solicitation as unreasonable as in truth it was.

The senior chaplain, Mr Millingchamp, had left Madras with no intention of returning to it, though he had prudently secured to himself the right of resuming his situation there, if his health should be restored. When he had been nearly two years absent, Dr Bell received a letter from him, saying, "You are perfectly right in your idea that I am tired of England. Subject to an incessant cough, I long for the dry atmosphere and the skies of India, and am strongly of opinion that the chance of general health is much greater with you than it is with us. This sentiment is so rooted in my breast, that you will not be surprised to see me once more in my old situation, if I should not succeed in this country." The object in which he thus intimated that he was not likely to be successful, was, that of obtaining a living either in England or Wales. Accordingly, his views in that line having been disappointed, he returned to Madras in the summer of 1791, and made application to be reinstated in his chaplainships. Upon this a representation (which has not been preserved among Dr Bell's papers) was laid before the board by Mr Leslie and Dr Bell; a consultation was held concerning it; and the following minutes of that cōsultation were communicated to them:—

"The subject" (it was said) "to which the attention of the board is called by the above reference, seems to have been so clearly understood by the court of directors, that nothing is left for the board but to carry their commands into execution.

"The case is simply this. The Rev. Mr Millingchamp, who held the office of senior chaplain at this presidency obtained permission, in the year 1789, to

go home for the recovery of his health. It was evidently not his intention to quit the service by this step, for he requested and procured a recommendation from government to the honourable the board of directors, that he might have leave to return as soon as his health was re-established. Accordingly, upon his application, the court permitted him to return, with an order that he shall hold his former situation of senior chaplain at this presidency.

“In the letter from the Rev. Mr Leslie and Dr Bell, an allusion is made to the practice of other parts of the service in similar cases. The board cannot judge of the instances quoted by them, as no particulars are stated. But in the present case, the line to be taken appears sufficiently distinct. The court of directors permit Mr Millingchamp to return to a specific employment and rank, on the list of chaplains. If he be not placed in that rank and employment, he returns to nothing, the order of the court of directors would be discharged, and Mr Millingchamp left for an indefinite time without any provision whatsoever.

“But although the board are clearly of opinion that Mr Millingchamp is entitled by the company's order to his former situation of chaplain, with the emoluments annexed to it, they do not conceive it to be their intention that the establishment should undergo any further alteration in consequence of that gentleman's return. Dr Bell, by his original nomination, must have been placed on the list of chaplains had Mr Millingchamp remained in the country, and the board, by continuing him on the establishment, act in strict conformity to the order by which he was appointed.

“ROBERT CLERK, Dep. Sec.”

These minutes not being sufficiently explicit, another communication was made, and addressed to the three chaplains. "The board," it said, "understanding there is some misconception with regard to their intentions in the minute lately conveyed to you upon the subject of Mr Millingchamp's situation, I am directed to inform you that Mr Millingchamp is to rank as senior chaplain at Fort St George, and to hold with it the chaplainship of Vellore as usual. That Mr Leslie is to rank as second chaplain, and to hold his former appointment of chaplain to the 3d battalion of Europeans at Vellore; and that Dr Bell is to be junior chaplain at the presidency, and chaplain to the army, with the superintendency of the undertaker's department. Mr Millingchamp is, of course, to act in his station of senior chaplain, and to officiate as usual in the parochial duties of the church."

Dr Bell expressed on this occasion, as well he might, his obligations to his friends in England. He says to Mr Dempster—"The appointment by the court of directors, by which I am so deeply indebted to you, is likely now to stand me in good stead, and I have every reason to be thankful." In the next letter to the same friend he says—"The arrangements in consequence of the increase of our establishment, are exceedingly flattering to me, who suffer scarcely in any thing but having only one-third of the parochial duty instead of two."

Some further alteration was made in the ensuing year, by the following paragraph in the general letter from England—"Upon the return of the Rev. Mr Millingchamp, you certainly acted agreeably to the

chaplain at Fort St George, and to hold with it the chaplainship of Vellore, as was customary. And having considered the memorial of the Rev. Mr Leslie, received by the Mañship, we direct that he be considered as the second chaplain, and to hold with it the chaplainship of the army. Dr Bell is to be the junior chaplain, with the appointment of chaplain to the 3d battalion of Europeans. But as you have stated to us the impropriety of the custom which has long prevailed, of providing for our chaplains at your presidency by nominations to garrisons and corps when they cannot perform any duties, we direct that, in lieu of such nominal appointments, the chaplains do receive the following salaries:—

The Senior Chaplain, pagodas 165 per month.
 Second 160
 Third 150, and 25 per
 month for the direction of the undertaker's employ.

A true copy.

(Signed) “J. WEBBE, Dep. Sec.”

The four deputy-chaplainships which Dr Bell held in the king's regiments were not affected by this regulation of the company. The government of Madras, and the directors, saw the unfitness of continuing such sinecure appointments; but neither seems to have considered the propriety and the duty of providing that the garrisons and corps should not be destitute of religious ordinances.

There was an unfitness also in the connexion of the chaplain at Fort St George with the undertaker's employ, and this began to be perceived. It appears,

indeed, by Dr Bell's account-books, and by a paper of instructions drawn up by him for the undertaker, that the chaplain was the person by whom funerals were furnished, and that the undertaker was his functionary, and received a graduated per centage on the cost of the funeral. The instructions are curious of themselves, and exhibit some of those characteristics by which Dr Bell was so remarkably distinguished in later life.

“ Instructions for Mr Johnson, the undertaker, 10th November 1794.

“ The instructions given to Mr Sackwell, 1st Jan. 1790, and at other times to him and to his successor, are to be observed to this effect.

“ As the superintendence of the undertaker's employ is a charge of great trust, and involves in it particular obligations and duties, I think it necessary to give you instructions, in regard to your conduct, in writing. This will prevent mistakes, and be authority which you may always have at hand.

“ 1st.—In every department let every article be of the best quality, and charged at the lowest prices ever charged, according to the reduced rate by the vestry, when Mr Millingchamp superintended this employment, and at all times and in all cases let a civil behaviour and the utmost attention be shown to every person who shall apply to the undertaker or employ him.

“ 2d.—You will instruct Narrain, the Dabash, and all those employed by you and by him, of the importance of the charge, and excite them to an active, diligent, and faithful discharge of what is committed to them; and, for their encouragement, you will see that their allowances which are for this purpose ample.

be regularly and fully paid to them; and you will also see that each does his part, and that there may be always one responsible person to see into the execution of every part.

“ 3d.—You will take care that every grave be at least six feet deep, and of sufficient breadth, so that there be always something to spare, that no future accidents may occur.

“ 4th.—Great care must be taken that none of the servants, or any other person, be allowed to introduce old scarves for new; and that none but new ones be ever used. It is also necessary that particular attention be paid to keep the scarves unrumpled when carried out for use, but not used; that they may be seen to be new when they come to be used.

“ 5th.—As the peons have neglected carrying round, so particularly as they ought, to the gardens and to St Thome, and through Madras and the Fort, &c., the invitation chits, a reform is wanting in this department, which should be so managed that notice of every funeral shall be given to every person who might chance to attend if notice were given to him.

“ 6th.—You must see that all the furniture of the godown, palanqueen, palls, clothés, &c., be kept in good order.

“ 7th.—You are to bury all the poor at my expense when called upon, and every other person according to his condition if necessary.

“ 8th.—The allowance to the undertaker is five per cent on all the collections; one pagoda on every scarf funeral of twelve scarves; two of twenty; and three of fifty; and these allowances to be paid when collected.

“ 9th.—Having found regulations as well as instruc-

tions absolutely necessary from what has already happened of neglect and ill management, I wish that you would now, if you can think of any arrangement further necessary to prevent any future accident, represent it, that nothing may be wanting to prevent any ill accident or blunder, complaint or blame.

“ 10th.—Mr Sackwell will, as much as he can, look into and inspect particularly every department of this business, and give to it that order, method, and energy which alone can insure success and give satisfaction; and he will, as often as any neglect is observed, or any complaint made, represent it to me; and also represent whatever he may find or think expedient to be done or altered to give effect to these intentions.

“ 11th.—It is my desire, that every thing be conducted fairly, openly, and properly, such as good and honest men do every thing; and as I have no doubt you wish to do. I am willing to suffer any loss or sustain any damage, rather than give any cause of complaint.

“ In addition to the above,

“ It is expected that Mr Johnson, from his knowledge of the language of the country, from his education, and his character, will be enabled to do whatever his predecessors have left undone; investigate ~~all~~ the branches of this employ, discover whatever is amiss, and be at pains to correct any abuses, if any prevail, and make any reductions of the rates that may be practicable; and to direct such arrangements, and put things on such a footing, as may prove a real benefit to society, and prevent any just ground of complaint or blame.

“ Mr Johnson will make out a copy of the above in his own hand, and send it to me.

(Signed)

“ A. BELL.

“ Madras, 10th Nov. 1794.

“ A true copy.

“ DANIEL JOHNSON.”

Not long after he had drawn up these instructions, Dr Bell, in conformity with his own feelings, as well as the advice of his friends, gave up this branch of business.

In the spring of 1793 he delivered a third course of lectures at Madras, entirely at the request of persons who were addicted to scientific pursuits. “ A select society,” he says, “ and a most respectable society it is. They are to attend at my house, and I have many advantages which I wanted heretofore, among which I may reckon a greatly enlarged and improved apparatus. I am now master of three air-pumps, three electrical machines, and a most complete set of experiments. My lectures are in a new form. Never before had I either leisure or opportunity for arranging, or collecting, or digesting.” This course produced him six hundred pagodas.

In one of these courses he performed the experiment of making ice, which was the first time it had been exhibited in India. He made also the first balloon there: it was of no great dimensions; for, as the assistant did his part badly, and the thing failed, Dr Bell (in his own words) threw it in a passion from the verandah. After which the heat of the sun rarefied the enclosed air, and the balloon mounted in grand style, exciting no small commotion among the natives.

Soon after the conclusion of these lectures, Dr Bell received the following note from the senior chaplain:—

“ 18th July 1793.

“ My dear Sir,

“ Colonel Braithwaite has suggested to the governor the propriety of having a chaplain in the army, and Sir Charles has directed me to mention the circumstance to brother Leslie and yourself. Leslie tells me that circumstances prevent his compliance. What say you? Agreed, or not agreed? Sir Charles, I believe, wishes to leave it to your own option, but has requested me to give him an answer. Yours, dear Sir,

“ B. MILLINGCHAMP.”

Dr Bell replied—“ If either you or Mr Leslie attend the army, I will, with real satisfaction, perform for you any or all parts of your offices, as far as I can, during your absence, without any prejudice whatever to you for the present or for the future. And if both of you decline this task, it will, of course, fall to me as an act of duty, and I will have the honour of waiting on the governor, receiving his commands, and acting accordingly.” Six days afterwards an official letter from the governor’s secretary acquainted him that the governor in council had been pleased to appoint him to do duty as chaplain to the army assembled before Pondicherry, with an allowance of one hundred pagodas *per mensem* to defray his extraordinary expenses while so employed.

He continued with the army about a month, till the object of this important expedition was effected. Most

of the superior officers happened to be his friends ; so that, when not engaged in some of the mournful offices which he was called upon to perform, his time passed pleasantly. When the batteries were opened he was rash enough to go into the trenches, observing at the same time that, if any mischief should befall him, it would be said he had no business there. And Colonel Floyd, who was the most intimate of his friends, when he took possession of the fort, ordered him to walk into it by his side.

CHAPTER VI.

Military Orphan Asylum—Dr Bell offers his Services without Salary—Takes the Superintendence—Proposed Extension of Plan—The Madras Managers and the Court of Directors misconceive each other's Views—Number of Admissions doubled.

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WHEN the Madras government desired Captain Dempster to leave Dr Bell there, instead of carrying him on to Bengal, according to his original destination, it was in conformity to an application from the committee then employed in establishing a Military Male Orphan Asylum in that presidency. The committee made this application, because they looked on him as a person eminently qualified to superintend the education of children. The opinion so justly formed at this time of his peculiar talents, placed him in the way of preferment, and enabled him to lay the foundation of his fortune; and the office to which he was in consequence appointed, called forth those talents in the manner which has signalized his name. It is ~~proper, there-~~fore, to relate the rise and progress of the institution with which he thus became connected, so honourably for himself and so beneficially for future generations.

About a year before Dr Bell's arrival in India, the ✓ court of directors called the attention of the Madras government to a plan which had been formed for the establishment of a fund for the maintenance of the children of European officers in Bengal, and recom

mended them “to consider the expediency of establishing a similar plan in their presidency.” There was already a charity school belonging to St Mary’s church, at Fort St George, and to the ministers and churchwardens of that church the government communicated this part of the court of directors’ letter, saying—“We earnestly recommend you to call a vestry, for the purpose of new-modelling the plan of education hitherto followed at the charity school; and, as we approve of the mode lately recommended in a letter addressed to the governor of the Asylum, which we think would equally tend to the advantage of the Company and to the benefit of the children, we advise you to follow it as near as possible. As a provision is already made for the female orphans, and the funds of the church will be thereby relieved from the expense of their maintenance, we presume the number of boys may be in proportion increased; but, at all events, authorized by the orders of the court of directors, and naturally disposed to support such a humane and beneficial institution, we shall readily afford you every assistance in our power; and we doubt not but yourselves and the vestry will unanimously concur in carrying this plan into execution without delay.” The provision for female ~~orphans~~ ^{here} referred to, had been established by subscription, under the patronage of the lady of Sir Archibald Campbell—indeed, the plan originated with her; and it was chiefly by means of her influence and zealous exertions that it was happily carried into effect.

A vestry meeting* was accordingly called, and formed

* The meeting consisted of the Rev. Mr Millingchamp and Mr Leslie, ministers; Mr Balfour and Mr Cockburn, churchwardens; Mr Kindersley, sidesman; Mr Andrew Ross and Mr William Webb, parishioners.

itself into a committee; the directors* of the Male Asylum were requested to join that committee, to which request they acceded, and then at their instance the military secretary was directed to procure "as correct a report as possible of the number of male children of the European military on the coast who were likely to become objects of the intended charity, specifying their age and the time of service of their parents, and such other particulars as might enable the committee to form some adequate judgment to what probable extent it would be necessary to carry the proposed plan."

Two hundred and thirty boys were reported. The next step was to calculate the probable expense of supporting them; and it appeared that, upon the most economical plan, the amount, including all charges of board, clothing, and education, could not be safely rated at less than ten rupees a-month for each boy. It was not, however, doubted, as the enquiry had been made in consequence of the recommendation of the court of directors, that an establishment similar to the Orphan Society in Bengal should be established on the coast, that the proposed institution would meet with the same support from them as the charitable foundation at Calcutta, where the Company allowed five rupees per month for each boy, besides providing ~~the necessary~~ buildings. Relying upon this, the committee considered that about half the expense would thus at once be furnished, and that it remained only to raise a fund for the regular provision of the other moiety. "Happily," said the committee, "the repeated instances which the settlement of Madras affords of a spirit of

* These were Colonels Ross, Malcolm, Sydenham, and Moorhouse; and

bounty in ordinary cases of individual distress, where no return of public benefit could be expected, afford a rational ground of assurance that their liberality will, in this instance, exert itself in some proportion to the importance of the object; and that those whose generosity almost daily extends its effects to single objects of distress, will be particularly forward in promoting the permanent welfare of a number of children, who have not only the tenderest claim on humanity, but whose future usefulness promises amply to repay the public the obligation they will be under to it. At all events, should the sums subscribed prove insufficient to support the whole of the male distressed children of the military on the coast, the amount no doubt will serve to maintain and educate a number sufficient to justify the consideration of this institution as an object of great and public importance, and consequently of public liberality."

The committee recommended, therefore, that a subscription should immediately be set on foot; and they represented to the board that it might tend much to facilitate its progress if some building were allotted by government for the proposed place of education; showing thus that the plan already had a beginning, and ~~would meet~~ with no impediment on this score after the necessary funds were reached. In this view, also, it might prove, they said, of essential assistance to the institution, if government would be pleased to allow their intended bounty to be considered as commencing from the present time; a suggestion which, they hoped, would not be deemed unreasonable. The proposed voluntary tax on the benevolence of the settlement, would, they conceived, relieve it from the inconvenience

that must otherwise, from time to time, occur of partial subscriptions; and instead of only administering relief to a few individuals, a number of children, who would otherwise be generally abandoned to ignorance and vice, and prove accordingly pests to society, would be trained up to virtue and usefulness. The consideration, to the soldier, that his poor children were maintained by the public in general, and, in many instances, by the bounty of his officer in particular, would be a strong tie of attachment to both: and many a brave man would have, in his last moments, the consolation of knowing that, when he was no more, his services would be rewarded by the comfortable support and education of his orphans.

It was proposed in the committee, by Colonel Braithwaite, that a stoppage from the officers' pay should be made in aid of the subscription. Colonel Malcolm objected to this on these grounds: That he did not believe the pay of any rank in the army exceeded what was absolutely necessary for the unavoidable expenses; that were every officer then in India to consent to the stoppage, the sum so raised could only be considered as a temporary part of the fund, depending on their continuance in the country; and, more particularly, if it could be considered as a ~~permanent~~ fund, it would be establishing the pay of a military officer of the Company on the coast of Coromandel at a lower rate than what was ordered by the Company; which, he conceived, was a proceeding of too much importance to be within the province either of the present, or any race of officers, to decide upon. For himself, he would gladly contribute as largely as he could, either by subscription, or in any other shape, to establish the insti-

might be permitted by government for a purpose so benevolent, and of such public utility. And if this were not deemed advisable, government, on the representation of the committee, might be induced to give such liberal and full pecuniary assistance, as would enable the managers of the charity school in the Fort to extend the benefits of that institution in favour of the European soldiery on the coast, and even, he conceived, of all other Europeans under the protection of that presidency, who might have children without the means of providing for them comfortably.

The proposal concerning stoppages was set aside, as not being, upon the whole, considered eligible under present circumstances; at least, not till every other means should have been first recurred to, and found insufficient. The suggestion for a lottery seems not to have proceeded further. The government, in reply to the committee, assured them that every support which they were authorized to give would be afforded. As, however, it was not possible to ascertain the amount of the fund which would be raised by voluntary subscriptions, they were of opinion that it would be most expedient to provide at present for the support of only one hundred orphans, which number might afterwards be ~~extended~~ should the means prove adequate. They allowed the bounty of five rupees monthly for each boy, to commence from the date of this reply, and promised to exert their endeavours to procure a building for the reception of the orphans.

This satisfactory foundation having been laid, an appeal was now made, through the *Madras Courier*, to the public. In this address, it was made known that the gentlemen in charge of the fund which had been raised, during the late war, for the relief of the native

poor, had been pleased to grant the annual interest of 8000 pagodas for the proposed institution. And it was observed that if the amount of the subscriptions should not suffice for the support of a hundred orphans, yet if it served to complete the establishment of an asylum for even half that number, the object accomplished would still be highly important.

Circular letters were now sent to the commanding-officers at the different stations; they were requested to receive subscriptions, and it was arranged, with permission of the board, that the paymasters at the several stations should receive the amount subscribed, whether in money, pay, or batta bills, and draw bills for it on the military paymaster-general, in favour of the church-wardens at Madras. The subscription proceeded favourably, and the committee then reminding the board of its promise to assign a building for the reception of the boys, mentioned Egmore Redoubt as a situation open and healthy, the distance convenient, and the buildings such as, at little expense, might be adapted for the proposed institution.

Egmore Redoubt is said to have been built in 1702. It was then a square, with a bungalow in the middle; a sergeant with a guard of sepoy occupied it; and sick soldiers appear at that time to have been sent there as to a healthy spot. The French occupied it after Madras was taken by De la Bourdonnais, in 1746; and again when that city was besieged by them. In the interval between those sieges, some powder-mills had been erected there; and when Lally raised the siege, he blew up both the mills and the redoubt. The mills were re-established, and destroyed by an accidental explosion in 1782, when sixteen men lost their lives. The re-

doubt seems to have been considered of no military importance; and the buildings which had been applied for there, were now fitted up for the reception of the boys.

Upon forming an estimate in the following summer, the committee found that, from the sum raised by subscriptions, the grant of interest from the native poor-fund, and the Company's promised allowance, they had a permanent income sufficient for the maintenance of seventy-five boys, with the superintendent, subintendents, and servants of the institution, and for a monthly salary of fifty pagodas for the gentleman who might be employed as master of the school. It appeared, however, by the next general letter, that the court of directors and the government at Madras had not understood each other. The court had intended the institution for the orphans of European officers only; and it is not easy to perceive how their intention could have been mistaken. But when the mistake was now made manifest, the committee, in transmitting through the board an account of their subscriptions, said, "they thought it necessary at the same time, for the purpose of obviating an apparent misconception of the immediate object of the institution, to observe, for the information of the honourable the court of directors, that it was intended for the relief of orphans and other distressed male children of the military on the coast of Coromandel. It appeared to them," they said, "on every account expedient that the institution, which had received its present degree of order and advancement under their charge, should now be formed into a regular and permanent establishment." With this view, they laid before the board a set of regulations which had been adopted for

the present, only as the outline of a more perfect arrangement, which they hoped to see extended and improved with the stability of the institution. And pursuant to the first of these regulations, they requested that the governor would honour it by becoming its president, and the members of council and the commander-in-chief its vice-presidents." In their reply to this communication, no notice was taken by the board of the misconception concerning the court of directors' intention; but the committee were informed that the president and members of government cheerfully accepted the offices of president and vice-presidents of the Military Male Orphan Asylum; that they approved of the proposed regulations, and recommended their being finally arranged and carried into execution as soon as possible.

The committee, in consequence of this recommendation, and considering that the nomination of directors for superintending and conducting the institution was the first thing to be determined, submitted to the government, that the honourable the governor should be president of the institution; the members of council and the commander-in-chief, vice-presidents; the two chaplains and the two churchwardens, directors; the military secretary, civil secretary, chief engineer, ~~commanding-officer~~ commanding-officer of artillery at the Mount, adjutant-general, quartermaster-general, commissary-general of stores, town-major, Mr Andrew Ross, Mr Webb, Mr Porcher, and Mr Cockburn, sub-directors. They proposed that these gentlemen should form such regulations as might be found necessary; and that particular attendance in rotation should be requested of the sub-

men mentioned ; and thus the society was constituted, under whose auspices the Madras system of education was devised, matured, and originally made public.

It was soon after the buildings at Egmore Redoubt had been granted for the purposes of the institution, that Dr Bell sailed for Bengal. His good friend, Andrew Ross, writing to him there, says—" I have great satisfaction in acknowledging your obliging favour from Calcutta, and in hearing of your agreeable reception and situation there, although I cannot as yet overcome the apprehensions which it furnishes of too long a detention, against which I enter my dissent. Nor is it upon slight grounds that I do so, as I have a great deal of confidence that the charge of the Orphan House would soon come to be an object of much importance, credit, and advantage, under your management ; to which also I have no manner of doubt but you would be secure of being appointed, especially as I find Mr Gericke would find such a situation to interfere with his own particular duties. There is no doubt but that gentlemen would be glad to place their children under your charge, if you were placed there ; and the place would soon become extensive, too. Do not think of parting with us, but return soon."

~~But~~ though it was with a view to the superintendence of the asylum that Dr Bell had originally consented to remain at Madras, instead of proceeding on his voyage with Captain Dempster, it appears that, when his clerical appointments multiplied upon him, he determined to perform the office of superintendent gratuitously : this he felt it becoming him to do, though its duties were more than those of all his chaplainships collectively. Some of his friends thought that, in

making this resolution, he had too little consideration for his own interest. "For my own part," says one of those to whom he was most beholden for his preferment, "I do not perceive that you, who are not affluent, lie under any manner of obligation to devote yourself to so arduous a task, without any regard to salary. It is probable you could employ your time with much greater advantage, and it would be unreasonable to expect you should take the trouble of coming to India to bury your talents."

Dr Bell, however, acted upon his own judgment; and when the proper time came, he made, through Mr Ross, a tender of his services in directing and superintending the education of the boys, saying that he must decline the acceptance of any salary from funds which had little to spare. The secretary of the committee was desired to acknowledge the offer. "It is with particular pleasure," said he in his letter, "that I obey the directions of the committee to express their high sense of your conduct on this occasion. They thankfully accept your offer of service, and hereby invest you with the requisite authority. They will not, at the present moment, press upon you the acceptance of any emolument, though they are persuaded that your labours will prove as importantly beneficial as your ~~proposal~~ has been disinterested."

A special committee was now appointed to draw up rules and regulations for the better conducting the business of the institution. It consisted of Dr Bell, Lieut.-colonels Malcolm and Moorhouse, Mr William Webb, and Mr Andrew Ross. Dr Bell, it may be here observed, being one of the chaplains, was *ex officio* a director of the asylum, and thus as it were invested

with double authority. The distinction between directors and sub-directors was soon abrogated, as being unnecessary, if not inconvenient. It was determined that one of the chaplains or churchwardens should always be a member of the monthly committee, and that at least two members of that committee should visit the Asylum every week. Another point for consideration related to the terms upon which officers' children should be received; and, as it was found that the funds of the institution did not then admit of making any distinction between their treatment and education, and that afforded to the boys on the foundation, the determination was, that the terms should be fixed at the average cost incurred on account of each, viz. 2 pags. 30 f. per month, for which an accepted order must be given on some mercantile house at the presidency. The regulations were drawn up by Dr Bell, and were approved and circulated; and an address to the public upon the state and prospects of the institution was prepared by the secretary, Mr Kindersley.

It was then stated that the president and directors thought themselves warranted, by the increasing demands on their slender resources, to have recourse for an annual supply to the liberality of the public. Many ~~causes~~ concurred (it was said) to render the original contributions less productive than might have been hoped for under a more fortunate coincidence of circumstances. There is reason to believe that accidental irregularities in the mode of circulating the subscription may have suspended some important donations, and the recent call that had been made on public munificence, in favour of an institution recommended by every motive of delicacy and humanity, rendered the occasion peculiarly

unfavourable to the wishes of that part of the community whose means were inadequate to keep pace with their benevolence. From such gentlemen as have already subscribed to the fund, it is not intended to solicit any very considerable contributions. In certain instances it is less necessary to stimulate than to repress liberality; and it is under the influence of this impression that it is respectfully suggested to the gentlemen of the army, that a donation of two days' pay from the ranks, not exceeding that of captain, may be found sufficient to answer the exigencies of the fund. To the field-officers and staff of the army, and to the community at large, it is conceived unnecessary to intimate this restriction, or to suggest any limit short of the measure of their own benevolence."

This appeal to the public proved so successful, that in the course of the following year, the permanent funds of the institution were reported as being more than sufficient for the annual support of one hundred boys; the average number on the establishment, during the last eight months, having been eighty-one. It was accordingly increased to one hundred. Twelve months afterwards, the committee drew up an address to the government, in which they begged leave to represent, ~~that~~ the Male Asylum School for the children of the military on that establishment, instituted on the recommendation of the honourable the court of directors, promoted by their bounty, and supported by the benevolent contributions of the public, had, some time ago, reached the complement of one hundred boys, to which number the allowance of five rupees a month for each had been restricted at the beginning. "From the rapid

growth of the school," (they continued,) "and the experience of the insufficiency of the present limited number to afford adequate relief under the increased military establishment of the coast, we are desirous of rendering this institution more useful, by rendering it more extensive. From the slender state of the funds, it becomes necessary for us, before we can comply with the daily applications on behalf of the objects of this charity, to solicit the extension of your allowance for fifty additional boys, that we may be enabled to increase the establishment of the school to one hundred and fifty, persuaded that nothing need be added to recommend to your further protection and bounty so well directed and beneficial a charity."

The answer returned to this was, that "as the Company's allowance of five rupees *per mensem* was restricted, by their orders, to one hundred boys, it was not in the power of the board to comply with the request of the committee, unless by the permission of the court of directors, to whom it would be referred." The committee were not discouraged by this reply. They directed their secretary, in acknowledging it, "to represent to the board the necessity of making a provision for two hundred boys, in consequence of the increase of ~~the military~~ establishment, which, with other circumstances, must undoubtedly, in the course of a short time, cause that number of claimants on the charity." He was also instructed to represent the unfavourable tendency any reference to the court of directors would have for an increase of their allowance; and, in case such a reference should be unavoidable, he was to request that the sentiments of the managers of this institution might be made known to them, in order that

they might be induced to grant such an increase as would enable the managers to embrace, with full extent, the object of the charity, in affording relief to all children who might have a claim upon them.

An address, embodying these sentiments, and making earnest representations on the subject, was soon afterwards presented to the board. Government was reminded, that from the returns originally made, the increase which had taken place since, and the numerous applications for admission, the number of those who had claims upon the charity could not be estimated at less than two hundred. A provision short of this would not afford adequate relief from the distress to which many of these unhappy children were exposed, and the ruin of morals, and every thing valuable in life, in which they were often involved. "For making known these sentiments," said the committee, "they are the more earnest, because it is probable that, before any reply can be obtained to the reference proposed by you for an allowance for fifty additional boys, it will be expedient to make a new application to your honourable board on behalf of fifty more; and during each interval, it is to be apprehended that many of these children will languish in indigence and misery, be lost to themselves and society, or perish through neglect and want. ~~But~~ should your honourable board think proper to anticipate the bounty of the directors till their pleasure be known, it would furnish instant relief to those unhappy orphans, in behalf of whom any reference to the court may be found too late."

The answer to this application was a refusal, on the same ground as before, to extend the allowance, expressing, at the same time, a sincere wish to give every sup-

port to so charitable an institution. "The president in council," it added, "makes known that the evils which the managers apprehend, in case of an objection on the part of government to participate the bounty of the court, may, in great measure, be obviated by the liberality of individuals, who, on application, will no doubt come forward to effect the humane intentions of the managers."

More than twelve months elapsed, and no reply was received from the court of directors. The committee, therefore, again addressed the government of Madras. "The Benefits," they said, "which must result from this institution, not only to those who are the objects of its charity, by their preservation from vice and misery, but also to the community, by their education for useful and necessary occupations, are too obvious to require any arguments, and will be strongly felt by all those who have occasion to contrast the discipline of the seminary, and the lessons of morality and religion there inculcated, with the corrupt maxims and pernicious habits so frequently exhibited by the children in this country, who enjoy not the advantages of such an establishment, and whose general character seems, chiefly by this cause, to have been degraded. Impressed," they said, "with the fullest conviction of the utility of the school in this and every point of view, they much regretted that the state of their funds had precluded them, under the present restriction, from increasing the number of boys beyond the limit marked out by the court of directors, notwithstanding the many applications which continued to be made in favour of those who had the strongest claims upon the public bounty; for they were the children of brave men who had died in the course of a successful

war. They did not entertain a doubt that the court would lend a favourable ear to the representations made to them for an extension of their allowance from one hundred to two hundred boys ; yet, from a sense of the inconveniences which have occurred by the delay of a reference to England, and from an earnest desire to prevent this in future, the managers take the liberty of suggesting their wishes, that government would be pleased to address the honourable court of directors, and request that the court would grant discretionary powers to their president in council at Fort St George to extend the allowance from time to time, as the claims of the service may be found to merit and require. They hoped that, with the happy prospects which now presented themselves of complete success, the court would be more than ever inclined to carry into full effect their well-devised and well-directed charity ; nor were they less confident that the honourable the president in council, who could best judge of its utility, and who had witnessed its progress and present state, would feel an interest in recommending it to their warmest support."

There came, however, at the close of the year, a chilling reply from the court of directors, in their general letter—"After the liberal encouragement afforded to the Male Orphan Asylum by a subscription on the Company's account of 6000 rupees *per annum*, we did not expect any further solicitation on behalf of that charity ; more especially as it appears, from the 11th article of the proposed regulations for the society, entered on your consultations of the 28th July 1789, that, by the proportions to be subscribed by officers of each rank, (not then finally determined on,) there would be

a sufficiency to answer every purpose of the charity. We therefore desire to be informed in what manner these proportions have been settled, what measures have been taken to increase the funds of the society, and of the whole amount of the private subscriptions."

The original misconception of each other's views between the court of directors and the managers at Madras, had not yet been cleared up. The court appears still to have had in mind the Bengal Institution; but the plan of that institution, which was to have accompanied the first recommendation of the subject to the government at Madras, had never been communicated to the vestry or to the committee. After replying to the questions of the court, the managers, in their address to the board, recurred to this point. "It was not in their power," they said, "to ascertain with precision the particular motives by which the committee was actuated in proposing, or the government in adopting, a plan for the relief of the orphans of the military at large, which of course was principally intended for those of private soldiers, in preference to the plan of the Bengal Institution, which was for the children of officers only. We cannot, however," they added, "in justice to ourselves, or to the original founders of this institution, omit this opportunity of testifying our entire concurrence in the principle on which the preference appears to be founded; because the children of private soldiers, whether the offspring of European or native mothers, being the more generally destitute, possess the strongest claims on a plan which professes the relief of military orphans, and because the charity extends its relief to the children of officers also, when left absolutely destitute. Submitting these reflections to the wisdom of our superiors, it is our

more immediate object to mark the essential distinction between the Bengal Institution and that established on the coast; and to observe that, with whatever propriety the officers of the Bengal army might be called upon for a fixed deduction from their pay for the maintenance of officers' children, we could not readily consent to be the instruments of proposing to the officers of this establishment any fixed and irrevocable contribution for the maintenance of the children of soldiers.

"It ought," said they, "to be held in remembrance, that an annual subscription was determined on merely as an expedient to remedy the want of an original capital, and, in process of time, to create one; and the officers were invited, in common with the public at large, to subscribe, the grounds on which the proposal of a contribution by stoppage had been rejected being at that time explained to the army. A subscription had then been suggested, at the moderate rate of two days' pay in the year, to the ranks not exceeding that of captain, from a conviction of their inability to bear deductions of any kind from their slender allowances, but without any intimation of limit to the superior ranks or to the staff. They deemed it necessary to explain this, because of the apparent misconception on the part of the court concerning the main object of the charity, and the implied expectation that the officers stood pledged for the payment of a fixed annual sum for its support—a measure which involved, as they conceived, too many solid objections ever to be carried into execution.

"The annual subscription," they proceeded to say, "has succeeded, at least as well as could have been hoped from so ungracious an expedient, and there is now some prospect of realizing a capital sufficient to

defray the expenses of the institution, with the assistance to be afforded by the honourable Company, and the hopes we are led to entertain from the favourable opinion of the charity lately testified by all descriptions of people, and particularly by those whose elevated situations, no less than their distinguished and benevolent efforts, must have the happiest influence." Referring, then, to the allowance from the Company, they observed, "that it was not a specified annual sum of so many thousand rupees, but five rupees a-month for each boy on the foundation; and they remembered with gratitude," they said, "that government had permitted the allowance to commence for the limited number of one hundred, professedly as an encouragement to the institution, before a single boy had been received, or even a house provided for their reception; and so far from limiting the expectations of the charity to an allowance for that number, it was expressly declared to be 'a provision for the present.'"

More than twelve months appear to have elapsed before any further communication took place upon this subject between the committee and the government. The committee then, in their annual report, hoped, they said, that the number of candidates for admission to the school, who had been necessarily rejected for a time on account of the limitation of its numbers, would plead their excuse for soliciting the governor to support their request to the court of directors for an extension of their bounty. They had soon the mortification of receiving the court's brief notice in the general letter of the former application. It merely stated that they had read the letters from the directors of the Male Asylum, and did not think it necessary to comply with

the request therein contained for any further extension of the Company's bounty. The repeated request in the ensuing year was answered by a reference to the last refusal, after which the committee made no further appeal to the bounty of the court of directors.

Meantime the funds of the Asylum had been increased by some unexpected contributions. The surgeon of Colonel Floyd's regiment had been suspended by the sentence of a court-martial, and the amount of his pay and allowance, which was 500 pagodas, during the time of his suspension, Colonel Floyd, by the authority of Marquis Cornwallis, paid over to the Asylum. Colonel Braithwaite had seen reason, while he commanded the army in the field, to punish drunkenness by a fine, and soon after the close of the war, making up the amount of those fines to the round sum of 1000 star pagodas, he transmitted it to the Asylum. The officers seem to have considered that waifs and strays could in no way be so properly disposed of as by assigning them to the Asylum. When Lieutenant Cuppays, who commanded at Amboor, withdrew with his detachment from that station, he disposed by raffle of a quantity of unclaimed liquors which were found there, and the amount being 75 pagodas, he presented it to the Asylum. 250 star pagodas, being the fine imposed upon a misbehaving sutler in the camp, were paid to the Asylum. The agents to the captors of Mahadavapatam, Manarcoil, Olangoody, Cambaconum, and some other small forts and places taken by the Company's troops in the Tanjore country, in the year 1781, had in their possession the sum of 2277 pagodas, being the proceeds of grain and sundry other articles captured in those places. A proper distribution of

this money could not be made, so difficult and indeed impracticable it was to ascertain and trace the several claimants. By desire, therefore, of Colonel Braithwaite, who had commanded the detachments, and with the concurrence of Colonel Eccles Nixon, second in command, and of Captain Cameron, who was major of brigade to the troops in question, it was transferred to the treasurer of the Asylum, with these stipulations, that the annual interest should be applied to the use of the charity, but the principal held subject to be reclaimed at any time, if a proper distribution could be made so as to be approved of by the then existing government. The same appropriation, under the same stipulations, was made of 11,765 star pagodas, being a balance arising from fractional remainders and unclaimed shares of Mysore prize money; and the prize agents, moreover, authorized the treasurer to receive the outstanding debts due to the prize fund, amounting to something more than 2300 star pagodas.

The funds being in this prosperous state, the directors of the Asylum resolved that ten supernumerary boys should be admitted, and from thenceforth the complement be kept complete at one hundred and ten. In the ensuing year the president represented to the committee, that applications for the reception of children well entitled to be received, were very numerous, and the funds were sufficient to support them; but that for any greater number, either as boarders or on the foundation, additional room was wanting. Accordingly the chief engineer, Lieutenant-Colonel Gent, who was a member of the committee, was requested to examine the premises, and lay before the committee a plan for enlarging the buildings, so as to make them capable of

accommodating one hundred boys more on the foundation. He was requested also to survey all the ground belonging to the charity, and suggest the best means of enclosing it.

During that year the number was gradually increased to a hundred and fifty, and shortly afterwards to two hundred, the managers having thus doubled the original complement without that assistance which they had so earnestly and repeatedly sought from the hands of the Company. It was not, however, by annual subscriptions and fixed stoppages of pay ~~that~~ this was or could have been effected, but by extraordinary patronage, remarkable instances of extraordinary bounty, and casualties, (for such the waifs and strays must be accounted,) which were now less likely to recur. The committee, therefore, still retained a hope that the Company might yet be induced to extend that allowance which had originally been given expressly as a provision for the present; and in the address which contained an account of their proceedings, they regretted that they had not been able to show their sense of the public liberality, by extending an immediate participation in the benefits of the institution to every one who was entitled to them. But this, they said, could not with propriety be done, till they should have received a favourable answer from the Company to their application.

CHAPTER VII.

Rules of the Institution—Acting President and Select Committee appointed—Annual Examination—Inoculation—Removal of Patients to the General Hospital—Dr Bell's solicitude for the Boys—Growing repute of the Institution.

WHEN Dr Bell accepted the charge of superintending the Asylum, it was with a full sense of the important duty which he had undertaken to perform, and a determination to perform it thoroughly. This his refusal of the proffered salary enabled him the better to effect. A residence in the fort was the only advantage for himself which he derived from the appointment. Except during a few short absences from Madras, he was present at all the meetings of the committee; and it appears from the minutes of those meetings, that not the slightest difference of an unpleasant kind or tendency, ever at any time occurred between him and the other directors. They saw his earnestness in what he had engaged in, and were not long in discovering his peculiar talents for every thing relating to the management of a school.

By the original rules a preference was given to the orphans of officers, if left destitute; the orphans of non-commissioned officers and soldiers had the next claim; and thirdly, the distress, or inability of the non-commissioned officer or soldier to educate his sons, was to be considered as affording them a title to the benefit

of this charity. But none were eligible unless their fathers were of European descent; and the children of European women were to be preferred, and of married to those of unmarried men. No boy was to be received under the age of four, nor above that of fourteen, and none to be kept on the foundation after sixteen. At or before fourteen it should be endeavoured to bind them out apprentices to artificers, or as clerks or servants, or otherwise dispose of them as might be thought likely to render them most useful to themselves and to the community. The monthly committee were to decide upon the admission or rejection of any boy lame or deformed, or whose faculties might seem to render him incapable of being instructed in the elements of letters. They were to be guided in their decision by the probability of such a boy's becoming a permanent burden on the fund, or being able to earn his own livelihood at a proper age. The boys were to be instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic; the original rules professed nothing more.

They were to rise at daybreak, be washed and combed, then read prayers, and breakfast at seven; go to school at eight, and remain till twelve; dine at one, and be in school from two till five; sup at seven, read prayers, and go to sleep at eight. Their dress was to consist of long drawers and a shirt for common wear, changed thrice a-week; a white waistcoat with sleeves for occasional use, and a leathern cap. Their diet was thus regulated:—Beer and rice, or milk and rice, for breakfast; for dinner, mutton broth two days in the week, two days fresh fish curry, and vegetable and animal curries the other three; for supper, rice

and pepper water on two days, rice and milk the other five.

On Sundays, those who were not at church were to be in school from the hour of nine till twelve ; and there, according to their age and progress, to be instructed in the Bible, the Catechism, and the children's first book. At five o'clock the Evening Service was to be read in the school. Parents and others connected with the children might, on application to the schoolmaster, see them at any hours on week-days ; but, to prevent crowds and irregularities, no admission could be granted on Sundays. Once a-week the boys were to be examined on the Catechism.

The president, vice-presidents, and directors, were to hold general quarterly meetings for the purpose of closing the accounts of the quarter, receiving such reports as might be laid before them from a meeting of the directors, held in order to prepare them a week before, revising the regulations, and making others, when necessary. A committee of three or more directors, appointed quarterly, was, on the first Saturday of every month, to examine the last month's accounts, look to the state of the provisions, and inspect the conduct of the superintendent of servants. The members of the committee of directors were each in rotation to visit the Orphan House once a-week ; and on the first of every month the visitors were to hear the classes read, inspect their writing and ciphering books, and the monthly returns of the boys' progress and rank in the school ; and twice in the year a general and regular examination was to take place.

It was soon found that the directors, as well as the

president and vice-presidents, had consented to regulations which bound them to more attendance than it was either possible for men in high station to give, or compatible in others, with the discharge of public business, and a proper regard to their own private concerns. It was found also that the more frequently an inconvenient call was repeated, the less likely it was to be regarded. The quarterly meetings were scarcely ever held ; and as matters of importance were sometimes delayed or neglected in consequence, an acting president and select committee were appointed, to supersede the necessity of such meetings. This substitution answered well ; but it was found impracticable to obtain the observance of those regulations which required a weekly inspection of the establishment, and a monthly one of the school. The general examination was made annual instead of half-yearly ; and on that occasion only the president and vice-presidents, who were always the governor and council, were called upon.

Some alterations also were found necessary in the economy of the institution. The boys' dress was found to be insufficient during the wet season : this defect was remedied, and instead of thrice in the week, their clothing was changed four times. Warmer and thicker bedding was provided against the next monsoon, upon the representation of Dr Bell that they had suffered during the last from its lightness. The estimates had been upon too parsimonious a principle ; and the medical attendants imputed the want of health which was observable among the children, to the insipidity or vapidness of their diet. Rice of a better quality than had

and well-seasoned curries, mutton and mutton broth, with bread, were prescribed for them during the unhealthy season. Owing to their low diet, they had been much affected with worms—(*lumbrici*;) for some time nearly a third of their whole number were in the hospital with various diseases, measles being the most prevalent; and the medical report represented many of the children as so puny, that it must be great care indeed which could save them.* Such care can seldom be attained in any public institution, even when the means are abundant, and those by whom its affairs are administered are conscientiously desirous of obtaining it. It is not to be purchased like other services. Nothing but a sense of religious obligation can supply in hospitals the place of that constant and devoted attention which is secured to us in private life, wherever natural affection is retained, and there is the sense of duty to support and strengthen it.

The measles, however, proved less fatal than had been apprehended. The whole number of deaths during the first three years, amounted to four, including those by small-pox, seventy-eight boys having been inoculated. A difficulty now arose respecting inoculating those who had yet to undergo that necessary process. The season being favourable for it, the phy-

* Dr Anderson says, in his report at this time—"I was sorry to find only one woman in attendance on the sick, who cannot possibly extend her care to so many wants. It is true, that the elder serve the younger; but they are fully employed in keeping off the flies, in so much that, to afford relief, I directed dishes with a little syrup to be placed on the floor for the purpose of drawing these troublesome insects from the sick. The ushers assured me that they were worn out with night-watching, as the common attendance could not be relied on." Dr Anderson recommended that gunpowder should be used for destroying the flies.

sician of the Asylum, Dr Baillie, wrote to Dr Bell, saying, that he had always much difficulty in getting the nurses and attendants to observe his directions concerning administering medicines, attention to diet, cool air, &c.; he therefore requested that Dr Bell would propose to the managers, that the boys might be removed to the General Hospital during the operation, when they would have proper medical servants, and when he should be able to see the necessary orders executed.

The proposal was taken into consideration, and approved by the committee. They applied, accordingly, to the government, and the government transmitted their application to the Hospital Board, intimating that it was to be complied with provided there was no material objection. Such an objection, however, there was: the board were of opinion, "that the introduction of the small-pox into the hospital at so late a season might be productive of serious consequences to patients in a convalescent state who had not had the distemper—indeed, it would probably prove fatal to them." The process, they observed, having been rendered, by the present improved mode of treatment, so extremely simple, and it being particularly desirable to familiarize the practice as much as possible, they were surprised that a proposition of this nature should be suggested by the surgeon to the institution. "Were we," they continued, "to give an opinion on the subject, we conceive there can be no place so proper as the Orphan School itself, as the situation is cool and airy, and as it appears that seventy-eight boys have been successfully inoculated there in the course of the last three years. With respect to attendants, we have to regret that the

hospitals in this country derive no advantage from the humanity or tenderness of nurses ; and we do not apprehend that any superiority in the Coolies employed by the surgeon, can counterbalance the inconvenience and risk of sending children into a ward of an hospital where infectious diseases constantly prevail."

It was next proposed that the inoculation should immediately be set about at the school, unless it were too late, upon which the surgeon must determine. Mr Andrew Ross, who took great interest in every thing which concerned the institution, thought it best that the operation should be performed at a safe distance, and mentioned the Race Stand as a convenient situation : meantime, the heat of the weather was every day increasing ; and Dr Baillie gave it as his opinion, that for this season, and because the season was now so far advanced, it would be prudent to delay it till the next. Colonel Braithwaite entered his opinion upon these proceedings in these words :—" I am very sorry that we have lost one entire year. Against such mischances we must guard in future, as there is no safe disputing with doctors on their own ground." Mr Andrew Ross added—" I join most sincerely in opinion with the president in lamenting the delay which has fallen out, and the exposing the lives of the boys (ten or twelve in number) to so much greater hazard ; and I see in the strongest light the propriety of taking the most effectual means for guarding against the possibility of so extraordinary an event in future."

Dr Bell's solicitude for the boys, in matters which most men would have overlooked, was shown, at this time, by his representing to the committee that the children suffered much from the want of cushions to

kneel upon at church, and obtaining, in consequence, an order that such cushions should be provided for them. The committee had now occasion to apply to the government upon a subject which most materially concerned the asylum. Certain persons had begun to enclose all the ground on the east point of Egmore Fort, by running a wide and deep ditch close to the glacis, with the intention of erecting a large Pariah village there; "the pernicious consequences of which to the health and morals of the children," said the committee, "are too obvious to require comment, or not to attract the serious attention of your honourable board, under whose immediate auspices and patronage the institution exists." They further represented, that the ground had long been considered as a common; and that in former times, as customary at all fortified places, it formed a part of the clear boundary of the fort at Egmore. A broad and well-frequented road through this ground was now cut off by the new ditch; so that the attempted enclosure would be a great inconvenience to the public in general, as well as a very serious nuisance to the Orphan House in particular. They had reason to believe that the persons engaged in this attempt had no grant of the ground, nor any permission from government to do what they were now doing. If they had any right whatever, it could only be the right of cultivation, or of grazing their cattle thereon. So much, custom might have tolerated; but they could have no right of enclosing, to the inconvenience of the public, and the annoyance of their immediate neighbours. The committee found it the more necessary to make an early representation of this intended nuisance, because attempts of a similar kind,

though of less magnitude, had at different times been made, which they had noticed in former addresses to the board, and because one in particular had existed for several months on the ground adjacent to the fort on the north, where two or three Pariah huts were at first slightly run up, and by degrees small hedges were planted, as if to conceal these, and afford means of making additions, so that the whole now appeared to be of such consequence as to require the interposition of government. They did not, the committee said, "forget that it had always been their intention to gratify, by a reasonable and moderate recompense, those person who might have claims to the ground, in order that a clear grant of it might be obtained from government, and all disputes precluded. But the state of their funds, as yet, rendering this more difficult than they could have wished, they hoped the board would continue to prevent encroachments or alterations till the affairs of the society, becoming more prosperous, might enable it to accomplish its views to the satisfaction of government, on whose protection and support they placed their reliance. On the receipt of this application, it was said that orders were given to remove the nuisance by levelling the huts and filling the ditch ; but instead of this, the ditch was completed, more huts were run up, and lines marked for streets in the projected Pariah village. Here the applications of the committee appear to have ceased. It may be presumed that the question of right which had been raised was adjusted, and that a nuisance which would have been so manifestly injurious to the Asylum, was removed.

The institution was now in high repute, and the question arose, whether some of its advantages might

be extended to children whose fathers were not connected with the army. A person of that description died, leaving three sons, and the question was raised by the application of his executor, who was desirous that these boys might be placed at the Asylum on the same terms as those officers' children for whom three pagodas per month was paid. Colonel Braithwaite had no objection to their admission on these terms, "because," he said, "although the original intention was to confine this charity to the military, the contributions had been very general, and he wished, therefore, that the good effects should be felt as generally as the means would permit. But Dr Bell was then in the country; and as he must, at all times, be the best judge whether an increase of boarders could with propriety be admitted, as best knowing what the means for accommodation and instruction were, the Colonel was of opinion that nothing ought to be done in this business till his return, and that a general meeting should then be summoned." The meeting determined against the proposal, on the ground that the nature of the institution, as it appeared to them after a due consideration of all the circumstances, did not admit of extending its advantages to any others than the sons of military men. But they saw reason to rescind this resolution some time afterwards, and it was then decided that the sons of non-military men might be admitted as boarders, on conforming to the regulations of the Asylum. When this rule was confirmed, it was determined also, upon a suggestion of Dr Bell's, that "as it might be the wish of some persons, with the view of securing a certain future provision for a child, to lodge a sum of money with the treasurer, the interest of which might not only be suffi-

cient to defray the monthly expense of board, &c., but to afford an overplus, to be added to the principal, and carried to the credit of the deposit for the benefit of the child: the treasurer should be authorized accordingly to receive in charge any such proffered sum of money, and to vest it in a government bond, on the terms which might appear to the select committee likely to prove most beneficial to the proprietor." Thus, so far as those children were concerned, the institution, by the suggestion of Dr Bell, was made to serve for them the purposes of a saving bank, as well as of an asylum.

CHAPTER VIII.

Asylum—Useful Regulations introduced by Dr Bell—Deficiency of Teachers—Difficulty in managing them—Want of Discipline—Malabar School—Dr Bell struck by the method of Teaching—First conception of his New System—Gives Directions—Usher untractable—Selects an elder Boy as Teacher—John Frisken—Boy succeeds—Appoints him permanent Teacher of his Class—Letters to Dr Adamson—Mrs Dempster—his Sister Jessy—Report for the General Meeting.

THE rise and progress of the Military Male Orphan Asylum at Madras having been related, and the various circumstances connected with the economy of the institution, it remains to trace the growth of that system of education which originated there, and has been so widely extended, both by the devoted labours of the inventor, and the industry of one who, deriving from Dr Bell his knowledge of the system, claimed for himself, with consummate effrontery, the honour of the invention.

From early youth Dr Bell had been employed in tuition, and his mind had been more directed to this than to any other object. It ceased to be his profession from the time when he took orders: and when he accepted the charge of the Male Asylum, it was without any view of advantage to himself, either immediate or remote. The object for which he went to India had been obtained. He had secured an independence, and had nothing

more to wish for in the way of fortune. To be more particularly useful in his station than he otherwise could be, was his sole motive for engaging in so laborious an employment. This he has himself told us.

Fathers were not more desirous to obtain for their children the benefits of this Asylum, than the mothers of those who were fatherless were at first averse to it. Most of these women, being Moors or Hindoos, were so ignorant of European customs, and so prepossessed with a notion that the religion of the English was as inhuman as their own, that when, by order of those to whose guardianship the boys had been left, they brought them to be admitted upon the foundation, they supposed the children were to be sacrificed to some unknown god, and went through all the ceremonies of mourning for them. Others fancied that they were giving them up to slavery ; and even the least unreasonable thought they were delivered over to hard taskmasters. A short time sufficed for dispelling such suppositions ; and when they understood what the object of the institution really was, they then employed every kind of importunity to obtain admittance for them.

The directors, after a while, found it expedient to make it one of the conditions of admission, that “in case the parent, guardian, or friend of any boy on the foundation, should wish to withdraw him from the Asylum, with the view of otherwise providing for him, the same should be signified by letter to the secretary, who would communicate it to the directors ; and should they be satisfied that the provision proposed was better than that designed by the institution, the child might accordingly be delivered to the parent or other person making the application.” This Dr Bell calls a very

essential regulation, which, by precluding the perpetual mischief of having the boys withdrawn under frivolous or false pretences, had saved many of them from perdition. "The consequence," he says, "of allowing parents to remove the children whenever they pleased, would be, that the parents themselves would repent of their own rashness when they came to witness the inferiority of their sons, both in point of conduct and attainments, to those who continued in the Asylum, and they would then tease the directors with solicitations to have them re-admitted."

The rules required, that no difference should be made between the boarders and the boys who were maintained by the funds of the institution. This was so evidently expedient, that no objection seems ever to have been advanced against it; but a question arose upon another point. Dr Bell represented to the committee that he had received repeated applications from Colonel W., three of whose children had been admitted as boarders, "to have them at home." To these applications he appears that he had not assented; and he now gave it as his opinion that bad consequences were likely to ensue if a greater degree of indulgence were shown to some boys than to others. The committee agreed with him, and directed that Colonel W. should be addressed upon this matter, and the necessity explained to him of strictly adhering to the rules, both for the general good of the boys and of his own children. The rule was a rigorous one, which had been determined on because of the peculiar character of the institution. In English schools, boys whose parents live within a convenient distance are properly allowed to pass their Sundays and occasional holidays at home; nor is this ever looked

upon as granting to some a greater indulgence than to others ; it is granted to all who are capable of receiving it, and none are aggrieved by an inequality thus arising merely from circumstances. But the great object for which the Military Male Orphan Asylum had been founded, was to rescue the children of the soldiers from the degradation and depravity of that class to which the mothers mostly belonged. The moral effects of their education would have been counteracted just in proportion to the intercourse which they were permitted to hold with their maternal relations ; and the restriction, therefore, in their case was not more severe than necessary.

Colonel W. however thought, that though the regulation might be necessary as a general rule, there was no necessity for adhering to it in cases where none of the inconveniences which it was framed to obviate existed : he therefore took the children away. Some time afterwards he died, leaving his family absolutely destitute. Dr Anderson, who seems to have been their most efficient friend in this time of need, laid their case before the directors ; and, not being aware that the boys had been at the Asylum, requested to know if they could be received there. He was told in reply that they had been there formerly as boarders, and were removed by their parents ; but if it was Mrs W.'s desire that they should be placed there again, the directors thought, considering the circumstances of the case, it would be proper to admit them, if it did not militate against the regulations. After further discussion, the secretary reported that there was no objection on that score, but that there were then two boys above the number at which the establishment had been fixed.

and nineteen previous applications. Dr Anderson, however, had offered to take upon himself their maintenance as boarders, on condition of their being admitted upon the foundation at the first vacancies; and thus, the secretary observed, all difficulties might be removed, inasmuch as the children of officers, when left destitute, were considered by the regulations as possessing the strongest claims upon the charity. It was determined, therefore, that they should be admitted to the first vacancies, and received meantime as boarders at Dr Anderson's charge.

The institution had then existed about five years, and the boys were improving so remarkably under the system of education which by that time had been gradually formed there, that, on this account also, it had become an object of considerable attention in the settlement. At first nothing more was intended than the common course of instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the mode of instruction differed in nothing from that of ordinary schools. When Dr Bell took upon himself the superintendency, he found one master and two ushers employed in teaching less than twenty boys. These boys were not all arranged in classes, and of those who were he was told that it was impossible to teach them to take places. One lesson a-day was as much as could usually be exacted from them, and sometimes only one in two or three days. Indeed, the teachers themselves had every thing to learn relating to the management of a school. They were men who had never been trained in tuition, but were taken from very different occupations; he found it, he says, beyond measure difficult to bring them into his own views, and convince them how impossible it

was that the school could be properly conducted, or the boys improve as they ought, without order and inflexible but mild discipline.

It was not less difficult to impress them with the necessity of an earnest and constant attention to the behaviour of the boys, and the importance of inculcating upon them on all occasions a sense of their moral duties, as the only means of correcting the miserable maxims and habits in which most of them had hitherto been bred up. He found also, that whenever he had succeeded in qualifying a man for performing his business as an usher in the school, he had qualified him for situations in which a much higher salary might be obtained with far less pains.* These men, therefore, were either discontented with their situation, because they were unfit for it, or, having been made fit, became discontented with an appointment which was then below their deserts.

It was, however, mainly with their incapacity, and the obstinacy which always accompanied it, that Dr Bell had to contend at first. He was dissatisfied with the want of discipline, and the imperfect instruction in every part of the school; but more particularly with the slow progress of the younger boys, and the unreasonable length of time consumed in teaching them their letters. They were never able to proceed without the constant aid of an usher, and, with that aid, months were wasted before the difficulties of the alphabet were got over. Dr Bell's temper led him to do all things quickly, and his habits of mind to do them thoroughly, and leave nothing incomplete. He tells us, that from the beginning he looked upon perfect instruction as the main duty of the office with which he had charged

* The master had a salary of twenty pagodas a month, and each of the

himself; yet he was foiled for some time in all the means that he devised for attaining it. Many attempts he made to correct the evil in its earliest stage, and in all he met with more or less opposition from the master and ushers. Every alteration which he proposed, they considered as implying some reflection on their own capacity or diligence; in proportion as he interfered, they thought themselves disparaged, and were not less displeased than surprised, that instead of holding the office of superintendent as a sinecure, his intention was to devote himself earnestly to the concerns of the Asylum, and more especially to the school department.

Things were in this state, when, happening on one of his morning rides to pass by a Malabar school, he observed the children seated on the ground, and writing with their fingers in sand, which had for that purpose been strewn before them. He hastened home, repeating to himself as he went *Ευρηκα*, "I have discovered it;" and gave immediate orders to the usher of the lowest classes to teach the alphabet in the same manner, with this difference only from the Malabar mode, that the sand was strewn upon a board. These orders were either disregarded, or so carelessly executed, as if they were thought not worth regarding; and after frequent admonitions, and repeated trials made without either expectation or wish of succeeding, the usher at last declared it was impossible to teach the boys in that way. If he had acted on this occasion in good will, and with merely common ability, Dr Bell might never have cried *Ευρηκα* a second time. But he was not a man to be turned from his purpose by the obstinacy of others, nor to be baffled in it by their incapacity; baffled, however, he was now sensible that he must be

if he depended for the execution of his plans on the will and ability of those over whose minds he had no command. He bethought himself of employing a boy, on whose obedience, disposition, and cleverness he could rely, and giving him charge of the alphabet class. The lad's name was John Frisken; he was the son of a private soldier, had learned his letters in the Asylum, and was then* about eight years old. Dr Bell laid the strongest injunctions upon him to follow his instructions; saying, he should look to him for the success of the simple and easy method which was to be pursued, and hold him responsible for it. What the usher had pronounced to be impossible, this lad succeeded in effecting without any difficulty. The alphabet was now as much better taught, as till then it had been worse than any other part of the boys' studies; and Frisken, in consequence, was appointed permanent teacher of that class.

Though Dr Bell did not immediately perceive the whole importance of this successful experiment, he proceeded in the course into which he had been, as it were, compelled. What Frisken had accomplished with the alphabet class, might, in like manner, be done with those next in order, by boys selected, as he had been, for their aptitude to learn and to teach. Accordingly, he appointed boys as assistant teachers to some of the lower classes, giving, however, to Frisken the charge of superintending both the assistants and their classes, because of his experience and the readiness with which he apprehended and executed whatever was required from him. This talent indeed the lad possessed in such perfection, that Dr Bell did not hesitate to throw upon him the entire responsibility of this part of the

school. The same improvement was now manifested in these classes as had taken place in teaching the alphabet. This he attributed to the diligence and fidelity with which his little friends, as he used to call them, performed his orders. To them a smile of approbation was no mean reward, and a look of displeasure sufficient punishment. Even in this stage he felt confident, that nothing more was wanting to bring the school into such a state as he had always proposed to himself, than to carry through the whole of the plan upon which he was now proceeding. And this, accordingly, was done. The experiment which from necessity had been tried at first with one class, was systematically extended to all the others in progression; and, what is most important with scholastic improvement, moral improvement, not less, in consequence of the system, is said to have kept pace. For the assistant teachers, being invested with authority not because of their standing in the school, retained their influence at all times, and it was their business to interpose whenever their interference was necessary: such interference prevented all that tyranny and ill usage from which so much of the evil connected with boarding-schools arises; and all that mischief in which some boys are engaged by a mischievous disposition, more by mere wantonness, and a still greater number by the example of their companions. The boys were thus rendered inoffensive toward others, and among themselves; and this gentle preventive discipline made them, in its sure consequences, contented and happy. A boy was appointed over each class to marshal them when they went to church or walked out, and to see that they duly performed the operations of combing and washing

themselves. Ten boys were appointed daily to clean the school-rooms, and wait upon the others at their meals. Twice a-week during the hot season, and once a-week during the monsoon season, they were marched by an usher to the tank, and there they bathed by classes.

As to any purposes of instruction, the master and ushers were now virtually superseded. They attended the school so as to maintain the observance of the rules; though even this was scarcely necessary under Dr Bell's vigilant superintendence, who now made the school the great pleasure as well as the great business of his life. Their duty was, not to teach, but to look after the various departments of the institution, to see that the daily tasks were performed, to take care of the boys in and out of school, and to mark any irregularity or neglect either in them or the teachers. The master's principal business regarded now the economy of the institution: he had charge both of the daily disbursements and monthly expenditure under the treasurer.

The precise date of that experiment which led to the general introduction of boy-teachers cannot be ascertained; but that these teachers had been introduced in 1791, or early in the ensuing year, is certain. In private letters, written to his friends in Europe, Dr Bell relates the progress of his improvements step by step, and the impressions made upon his own mind by the complete success of his exertions in a favourite pursuit. These letters show also how soon he became aware of the importance of the system which he was developing and bringing to maturity.

The school was opened in 1789. During the next two years, the great interest which he took in whatever

concerned it appears in his correspondence; but nothing is said of any new or specific method of instruction. This is first mentioned in a letter to Dr Adamson of St Andrews.

“ May 26, 1792.

“ I believe I have mentioned the school with which I am charged. The orphans educated here are bound out to any art or trade by which they may be useful to themselves and society. We have already saved from perdition, and given to the world, a number of apprentices, clerks, apothecaries, sailors, mechanics, &c. In the course of two years I have had boys taught to speak, and write, and spell English, and to advance in arithmetic. Many of them wrote beautifully. But the great lesson is, in opposition to the maxims and breeding of the country, to speak truth and to leave off deceit. ✓

“ The conduct of the school, which is entirely in my own hands, is particular. Every boy is either a master or a scholar, and generally both. He teaches one boy, while another teaches him. The success has been rapid. Native mothers, who, when they first brought their sons, went through the ceremony of mourning for them, ply us now with every species of importunity to have their younger children admitted. A temporary provision is made for the admission of the sons of living officers as boarders; the institution is so popular, that we have already more than thirty boys, white and blue, of this description, though they are subjected to the very same treatment, dress, discipline, and diet, as the poor orphans. And this I consider as the best commendation of the Asylum.”

In a letter to Mr Dempster, after repeating part of

what he had said to Dr Adamson, he says—"I have availed myself of your name, which has its weight all over the world, to support my system in this school. It has a double advantage in forwarding the education of the boys, and saving the expense and incumbrance of many ushers. I do little more in school than enact and enforce general rules and principles, teach the schoolmaster and ushers, and watch with a strict eye over their conduct. We profess to teach only to read, to write, to spell, and to cipher. But when a boy has made a certain progress, I have him instructed in book-keeping, or geometry, or navigation, &c., according as he chooses to be a writer, or a mechanic, or a sailor, &c.; for hitherto they have made their choice of their profession. The boys are attached to the school, and I go on with redoubled exertion, expecting to be richly repaid by the success of my labours."

The more his method was brought into operation, the more sensible he now became of its importance. "The school," he says, in a letter to Dr Rudd, "is conducted on principles which it has cost me great trouble to establish, and to inculcate upon the schoolmaster and ushers. I have already seen its happy effects, and feel a pleasing consciousness of having done what has seldom been done—reared a work in some respects new, and differing from all institutions of the kind I know of—and having done this by means of such agents as are always at command. The progress of my pupils is beyond what you would believe in Europe. I have bound out a boy, a clerk in a most respectable department, and for five years only, who, in little more than twelve months after he began to learn his A B C, wrote, read, and ciphered well. You would be astonished at the sight of my youngsters, of

six, seven, and eight years old; and yet I have only accomplished three-fourths of the task I had prescribed to myself with regard to this school. When the other part is once done, I shall think I have finished a great work, and have a right to enjoy another climate."

Soon afterwards, he says to Mr Dempster—"The school promises fair to present to us the sole reward I have sought of all my labours with my young pupils, by giving to society an annual crop of good and useful subjects, many of them rescued from the lowest state of depravity and wretchedness. If the spirit I have tried to infuse into the minds of our youth do not evaporate, I despair not of proving to the observing spectator that it is the perversion of every right principle of education which has hitherto, more than any other cause, stamped the characters of the half-caste children. Suppose only deceit and trick taught by the parent, who has generally the charge of the infant mind, as well by example as by precept, and you will readily imagine the consequences. To correct this radical error will ever be the most difficult part of my task; and it is therefor I have bent my utmost endeavours to root out ✓ this perversity. In no part of the world have I seen greater facility in youth of acquiring those branches of education which are to render them most useful to ✓ society. To spell, to write, to cipher, &c., seem congenial to their patient industry. The younger classes of the school were never so well taught as they are at present, when they are taught by a boy of ten years of age, one of themselves, under the eye of a master of other classes."

To his sister Jessy, he says—"It is my grand ambition to complete my system for this school; and to

accomplish the task I proposed to myself when I undertook it—a task in which I have now made a progress which I little expected, when I considered the public opinion of the character of the youths of this country, and the many disadvantages I had to combat. But resolution, perseverance, and assiduity, have already effected so much, that what remains appears to me easy, and, I hope, may turn out of easy accomplishment; so that I may soon be enabled to hand over the school to another superintendent in such a condition, and under such economy, as will insure success, if the same system be prosecuted with zeal, industry, and ability. To alter the character of a race of men seems no easy attempt—but such is the attempt I have made.”

No mention of any experiments or improvement on the mode of education had yet been made in the annual address to the public, and the annual report drawn up for the information of the court of directors. The latter was nothing more than an official statement of the accounts, and the number of boys on the foundation; the former an appeal to the feelings and liberality of the public in aid of the funds. But at this time Dr Bell entered largely into the arrangements of the institution in a report which he prepared for the general meeting of the president, vice-presidents, and directors of the Asylum, as necessary, he said, to form a just judgment of its management, progress, and present condition; as also to assist in judging of what remained to be done for putting the establishment on a permanent footing.

“Many applications having been made for the introduction of boys, not military, as boarders, it might be

worth enquiring whether it would be proper to admit such at an additional rate, if thought necessary, as well for the sake of such boys as cannot obtain a right education owing to the want of schools in this country, as for the sake of the establishment. It may also be an object of enquiry whether parlour boarders might not be received and admitted to a separate table, and a different dress, according to the prospect held out on the commencement of the school, and each succeeding year in the 'Address to the Public,' such limitations being adopted as on trial shall be found expedient to prevent an overgrowth of numbers—an evil which is not much to be feared under the increasing demand for boys rightly educated. It appears to me that a great advantage might be derived to the school from this source.

“ There are proposals on foot from the most respectable quarters, by which it would seem that excellent provision might be made for the description of boys educated here, with great utility to the community; proposals which, if carried into a system, cannot fail to give importance to the school in the eyes of the court of directors, and afford a new claim upon them for their further assistance.

“ Other fields are daily opening in which these boys might be employed with every prospect of success. But as the school has already, under its present restricted complement of one hundred, given twenty-seven apprentices of the boys furthest advanced, (exclusive of twelve now engaged,) it cannot be expected that for some time any considerable number can be brought forward, out of the little boys now left, for public utility, without opening a new source, by receiving

boys a little advanced of the description I have mentioned. In the arrangements for this purpose there will be found very little difficulty, and it will form a great addition to the expected utility of this seminary. Navigation, mensuration, trigonometry, surveying, and the branches of the mathematics connected with them, cannot well be taught at any private school by any teacher of abilities but at a great expense ; whereas at this school any of these branches of education can be introduced with very little or no addition to the present establishment of teachers.

“ Such are the objects which fall particularly under my notice. What remains for putting this establishment upon a more fixed and permanent footing, I leave to those by whose exertions, and abilities, and influence, it can alone be effected. It is easier to point out the defect than to devise the remedies ; but it surely is worth the early attention of the managers to give to the establishment a face and form of stability.”

Soon after the date of this report, Dr Bell opened what he called an Orderly Book, containing remarks and observations in a manner not a little characteristic of himself. They show the difficulties and obstacles which he met with at every stage ; his incessant attention to every branch of the school ; and his inflexible determination to allow of nothing that might tend to frustrate the accomplishment of his views. The object in this book was to record, at the time, the various instances of neglect which daily occurred on the part of the schoolmaster and ushers, and their unobservance of those rules which he knew to be essential for the health, the morals, and the right instruction of the boys ; to correct the ills arising from this neglect, and

prevent any combination among the ushers for supporting each other in insubordination. In this paper there are many minute details concerning the main principle of tuition by the scholars themselves, or, as it was afterwards called, mutual instruction. They show him to have been, at this time, fully aware that the power of the system consisted in this principle alone, and not in any subordinate practices.

The first entry conveyed a reprimand to the schoolmaster. "Dr Bell having found, after an experience of three years, the same rules of the school overlooked and neglected, and that no regard seems to be shown to his repeated and earnest reprimands, desires, for the future, that Mr Harvey may pay more attention to this subject than he has ever yet done: in particular, he complains that the rule in regard to boys teaching one another is much neglected, to the evident detriment of the boys." Then, after specifying some instances of irregularity, he proceeds—"Dr Bell feels it a duty incumbent on him to direct that Mr Harvey will take measures for preventing this perpetual and habitual neglect of all orders and rules, and that in every department a person may be appointed who shall see the rules executed every day, and whose name shall be entered in this book so often as the rules shall be neglected without his reporting it, which is the great fault of those in charge at this moment. Dr Bell feels the most sincere regret that he should be compelled to take this measure; but finds it absolutely necessary to do so. He hopes that it will produce that attention so essential to the interests of the youths educated here, and be of benefit to all the teachers."

This book was in use about five months. It contains complaints, expressed with more or less severity, of neglect, on the part of the master and ushers, in regard to the method of instruction, and in every part of their business. The mismanagement was greater in the domestic departments than in the school. But it appears that the master and ushers had set their faces obstinately against the system of mutual instruction, which Dr Bell was not less resolutely determined to maintain. Every instance of neglect in this material point he noticed in the book, and not only gave strict and repeated orders for carrying his views into effect, but, from time to time, specified the boys whom he thought fit to be employed as teachers. One list of those who were thus selected contains nearly seventy names.

One usher was admonished, that if he offended again in disobeying his instructions, it would be at the peril of dismissal. He was reprimanded also for disregarding the standing order, when he walked with the boys not to take them through or near any village, on account of the constant danger there was of catching the small-pox or measles ; whereas he not only took them to the villages, but even to the arrack shop. He was reported, too, for ill behaviour to the servants, and ill usage of the little boys, by biting their fingers, pinching their ears, and otherwise correcting them in an improper manner. Another was entered in the book for unbecoming demeanour towards Dr Bell in the school, and the very improper language which, in his presence, he had used before the boys, tending to encourage them in their faults. The master was required to exercise

the same authority in managing the ushers and the school, when Dr Bell was absent, as he did when he was present.

This journal, as it might be called, concludes by saying that the purpose for which it was opened having, in a great degree, been answered by the willingness with which Mr Harvey and the ushers now carried on the system of the school, and much benefit having been perceived in the health, the conduct, and the progress of the boys, the book was now laid aside ; but that it would be resumed if any such glaring instances of neglect, or of opposition to good rules, should again occur, as rendered it necessary to put them upon record, in order to correct and remove them.

The year after this experiment of the orderly book had been made, Dr Bell reported, that the system which, with the concurrence and approbation of the directors, he had endeavoured to introduce into the school by gradual and secure measures, according to the capacity and disposition of the master and ushers, and the assistance derived from the scholars acting as teachers, was actually carried into effect. " It is a peculiar satisfaction to me," he says, " that I can speak from experience of its success ; and that not a year has passed since the first formation of the school, but has added greatly to its improvement and utility. No less than forty-six boys, in the lower classes, receive their elementary letters from a youth trained in the school himself, who learned his letters there, and who is not yet twelve years of age ; and the improvement of this part of the school exceeds what it ever had been under all the ushers of full years whom I have tried ; and this

department is now on the footing I proposed to myself to put it when I entered on this charge."

Speaking then of the master and ushers, he reported that the person, noted in the orderly book for biting the boys' fingers and pinching their ears, "had been dismissed, as not fitted for a situation where it was necessary that the words and conversation of an usher should be correct as well as his actions. The office of the master and ushers," he said, "is to attend the boys constantly, in school, and by turns out of school; to watch over the teaching boys; to see that the method of teaching is uniformly and strictly observed; to instruct the teaching boys when necessary; and to take such a share in the tuition of the respective classes committed to them, and of the boys in those classes who required particular assistance, as might best forward the general plan of the institution.

"I have considered it, above all," he says, "as a peculiar duty which I owe to humanity, to train up as far as I can, while my health and situation will permit me, such a number of teachers in the school itself as may be necessary to facilitate the labour, and promote the success of those who may come after me; so that I may have the pleasing reflection of having in some degree accomplished the grand object of my ambition, and left this seminary in such a state, and under such conduct and regulation, as need only to be continued to give full effect to this useful and benevolent institution."

CHAPTER IX.

- The Asylum—Schoolmaster tenders his Resignation—Accepted—Succeeded pro tempore by the Usher, Mr Taylor—Reform in the Supplies—Embezzlements discovered and prevented—Success of the new Mode of Tuition—Curious Letter from Mr Pherson Holmes—Situation of Schoolmaster offered to Mr Pezold—His Reply—Letter from Schwartz—From the Danish Missionary—John.

THE school had now been brought into such a state, that it was conducted throughout upon the system of mutual instruction, under the direction of the master and the ushers, when circumstances connected with the economy of the institution, which had for some time been a cause of much uneasiness to Dr Bell, deprived him in their consequences of these directors, and brought the principle of what has since been called the Madras system so fully into action, that the whole business of instruction was for a time carried on exclusively by the boys themselves.

The master tendered his resignation, in a note which he requested Dr Bell to lay before the acting secretary, Major Agnew. He had frequently before intimated a wish to resign; but on this occasion the proposal was formally made, and the reasons assigned for it were, that he found himself incapable of executing the duty required of him as schoolmaster, and that he was unable to undergo the fatigues of serving in that capacity in the Male Asylum. Dr Bell asked him what duties

he spoke of? He replied, "Almost every duty." He was asked also, "What fatigues?" and he replied, "The fatigues of the mind." Accordingly, the note in which he "solicited permission to resign" was presented; and a minute in due form was signed by five of the committee to this effect. There could be no doubt that Mr Harvey might resign his situation if he were determined to do so; they hoped, however, that he would not do it hastily, nor till his place could be supplied. Dr Bell's good friend, Mr Andrew Ross, added to the minute these observations—"I cannot help expressing my sincere regret at Mr Harvey's application for leave to resign the employment which he has so long filled with credit to himself, and advantage to the situation in which he has stood, forming my opinion as well from the repeated testimonies of his good behaviour which stand on our records, as from my own constant observations of his discreet and modest deportment during that period."

Upon these minutes Dr Bell made the following remarks—"I have every reason to believe that a single word would retain Mr Harvey in his situation for the present; but I am not so well satisfied, considering my duty to the school, with the knowledge I have on this subject, and the responsibility of my situation, how far it were proper. From his conduct, as well as from his applications to me upon the subject, I believe that, on this occasion, he is in earnest. And if any difficulties should be added to the natural ones of rendering the school what I had proposed to myself it should be, and what I am more and more convinced it may be; if that neglect and inattention, which I have often complained of on the spot, were renewed, I cannot be answerable

for the consequences. Every arrangement almost by which this school has benefited all along, has produced a letter of resignation to me from Mr Harvey. But I have not desisted, and will not, while I remain in this charge, desist from measures which may sometimes interfere with the wishes of any teacher who has other views than the good of the institution and of the boys. Mr Harvey will, I believe, continue if desired, and perhaps this may be a warning to him. If it be his wish that any part of the business, not absolutely essential in his situation, should be rendered easier, I have told him repeatedly that it would always be my wish to make any arrangement for that purpose. But if every call for attention to the health of the boys, and for the prevention of diseases which are the mere effect of negligence; if every admonition of this kind, and every retrenchment of superfluous expense, is to produce a letter of resignation, it were better that the resignation took place."

After this exposition from Dr Bell, the acting secretary wrote to Mr Harvey, saying that he had communicated his letter to the committee, and was by them directed to inform him that he had their permission to resign. "The Reverend Dr Bell," he added, "has stated to the committee your offer to remain till a successor can be appointed, but this will not be required of you. If, on consideration, you wish to retain your employment, you will be allowed to do so, provided you conform strictly to the rules of the institution, and obey every direction you may receive from Dr Bell. You will acquaint me with your determination on Monday next." Mr Harvey, at the appointed time, returned for answer that he was determined to resign. It was,

indeed, not possible that his removal could much longer be delayed. An official letter from Dr Bell to the acting secretary, which was laid before a meeting of the president, vice-presidents, and directors, renders this evident.

On the receipt, he said, of the acting president's orders, that he should direct to whom Mr Harvey might give over his charge, together with the books and accounts of the school, he had no choice, Mr Taylor being the only usher or teacher at present there, except the boys themselves. "It was some support to me," he continues, "when thus left without any alternative, that I had much confidence in Mr Taylor, and great hopes that he would keep the accounts in such a manner as to prevent, for the future, those complaints of fatigue and trouble on the one part, and of malversation and embezzlement on the other, of which you have heard a little, and I a great deal. The sequel will prove that the first acts of Mr Taylor's management have not disappointed my expectations, and that our new broom sweeps clean. But that the same practices may not occur among the servants of this school, I beg leave to remind the directors of the original regulation, that a committee should meet on the first Saturday in every month for the purpose of examining the books and passing the accounts; and I beg leave also to propose that this regulation be invariably observed. My reason for again renewing this proposal will appear from the abuses which have prevailed here, for want of a proper authority on the spot to enquire into and check the accounts.

"When Mr Taylor received his new charge, I told him what I conceived his duties to be, and by what

mode of conduct he might prevent such complaints as had heretofore been made to me and by me, and also recommend himself to the directors. He had in his possession copies of the disbursements and expenditure of the household for the time past. He must carefully examine and try them, retrench what was superfluous and wasted, and add whatever was requisite. It was soon discovered that of forty-five measures of rice daily given out to the cooks, ten were embezzled. But that there may be no want, I have ordered thirty-seven to be used daily, which allows the boys a greater ratio if it be needed than they before had, and somewhat to spare. Of eight *pollams* of pepper given out, four and a half were embezzled. When a *vis* of coffee, half only was used; when a *vis* and a half of sugar, only half that quantity was expended in the cook-room; and so of other things in a smaller or greater proportion. Sixty measures of oil were at one time expended monthly, and lamps not merely superfluous, but also inexpedient, were introduced, and now it is found that fifteen are sufficient."

He then stated that the monthly expense of the bazar articles had been reduced more than one-half; and that the expense of diet would be little more than half of what it had been before the recent enquiry was instituted, though the number of boys had been increased—the reduction having been produced entirely by preventing waste and overcharges. Respecting the price of articles, they were necessarily, he said, dependent in great measure upon a butler; but the quantity was fixed by trial and experience, and great as the retrenchment was, especial care had been taken that the boys should in no case be served with an inferior article, nor

less abundantly. He had been greatly displeased to see the bad milk and bad tire with which they were frequently supplied, notwithstanding the attempts made to correct these abuses, and the expense incurred with a view to remedy them. An arrangement had at last been made that cows should be brought and milked on the spot: good milk was thus obtained, and a considerable diminution of cows was one of the good consequences.

Noticing then some regulations which he had made as further checks against embezzlement, he proceeded to say—"By such means I wish to prevent the repetition of those complaints, so ungrateful on every account, which always produced an offer or a letter of resignation, followed by complaints of the hard duties and fatigues of the school. It is more than a year since I had notices and intimations that all was not right, and mentioned these notices in the most friendly and private manner to the intendant, of whose honesty I had a good opinion, and repeatedly requested him for my sake, for his own sake, for God's sake, to keep the accounts, and direct the daily expenses in the manner then pointed out to him, as now pointed out to Mr Taylor, so that a voucher might be had for every expense. On finding my repeated remonstrances ineffectual, I began to exert myself with all my individual influence to prevent defalcation; and it is some time since I gave the treasurer notice of the complaints on this score, and requested his assistance, which, when obtained, produced no other effect than fresh complaints of the duties and fatigues of the school.

"Let me add," says Dr Bell, "that having had the charge of this school almost six years, from its infancy,

and feeling all that interest in its welfare which arises from my situation, from the years I have spent, and the toil I have bestowed upon this favourite object, I cannot conceal my joy and satisfaction in observing that since the late dereliction of our masters, the school has improved beyond what it had ever before done in the same period, thus verifying to me more and more what its state will be when the masters and ushers enter heartily into the interests and right tuition of our young family. A new teacher from among the boys, whom I had trained for the purpose, has been introduced; and the more the boys teach themselves and one another, the greater I have always found their improvement; nor has their comfort in every other point of view been less promoted. The immense benefit resulting from attention to that method and arrangement which is found to facilitate the labour of the masters, as much as it expedites the progress of the scholars, is more and more visible to every one here who wishes to see it; and all, I hope, now wish to see it."

The letter then proceeded to commend certain of the boys for the ability and alacrity with which they performed their part as teachers, particularly Frisken, who, at the age of eleven, was teaching all the younger classes, amounting to a third of the whole school. Dr Bell concluded by again recommending that a committee should meet every month for the purpose of examining the books, passing the accounts, and directing such measures as circumstances might require.

This letter having been taken into consideration, Dr Bell was thanked for the information he had communicated, and was requested, with the treasurer and the

secretary for the time being, to meet as a committee, once a month, for the purpose which he had proposed. He desired to be excused from this duty; but upon their urging it, he complied with their wishes, against his own inclination.

Meantime, some curious correspondence took place concerning the situation vacated by Mr Harvey. A clerk in the Adjutant-General's office applied for it in a letter equally remarkable for its ceremonious penmanship, and its unceremonious contents :—

*Mr James Pherson Holmes, Clerk in the Adjutant-General's Office,
to Dr Bell.*

“Fort St George, August 27, 1795.

“Sir,

“Having been informed of your being in immediate want of a person to take charge of the public school at Edgemoor, I now have the pleasure of offering my services to you, sir, as teacher in the following branches of education, viz., English, writing, arithmetic, and drawing if required. I will not flatter you, sir, but relate what I heard from one who formerly taught in the school; this he told me as a fact.

“‘That you was a very odd kind of a gentleman, and very fond of abusing and quarrelling with the teachers; when they were not even in the least fault imaginable.’

“But this I am not inclined or apt to believe. I am of opinion that you would not revile any man for imaginary faults, but on the contrary cause retribution to be made according as a man's abilities might merit your favour and protection.

“But be this as it may, I wish to acquaint you that

I am very partial to living in a retired and convenient situation ; such, I should think, the place is from appearances, and free from any noise and disturbance such as the fort.

“ But yet I have one thing to relate, which is, that I am of weak constitution, and am not able to walk up and down with the children on any account, although I am quite capable of performing any kind of duty required of me in a school ; this I must leave to your better judgment.

“ Be pleased to address a few lines on this subject, (by the bearer, who waits an answer,) and you will much oblige, sir, your very devoted and most humble servant at your service.

“ The Reverend Dr Bell.”

Dr Bell had had a very different person in his eye. The Rev. Charles William Piezold, who, having been educated in the University of Wittenberg, acted as private tutor there, and been employed in the schools and in the pulpit at Halle, was sent to India in 1792 by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, as their missionary for the Madras station. To him the situation vacated by Mr Harvey was offered. Whether the proposal originated with Dr Bell or with Colonel Braithwaite, is uncertain, but it appears that Colonel Braithwaite wrote to Schwartz, then the venerable head of the mission, informing him of the wish of the committee that Mr Piezold should take upon himself a charge which they seem to have considered as not incompatible with his functions as a missionary. Meantime, Mr Piezold thought fit to decline the proposal,

for reasons stated in the following characteristic letter to Dr Bell:—

Mr Piezold to Dr Bell.

“ Wepery, 23d May 1795.

“ Reverend and Dear Sir,

“ I have, indeed, much reason to be extremely sorry for having caused you now three days, one after another, so many pains and troubles, on account of the new charge proposed to me. No doubt all those proposals and representations you have favoured me with are, in every respect praiseworthy, and by no means to be reprov'd, and I cannot choose but to acknowledge this very gratefully.

“ But as I, being a man of family, can't act arbitrarily in the matter you are concerned in, but must absolutely accommodate myself to the humours and dispositions of Mrs Piezold, to her liking and disliking, pleasing and not pleasing, so I am necessitated to give up immediately the whole scheme, as soon as she uttereth the least reply and objection, *although* the loss arising from that resignation be ever so great.

“ Now, dear sir, you know already what Mrs Piezold is so fear of—*vid*: that the lodging at the Male Asylum won't answer to her wishes, and to all the accommodations she enjoys now; besides this, several other circumstances dissuade her the undertaking of such a sudden change. Now, above all this, dear sir, I, for my part, after having maturely deliberated with myself, and well considered the basis of matters, you send so, and see very plainly, *ex post*, that we both are greatly mistaken concerning one another, and that especially (which I observe to my regret) you have judged quite

amiss of all the capacities and abilities which you imagined I possess. No, not at the least. You recollect how I showed you yesterday the most perspicuous marks of my being entirely incapable to succeed in the room of Mr Harvey. This I did in some measure premeditatedly—and why so? for to make myself known to you in the very frame I am exposed to, and that the mistake, by which we both have been led astray, all at once might be abolished.

“ You see, dear sir, this is sincerity ; this is open-heartedness. I do not doubt, yea, I am sure of it, you will very easily find another and more qualified subject than I am for to substitute it in the place of Mr Harvey ; I mean a person which will be able to accomplish all the great designs you aim at perfectly, and to perform every single duty desired of a school teacher, better than you ever can expect it from me.

“ I recommend myself to your continued favour, and remain, with the greatest respect, reverend and dear sir, your most sincere friend and humble servant.”

The German missionary decided rightly, and would have come to the same decision even if he had not allowed due weight to the representations of his helpmate. A man of inferior attainments would have been better fitted for the situation. He had the satisfaction of having wisely declined it before Schwartz delivered his opinion upon the matter in a letter to Colonel Braithwaite, which has also been preserved among Dr Bell's papers :—

“ Tanjore, May 25, 1795.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I have received your favour, and am obliged for the kind attention you have paid to the first point.

“As to the second point, concerning the Rev. Mr Piezold, you know that the honourable Society has called him to be a missionary—that his being sent out has cost the Society a great sum—that hitherto he has been unable to assist the Rev. Mr Gerike, because his time has been taken up with learning languages—that his solemn engagement obliges him to fulfil the duties of his calling.

“Should he now relinquish or neglect the duties of a missionary, the honourable Society would have great reason to complain of his conduct, as was observable in the behaviour of Mr Clark in Bengal.

“But it may reasonably be said, that the Male Asylum is a noble institution, beneficial to many children, and consequently to the public; and that any assistance given to such a work would promote the present and future welfare of many hundred young people.

“As this is really the case, it depends upon Mr Piezold’s serious consideration, whether he is able and willing to assist the Male Asylum, without neglecting the duties of a missionary. If he is able to perform both, I cannot, nay I will not, say any thing against them.

“But if he should find himself unable to fulfil the wish of the honourable Society, and therefore resolve to quit the office of a missionary, he ought in conscience to apply to his superior to give him his dismissal, for we have no such power.

“This is my opinion. I have no power over any of my brethren, much less do I claim it; but I may give my opinion.

“May God, direct all to his praise!”

The name of Schwartz is now well known throughout the Protestant world. Dr Bell used to speak of him as being a truly venerable man, whose manners were at the same time persuasive and commanding—who was at once a courtier and a statesman, without departing in the slightest degree from his apostolic course of life, and who possessed more influence, both among Europeans and natives, than any other individual in that part of India. The first portrait of Schwartz which was of any value was taken at Dr Bell's instance.

Dr Bell was also on terms of the most friendly intercourse with Mr John, one of the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar. The letters which he received from that good man and his young family may fitly be inserted in this place. They have that charm which is always felt when the letter-writer uses a language with which he is not familiar, and thus gives unconsciously a character of childish simplicity to the natural expressions of a warm and simple heart.

The Rev. C. John to Dr Bell.

“ Tranquebar, 17th March 1794.

“ My dear Sir, •

“ Your very obliging favour made us yesterday very happy. I was just going to our country church, where I spent the whole day, when I received and read it, surrounded by all my children, who were anxious with me to know how dear Dr Bell was arrived, what he wrote, and how he had been satisfied, the more as we had heard that the wretched palanquin boys had tormented your soul and body throughout the road. I can hardly express what I have suffered for you that

night. Such are our pleasures upon earth! mixed very often with very displeasing accidents. How happy will we be once in heaven, where palanquin boys, and all such like them, will trouble us no more! I hope the enjoyments of friendship, and better attention in the good family of our mutual friend Mr Toriano, will now repay all what you have suffered here.

“ My house resounds still of encomiums of our tender, beloved Dr Bell. Never I have felt so much, and never I have observed in my children such a great attachment towards a friend, after having lived with us for so short a time. May heaven bless us often with so happy days, and may my children meet often with so dear a children’s friend, who wins the hearts so soon, spends every moment so usefully, and encourages the youth in so excellent a manner!

“ Mary Ann, Suckey, Jackey, the little female philosopher, Kitty, August, and every one cry almost after you, and complain why I have let you depart so soon. Alas! what shall I do? You may find out means to comfort us. If you could make us happy once more by your instructive and agreeable visits, my children will bear you upon their hands instead of black bearers, (but always within the bounds of Tranquebar,) to the milk-woman, to our gardens, and other places of our pleasures, which you not yet have seen. We must reluctantly submit to our fate; but the remembrance of your goodness, of your instructions, and philosophical experiments, will ever remain with us.

“ The above-mentioned and all the other middle and little ones, press and intreat me to tender their best respects to you, so warmly as I am able to express. Messrs Konig, Pohle, Rottler, Dr Klein, Mrs John,

beg to be remembered to you in the best manner, not to forget my most obliging compliments and good wishes to dear Mr Toriano and family.

"May you long live for the benefit of the youth and of your friends! With the tenderest feelings I embrace you; and remain, my dear sir, yours ever sincerely," &c.

"P. S.—Though the grapes are not yet entirely ripe, I send a basket with 50 bundles, to cause you the pleasure of distributing at the table of Mr Toriano, as you did here."

Miss Maria Christina Stecher to Dr Bell.

"Tranquebar, 19th March 1794.

"My dear Sir,

"I was yesterday just dressing to go in the church, but Mr John told us to come and hear what Dr Bell has wrote him, and we came all together and heard it with attention; then I myself, Suckey, Jackey, Kitty, Eliza, Sophia told, when once Dr Bell will return here again, then we will fasten you with nails, or we will stand all round about you, and will not let you pass over to go. When you had stayed longer here, then you have better grapes than before, because they will be now almost ripe. We sing and play now alone, and have you no more amongst us, which makes us very sorry. Come soon back, my dear Doctor Bell, and show us more fine things which you have showed. We wait all for you, and like to learn more from you. I remain, with humble regard, my dear sir, your most humble servant,

"MARIA CHRISTINA STECHER."

The Rev. C. John to Dr Bell.

“ Tranquebar, 20th March 1794.

“ My dear Sir,

“ Each line of your most agreeable letter adds a great deal to our family pleasures, and the hopes you give us to embrace you once more at your return makes us exceeding happy. Before your letter arrived, Mary Ann had finished another to you, which I enclose, and which will not leave you the least suspicion of a secondary assistance. Suckey does not venture yet to write an English letter; but your encouragement burns like a fire in her to learn it soon. Yesterday Mr Pohle gave a milk-feast, and you may be prepared to give a second when you come here.

“ You receive by the bearer another basket with 50 bundles of grapes, ~~which~~ my children by no means suffered to be bought from any other vine but ours; and even Dr Klein pressed me to accept of 20 of his's. However, that you may not have them for nothing, they agree that you may pay for them by milk and a letter to them all, full of instructions to diligence and good behaviour, which they will copy and keep as a treasure more worth than many 100 pagodas. To this I add my request to return all the letters I write with your kind corrections, that I may know the Germanisms which shine every where through, and which I wish to avoid in future.

“ I could not prevail on Mr Pohle to take his route over Nagore, as he thinks it most necessary to arrive soon at his home, for which he will set out to-morrow. I am sorry that you have given all the grapes away, and did not keep some for your own use. I see by

this instance, that I don't express myself clear enough in English. I hope the bearer will meet you still at Tanjore. He has got here half a pagoda, and you will pay him one-fourth, which is his wage from here to Tanjore.

"I must conclude this letter, though I wished to converse with you longer. Mrs John desires her best wishes and compliments to you; and all my children, throughout the alphabet, tender their filial respect to you.

"I remain, my dear and worthy friend, most faithfully."

The Rev. C. John to Dr Bell.

"Tranquebar, 12th April 1794.

"My dear Sir,

"We have daily expected and longed for you, since and still before we were informed of your arrival at Nagore by your letter to Dr Klein. We kept, therefore, our grapes as long as possible; but seeing them almost rotten, we were obliged to take the few remainders off, by which we have lost the pleasure of parting them with you. But my children had not the half taste of them, since they must eat them alone.

"Don't suspect that any of us has forgot you. Not only my garden and house, but also our hearts and arms, are open to embrace you. Many thanks for the good accounts of Messrs Schwartz and Pohle, our dear brethren.

"I hope you will bring us the same of our dear friends at Nagore, to whom I beg to remember us. I lived for some days in the garden, looking out for you every hour; and indeed I much regret that you did not

come this week, where I enjoyed a great deal more leisure than I shall in the next, when the attention of above a hundred communicants will daily occupy me. However, as I can't presume that you should regulate your journey according to my circumstances, I shall find out means to spare some hours a-day, and especially the evenings, for enjoying your instructive and most agreeable company; and my children count every hour till your arrival. Accept of the most tender compliments from Mrs John, and all the great, middle, and little children, according to the alphabet; and particularly from those whom you so kindly remember, and who wish to be electrified, not only by the machine, but by your admonitions and encouragements too. I am happy to hear that neither headache nor bearers will interrupt our pleasures, and we all will join in making your stay with us as agreeable as possible. I remain, my dear friend, yours most faithfully."

The Reverend C. John to Dr Bell.

"Tranquebar, 17th May 1794.

"My dear Sir,

"We longed indeed very much, and I may say with some anxiety, for a letter from your kind hands, which we have experienced here so active in obliging and rejoicing great and little friends. A suspicion began already to rise upon ourselves that we have not paid that attention which so valuable and generous a friend so highly deserved, and has a right to expect. But your most agreeable letter freed us from all apprehension, and revived the many pleasures we enjoyed in your friendly and instructive conversation. It arrived when we were still in our garden, whither we removed

after the Easter days. Upon the artificial mount made so remarkable by your celebrated milk-feasts, at sunset, we saw her now rise every morning during our prayers and songs, observed her first rays spreading over the beauties of nature, and analysed the flowers, leaves, and grapes, which the little ones had gathered at day-break and brought to our examination. Fresh doddy, sweet as suker, we also drunk to refresh our blood, and found it very effectual for that purpose. If we then could have had our dear Dr Bell in our midst, our pleasures and improvements would have been greatly heightened.

“ Another milk-feast were made ready on an evening on the same happy spot but; lightning and thunder drove us down under the roof, and this copy did not reach at all your originals.

“ During our country pleasures I have been so busy as in town, attending my little lambs, with whom I was left almost alone, as my assisting friends could not follow us in the garden. Therefore I had neither leisure, nor even a place to answer your letter till we returned to town.

“ Mr Smith’s account of his experiments at Tippoo Sultan’s, has pleased me very much, and does honour to his master. As soon as I see our general in his hermitage, I will communicate it to him. Mr Henderson’s proposals to the Moravians will meet perhaps with some difficulty, as they sell only whole collections.

“ If he should come once here, I shall oblige him with some curiosities, as he is your friend, and will become mine of course.

“ Many thanks for satisfying my curiosity about the

natural historical lottery ! Monsieur Fontana will be much pleased with his having been rewarded for his pains in collecting curiosities, and keeping them at the same time in his possession.

“ By your mentioning every single article we have requested, you give a new proof of your goodness, and that a faithful friend has also a faithful memory. Mary, Christina, Kitty, Jacky, Suckey, the sweet wild cat, the jumping August, and all my children, request to accept of their most humble respects and acknowledgments; and our good doctor, Mr Rottler, especially Mrs John, and all your friends, beg to be remembered to you in the best manner. Every real happiness may attend you and your endeavours for the benefit of mankind ! With great regard I remain, my dear sir, yours most faithfully.”

The Rev. C. John to Dr Bell.

“ Tranquebar, 25th May 1794.

“ My dear Sir,

“ Yesterday evening I was favoured with your very obliging letter of the 17th instant, together with the most agreeable present of ten pencils, three Indian rubbers, and three books, which are of great value to my school, and for which Mary, Santje, and all the other children, join with me in most grateful acknowledgments.

“ I have encouraged them to write themselves a letter of thanks, but they won't do it “*proprio Marte*,” trusting too little their own head, which, as they think, has not collected yet proper ideas to express the warmth of their heart, with which they remember you continually. However, they promise to do it after a little more

exercise in the English epistolary style. They all regret very much that you could not continue longer your most agreeable conversation, and spent with us the three weeks we were in the garden.

“ I have the pleasure of sending to you by the returning bearer, the box with three glasses, and the pieces of mechanics you wanted to have copied. The ‘ Malabar Treatises ’ I beg to send to the Rev. Mr Gericke.

“ Mrs John and all my children, especially those who have a particular share in the fine present of the valuable books, beg to accept of their most obliging compliments and respects to you, and request not to forget them, as they also never will forget you and your kindness towards them. Being to-day, Sunday, I must be short, and remain ever, my dearest friend, yours most sincerely.”

The Rev. C. John to Dr Bell.

“ Tranquebar, 12th July 1794.

“ My dear Sir,

“ I have received, with many thanks, the two song-books, which you have been so kind as to present me with, by Captain White’s dubash, and hope that the box with glasses I sent long ago has been duly delivered to you, and the few Malabar books I put in to fill up the place, to the Rev. Mr Gericke. All my family, great and little ones, are well, and join me in best compliments and wishes to you.

“ I remain, with great regard, my dear sir, yours most sincerely.”

The Rev. C. John to Dr Bell.

“Tranquebar, 3d September 1794.

“Rev. dear Sir,

“The Rev. Mr John has read your kind letter to us, and which we copied. I am very glad to hear that the little Roxburgh is safe arrived, and I hope that he will spend his time better there than he did do here. You told in the letter that we have forgot you ; but no, my dear sir, we remember still your kindness which you have shown to us here, and you were so kind that you have twice given us a milk-feast in the garden upon the Lebanon. And I thank you very much for the rubber, lead pencils, and fine books, which we make use of it every day, especially of the letter-book. I know that Mr John has thanked you for the fine things which you sent us ; but it is duty that we also thank you once more. We would write you long before ; but Mr John will not help us, and told that we should write ourselves, as good as we can. You will know who has wrote this letter without telling you. Mr and Mrs John desire their best compliments to you.

“I remain, with filial respect, reverend and dear sir,
your humble and obedient servant,

“MARIA CHRISTINA STECHER :
CHRISTIANA SUSANNA JOHN,
CATHARINA CHRISTINA THIERAN,
MARIA CATHARINA MUSBERG,
AUGUST JOHN.”

The Rev. C. John to Dr Bell.

“Tranquebar, 3d Sept. 1794.

“ My dear Sir,

“ Here you have, then, a letter from my children, such as you would have, i. e. *proprio Marte*. . Indeed, they have pressed often me to dictate them a letter to you, which I constantly refused, telling them you would immediately know if it was theirs, or only a parrot's language. When your kind letter arrived, I did what they themselves mention, and asked. Now, what would you answer on each point? They told me their opinion; to which I replied, ‘ Well, then, tell this to Dr Bell, and write it down;’ so they did, and rely now on your kind indulgence. I think little Roxburgh is there indeed happier in reality than he has been herè, as his head must not be puzzled with more but one language.

“ Under your kind direction I hope he will do well, and turn out a useful member of society.

“ My children ask me often when will dear Dr Bell come again to Tranquebar. To this you will give a favourable answer. Mrs John is recovering her former health, and begs with my brethren Dr Klein to accept their best wishes and compliments to you.

“ I remain, with great esteem, my dear sir, yours ever sincerely.”

The Rev. C. John to Dr Bell.

“ Tranquebar, 30th January 1796.

“ My dear Sir,

“ This morning I was favoured with your most agreeable letter of the 27th instant; but am much concerned that the state of your health obliges you to return to Europe, and regret the good children in the Asylum, who lose by it their worthy tutor and father. I wish very much to be informed who shall be your successor in the superintendence of this respectable institution, and that the good children may find in him again a true father.

“ I often remember still with my August the kindness you have shown to us, and the agreeable hours I enjoyed in your conversation. After our return, August had wrote a long letter of thanks to you, and was ready to copy it, when my attention was drawn to a series of other objects, which were not all pleasing, but necessary ones, and the letter was lost among my other papers. The removal from my former house to another, permitted me but little accommodations for writing and studying; and I have, therefore, retired to the Mission's Garden, which is now greatly changed for the better, and where I have more accommodation to attend to my studies, and to breathe a healthier air than in the Fort. You will make me and my children very happy by continuing your kind remembrance in Europe, and by sending by a good opportunity a few books of Newberry, or of such authors who have that rare talent to speak with little children according to their capacity.

“ I am sorry that I can't be present at Madras when Dr Dinwiddy gives his lectures of experimental philosophy; and much more if such an excellent and complete apparatus should not remain at Madras, but be carried again to Europe, to the irrecoverable loss of this country. Sound your learned trumpet as much as you can, and implore the gentlemen in authority, in the name of the public, that they may arrest this valuable doctor of philosophy and his whole apparatus in the most honourable manner.

“ I never feel the want of money (which has, in other respects, no great value in my eyes) more than when it deprives me of an opportunity of doing some good, or of promoting knowledge and sciences in India.

“ I think 100 pagodas but a trifle for an orrery or tellurium, by which we may give a proper idea of the motions of our terrestrial globe, and the relative celestial bodies, to the youth, and remove a great part of foolish superstition amongst the natives.

“ But though a friend of and in peace with all mankind, I suffer so much by the Dutch war, that I am not only already, but shall be much more reduced in my economical circumstances, in such a manner that I must be very restrict in my good wishes and intentions. However, I should think you could persuade the directors and benefactors of the Male Asylum to buy them for the use of your successors, and for the great benefit for the children.

“ Mr Rottler arrived at Jaffna, in high spirits and good health, on the 8th, and Mr Cleghorn the 14th instant. About their journey to Candia I entertain the same apprehensions with you, and have reasons for

them. It would certainly be a great pity if they should be disappointed, and the public would lose much by it.

“ Mrs John, Mary, Katshy, Gotshy, Meetjee, Suckey, Augustus, and all the happy little creatures, desire their best remembrance and respects to you, their dear children’s friend. They are happier than I myself am at the reflection that their good parents are expected at Madras. O happy ignorance !

“ My best respects to our respectable philosophical friends, Messrs Ross and Baker ; and to Dr Anderson, with most obliging thanks for the present of the whole set of his publications, which I have received in good order.

“ Two imperial academies, at Petersburg and at Vienna, and two learned societies, at Berlin and Jena, have honoured me and N., 2 and 4, also Mr Rottler, to constitute us as their members, which augments a good deal my correspondence and occupations. I had still much to communicate with you, but must conclude, and hope still for the pleasure of a letter from you before your departure. If kind Providence permits, I may wait on you once in England between two years, on a short journey through England, Germany, and Denmark, after which I shall return to my family. Believe me for ever yours most sincerely and obligedly.”

CHAPTER X.

The Asylum—Application for Apprentices from Captain Read—His Report to the Revenue Board—Embassy to Tippoo Sultan—Presents—Dr Bell's Apparatus for Experimental Philosophy—Smith, an Asylum Boy, sent in charge of it—Exhibits it before the Sultan—Tippoo's scientific Knowledge—Offer to Smith—Declined—Conversation with the Sultan.

THE education at the Asylum, under Dr Bell's vigilant superintendence, was so complete as far as it went, and the character of the boys in consequence so good, that applications were made for them from all quarters. Captain Read applied for three as apprentices in the revenue department, and obtained them without difficulty. The advantages which he expected from introducing youths of this description into that branch of the public service, were thus stated in one of his reports to the revenue board upon the management of the ceded districts :—

“ However desirous collectors and their assistants may be of inspecting and directing all the business of their departments, they are, from the nature and extent of it, under the necessity of depending on the natives for their information, and for carrying their orders into execution ; and this is the more to be regretted, because all the muttasaddies, or revenue accountants, being Bramins, are linked together by religion and their com-

security. As some check to the consequent abuses in revenue affairs, it is the maxim in Ballagant to keep the *dusters* in three languages—Canarie, Gentoo, (Hindoostanee,) and Mahratta; but the quarrels excited by the jarring of individual interests prove the more frequent means of discovery. The difficulty of preventing the evils in question, and the dispositions (generally speaking) of people in the direction of departments, point out the occasion there is for a middle rank of servants in the revenue line, unconnected with the castes described, and allied or attached to the Company's government. There are not Europeans to constitute that rank, and their habits of life, as well as temper, disqualify them for it. The boys of the Asylum are the only class that, from all circumstances of their condition, appear to be fit for it.

“When at the presidency I communicated these ideas to Dr Bell, and he was well pleased with the hope of his scholars being provided for in a way so preferable to any that had been thought of for them, and with a prospect of advantage to the public. I was so well satisfied, from their appearance and his account of their education, as to the expediency of the measure, that I had three of them bound apprentices to the revenue department, in order to make the trial before I should propose it to your board for more general adoption. One of them, being sixteen years old, and qualified to take care of and instruct the others, was bound for only three years, and allowed ten pagodas per month; the others are eleven, and were bound for seven years. They all write so well as to be usefully employed in copying. They will soon acquire the Hindowee language and accounts; and having made

some progress in the mathematics, I expect that, with some instruction, they may be of service in the geographical survey which I propose. The expense of their clothing and boarding will not exceed two and a half pagodas each per month; so that eight of them may be maintained for the pay I am obliged to give some of my native English writers. But the end proposed, of introducing them into the revenue department, is the important matter on which I wish to be favoured with your sentiments, as your approval may induce me to take a few more of them apprentices for the convenience of my successors, and the public benefit."

The revenue board entirely approved of Captain Read's reasoning. "The intermediate establishment," they said, "of servants from the class of people pointed out, could not but be productive of the happiest effects in breaking the link of that chain by which the revenue officers had hitherto had so much in their power." They authorized him, therefore, to increase the number of boys from the Asylum to eight, expecting that, when they were employed in the manner proposed, he would soon be enabled to reduce the number of the other writers.

Smith, who was naturally proud at being "the first of his class who had entered that department as one of the middle rank of servants in the revenue line," was aware also how much depended on his proving himself worthy of such an advancement. He expressed this to Dr Bell, saying, in the same letter, "I have endeavoured, and shall endeavour, by God's help, as much as lies in my power, to follow those principles which you have laid before me from time to time, while I was under your auspices."

This youth, soon after his appointment, was brought for a while into a very different scene of action. The two sons of Tippoo Sultan, who, pursuant to the terms of the late peace, had been delivered up as hostages, and detained accordingly about two years at Madras, were now, upon the fulfilment of the articles, about to return. During their detention they had been treated with becoming respect. An embassy was to accompany them to their father's court, and among the presents which were sent, as usual in the East upon such occasions, the government of Madras thought nothing was more likely to gratify Tippoo than an apparatus for philosophical experiments. Accordingly they purchased Dr Bell's, the only one which, by good fortune, happened to be on the spot, and which, having been much enlarged since his arrival, was complete enough for the purpose. It so happened that Smith, being a boy of more than ordinary capacity, had been employed to assist Dr Bell in his lectures, in the course of which he had acquired sufficient knowledge, practical and theoretical, to qualify him for taking charge of the apparatus upon the embassy, and exhibiting it before the sultan.

They were about a month on the road, beginning their march before sunrise and ending it in three or four hours, when the heat of the day came on—Smith on horseback, with all his packages, amounting to fifty coolies' burden, following him. These short journeys allowed him leisure to write out directions for the experiments he was to perform. Tippoo Sultan was then at Devanelli Fort; they made their first visit to him the day after their arrival, and were entertained some three hours at his court. Three days afterwards

Smith was ordered to open the packages, and lay out the machines for the sultan's inspection. *It was not long before he was called upon to exhibit his experiments, Captain Doveton, the ambassador, being present, and explaining them to the sultan as they went on, when explanation was needed. But Tippoo had more knowledge of this kind than was supposed, and showed the ambassador a condensing engine of his own making, which spouted water higher than Smith's. A second exhibition was soon ordered, and it appeared that the sultan was acquainted with every experiment except that of firing inflammable air. This was not effected for some minutes, Smith not having understood the surest way of performing it. Tippoo showed signs of eagerness and impatience at the delay ; but it surprised him greatly when it was done, and it was repeated thrice at his desire.

The young operator was surprised in his turn at perceiving how well Tippoo understood the management of the electrical machine. When some of the attendants had joined hands in order to receive a shock, he told them to stand still, and they would presently feel something pass through them ; and when the shock was given he laughed much at the look of speechless astonishment with which they stared on each other. Smith had set a man on the stool, and put a large metallic knob in his hand, that sparks might be drawn from it, but Tippoo told him to take the knob away, saying the man's fist would answer the same purpose.

The electric machine, by good fortune, was in the best order ; and with this, and the air-pump, Tippoo was " mightily pleased." He desired that Smith would teach two of his arz-begs to perform the course of expe-

riments ; and, with a view to useful purposes, he more than once desired him to instruct a man in his service, who professed several mechanical arts, in the principles of the siphon, the water-pump, and Archimedes' screw. After the second exhibition, the sultan ordered a hundred rupees for Smith, saying, " This is given you as a present for the trouble you took in performing those experiments, which verily pleased me." He requested him to stay eight or ten days longer, and promised to send him then to Kistnagherry, the place where he was to be employed as a writer. Smith was detained, however, nineteen days after the embassy had taken leave, for the purpose of instructing the arz-begs how to perform every experiment which he could exhibit with that apparatus. In the course of this teaching, some of the apparatus was injured by mishandling ; for the arz-begs were to do every thing themselves without his assistance, while he, at the distance of a few yards, was to overlook them, and tell them when they were wrong. It was with an expectation that he might be called upon to instruct some of the sultan's people, that Smith had drawn up the paper of directions on his journey, thinking that much trouble might be saved, both to him and his pupils, by having this paper translated ; but when he mentioned this, and produced the paper, the arz-begs objected that they had no names in their language for the apparatus, excusing themselves thus from the task of translating the directions, as no doubt they would gladly, if they durst, have excused themselves altogether from a business so foreign to their functions, and so unlike any thing which they had ever dreamt of being called upon to undertake.

Tippoo had not looked upon the experiments as de-

signed merely for amusement; he wished to introduce among his people a knowledge of such mechanical powers as they could usefully employ. Accordingly, he dispatched a hercarrah to enquire if the man who was to learn the principles of the siphon, the water-pump, and Archimedes' screw, had been instructed in them, that he might be sent to Seringapatam, in order to have some things made upon a larger scale. The sultan enquired also of Poornia, whom Smith calls "the most respectable among his honourable men," whether a carpenter, or a goldsmith, would be a proper person to learn how to set the machines and use them. He was told, in reply, that there was a watchmaker now on this coast, who had come with the nabob's (of Arcot's) present of two musical clocks, which Tippoo had deferred seeing till he should arrive at Seringapatam. The watchmaker was immediately sent for, and asked by Poornia if he would take charge of the apparatus and learn to use it, adding that, if so, he should be presented with a large sum of money. But the watchmaker declined the offer, thinking himself, no doubt, safer with the nabob than in the service of a sultan who sometimes significantly gave notice to his people, that if they failed to please him, their lips and noses should be dispensed with. Smith was asked if he would remain in the sultan's dominions in case the watchmaker should refuse, but he saw nothing that could tempt him to leave the line in which he was advantageously placed.

After one of the exhibitions, and before the operator was dismissed from the royal presence, some new silver trumpets were brought for Tippoo's inspection. "He desired the trumpeters to sound '*hauw and jauw*;' that is 'come and go;' after which he asked Smith if

the trumpets at Madras were like these? He was told yes, except that they were made of copper. Had he ever heard tunes like *haww and jaww*? When Smith replied that he had not, the sultan ordered one of the trumpets to be put into his hand, and desired him to play the Madras tunes. I told him very civilly, says the youth, that I could not blow. No, said the sultan, you can; what are you afraid of? I told him again that I spoke truth, and that I was brought up in a school where my master informed me what lying was, and always punished the boys that spoke untruths. Tippoo then asked, if he knew how the trumpets were used for speaking on board ship? Smith replied, that he never was on board a ship. What! said the sultan, did you never walk on the sea-shore to see such things? Yes, replied Smith; but the ships are at such a distance from the shore, that I can scarcely discern a man on the mast or the deck. The sultan then returned to the music, and enquired whether they used only one sort of instrument at Madras, or more? Smith enumerated drums, fifes, flutes, clarinets, French horns, and bassoons; and, in reply to the question, on what occasions these instruments were used? he said, for soldiers to march, to salute, to retreat, or suchlike.

“Tippoo then asked Smith, Whether he was an Englishman? The youth answered yes, but that he was born in India. What employment, said the sultan, are those Englishmen who are natives of India put to? He was informed that they were first placed at a school which the sircar had instituted, and afterwards, at the age of twelve or fourteen, put out to learn some trade or calling, as mechanics, merchants, sailors, clerks, and suchlike. The sultan's last question upon this subject

was, Were they enlisted as soldiers? and he was told that they were not. He then asked the youth, What was his own profession? Smith replied, He was moon-shee, or writer, to Captain Read. And who was Captain Read? He was collector of the Baramaul district. And where was he? At Kistnagherry. Tippoo then said he would give orders that Smith should be safely conducted thither."

These conversations were carried on in "Carnatic Malabar;" that which Tippoo spoke differing little from Smith's. Poornia interpreted such terms as the sultan did not understand; and as a further assistance, during the exhibitions, there was a person in Captain Deveton's service who spoke the Moorish language well.

It might have been thought that the manner in which Smith was treated by the sultan would have secured him against incivility from the people; but he met with "rough treatment on account of his dress and behaviour," and was made to feel that Englishmen were regarded as enemies in Mysore. A sepoy guard was set over him, which, though probably designed for his protection, had the appearance, and indeed the effect, of restraint; whenever he walked out, they followed him, and his boy was not allowed to go to market for them without their attendance. Rice, which would have been his best diet, he says, was not to be obtained there at that time; he was obliged to live upon raggy, or Achinec flour, baked into cakes, which made but very coarse food, and he seems to have regretted the flesh-pots of Madras. After a detention of nineteen days, by which time the arz-begs were supposed to be sufficiently instructed in experimental philosophy, the sultan fulfilled his promise, and sent a hercarrah and two

CHAPTER XI.

Dr Bell thinks of publishing his Lectures—Consults his Friends—Letters on the Subject—Various Opinions—Publication delayed—Thoughts of Return to Europe.

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DR BELL entertained a hope that the Course of Lectures which had been so well received, both at Madras and Calcutta, might be made serviceable to the interests of the Asylum. He had bestowed the greatest pains upon the composition of these discourses, and the friends whom he consulted agreed in opinion that he ought to publish them. The first intention seems to have been, that a single lecture should be printed as a specimen and experiment; that upon astronomy was selected, and Major Dirom, then on the eve of departing for England, undertook to see to the publication in London. "By all means," said this warm friend, "publish the specimen of your lectures, and for the benefit of your Asylum. Pray send them to me by the Dutton, and I will not only have them printed, but *read* also, till they be known and get into repute. I think they will pave the way to Bengal, where I am happy to see good hopes of our removal."

The discourse was submitted to Mr Petris, the most scientific of his Indian patrons; and he assured the author, that if the others were arranged with equal ability, they would not only prove instructive to the scholar, but entertaining and useful to the man of

science. "You cannot well conceive, my dear doctor," Captain Wight writes to him, "how much pleasure I have enjoyed in the perusal of your two manuscript discourses. They recalled an assemblage of the aspiring and vivid emotions which passed in my mind at an early period of life, when the outlines of astronomical knowledge were first displayed to me. In admiration of the divine science I was an enthusiast; but it was my fate never to enter beyond the threshold of the temple. The remarks that I have pencilled relate merely to style and phraseology: they are mere suggestions, but they may afford opportunities for improvement by drawing your attention to comparisons."

Major Hart commended the lecturer, not only for the general ability and appropriate knowledge displayed in his discourses, but also for a passage which might have been thought more likely to find favour with a Brahminical than an English audience. "I hope," said the Major, "you will do me the honour of always considering me (as far as my little knowledge, influence, or means can go) to be a humble promoter of all or any of your scientific, *benevolent*, and *humane* undertakings, herein so forcibly expressed, and so uncommonly and happily blended for the best of all good purposes. Would to Heaven that your (I cannot help saying) *bold* panegyric on Pythagoras, could tend to make us, *savage, barbarous* lords of the creation, as we call ourselves, desist from our brutal, bloody, carnivorous feasts upon our fellow creatures."

The plan of publishing a single lecture seems to have been soon given up, and it was thought better to print the whole course. The Rev. William Buckham, a friend of Dr Bell's, who was at that time chaplain at

the London Hospital, undertook to superintend the press; and Major Dirom, to whose discretion every thing was left, was empowered to draw upon Dr Bell to the amount of £300, if necessary. But the expectations of success which Major Dirom had entertained in India, were gradually lowered after his arrival in England. Writing to Dr Bell from London, he says—“It ought to answer your expectations; but in these times, men’s minds seem to be turned entirely from science and philosophy to politics and reforms in government.” Three months elapsed, and Dr Bell was then informed that Major Dirom, on the day when his letter was written, was to arrange with Mr Buckham for the printing, and that it was hoped the book would be published by the time the last ships were ready to sail. Another month passed, and he then wrote to the doctor, saying—“I have been consulting with Mr Buckham, and some of the *literati*, respecting your lectures. They approve much of the plan, the matter, and the style; but at this time when wars, government, and politics, fill the minds of all, and agitate the world, we doubt if it be a proper season to bring it forward with success. In order to do you the credit that may be expected from such a work, and to benefit your Asylum by the sale, there ought to be a few more lectures to complete the volume; and your name must appear to the work, for anonymous publications, particularly in science, meet with little notice. However, we have not absolutely determined to defer the publication. But such are the reasons that make me hesitate at present.”

Dr Bell’s own wishes had cooled before this refrigerant was administered. “I have so little leisure,”

said he, “or inclination at present, to review my readings for the press, that I grow less and less anxious about the introductory part. I am, however, well pleased with what you and Mr Buckham seem disposed to do, and shall await the issue of printing before I take any new resolution or any other step.” And when he was informed that the publication was suspended, he replied—“Let it be as you will with my lectures; for I think with you that this is not the time.” Still, however, Major Dirom thought that discourses, upon which so much care had been bestowed, ought not to be laid aside as useless; that, because they were good, it behoved Dr Bell to make them better; the very fact of his having done so much being itself a reason why the author should do more, and spare no pains in completing his work. “I would have you,” said he, “prepare your lectures, but not publish them till you come home yourself. What would render them highly interesting in this country, and mark them most strongly with a new character, would be to compare the sciences of astronomy, mechanics, &c., with the progress they appear to have made formerly in India. It might be worth your while to visit Benares, and enquire into their manner of making observations, calculating eclipses, &c., and to describe their philosophers as well as their philosophy; in mechanics, to describe the size and weight of their stones in the pagoda at Seringham; the means of raising them by mounds, from a want of knowledge of mechanics; and try if you can learn by what means they were brought to the place. The *pacota*, by applying the weight instead of the strength of men to the lever, is a fine instance of their ingenious simplicity. Your

system of philosophy, from thus comparing the state of these sciences in the modern and ancient world, would be considered as both highly instructive and entertaining. This will be expected from you as having resided long in India; it appears to me to come within your plan, and, in my opinion, ought to be a great object in your work." Recurring to the subject in a subsequent letter, he adds—"Such a work would undoubtedly do you great credit, and be well received by the public; whereas I should doubt very much of the success of a philosophical work, however good and new the arrangement, without some more characteristic features of novelty to recommend it. The copies of Smith's letters, which you were so good as to send me in your last, are a curious account of the state of science at Tippoo's court, the man who is esteemed the most able and most enlightened sovereign in India."

From this time, however, Dr Bell seems to have given up the intention of publishing these lectures.* The course of enquiry which his friend advised, was one upon which he had neither leisure nor opportunity to enter. Indeed he had now begun to think of, and even to prepare for, his return to Europe.

* Besides his own manuscript of these lectures, there are four copies among his papers, fairly written by the boys of the Asylum; one of them in so large a round hand, that it fills five quarto volumes. But a printed octavo, of from three to four hundred pages, would contain the whole.

CHAPTER XI.

Dr Bell's attachment to India—To Indian Life—Letters to Mr Dempster and others—Conflicting advice—His health impaired—Goes to Pondicherry—To Tanjore—To Trichinopoly—Health still declines—Makes arrangements for return home—Applies for leave—Leave granted—Still delays his departure—Mr Kerr appointed to succeed him as Superintendent of the Orphan Asylum.

THE years which Dr Bell passed in India seem to have been the happiest part of his life. He was highly respected there; he had a large circle of acquaintance, and had formed friendships which continued till they were dissolved by death. The Asylum had become more prosperous under his superintendence than its warmest supporters could ever have hoped to see it; in the course of that superintendence he had imperceptibly been led to devise a method of education, which, by a continued series of experiments, he rendered at length so complete in its details, and so certain in its effects, that it was properly called a new system. And by the time that he had perfected this great object of his ambition, he had accomplished that object also for which he went out to India. Few adventurers have landed in that country with a scantier provision, or with poorer prospects, yet he soon began to lay the foundations of his fortune there.

So well, indeed, was he pleased with India and the

habits of Indian life, that he sometimes suspected he might be growing less and less attached to his own country. He had been not more than three years at Madras, when he wrote thus to Mr Dempster—"There is no family in whose memory I so much wish to live as yours. I feel sensibly your goodness in wishing me again in a situation to partake of your hospitality, and share in your domestic happiness; and I can never forget your good offices, which hold up to me a reasonable prospect of having, some time or other, an option of revisiting my native land. But whether, after enjoying for a length of time the delightful and enviable climate, and being accustomed to the advantages and indulgences of an Eastern life, it were wise to run the hazard of that experiment which so many have tried, and almost as many have repented of, I have more and more apprehensions every day. Still, however, I think I know to which side my predilection will incline me. I did long endeavour, and do still endeavour, to retain my European feelings, and, as much as I can, my European mode of life. But I fear I have changed, and am changing, in spite of myself; and, though I am at present almost insensible of any change, I should feel it but too sensibly in another country. At the same time I must think that my case would differ widely from those who came hither in early life, and are thorough-paced Indians."

In another letter he says—"It is frightful to those who wish to revisit England, to hear how little the Indians relish their native country, and to behold crowds of them returning every year; many because they prefer this, some at the risk of their health, and others on the score of fortune."

There were few persons with whom the climate agreed so well, and none who liked it better. He says to Mr Dempster—"What a delightful climate is this! the weather never changes for months. Incredible as it may almost seem, in four days of our last plentiful monsoon, coming two at one time, and two at another, more rain fell than is measured by your rain-gauge for a year. It is over by the beginning of January, and then there is not a drop of rain for months, and scarce a cloud to be seen. At daybreak, when I mount my horse, the thermometer in my veranda stands at 65°, and it rises not above 80° or 81° at noon, in the shade. Thus, by day, it is temperate and pleasant, and at night it is so cool, that in my bedroom, which is 30 feet by 28, I sleep with all the doors and windows shut. If we could number as many women as men, and could boast of such domestic society as happy families, like yours, present in Great Britain, I know not who would quit India. I know not who does but to repent of it. My heart tells me, I shall quit it if I can; but my understanding whispers to me, I may repent of it as others have done."

But, notwithstanding this growing attachment to India, Dr Bell soon began to consult his friends in Scotland as to the amount of fortune with which he ought to be content, and upon which he might prudently settle in his native country; whether such a sum as he might realize in the course of five years, or whether it would be better to remain in India a second five years, for the sake of going home a richer man. Upon that point opinions differed, according to the station in life, and way of thinking, of those whom he consulted.

One told him it was wiser to return with £5000 or £6000, than to double that sum at the cost of his constitution, by remaining five years longer in India.—“Bring a good constitution and £10,000,” said Mr Dempster, “and you won’t desire to go back for want of the comforts of life.”—“Never quit India,” says one of his dearest and ablest friends, “till you have a right never to return to it. I should consider it a want of constancy, yea of consistency. No one can decide for another what sum will make him, in his own opinion, and therefore in reality, independent and comfortable; and I am altogether as little able to judge what progress you have made towards it. I doubt not but the *quantum* you propose is what most people would think moderate. Stay and attain it, and let it be moderate; then return with honour, and live with comfort. Live for the present hour, and not for a future day, which may never come. Be at all times provided with a will; and having thus done your duty toward yourself and toward your neighbours, be satisfied, and fully composed as to the event. Only think of my presumption in attempting to preach to you!”

Another friend writes thus from England, in reply to his enquiries—“A considerable fortune is necessary for enabling an Indian, with a family, to enjoy that comfort in this country which he so fondly anticipates in India. They who have acquired small fortunes—that is to say, from £10,000 to £20,000, and are disposed to employ it in some business, may turn it to good account, and live comfortably on its produce. But such fortunes are inadequate to the wishes of those who would live independent. A single man may certainly

be comfortable upon £500 a-year, pursue his private studies or amusements, and have all those comforts, and all that enjoyment of society, which a moderate or thinking man could wish for. But if a family is in view, double that income, at least, will be necessary.

“ I found the change from the habits, manners, and customs of society in India to those of this country wonderfully great. It will require a considerable time to be so reconciled to it as not feelingly to regret the difference.”

“ Don't be ambitious,” said Captain Dempster, who had given up the command of his ship, and was then with his brother at Dunnichen. “ Remember how many poor fellows have suffered from staying the other year. At the same time that I am advising your return, if you are long about it, I should not be surprised if you were to find great changes here. We are engaged in a war that will prove more oppressive to this country, than when we were at war with all the world.”

“ You would find it difficult to live here,” one of his Indian friends says, writing from Edinburgh, “ under £400 a-year ; and you would not find that much less than this would do in the country—that is, if you were to see company, and live with half the hospitality that you do at Madras. I wish it were in your power to come home for a short time without losing your appointments ; but as that, I fear, cannot be the case, you must either get married and be happy where you are, or remain patiently till you can return with a suitable independence.”

“ You need not,” says another friend, “ make any

doubt of living in any part of Scotland, in a rational way, for about £500 a-year. On the same scale, the calculation for residing in the country, and passing part of the winter in Edinburgh, would not exceed £600 a-year. Every thing beyond this is folly and extravagance. You may purchase an excellent house in the New Town for £800; so that if, beside the funds which supply your income, you had a couple of thousands to purchase and furnish your house, there can be no doubt but that you would have fortune enough to live creditably, and provide genteelly for a family. What I have said as to fortune, is on the supposition that you wish to come home and marry in this country. Our ladies here are excellent economists, and are accustomed to live in the manner I have described. But if you marry in India, where ladies are accustomed to such an equipage, and so many servants, in that case, I should advise you to remain there till you can afford to spend nearly double the income which I have mentioned."

The climate, agreeable as he found it, began to affect his health in the year 1794, and this caused him to think more seriously of returning to his own country. "I congratulate you," says one of his most intimate Indian friends, "on your favourable letters from Mr Dempster and other friends in England. But, my dear Bell, what is the matter with yourself? What is the decline of health you complain of? I plainly perceive from your style, that you look for comfort, not in India, but at home. I sincerely hope and trust you have by this time provided a certain portion of the necessary means of attaining it; and I most cordially hope fortune will attend you on another great and good

work, which still remains for you to accomplish—a duty you owe to society and your country. You must go home and marry, and if you are in tolerable luck on this occasion, you will then be as happy as belongs to the nature of man. But always have a pursuit; indeed, your mind is too strong and too well cultivated to allow you ever to be idle.”

Feeling his health impaired, Dr Bell resolved at this time to take a journey in hope of restoring it, and visit his friends at Pondicherry, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and Madurā. The three former visits he accomplished; but the extreme heat compelled him to give up Madura; and he returned therefore, as he went, by the seaside, without deriving the benefit he had hoped for, and which he had experienced the year before in an excursion with Captain Wight to the Seven Pagodas. This, however, did not make him think of accelerating his return to Europe, though he now began to regard with apprehension, and something of dislike, that sultry sun, in which, during the first years of his abode in India, he had delighted. In the beginning of 1794, he requested that Captain Wight, who was then going to England, would procure for him a philosophical apparatus, in place of that which had been presented to Tippoo Sultan. “If it could be sent,” said he, “by one of the last ships, or by a sugar sloop, which is to call at Madras this year, it would be a very material advantage, as I should then be enabled to make my arrangements for next year in good time; the only way in which they can be made with certainty, and success, and full effect. There is not an article but might be found at once in the mathematical instrument-makers’ shops, except perhaps the cup.

Captain Wight would, indeed, have had no difficulty in executing this commission, if he had paid no regard to the interest of his friend. He went to the shop to which Dr Bell had directed him ; and, giving the maker a list of the articles which were wanted, requested that he would, in the course of a day or two, set down the prices at which he would furnish them. “ This,” says Colonel Wight, “ he promised to do ; but on my calling again, three days afterwards, he said he could not set down the prices, because, in making up the instruments, it might be found necessary to charge more. He offered me a book with prices to look at, but I could make neither head nor tail of the matter ; and he refused, though much urged, to put down the prices to your list. So I went to consult your friend Mr Buckingham, at the London Hospital, who showed every inclination to assist me ; the maker’s refusal had, he thought, a bad look, and he undertook to make enquiries.”

A subsequent letter says—“ Upon further explanations with the maker, I found that the same instruments, which had cost you L.80, were not now to be procured at less than from L.135 to L.140. Your desire to have them at all events being express, I intended to have had them sent out by the ships of the season ; but as it was certain that they would not sail till late in the spring, I delayed giving an order to any instrument-maker, in hopes that I might hear something from you, meantime, in the nature of a countermand. Your letter of June 1794, which I received about ten days ago, and which had like to have miscarried, from being directed, by mistake, to Meyricks instead of Croendale, arrived in good time.”

Dr Bell had written to countermand the machinery,

in whatever stage it might be, and at whatever loss. He could, he said, in no event now take it in hand, his health being such as would no longer admit of his former exertions. He did not determine upon immediately leaving India, because certain new arrangements were expected relating to the army. One of his Indian friends wrote from England to congratulate him on the likelihood that these arrangements would give him established pay as a chaplain, and entitle him to go home on half-pay, at least whenever he might think of retiring from the service. It appeared, however, that the arrangements could not take place till the ensuing year, so that it now became a question between his pecuniary interest and his health.

Writing to Major Dirom at this time, he says—
“ I must think of weaning my mind from the school, so long its favourite object. Besides the deep interest I take in the welfare and success of this seminary, there are several personal considerations which would induce me to wait the event of another year, if my health would permit. But to this grand consideration every other must yield. Whether the army arrangements will be in time to avail me seems very doubtful.”

A few weeks later he writes to the same friend—
“ I wait with great anxiety the events which may enable me to consult for my health and follow my friends. Fain, very fain would I complete and establish my system for this institution, and hand it over, such as I have proposed. I think I have made a great progress in a very difficult attempt, and almost wrought a complete change in the morals and character of a generation of boys. But every consideration of every kind, must yield to health, if necessary ; and neither the important

events of the next session of Parliament, nor the great concerns of this flourishing and promising seminary, must be allowed to supersede that necessity which may otherwise supersede them."

In March following he wrote to Captain Dempster thus—"I am much beholden to you for your kind New Year's gift of last year, and the kind advices contained in it, which, I am sorry to say, the state of my health renders it necessary for me to follow as soon as possible. But the distracted state of Europe is so alarming, that I am quite at a loss what I am to say, as well as how to act. Therefore I must wait despatches from your quarter of the globe, which I pray God may bring me an account of tranquillity restored to the nations."

Many things, indeed, combined to render him irresolute as to leaving India. "Your welcome letter of December 1793," he says to Mr Amos, "found us here in a state of the utmost anxiety about European affairs, from which we are not yet in the least relieved. I am greatly beholden to you for your very valuable communications on the subject of living in England, for which I mean, as soon as ever I can, to offer you my personal acknowledgments, my state of health rendering such a visit necessary. My attachment to the school has, perhaps, detained me longer than is suited to my condition."

A few months later, he writes to one of his more intimate friends—"I hold myself bound to follow your advice, and thereby gratify my own inclination. But there still stand in the way the daily hopes of the termination of the war, and the anticipations of the projected arrangements, (of which we have anterior copies,)

both as to the army and the funds, in which you as well as myself are interested. The public funds, too, which, during the administration of Sir Charles Oakley and the kists of Tippoo Sultan, were superabundant, furnish no good mode of remittance now. But it is probable that the state of the finances will soon require such supplies as may lead to drafts on England; and there is also some chance that the expected arrangements of the new consolidated fund may present more favourable means of remittance than have occurred for some time past. In either case the delay may, in the end, prove beneficial. These obstacles still in our way, we have had reason to expect, year after year, would be removed—the war, the long promised adjustment of the consolidated fund, the projected arrangements of the army, and the expected opportunity of remittances. But I am very unwilling that any considerations of this sort should interfere with my design for another season, when, if it should please Almighty God, I hope to witness your agricultural pursuits. And I rejoice exceedingly in your having given your time to this pleasurable, wholesome, and rational occupation, instead of the perpetual noise, dissipation, extravagance, and folly of the great metropolis, ruinous to the peace and welfare of so many Indians.”

Dr Bell had no inordinate desire for wealth; the advice which his best and wisest friends had given him to be contented with a fair competency, agreed with his own judgment. Such a competency he had attained, and he was now deliberating how to dispose of it most advantageously, and at the same time most conformably to his own predilections. “Now for my prospects,” he says in a letter written at this time,

“ they will not be uninteresting to you, for they are now verging to a point. I am taking my measures as fast as I can to change the scene. I have paid into the treasury (23d September 1795) twelve thousand pagodas for bills on the court of directors, at 7s.8d., which will be due 23d March 1797. I wish that, according to your advice, I had been able to make an earlier remittance, so as to reap the advantage of the high interest on money lodged in the English funds. Five thousand pounds might be well invested there, if peace be established and Great Britain left in tranquillity and safety, which I hope has happened ere now; or if there be, which surely there must be, a sure prospect of a speedy and safe peace, I confess I should prefer investing the same sum in land, if an estate could be found to yield four per cent free of all incumbrances and deductions whatsoever. Nay, I would further prefer both the one and the other, if both could be effected.”

In another letter he says to a confidential friend—
“ It is greatly my wish to have my fortune realized as soon as possible, and invested in the most secure property-land. I should be much pleased, therefore, if you could find for me a landed estate of two hundred or three hundred pounds a-year, which might be purchased on good terms, and yield a certain revenue. A house in Edinburgh, such as would rent well, and such as I could inhabit hereafter, if need be, were also a desirable purchase.”

Late in November 1795, new assurances arrived from Mr Dundas that the arrangements which had so long been looked for would be ~~out~~ before the close of the year. They arrived accordingly, and on December

29, general orders were issued by the governor of Fort St George, saying that the supreme government having communicated with the president in council, that it had been determined that those officers belonging to the Bengal army, who from indisposition, or from the urgency of their private concerns, may be compelled to return to Europe by the ships of the present season, should receive permission for that purpose, without prejudice to their rank or loss of pay; and that the same benefit should be extended to those who are already gone, from the commencement of the present season. The governor-general in council having also recommended that a similar indulgence should be extended to the officers in the coast army, the president in council had much satisfaction in communicating to the officers upon this establishment his intention to carry the recommendation of the supreme government into execution, and officers under the circumstances stated, were to make their application accordingly, through the officer commanding upon the coast.

On the same day that the general orders were dated, Dr Bell obtained from Dr Anderson, the physician-general, a certificate stating that the Rev. Dr Andrew Bell, of that establishment, having for some years past laboured under bilious complaints during the hot season, the necessary treatment of which had greatly impaired his strength, and was attended with general debility, he was recommended to try a passage to Europe and his native air, for the recovery of his health. This certificate, together with a letter for government, applying for leave in the manner prescribed, Dr Bell transmitted, through Captain Wilson, to his friend

Colonel Braithwaite, the officer commanding on the coast. Captain Wilson informed him that the Colonel, when he sent in these papers, would say every thing to government in his behalf that he could desire; but that, having stated some queries to government which affected Dr Bell equally as the other gentlemen who intended to avail themselves of the late notification, government had submitted those queries to the supreme government, and until the replies were received he did not wish to forward any of the applications.

Dr Bell's paper was not long delayed on this account. His letter to the governor, Lord Hobart, was in these words—

“ January 11, 1796.

“ My Lord,

“ My constitution having suffered greatly in this warm climate, and Dr Anderson, the physician-general, having recommended to me (as in the accompanying certificate under his hand) to try a voyage to Europe and my native air, for the recovery of health, I am, as chaplain of a battalion of European infantry, a situation in which I have served for almost nine years, and to which I stand appointed by the orders of the court of directors, and of this government, to solicit your lordship's permission to avail myself of the indulgence granted by the general orders of government, of the 29th December 1795, of returning to Europe, without prejudice to my rank, or loss of pay.

“ I have much satisfaction in forwarding this application through the hands of Colonel Braithwaite, commander of the army, as he has for several years past witnessed the manner in which I have, under every

state of health, performed the offices committed to my charge. I have the honour to be, my lord, with all duty and respect, your lordship's most obedient and very humble servant,

“ANDREW BELL.”

Colonel Braithwaite saw Lord Hobart before he delivered this application, and opened the matter to him by saying, that Dr Bell had it in contemplation to apply for leave to go to Europe for the benefit of his health, with the indulgences held out in the late order, and that his intention was to make the application through him; but the colonel said his view of the matter was, that it was not necessary for the doctor to apply through him, for he considered the established appointment to be that of third chaplain to Fort St George, and therefore the application should be direct to the governor of Fort St George. Lord Hobart replied, that he thought it not material which way the application came. Upon which the colonel said he was glad to hear him say so, for it would be of very material advantage to Dr Bell that the application should be brought forward as he proposed; because the pay of a chaplain of Fort St George was much better than that of a chaplain to a regiment. Lord Hobart, after some pause, said that was true; but, upon recollection, he thought that the application could only be made as Dr Bell had purposed; that the order was directed to the army; and that no person could benefit by it but as a member of the army, and as such draw his military pay. But the chaplains of Fort St George had been considered as belonging to the civil institution, and drew their salaries from the civil paymaster.

Colonel Braithwaite observed that they stood upon the returns of the army. His lordship, however, appeared decided that no pay could be drawn by their order that was not, in the strictest sense, military pay, and as such issued by a military paymaster. On this positive declaration, Colonel Braithwaite thought it best to give up the point, and produced Dr Bell's letter, which Lord Hobart said was a very proper one. In communicating the result of this interview to Dr Bell, Colonel Braithwaite says, "I have much pleasure in telling you, that, in the course of our conversation, I found Lord Hobart had a just sense of your merits, and was well disposed to be useful to you."

But though Dr Bell had thus obtained leave, his intention of departing for Europe by the next fleet was not carried into effect. The orders which had arrived did not, it would seem, contain all the arrangements that were expected. Writing to Lieutenant-Colonel Dirom, who was then happily settled in Annandale, he says—"It was my full intention, in expectation of the arrangements which have been so long promised, to revisit Europe by this fleet; for which purpose I have obtained leave as chaplain to the second battalion of European infantry. The season of the year, added to my natural impatience to be with you, strongly presses me on one hand; but, on the other hand, shall I leave my affairs uncertain, unsettled, and unarranged, as I must do, if I do not wait the event, now so near at hand, of the next despatch from England, which we are officially assured brings every arrangement in which you as well as myself are concerned? There can, I apprehend, be no choice. So, at least, my friends tell me; and insist upon my listening to their counsel, if I

cannot reply to their reasonings and statements, which, to say the truth, I cannot."

These, however, were not the only reasons which induced Dr Bell to delay his departure. "When it appeared to me," he says, "extremely doubtful whether, according to advices received, the arrangements at home had not broken off, or if not, very probable that they would be here before the sailing of the fleet, I had almost made up my mind to embark in it; still I reserved my final determination till something certain was known upon these important points. My friends warmly opposed my embarking under an uncertainty. They even argued that orders obtained from the supreme government by compulsion, would not, and should not be confirmed; and that even innocent persons, who sought to avail themselves of advantages so obtained, might be involved with the guilty, and marked out for degradation and dismissal. But when government carried this point, and grew in strength by the unsuccessful issue of the attempt made at Bengal, they grew bold in their arguments, and said, the court of directors would feel new courage, and have no difficulty in executing their vengeance. I must either answer such reasoning, which I confess had often occurred to me before it was now strongly and repeatedly urged, or yield to the entreaties of my friends, supported as they were by my own sentiments of the possibility, if not probability, of its ill policy. Add to this, if any thing is required to be added, that all my affairs are, and must have been less unsettled, unarranged, and uncertain, as they entirely depend upon the issue of another arrangement, of which it is said there are also authentic advices, and of which we are told we shall have the

settlement along with the army arrangements. This surely is worth the adding. And both these, certainly expected before now, had they arrived as expected, would have left me at full liberty to indulge my great prepossession for sailing at this early season. Having lost it, I must still hope to go in the next ship, but I am left with less anxiety as to the letters of embarkation."

While it was yet uncertain in what manner Dr Bell might be benefited by the new regulations, he wrote to one of the chaplains at Calcutta, enquiring how the clergy there were affected by them. He was told in reply, that although there was a provision in them for the surgeons, both in regard to furloughs and pensions, there was none whatever for the chaplains, nor were they so much as mentioned. "We therefore thought it right," said his correspondent, "to address our government on the occasion, and have set forth that the clergy are attached to the army, as well as the surgeons, and elected from thence to the presidency, as they are to the medical board. That we all must necessarily be more advanced in life than they are on our first coming out, and should therefore have some provision after shorter periods of service: that, considering our rank in society here, our salaries are nothing more than a decent support, scarcely so if we have families; and, therefore, praying for furloughs when ill health or other circumstances may render it necessary, and for pensions of at least £300 per annum, after a service of fifteen or sixteen years. These are the outlines of our letter, which was given in on Monday last. Both Sir John Shore and the commander-in-chief have given it their warm support with the court of directors, but could not

take upon them to grant it of themselves. However, we know they are well inclined to us, by their having given old Mr. L., who was infirm both in body and mind, on furlough, the full pay of a captain or surgeon before the regulation came out."

Some of the Madras chaplains proposed, after the example of their brethren at Calcutta, to draw up a modest representation to the board, on the subject of their future allowance as army chaplains; but it does not appear whether Dr Bell took any part in it. His departure having now been determined on, though the time was not yet fixed, it became necessary to appoint a superintendent of the Asylum in his stead. A young Irish clergyman, by name Kerr, had arrived in a king's ship at Madras in 1792, and opened a school there, his father having, it is said, been eminent as a schoolmaster. Dr Bell took considerable interest in the success of one who had come out to India as friendless, and as ill provided as himself. Writing to Major Maule in his behalf, he describes him as one of a numerous family, all of whom had their fortunes to push in the world, and were disposed to seek assistance from the major's brethren of the ancient and honourable fraternity of masons. "Of the masonic virtues," he adds, "I presume not to judge. But I believe him to be deserving as a man, and wish to see his situation improved, and I have a full sense of your kindness on this occasion."

Mr Kerr had now obtained a chaplainship in the army, and so well had he borne out the recommendations which had been given him, that, when Dr Bell's intention of returning to Europe was made known to the directors of the Asylum, it was resolved, at their

annual meeting, that Mr Kerr, then stationed with his regiment at Masulipatam, should be invited to undertake the charge which Dr Bell, in consequence of the ill state of his health, was obliged to relinquish. In the letter which conveyed this invitation, Mr Kerr was informed that, in case of his accepting it, the directors, "under the fullest persuasion of his dedicating his time and attention to the objects of the institution to as full an extent as Dr Bell had invariably done, and establishing his residence accordingly in Egmore Fort, had determined to put him in possession of the house then occupied by Dr Bell, and to tender him an allowance of one hundred pagodas monthly. Further, they deemed it indispensably necessary to the future welfare of the institution, that he should have the advantage of conferring with Dr Bell previous to his departure, which would probably take place in fifteen or twenty days; he was advised, therefore, to lose no time in coming to the presidency for that very desirable purpose."

Mr Kerr did not hesitate to accept the offer, being highly sensible of the honour of having been selected as worthy of so respectable a charge. Accordingly he repaired to the presidency. Some delay, however, there was in Dr Bell's departure, for he was not able to sail in the fleet of that season. Mr Kerr, after he had been a few weeks at Madras, began to be uneasy in his situation, and wrote to the directors, saying, that he had waited on Dr Bell, and listened to such instructions as he was willing to impart, and had continued his attendance at the school; but as Dr Bell had not yet resigned the school to his charge, he found himself unable to take such a part in the management as might

liberty of mentioning to them that he was ready to undertake the charge which they had proffered to him, and to devote his most zealous and unremitting labours to fulfil it.

Something more than a month after this letter had been written, Mr Kerr addressed a second to the president, vice-president, and directors, saying, that he had the honour, under date the 3d March, of reporting himself ready to undertake the charge which they had tendered to him, and now begged leave to again intrude on them, requesting to receive their instructions, both as to his present situation and his future employment. "When I left Masulipatam," said he, "I rejoiced at the prospect of being, ere this time, enabled to show myself deserving of the confidence with which you honoured me; but, since my arrival at Madras, I have experienced the most distressing disappointment, aggravated by the uneasiness of a tedious suspense. Pardon me, my lord and gentlemen, for calling your attention to this subject; but as the quarterly day of meeting is now over, and my situation is not yet become the subject of your discussion, I find myself compelled to entreat that you will kindly relieve me from my present state of anxiety, by establishing some certain ground upon which I can ascertain my situation; and, relying on the decision of so respectable a body, I shall most cheerfully acquiesce in whatever you may deem equitable."

This letter was sent in circulation on the day after its date, by the acting secretary, at the right honourable the president's desire; and at the same time the members were informed that their attendance was requested at a general meeting on the 16th. At this meeting the

cause of Mr Kerr's uneasiness was removed by a resolution that his monthly salary of one hundred pagodas should be considered as having commenced from the date of his departure from Masulipatam, and that an additional monthly allowance of forty pagodas, commencing from the same date, should be made to him, for the purpose of providing himself with a house, and be continued till he could succeed to the possession of that belonging to the institution in Egmore Fort. At the same time the resolution was added, that, in consequence of the liberal allowance made by the meeting to the Rev. Mr Kerr, it be expected that he should assiduously attend to the business of the school, in order to qualify himself effectually to carry on a system which had met with the entire approbation of the meeting; that he do attend all meetings of the directors; and that Dr Bell be desired to afford him every information which may be necessary for enabling him to promote the important object of the institution.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Mrs Mary Imrie to ———.

St Andrews, Jan. 3, 1774.

Dear Sir,

Now, sir, after the many favours we have received from you, I am going to ask another, and hope you will forgive me: it is for the young man that brings you this letter; and what makes me interest myself about him is, he attended my brother Jamie several years as private master for the Latin, and took great pains, or, in other words, gave the greatest attention to him, though the master, I believe, is very near as young as the scholar. Mr Bell (which is the young man's name) is this far on his way to Virginia. He has got a school there, with a salary settled upon him. The favour I have to ask of you is, to take some notice of him, and give him your advice in the getting his things, as he has no acquaintance in Glasgow except Dr Wilson, who, I imagine, does not know so well what is proper for him as you; and I beg your pardon for

taking this liberty ; but when I tell you that the young man is really deserving, I know that it is the best apology I can make for the trouble I have given. I have wrote James by him, as he says he would go a great many miles to see him.

The Rev. David Ritchie to Mr Bell.

Perth, Sept. 21, 1781.

My Dear Andrew,

Although I have just left the fatigues of a public school, and must prepare a new sermon for Sabbath first, yet I declare neither past labours, nor a distant concern, shall prevent me from writing to my old friend and dear acquaintance. You hailed me right, when you gave me an opportunity to hail your return. I have frequently, since I received your letter, wished myself joy upon an event I so little expected. I hope it will prove as advantageous to you as it is pleasant to me. When Mr Walker put a letter into my hands from Mr Andrew Bell, I could not easily conceive that any of my friends of that name were in St Andrews ; therefore I concluded it behoved to come from Mr Andrew Bell of your grammar school, although I never had a letter from him in my life : but when Mr Walker added from Virginia, my surprise and joy were equally great. Often since your departure have I regretted your silence ; often have I called you to my thoughts ; and when I recollected our ancient ties and close corre-

spondence, I thought—I did not know what to think, unless—that a seat of rebellion, or rather war, was always a place of confusion, and required caution. But my misfortune has not been the greatest, according to your description, occasioned by this ruinous war. I heartily sympathized with you, when I read the history of your shipwreck. Now that you are returned, I would wish much that we should have an interview, when I should listen with pleasure to your history, and you should have mine in exchange.

Mr Bell to George Dempster, Esq.

St Andrews, June 31, 1782.

Permit me, sir, to thank you for your favour by Dick, and for your friendly gratulations on the arrival of the transatlantic youngsters.

Last Wednesday, I was favoured with the within recipe. In answer to my enquiries about tobacco, I am told that a volume would not comprise the instructions necessary to the culture and airing of the Virginia staple; and that were every minutiae described, even then, without some practical knowledge of the act, success could not be expected. My father's opinions about the barometer are also enclosed. Yours is, if I remember rightly, graduated from 27 to 32 inches. Others I have seen, from 28 marked stormy to 31 very dry.

sensible, as bearing a less proportion to the length of the graduated plate; nor, if well adjusted, will it ever be within less than an inch of the top or bottom at the highest flood or lowest ebb.

My friend Dick, over whom I have gained some ascendancy, by repeated declarations that I should most certainly report to his aunt his daily conduct and progress, has, since his expedition to Dundee, done as well as could be expected. As I am afraid this report—the most a Scotsman is capable of giving—cannot be satisfactorily passed upon others than a Scotsman, I beg you will construe it, or explain it away, agreeably to its true import, making some allowance, as I do, for a plentiful fund of promises and assurances that are to produce a new harvest.

You will have the goodness to offer my most respectful compliments to your lady, and to beg her acceptance of a few muscles and cockles, which will go to Dundee by the carrier to-morrow. Good muscles could not be gotten till now.

Mr J. Brooke to Mr Bell.

Bristol, August 23, 1782.

Mr Bell,

Believe me, sir, the perusal of your letter afforded me the highest pleasure and satisfaction; the well-known hand brought back to my remembrance the sphere in which I once moved whilst under your direc-

tion, and brightened the ideas of a thousand little circumstances, which afford a kind of pleasing amusement to a mind, which seems wandering amidst its ancient abodes in search of something that it was once familiar with; and believe me likewise, my dear sir, that since I have become an individual on this side the Atlantic, and so far removed from the place of my nativity, that the least shadow of an acquaintance excites in me the strongest emotions of joy and satisfaction: then I can never sufficiently thank you for your affectionate epistle, which I will cherish and look upon as some personal friend.

I am happy to hear my two cousins are doing so well, and are likely to turn out so clever. They will be an ornament to themselves, an honour to their tutor, and a service to their country, which, I am afraid, will stand but too much in need of men of ability. At the recollection of this, and the glorious opportunity I enjoyed whilst guided by your care, shame upbraids me with my conduct, and remorse stings me to the heart, to think that I should let those precious moments fly before me, which ought to have been as dear to me as tal air. But if a steady application to whatever may be useful and beneficial to me can make any poor amends, I shall think myself happy that a conviction of my folly has saved me from blindly rushing into the arms of stupidity and ignorance. Extravagance, idleness, and dissipation, still very much prevail among my young countrymen, who all seem to be on the wing for pleasure; and they sacrifice every motive, and make all other views subservient to the gratification of it, which must be the ruin of us Virginians. Believe me, Mr Bell, a man of business would be thought a derogation

and reflection to their character; and so long as this is the case, we must expect to see nothing but pride, ignorance, and their attendant vices, to creep in amongst us. In this country I observe that every young fellow, of whatever family or fortune he may be, serves a regular apprenticeship to some branch of science or other, that he may render himself an useful member to society, and to mankind in general, and that the thorns and thistles of idleness may not spring up and obstruct the motions of our most useful faculties.

Your interrogatories, my dear sir, so far from being troublesome to me, I shall, with the greatest pleasure, undertake to satisfy, as far as my poor abilities will allow. I shall begin first with your political enquiries.

The French troops, after the capture of Cornwallis, were quartered at Williamsburg, York, Hampton, and Westpoint; all which places, except Williamsburg, they have fortified very strongly. There are two very fine batteries at the Point, which command the channel on each river, mounted with brass eighteen and four-and-twenty pounders, and a regular garrison kept there. The French, last winter, fortified and garrisoned the above-mentioned places; and the Americans, after the siege, joined General Green, excepting about two thousand, that returned with General Washington to the North river; and the French, when I came away, were under marching orders, supposed for the southern army. After our late signal success, those enemies to the natural rights of mankind, (I mean the Tories,) who delight in disturbing the tranquillity and happiness of their fellow-creatures, and stung by the disappointment of their hoped-for expectations, spread abroad the most barbarous insinuations, in order to rouse the jealousy

and suspicions of the weak and credulous, and alarm them of their impending danger from the French, who, they said, had designs upon their liberties ; as they had already possession of our strongholds, and fastnesses, and footing in our country, would lay hold of this favourable juncture, seeing we are reduced and exhausted by a long and obstinate war with Britain, and force us to submit to a French government. Now, in order to enforce their argument with a greater degree of plausibility, they have reference to the situation of the Dutch, when they revolted from the Spanish yoke and formed an alliance with Queen Elizabeth, who assisted them with money and troops, and, as a security for the punctual payment of their debts, she had delivered into her hands certain strongholds and fastnesses, which James I., who was an indolent and unambitious monarch, suffered to be bought out : and from that era the Dutch date their liberty. The connexion between these two instances, they say, are exactly similar, excepting the characters of the two sovereigns ; and that Louis XVI., who is an ambitious and aspiring prince, will not neglect so glorious an opportunity of extending his dominions, and rendering himself superior to all the powers in Europe. By this and suchlike stuff the minds of the people have been agitated, and by this means have jealousy and suspicion banished harmony and contentment, and hindered them from shedding their influence over us. Our late brilliant success has not in the least relaxed us from arms, and lulled us into security ; but when I came away each state was making up its quota for another year's campaign.

. Our trade had just begun to revive a little before I came away, after the destruction of all the vessels belong-

ing to the state by the enemy, and in that respect will be much on the same footing as when you left us, excepting only that there is a very considerable commerce with Philadelphia and the northern states; for our tobacco is an object of universal attention, but our coast is still very much infested with privateers.

As for the distress of our countrymen, it has indeed fallen hard on some individuals, who have been reduced from a state of affluence to want the common necessities of life; but, to take things in a general way, I think (I mean our personal friends) have escaped pretty well. Colonel Hickman, Captain Tomkins, and Mr Taylor, had their houses plundered of some furniture and clothes by a set of North Carolina refugees; and Colonel Braxton might lose about fifteen or twenty hogsheads of tobacco, and some few negroes.

It is with particular pleasure that I inform you, that the families of all those gentlemen you enquire after are very well, and in much the same situation as when you left them, excepting only Mr J. Dabney has lost his lady by a very extraordinary accident; for as she was driving along the road in her chaise, there came up a gust of wind and blew down a tree and killed her.



George Dempster, Esq., to Mr Bell.

Margate, (but my address London,) Oct. 19, 1782.

My dear Sir,

Mrs Dempster and I are quite overwhelmed with the news of the death of our dear nephew. You, who

knew him well, must also know our sufferings. I had promised myself much comfort in a young man whose heart was so very well placed, and, joined to my grief, feel also much disappointment. But there is no help for it. It is a comfort to us both, that our nephew died amidst friends procured by his own amiable qualities, and had every assistance and attention that his case required. We are particularly bound to you for your affectionate care of his education, which would have been liberal enough to have answered every purpose in the profession his genius led him so decidedly to make choice of. I am satisfied you spared no pains to have given him a still greater share of accomplishments had his turn been for letters. We must now endeavour to forget an object on which we both hoped to have reflected long and often with pleasure, and bear this severe dispensation as well as possible. I do assure you I also feel sincerely for you. Love is seldom of one side, and I know poor Dick had a tender regard and most sincere affection for you.

May I beg to be kindly remembered to your family; and I beg you will also offer my respects to Mr Halket. I hope the young gentlemen from America under your care are in good health, and like St Andrews.—I am, with great sincerity and respect, my dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

Mr Bell to Carter Braxton, Esq.

St Andrews, Dec. 16, 1782.

From what I recollect of our situation subsequent to mine from Bristol, I am afraid that it was not peculiar to it to be covered with despondency. The prospect is since entirely reversed, and it is with a considerable satisfaction I had learned that you were informed by our late worthy friend of the circumstances of your sons' residence at this university. But I will never be fully satisfied on this head till I know that you have received some of my reports since their return to study. Instead of repeating them at this time, I shall only say, in one word, that they have all been of a favourable nature, and that the fond parental hopes which you so naturally indulge are not disappointed in any respect.

Mr Hill, their Greek professor, had the goodness to forward the most respectable testimony of their progress and conduct at this society. It is unnecessary to add any thing, as we expect that these despatches will be handed to you by their uncle, Mr Thomas Corbin. He has seen them in this country, and is able to give you a very full account of their situation and character. Their exhibitions this session have been of the most respectable nature. Their professors of Belles-lettres, Greek, and Latin, do all highly applaud them for their propriety of conduct, as well as improvement in study, in so much that Mr Hill has chosen to fix a young gentleman from England, who was recommended to his care, in the house with such exemplary students.

I congratulate you, sir, and my good friends in Virginia, on the prospect of an immediate peace. It has been the great object of our wishes ever since we reached these shores, and we make no doubt of its final conclusion in a very short period.

Mr Richard Corbin showed every attention to us while in London that the most tender and sincere regard to his young friends could dictate. Mr Govan seems to interest himself in their and your affairs, as if they were his own.

I have seen nothing that would alter your design in regard to the destination of the young gentlemen. To me it appears, that whatever may be their future condition in life, the study of two years at an university like this, now they are arrived at maturer years and greater maturity of understanding, would be of infinite service. I assure you, sir, that the character of this university for the Languages, Belles-lettres, &c., is infinitely beyond what it ever was before. I attend the classes, along with the young gentlemen, to my instruction as well as amusement.



Mr Bell to Mr Pollard.

St Andrews, January 5, 1783.

My dear Sir,

It was with peculiar pleasure I recognized, last post, the well-known hand of Mr Pollard. I had been

complaining to Hall that you and Baynham had forgotten Bell.

With a mixture of pain and pleasure I view your scheme of quitting us at so early a period—with pain, that you are going off when I hoped, somehow or other, to have had the good fortune to have seen you next summer in this corner, or in England; with pleasure, that you are likely to give the only satisfaction and consolation to afflicted relations which their very hard fate will admit. It will distress them, but it will be a pleasing distress to see one who was so dear to their son, or brother, or husband; and to know from you the circumstances of his melancholy fate, and how much he was the object of esteem and admiration of all who knew him, and loved honesty and virtue.

This subject introduced, I will only add, that if Messrs Garlicke would choose to convey some of their property to their native country, and think it proper to effect this by means of the bonds of which I am possessed, as well as of the other tobaccos which Mr Garlicke had the goodness to take charge of, and they will empower you, when you come over again, to transact this business, it will very happily accommodate me in a declining state of my finances. For whatever may be my future fortune, a little here might be turned to most advantage in any scheme of life or of destination. . . .

I shall commit to you all my fortune with regard to Virginia. I have written as you desired to Mr Campbell. You will have the goodness to return the continental bills to Mr Braxton, and tell him they could not be negotiated, as you know, because not endorsed.

Mr Bell to Carter Braxton, Esq.

St Andrews, January 17, 1783.

It is painful for me to think, that on the 15th of July you had received none of my reports from this place, whence I had dispatched some dozen letters, full fraught with the most welcome tidings of the happy dispositions and of the diligence of my good friends, which have been unremitted during their residence here. The prospect was, indeed, gloomy when I wrote from Bristol. It was much more so some time after, when I was constrained, from my regard to your interest and to theirs, to withdraw myself from a situation where I could be of no service to them, but might have been burdensome to you. But happily a friend in that worthy man who is now in his grave, started up at a very critical period, and gave the most decisive turn to their affairs. The moment they were removed from a metropolis which is full of danger to young men, and too often fatal to young Americans, it was easy to wean them from idle habits, and to restore those suited to students.

There is not, perhaps, a situation in the world where so many favourable circumstances concur, as at this college, to effect this desirable point: nor could any influence be more effectual. I can now speak with a degree of confidence, which the uniform experience of a year will justify, that I have not a doubt that their conduct and attention to study will be such as to ensure

the utmost possible success, while they are remote from the seductions of a populous town ; and I believe that there are very few young men of their age, circumstances, and country, who might be more safely trusted in a public situation after a longer establishment of new habits.

I see nothing in their opinions or genius to induce you to alter their destination. I hope that you have received Mr Hill's letter, their professor of Greek, written at the determination of last session. I sent two copies of it, as I know it must give you infinite satisfaction.

The young gentlemen attend three different classes and three professors this session—the private (that is highest, for there are two) Greek classes, the private Latin class, and the Belles-lettres class, or Logic and Rhetoric.

The continental bills I return, as they could not be negotiated because not endorsed. The L.15 bill for the boys was not honoured, because not dated, the person on whom it was drawn being dead.

I cannot conclude without congratulating you on the happy prospect of a peace, which I cannot but think will soon take place. There is no event in which I feel myself more interested ; nor is there any thing in which my mind has been so uniformly persuaded as it has been, ever since my remigration, that, sooner or later, such a peace must be obtained.

Mr Bell to John White, Esq.

St Andrews, Jan. 7, 1783.

Permit me, sir, again to rejoice with you in the happy prospect of a speedy peace; an event so infinitely necessary to your comfort, and interest, and happiness, would fill me with the highest delight. My transatlantic visitation, by the friends and connexions which it acquired me, and by the opinions which it inspired, as well as by the attachments which it formed, has occasioned my suffering as much during the continuance of a ruinous war as any exiled American has done. Wherever I have met one of that country here, I have met with a friend, a brother, and a fellow-sufferer.

My friend Pollard will hand you this. He returns in the autumn. You are a lazy, indolent, careless fellow, White, and I can scarcely rely on any exertion of industry on your part, even so far as to write a letter, except it be called forth by the goodness of your heart. I will therefore conjure you, as you regard me, as you believe that I have, for upwards of seven years, been possessed of the highest respect and truest friendship towards you—as you believe this, write to me fully—inform me of every thing I can be interested in. I need not be particular to one who knows me so well, as to be able to speak to every point of which I would wish information, as if I were to enumerate each particularly. You know, too, all my friendships and my friends. Remember me to them all.

Mr Bell to Carter Braxton, Esq.

St Andrews, January 18, 1783.

It is now a twelvemonth and upwards since my friends reached this university. To London, which in other respects was not very friendly towards them, they owe several very genteel accomplishments. They are polite young men—tall, and of a very handsome and agreeable appearance. They keep no company but that in the very first line of life. I say this that you may not imagine, when I speak of their regularity and diligence, and of the infinite satisfaction they have given me, that they are mere book-worms. As students and as gentlemen their conduct has been such as must give you the highest delight to hear, as it does me to report. They had acquired a taste for dress, expense, and show in the metropolis, as well as habits of idleness, which might have been fatal if not interrupted at the critical moment they were, and counteracted by the genius of this place. Edinburgh would at that time have been highly dangerous, and I do not know if it would now be safe, though I would fain, if it could be done, that they should, after some time, spend a session there. All their professors have complimented me on the progress and conduct of my friends. We are now in the middle of a very busy session. My respectful compliments to Mrs Braxton.

Mr Bell to Carter Braxton, Esq.

St Andrews, February 23, 1783.

There is no event in which I have ever felt myself more interested than in the peace, the preliminaries of which are just ratified. For several years I have congratulated you on the prospect. I have been confident ever since my remigration, that, sooner or later, such a peace must be obtained. I now pour out the warmest effusions of my soul, in gratitude to the great Disposer of events, who has restored the blessings of peace to Europe and America. Besides every motive of attachment, which was deeper rooted than I knew till removed from the seat of war, I feel myself particularly interested on account of your affairs, which, I trust, will brighten up with the rays of peace, and on account of your sons, whose situation will be so much more comfortable than before. You have now nothing to dread from external wars. May you be equally secure from internal convulsions. . . . I never omit bringing down my letters to the latest date, that you may have every satisfaction in my power to give in regard to your sons, whose conduct at this university cannot be praised enough. The college is, in its reputation for professors, second to none in the world. I accompany my friends to class every day, to my instruction as well as amusement. Our number of students is more than doubled since my time, and it is quite a new college. Study was never so much the fashion here as at present. Your sons have, among their disciples and most intimate friends, an earl, the son of

an earl, the son of a bishop, the grandson of a bishop, and the sons of knights in great number. We abound with young gentlemen of great fortunes ; and in every thing this is the reverse of London. The Temple, sir, is the seat of idleness, extravagance, and dissipation, and this character admits as few exceptions as any general character can do. They did not escape the contagion in London. Perhaps nothing but St Andrews, and St Andrews in the critical moment, could have overcome them. It has overcome them, and established such as reflects the highest honour upon your sons. I am every day in company flattered with testimonies of their good conduct and good qualities. If to have a son as much esteemed as ever student was at this college can please a parent, you must be happy. The prebend of Canterbury, son to the famous Bishop of Cloyne, and his lady, paid me yesterday many compliments on their improvement in manners and appearance, as well as in other respects, since their arrival here. I have often given you my conjectures on the course of these things. Let me only add, that the frugal and piecemeal distribution of money to them, according to their occasions of genteel and elegant expenditures, which are few when not travelling, is a principal concern. I love them as much as I ever loved pupils. I would not yet advise trusting them at a place of amusements, or with money, whereof the expenditure was not particularly superintended. This is the wreck of their young countrymen.

Mr Bell to Mr Price.

St Andrews, April 22, 1783.

It will be easy for a parent to enter into the feelings of a tutor on the occasion of the present address. In my last I had the honour to inform you that my friend was striving hard to overtake the Greek class. Mr Professor Hill, on a later occasion, communicated his rapid progress. It is with entire satisfaction I now add that his diligence has been distinguished by the most brilliant success, and by the highest honours which this university has to bestow. In the annual competition for the premium in the Greek class, which is conferred by the Chancellor of the University, it was adjudged by Mr Hill and the other masters to Mr Price. The public exhibition, when the successful competitors recite their exercises to the university and the gentlemen in the city and its environs, and when the books which, with an honorary inscription, constitute the prize, are delivered by the hands of the chancellor, is on Wednesday next.

In a month the session of college determines by a public examination. In the summer vacation our studies will be directed by the classics which shall be fixed upon for our attendance next session. The private, or highest Greek and Latin classes, are never omitted by any students who aim at a proficiency in literature. Well-directed attention during the course of the summer months, can alone maintain to your son the distinguished station he occupies in the Greek

class, and enable him to acquire equal rank in the Latin class, in which he is already accounted a good scholar. The Belles-lettres class, where a system of logic and rhetoric is read, the mathematical class, and civil—one or more of these classes are generally added to the two former, according to the genius or destination of the student, or the time allotted for his continuance at college.

You will think it necessary that we should read arithmetic in the summer. Would you also choose that we should read some French?—I am, &c.

Mr Bell to Carter Braxton, Esq.

St Andrews, April 28, 1783.

I now write under very different impressions from what I have hitherto done. The diligent, the regular, and studious habits of my friends are now confirmed, so that I may venture to promise for their future improvement, while I recount to you their past progress: hitherto they have distinguished themselves in the eyes of their professors, and of the whole college, which rings with the applause of their good conduct and amiable qualities.

. . . I stayed in England from the 4th of June 1781 to the 27th of August, waiting the departure of your sons, which put me to an expense not less than two years' salary. How expensive, then, must it have

been to those who were entirely unacquainted with economy! It was entirely repugnant to my opinion, and my warm and repeated remonstrances, that they stayed in London above a fortnight. But what can a man do without money?

During their residence here I have been able to confine them within the bounds of your instructions, with the prudent assistance of Mr Govan. In this respect, as well as in the point of study, they merit every praise. Luxury has begun even here her extensive and rapid encroachments. But I have now a weight with the young gentlemen which a parent or pedagogue seldom attain. We are on such a footing of entire confidence and friendship, that they communicate to me all their views and designs, and acquaint me with all their actions, whether they approve or disapprove of them on reflection; and I have every day an opportunity of teaching them important lessons of morality and prudence, which it were otherwise impossible fully to inculcate. Nothing but my attachment to them, and my apprehension of the consequence of quitting them, restrain me at St Andrews. My office is now entirely that of a friend and a companion, and a parent as well as of a tutor. You will judge whether my extraordinary services and constant attendance require additional recompense. For my part I shall have the satisfaction of saving two worthy and deserving young gentlemen, of having in every thing attended minutely to your and their best interests, and of having convinced them, even when I oppose their opinions and wishes, that it is my regard to them, and attention to your interest, that would alone induce me to deny them any indulgence.

Viginti, a society of considerable note in this place, I was able to speak of him in these words :—" I have known this gentleman for several years in America, in England, and in this university. I never knew a young gentleman of a more sound judgment, of a more sweet and equal temper, of a more steady and resolute conduct, and above all, of a better heart. I could not deny myself this occasion of doing justice to a character I both love and revere, and which needs only to be known to be generally loved and revered." Mr Carter was proposed by an eloquent and worthy friend of his and mine, in a strain of very high panegyric. These things I mention, to convince you that I write not this to flatter parents. The whole town re-echoes their praises as genteel, well-bred, orderly, and studious young gentlemen. Corbin is chosen master of ceremonies at our balls, and has ever acquitted himself to the satisfaction of every lady in the company. He is indeed a prodigious and general favourite. At the end of the session I shall, as before, forward some respectable testimony of their conduct and proficiency. . . .

Mr Bell to Mr Govan, Glasgow.

St Andrews, May 8, 1783.

. The boys go on admirably. It is impossible for me to say how much I love them, and how much I am pleased with their conduct. . . . There is not a boarding-house in town in which they can go.

I am now on terms for rooms, and a new scheme of board, but nothing is yet done.

Mr Bell to Carter Braxton, Esq.

St Andrews, 1783.

We were favoured with a visit from Mr Govan at the end of last month, when our session of college rose. We accompanied him to Glasgow, and continued our route to the west as far as Loch Lomond, where my friends saw the first natural curiosity in this island. The works of Carron, which surpass in magnitude and horror those of any other country, and the canal between Forth and Clyde, attracted our notice. In every part we saw some remains of a former kingdom; but were particularly struck with the entire walls of the superb palace of Linlithgow, which was burnt down by the king's troops in the year 1746. This part of the island will never, in its buildings or in the face of the country, assume the appearance of England while it remains an united and subordinate kingdom.

Mr White, you say, cursed me because I gave you no political intelligence. He would have abused me much more if I had. The useful lessons of moderation which I had learned among you in America, were more than maintained among my American friends in England. The collision occasioned by the opposite sentiments of some others, had a very natural effect upon me. Long familiar to the extremes of enthusiasm on one side, and

extravagance on the other, the folly, the ignorance, hurt me so much that I turned an enthusiast for liberty, and was every where supposed to be a Virginian madman. But all my ravings, like those of Cassandra, have met their full accomplishment; and perhaps I shall gain no more credit by them than she did. People will never believe that it was owing to any thing but chance that themselves were not more fortunate in their conjectures than others whose opinions they oppose. I declined waiting on Sir Richard Hughes, governor of Halifax, when I supposed he meant to enquire into the situation of Virginia. I declined waiting on the Secretary of State in England. I knew that if I spoke the truth—and God forbid that I should ever know any other language!—that I should speak a language to which they were strangers, and to which they never, in American affairs, gave credit. Some of my friends will think me inconsistent with myself. They will think wrong. I know not whether America will now be happier than she has been hitherto; all I say here on the subject is, that it is her own fault if she has not a good government, and I have no doubt of the benefit that will accrue to her trade from independence. But I know and will say, that most people, in this country especially, and ministers, appeared to me more mad, and ignorant, and foolish than the wildest enthusiast in America. I am not capable of running my opinions on politics into extremes, but when driven to it by the collision of adversaries. You see I now for the first time feel myself a freeman in the person of America. But enough of this. . . .

Mr Govan will report to you the opinion of our pro-

only say, go on to improve as you or I could wish. There is no influence which a perpetual friend and constant companion, as well in exercise and relaxation, as in study and closer attention, but I have attained from their entire confidence, attachment, and unreserved communications.

I assure you that not a farthing of either has been spent without my knowledge or concurrence; not a farthing has been applied to improper purposes. Happy is it when young men are enabled to maintain an equal conduct under circumstances that would corrupt one half of our youths at college. In a nice case of this kind one would not promise for the future—one would not venture money in the hands of even them in other situations.

It is now full time to turn our attention to an object which naturally presents itself at this period of your sons' education, and which is particularly marked out in your letters to Mr Govan and me. The question is, what plan of study shall be observed next session, and what afterwards? There is no^a doubt on my mind, nor any one that I converse with, that both should remain at St Andrews next session, which commences in October and ends as usual. Last year they attended the highest Greek and Latin classes, and the Belles-lettres and Logic. Next session they will again (if you do not think they should be removed) attend the Greek and Latin, which no student who aims at proficiency ever omits, and moral philosophy, in which class a system of civil law forms a branch, and civil history, where the criminal law constitutes a part of the course.

At present I am with them at five in the morning for

Classical Latin. No students in town observe so

early an hour. They write with such a master as can be gotten, read French, and arithmetic. On their account I have opened a mathematical class this summer, which all the young Englishmen in town attend. But this town is extremely thin of students in the summer. At the end of next session they may be made bachelors of art. One year more would make them masters of art. If it were not that no academy in this country can come in competition with St Andrews for study and regularity, which are all the fashion, I would for the last session at college, that is session after next, recommend Edinburgh. Experimental philosophy, the extensive range in moral philosophy which is taken by Ferguson, and several other classes there, would be most worthy of their attendance. But a large city threatens a thousand dangers to young men. It is impossible for me to be with them, if I were ever so desirous of it, and were ever so willing to sacrifice my own interest, as I am doing every day to them, without an entirely new establishment. I mean to remain with them one session more at St Andrews. I conceive myself necessary to them. They think I know more than other people; and though I really know a great deal less of many things than others into whose hands they have fallen, I find their mistaken opinions of the utmost service, as they never tire of my instructions, and continually throw themselves into my hands.

Mr Govan, whose goodness and prudence I admire, thinks with me in every thing but Corbin's stay at college. He thinks he should be removed to business as soon as possible. I have repeatedly desired him to act entirely up to his own opinion; for I would give

I profess myself entirely ignorant. But if he asked my private opinion, I would give it. I thought with him, that a man who was to be a merchant in such a country as this, or in such a city as Glasgow, should be a mere man of business. I thought with him, that a good hand was better than all the Greek and Latin in the universe. But in a new country like America, it was hard to say whether any man would certainly devote himself entirely to any business, if you educate him solely for it. But to a young man of your family, whose connexions, and birth, and interest would entitle to any office of state, and to attain the highest honours and places of emolument were their abilities and knowledge equal to their rank and other advantages—in such case, I think that a liberal college education should by no means be dispensed with. The assembly, the council, the governorship, or whatever other name they may have, and a thousand other places, will be open to men of rank, abilities, and ambition. Let us, then, not cut off these young men, of whom I entertain such pleasing hopes and dreams. An improvement in letters, in art, and in science, appears to me adapted to their genius, the situation of their country, and the views of their parents and themselves; there is nothing which shall be thought right in them to do, but they will think right and do. Their future destinations, which must be held in view, are fixed with great judgment, and seem at once agreeable to their genius, adapted to the situation of their country, and corresponding to their own wishes.

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Mr Bell to Mrs Braxton, Virginia.

St Andrews, June 24, 1783.

Madam,

I am just honoured with your very polite address of February last, along with Mr Braxton's of April. Your favourable opinions of my conduct, and your flattering expressions of that opinion, give me the highest satisfaction. They would not fail to animate me in my further exertions, when I find myself sure of the thanks of the parents, as I am confident of the warmest gratitude and friendship on the part of the sons, if any thing could add to the interest I feel on their behalf. In the station in which I stand, of tutor, companion, friend, brother, and parent, I can say, without imagining any one will arraign me of indelicacy, that I have exerted all the abilities I am master of to render their visitation at this university as profitable as possible. I have ~~no~~ other motive at this moment for my continuance in this situation but my love and friendship to them—but an ambition to render their situation pleasant as well as profitable. I have perhaps, from circumstances in my lot, been able to effect both, beyond what another with ten times my ability could do. I shall comprehend, in one word, what I have to say of them—that they are mentioned on all occasions, by people of fashion and people of every denomination, as young gentlemen polite and well-bred above others—that on every occasion I experience marks of their attention and politeness, and that I love them more than I can express as a brother and as a

parent, (for it is not like a tutor.) Last session they met with a most flattering testimony of the universal estimation in which they were held. Though very young students, they were unanimously balloted, when there were but two vacancies, members of the Literary Viginti, a society composed of twenty, of which I have the honour to make one, and who are composed of the oldest and most deserving students at the university. Dr Berkeley, the prebend of Canterbury, in whose family we are domesticated, reads prayers and preaches every Sunday in an apartment of his own house, and we constitute a part of his little flock. I send with pleasure the enclosed card. I sympathize in my heart with all who rejoice in the welfare of my young friends, and I feel myself obliged to every one who has the goodness to express sentiments of approbation to their conduct and mine. You know better than I do, madam, how to express this sense, and I commit myself to your goodness on the occasion.

Mr Bell to Carter Braxton, Esq.

St Andrews, 1783.

. I consider myself extremely fortunate in having so fully entered into your views, and having explained my private opinion to Mr Govan exactly conformably to your ideas.

I consider myself as no less fortunate, that, in my

your letter ; but in case there be any part which I did not then speak to so fully as you desire, I shall now reply particularly to your interrogations. “ How much longer do you think they should remain at St Andrews ? When removed to Edinburgh, under what professors will it be necessary to place them ? ”

This town, in consequence of the great celebrity of the college, has improved to a considerable degree. Glasgow is in such a state of scandalous and shameful distraction and dissension, as drives several of her sons hither. There is, indeed, no part of the kingdom, not ~~excepting~~ the seats of universities, from which we have not students. There is nothing wanting but accommodation for the reception of many more who offer. The ensuing session, which opens this month, will, at all events, be spent by your sons in St Andrews. You must determine their future situation. If they are only to remain one winter more at a Scottish university, it should, were the step safe, be Edinburgh, where Mr Robinson teaches natural and experimental philosophy ; Mr Ferguson takes the widest range in human knowledge, as you may see from his text-book, which is to be found among you—where Carter may also attend a class of civil law, and another of the law of nature and nations ; and where Corbin may have a better writing-master and French master than St Andrews can boast of. But if you should think them rather young, and not yet mature for the deep prelections of deep men, you will, perhaps, think that two sessions after the ensuing should be spent at college. In that case you would, perhaps, choose that they should finish a complete course at the philosophy college here, and take their degrees of master of arts, which

they can do in May twelvemonth, rather than that they should too early encounter the dangers of a large and populous city. I could almost venture to ensure, during there stay here, study, which is the primary object, fit company, and proper amusements, which are secondary objects. They visit, and are visited, by all our professional gentlemen, whose company they desire, or it is proper they should desire.

Your next question respects myself. "What time do you intend to stay in Scotland, and at St Andrews?"

I am not finally determined. Sometimes I think of settling my affairs in Virginia, and visiting the East; sometimes I am half-persuaded by the importunity of friends to undertake a boarding scheme. Next spring I must do something or other for myself; for I can continue no longer in this very ineligible situation, which the great goodness of the boys, their excellent dispositions, and their proper attention as students, has confined me to longer than I intended.

I have but one advice to give you in regard to the placing of your sons in Edinburgh, or any populous city, to prevent their splitting on those rocks of extravagance, dissipation, and idleness, which wreck so many Virginians. You must not conceive that the attention of professors extends, or, at any rate, their influence penetrates, beyond their class hours. The greater oracles they are, the more they stand in need of interpreters to men who have not made a point of sacrificing, for many years, society and amusement of every kind to deep thought and constant reflection. There are not many of our Scottish students who are fully qualified to guide Virginians in the path of science.

But on this score you must be liberal. It is, I promise you, the surest economy. For I would ten times rather advise them to return to Virginia the moment they left this college, than throw them into Edinburgh, recommended to the care of a professor, who would, perhaps, deign to treat them, once or twice a session, with a dish of tea or a supper, and think he had shown them great attention.

Mr Bell to Mr Swinton.

St Andrews, March 4, 1784.

. It is, indeed, to me very pleasing to hear from the person with whom I had so long lived in habits of entire amity, and who, I began to suspect, had entirely forgotten me. It is pleasing to hear from a country to which, independent of my intention of revisiting it, I shall ever feel the warmest attachment. In every thing that befalls you as an individual friend—in every thing that befalls the state in which you live as a body politic—in every thing that befalls our numerous and respectable friends in the western regions, I shall ever feel a deep interest. I am here living from *hand to mouth*. There has not been a vacancy in the literary department since my arrival; and there are only a few which, I believe, my interest would procure for me. Your letter, however particular you may suppose it, is by far too general. I really do not conceive who you mean by a person you and I

had a high opinion of; there are so many who answer that description. What is your encouragement? your situation? your prospects? Would you advise me to enter into holy orders? What are the prospects of success in the line of the Church? What do your acquaintances say to the scenes that are past? What does the voice of the country say? I thank you for the candour of the letter which lies before me. Let me beseech you to be particular and candid in the reply to this. It may determine my conduct and my fate. Immediately on the receipt hereof, I conjure you to write by the post *via* New York, and by the first vessel that sails to Britain.

My young friends are honoured and rewarded, as well as diligent and deserving. I shall feel a pang at parting from them, which perhaps few tutors feel. I hope they will get a successor (let me leave them when I may) who will have more abilities—for more zeal in their service, or more industry, they will never find; and if they get abilities, they must pay for them at a very different rate from what I have yet been paid. Mr Hall has gotten an appointment of chaplain to the English factory at Leghorn. I believe £500 per annum. If he is not extremely unfortunate, or else excessively fortunate, he will never see America more.

This country is ruined by corruption, racked by faction, and stripped of every appearance of public spirit. The King and the Prince embrace opposite parties in politics. The bosom friend of the latter is extremely odious to the former. Charles James Fox is at once in the utmost general abhorrence and personal disgrace, and the pillar of a party and the idol of a faction. He has abilities and eloquence enough to

command attention and notice in a country where all is corrupt and divided, and where the only contest (for the public is out of the question) is who shall enjoy the emoluments of office.

Mr Bell to Carter Braxton, Esq.

St Andrews, April 1784.

It is scarce possible for me to express my astonishment at your silence. God grant you be all well, and that the same fears may not reach my noble friends that often obtrude themselves on me! My anxiety about their destination, and about my own destination, is increased greatly by not hearing from you. If I can quit them, I will certainly visit Virginia. How short or long my stay there may be, will depend on circumstances.

In what words shall I communicate to you the happy and glorious events of this campaign? Both my boys are crowned with laurels. The highest mark of distinction this university has to confer has fallen to them. They were both candidates for prizes which were awarded to the best exercises in the different classes, and are given by the Earl of Kinnoul, the chancellor of the university. Corbin has carried the moral philosophy by a discourse on the immortality of the soul. Carter has snatched from the whole college the prize of the private Greek class, by an exercise on Grecian elo-

thenes. Since prizes were given at the college of St Andrews, there never were essays to compare with those of this year.

There has not been since my arrival, nor is there any prospect of a literary vacancy here. Could I expect an office in Virginia?

Corbin and Carter were both taken with an epidemical distemper last summer, which they communicated to me from my being constantly with them. It was a sore throat. In Corbin it was attended with a rush fever. Since then, Corbin does not seem so strong as before. He is sometimes subject to a difficulty of breathing. Exercise on horseback is recommended. The mild weather which may now be expected, after a severe winter which is not yet over, promises fair to restore him to his wonted strength. The cold bath is also recommended when the season will admit. There is not in all Scotland a better bathing-place than St Andrews. Carter is still a strong, stout, large, handsome young man.

Copies of their premium discourses, as soon as they can be made out, shall be sent to you. There are many other exercises and discourses of the same kind, which will be brought by themselves or by me, if not before. I expect every moment to hear from you. When peace came, we flattered ourselves that we should enjoy an uninterrupted communication, but we are entirely disappointed. . . .

. . . . Carter and Lord Elgin were competitors in the same two classes. In both, I am told and believe, Carter's discourse was best; but as only one prize is given to one person, he got the private

Greek, in which class he had the whole college against him. The civil history (Cleghorn's) fell, of course, to Lord Elgin.

Mr Bell to Carter Braxton, Esq.

May 4, 1784.

I have often hinted that the fees which I receive are altogether unequal to the office I have exercised, and the hard duty I am performing. For the most part of two sessions I have been employed, day and night, in the service of your sons. I have been obliged to take from my usual hours of rest to devote to their behalf. I assure you that the fees I have hitherto received, which barely enable me, with other advantages of situation, to discharge my duty, do not in any degree answer either my services, or any thing like the usual rewards of mere boys who are employed as tutors, who have no charge but stated hours of reading, who have no experience, no influence, little learning, and less knowledge. When I quit the boys, if I must employ a successor, who is to perform any part of what I have done? who can perform what I have done? An entirely new establishment must take place. But of this enough.

How do politics stand with you? Mr Fox, to our great surprise, is likely to carry his election. The

whole interest of his party has been turned to procure a seat for him in Westminster. In most other parts of the kingdom his friends have failed. He is indeed an extraordinary man. There is perhaps none to compare with him in point of abilities, and as an orator.

But now for myself, I trust I may rely implicitly on your friendship. I am neither vain, nor assuming, nor forward, when I say I think I have deserved it. What prospects may I indulge from a re-visitation to Virginia? Any academies erected? Any encouragement in the line of the Church? Shall I come out in holy orders? What is now the mode of obtaining them for America? Can they be come at with you? Speak freely; for I do not at present expect to quit before I obtain an answer to this, if I do then. My young friends might miss me, were I to go yet; and I wish not to run the hazard. The newspapers in which is announced the awarding of the prizes accompany this.



Mr Bell to George Dempster, Esq.

St Andrews, May 26, 1784.

Dear Sir,

You will give me leave to unite my weak voice with that of your friends, in their gratulations on your late election. It is a new era in the history of these boroughs, that the abilities, the public spirit, the private virtues, and amiable character of one man, should

convert venality and corruption into disinterestedness and patriotism.

It is not, however, I confess, my motive for troubling you at this time, to say what you would readily imagine, whether I said it or not. It is the style of your conversation when I had the honour to be with you ; it is the interest which you took in my affairs, that have determined me to lay my situation before you, and ask your advice.

When I came home from America, I meant only to wait the return of peace that I might then revisit the western world. I had no dependence on this country, and wished not to throw myself on my friends, or give them any trouble. Agreeably to this resolution, I was on the eve of my departure for Virginia, and had converted what I had saved from the wrecks of war and sea to the use of my father, who opens shop in his low house, when I learned by my friends in the new world, that the political ferment there had not yet subsided ; and I feel much reluctance at the thoughts of re-emigration while this spirit subsists. One of my pupils enters, as soon as the state of his health permits, into the mercantile department. The other will commence, I know not how soon, the study of the law ; and I have some intention of entering into holy orders, which, even on the event of returning to America, I conceive eligible, if there be yet no mode of ordination in the United States. In this design I shall meet with every assistance and furtherance from Dr Berkeley, of whose little flock I have the honour to be one, and who alone is privy to my design. The prebendary, with a warmth characteristic of the goodness of his heart, interests

himself in my behalf, and next to his son's tutor, to whom he is under previous obligations, would serve me with all his power. His abilities are not perhaps equal to his good wishes and candour. I fear much that a man of no interest, though of the humblest ambition, could have no future prospects, even were he to obtain a temporary curacy.

I should be covered, sir, with shame and confusion on having presumed to trouble you, on a short acquaintance, with this detail, and soliciting your opinion in regard to my conduct, did I not feel within myself something which assures me that, were my acquaintance still less than it is, you would take in good part what I have done, and that you will feel for my situation what I cannot utter. . . .

George Dempster, Esq., to Mr Bell.

London, May 31, 1784.

My dear Sir,

You never conjectured righter than when you supposed me interested in whatever concerns your welfare. I wish I were more capable of offering you sound advice on the important subject you mention. My advice, though perhaps not sound, is very decided. Orders in the Church of England, with an intention to remain in England, are not to be taken by a man without interest. Whoever takes them, has ten to one of

being condemned to a miserable forty-pound curacy for the rest of his life. In the dearest country that ever was, he must live on the most wretched salary that ever was. Orders taken by a man who has only one patron, is a dangerous experiment. But if that one patron has one prior engagement, the danger is quadrupled; the danger, indeed, is converted into a certainty of starving, and not alone; for among the fine girls in England even a curate cannot resist matrimony; and then God have mercy on the poor curate, his poor wife, and poorer children! It is not to be done. But orders, to return to America, in the clerical line, is not so bad. Of this you are better able to judge yourself. To be sure, if you have a *call* to the ministry—if the spirit prompts you to it, and if you reverse the bishop's profession, and say—*Volo Episcopari*—there is no help for it. The spirit that prompts you, will, I hope, provide for you also.

No, no; stay you where you are. You are a comfort to my worthy friend, your father. Private tuition you will have the pick of; and it is impossible that you must not soon become one of our professors, which I think an honourable, creditable, enviable situation. None has my good wishes in preference to yourself. I only wish my wishes were horses; you should soon ride in at the great gate of the united colleges.

Many thanks for your kind congratulations on my re-election, and for the share your father had in its being done in the most honourable and obliging way to me. My wife joins me in kindest respects: we both reflect with pleasure (not, however, unalloyed) on the satisfaction your short visit at Dunnichen

afforded us.—With my kindest respects to your father and family, I am most sincerely, my dear sir, yours, &c.

Thomas Thomas, Esq., to Mr Bell.

May 31, 1784.

Dear Sir,

. . . . I hope you will do me the favour of accepting Harris's works, as a small token of the *pleasure and advantage* I have received from *your acquaintance*; and believe me when I assure you that *you will make happy* by giving me an opportunity of being serviceable to you and yours.

Farewell, my dear Sir, and believe me to be, with much regard and esteem, your most sincere friend and well-wisher.

The Rev. Dr Berkeley to Mr Bell.

Sunday Evening, June 1784.

Dear Bell,

In my vast hurry yesterday I forgot to show you Thomas's letter to me, and unfortunately I destroyed it by mistake this day. He begged me to say all that

man could say as expressive of his utmost gratitude and regard, and says he is to leave Belhouse about the 1st of August.

Now the 1st of August may be the 21st, and I do greatly desire you to see Thomas. My idea is clearly that you should proceed by land with Pearce. I shall, in the enclosed, apprise Thomas of your being in town, and that you are to *be about town* till I arrive at Canterbury.

I believe you will trust to my advice, and embrace the present opportunity of being introduced at Belhouse. God send us a happy meeting at Canterbury!

Your heavy baggage may accompany mine to Dundee—small trunk to London. I shall write to you under cover to Thomas some day next week. . . .

N.B.—If you follow my advice, you will go to Belhouse after you receive an answer to the enclosed; and pray write to me from Belhouse, directing to me, Peckham, near Tunbridge.

The Bishop of Chester to Dr Berkeley.

Thurton, June 19, 1784.

Dear Sir,

The testimonials which I here return to you do great credit to Mr Bell, and I shall be glad if any such curacy may fall in my way as he seems to wish for.

The Rev. Dr Berkeley to Mr Bell.

June 18, 1784.

My dear Bell,

By a letter I have just received, I am led to some uncertainty as to the probable state of my good friend Mr Kennedy's family. So early as the 8th of August, when you see him, as I *now* wish you to do, at tea time, leaving the bishop *immediately* after evening prayers. He, the said kind-hearted rector, will explain to you whether he can, or cannot, indulge himself in the great pleasure of entertaining a beloved friend of mine; drinking tea with him *by six*; and, if he cannot receive you for the night, do you take him back with you to Maidston.

My eyes ache much this evening, and yet I cannot avoid scribbling to you. Adieu.

All will go on admirably with your refugeeship.

N. B.—Pray visit Lambeth, if possible, before you go to Belhouse, or Kent, or any whither, and write to me, who shall be here on the 10th of August, after post arriving.

Thomas Thomas, Esq., to Dr Berkeley.

Belhouse, June 18, 1784.

My dear and honoured Sir,

Your letter of the 10th, which I have just received, has made us all here very happy ; and though you say you can hardly receive an answer from me, yet I cannot resist venturing a few lines to say how overjoyed I shall be to see you and company. Lord and Lady Dacre desire me to say, that if you come *up the river*, they shall be glad to see you and your son, and Mr Bell and your suite. We are but two short miles from Purfleet ; so for God's sake land at Purfleet, and when there, enquire for Mr Matchet, and he will be proud of having the honour of giving you house-room till he can send some one to Belhouse, which, when he does, I will come and bring carriages and horses to transport you to this dear place, and its dear owners, who long to see you.

Pray, make my compliments to Mr Bell, and tell him that nothing will make us so happy as his accompanying you to Belhouse. I send this express to London, and I shall write to you at St Andrews, lest this should not reach you. I should have written to Bell myself, but have not time.

Extract from a Friend to Mr Bell.

July 10, 1784.

How shall I ever be able to repay, my dear sir, the obligations you have so delicately conferred upon me? but I am miserable lest you should have put yourself to any inconvenience by it. I hope in a short time to be able to repay you the money, but I never shall be able sufficiently to repay the obligation. I do not know that I was ever more surprised or distressed in my life to receive such an act of friendship from a person that I had no claim, even to expect more than common civility from, is too much: words will not do justice to my feelings; you must therefore give me credit even for them. But no more of this subject at present. I am at last got into the country, and have left, without regret, the town of London. . . .

Corbin Braxton, Esq., to Mr Bell.

Glasgow, July 23, 1784.

Dear Sir,

I now sit down to bid you a long farewell. We are just going to Mr French's country-house, from whence we do not return. We have received great attention and civility from the merchants here, and

from Mr Govan particularly, with whom we have settled all our accounts. Allow me to return my warmest thanks to you for your goodness in telling me of my errors. I hope you will continue to do so; and I assure you I will continue to pay the greatest attention to your advice. The only excuse I can make for those unpardonable blunders is, that I was in a great hurry, and very much confused at the time. . . . My brother would write if he had time; but he joins me in wishing you all the success your imagination can form.

Thomas Thomas, Esq., to Mr Bell.

Belhouse, July 29, 1784.

Dear Sir,

Permit me to congratulate you upon your safe arrival in Old England. I received your letter yesterday evening. This scrawl will be enclosed in a note from Lord Dacre to you. I hope you will make us happy, as soon as possible, by your company here. Lord Dacre has told me that he will point out to you the best way of coming. Our carriage will meet you at Hornchurch, which is a few miles from here; only remember, that the sooner you can conveniently come, the happier you will make us. . . .

The Archbishop of Canterbury to Dr Berkeley.

Lambeth, July 31, 1784.

My dear Sir,

I shall receive Mr Bell with much satisfaction, when he favours me with a visit; but I should do him injustice if I did not recommend it to you, to use the occasion which offers in his favour, as at present I certainly have no situation to offer him, nor, considering the uncertainty of such events as my powers of employing a gentleman of his description depend upon, can foresee when I may.

Mrs Kenion to Mr Bell.

Edinburgh Sept. 13, 1784.

My worthy Friend,

I had the pleasure of receiving your agreeable favour on the 10th instant, and if I was not afraid of losing the post, would positively write you a very scolding letter—only think of never having *once* mentioned *your* brother's name in your last letter! Are we to conclude him dead or alive? Indeed it was a strange omission, and would have made us very uneasy had not your sister Jessy been present when I received yours.

From her we learnt every thing about your good brother. The agreeable intelligence concerning *mine*, gave us all great pleasure. We shall anxiously long to see you here.

I supped with Mr and Mrs Laughton on Saturday night, and communicated your intention of soon being with them, which seemed to give them the utmost satisfaction. I learned something new. I sincerely hope you will find every thing agreeable. I am sure it is impossible to express how much I am interested, and Mr Kenion, in the event. Your sister proposes staying in town till you arrive, as you may believe she is very anxious to see you again. We are to be favoured with her company to stay with us.

Believe me, with great sincerity and esteem, your assured friend.



Corbin Braxton, Esq., to Mr Bell.

October 8, 1784.

My dear Sir,

It gives me pleasure to inform you, that after an agreeable passage of eight weeks, I am at length seated in my father's house. You may easily suppose that our arrival would, at first, be a shock to my father, who had just remitted us L.500. But as soon as we had acquainted him with our circumstances, his surprise ceased, and I believe he now approves of the step, though he wishes it could have been avoided.

As yet, our situation is very unsettled, but we are making preparations to lead studious lives, and to follow that plan of study you always recommended to us, and which, I am sure, if we pursue, will acquire us glory, honour, and riches. The pains you took to give us a taste for literature, I am sure proceeded from nothing but your concern for our welfare and happiness. Should we now turn out contrary to our own wishes and the expectations of our friends, I shall lament that the advantages we have had were not bestowed on some more deserving than ourselves. The desire we have to obey our indulgent parents will, I hope, keep us at home, and make us attentive to our business. There are several young men here who have been advanced to honourable and lucrative offices, merely from their own merit. Carter's ambition has caught fire at, and will, I hope, continue to blaze until he becomes a formidable rival to them.

I have seen few of my relations as yet. All of them entertain the highest respect for you, and would be happy to exert themselves in your behalf, should you return. I am anxious to hear the issue of your uncertain expedition.

I am sorry to inform you, that on our arrival we had the misfortune to be upset in a single chaise coming up to Williamsburgh; had our trunk robbed, and lost all our accounts, among which the copies of your drafts on papa and Mr White were. My father says he will send the tobacco he owes you as soon as the crops are ready. I make no doubt but Mr White will do the same. I should be glad that you would remit me copies again of the drafts. The ship Elizabeth, belonging to the same company which we came out is

a very fine one, and I shall endeavour to ship your tobacco in it, if I can. There are no ships from York River. I fear, therefore, I must be at the expense of carrying it round to St Hiver. Tobacco sells for thirty or forty shillings a hundred; and, were it mine, I should hesitate whether I would run the risk of sending it out or selling it here.

Mr Carter Braxton, jun., to Mr Bell.

Westpoint, October 10, 1784.

My dear Sir,

I wrote to you before we sailed, under cover to your friend Mr Dempster. My object then was to inform you of my gratitude for the many services I received at your hands, and of the day of our departure from Scotland; it is now with an assurance of my own gratitude, and that of the whole family, to apprise you of my happy arrival in Virginia. We had a pleasant passage of eight weeks, though it would have been rendered infinitely more so had you been with us. The conversation on shipboard turned always on trivial subjects. Instead of the renowned heroes of antiquity, and the virtues and deficiencies of modern statesmen, which was our delight at St Andrews, obscure shipmasters from Greenock were the topic. I read a great deal; but you well know that relaxation from thinking it as necessary to the mind as relaxation from labour is to the body. The mind is like a bow—when bent

continually, becomes feeble. Many writers, aware of this, have advised their readers, when tired of study, to seek the company of sensible men or virtuous women. To afford a respite to my mind, I often retired to your little room. Our meeting with papa and mamma was joyful beyond description. The engine of paternal affection was conjoined with that of surprise, by no means weak, you will allow. We announced our arrivals with our own persons. Though I could discern that papa was a little chagrined; yet after being absent more than three years, and informed of the hair-breadth escapes we had undergone, his affection (which he possesses in an eminent degree) bore down every thing before it. I am now far from being sorry at my presence in Virginia. I am satisfied I shall learn more of the law under the eye and hands of my father, than I should have done at St Andrews. It is, at all events, a matter of great consolation and happiness to me, that I have it in my power to discharge some of the load of business which my father is overburdened with. Your not coming with us, as I would have had you, is a cause of general regret. Every body I have as yet seen, have made very friendly enquiries concerning you. I have flattered them with hopes of seeing you soon, which I sincerely wish you will not disappoint. I have not been from home, therefore cannot inform of your particular acquaintances. I can with certainty inform you only of the sincere regard and esteem of, &c.

Mr Carter Braxton, jun., to Mr Bell.

Richmond, Nov. 2, 1784.

My dear Friend,

What excuse shall I plead for my infrequency of writing, and my brother's so seeming neglectful inattention to your business? No misfortune however deplorable, nor absence however long, shall estrange my affection from you. Though a long time may sometimes elapse without your hearing from me, at bottom you shall always find me a constant and steady friend. But, alas! all those pleasing hopes which I entertained at St Andrews, of rendering you a return for your admirable service, are fled—utterly vanished. The study of the law is the only road which leads to riches and eminence. It is true that it is a tract which is very much beaten. But most of the travellers are of the *idle* and *inattentive*. To a man of such learning as yourself, and perseverance and assiduity, it promises great affluence. The new country just settled, or settling, will be a field for amassing wealth, and the old one for spending. With a blush for my country, I own that I never saw religion elsewhere so despised. Deists and Epicureans flourish in numbers, and seek every opportunity to display their sentiments. But in my opinion they display the grossest folly and ignorance.

My dear sir, my mind is now filled with gloominess and melancholy. A smile or laugh sometimes breaks forth: here are some curious objects, enough to excite the risibility of a Cato, and make him burst his sides. I have been here now eight days, and am tired of it more

than ever pupil was of his tutor. The town enlarges daily, and is continually filled with a concourse of people. The Assembly has just met. What they will do is uncertain. The Indians behind us are confederating, and have already murdered some of our people. The governor, in his *speech* or *letter*, has recommended a militia bill, which will be taken into consideration. His reign expired at Christmas, and Henry, it is supposed, will be his successor.

Corbin is gone to Philadelphia about some business of the utmost consequence to my father. He returns soon, when he will write you a satisfactory account, I hope, of your affairs committed to him.

Should you be disposed to return to Virginia, you will find my father's house as open to you as ever, and every body will be glad to see you. I have had many enquiries after you from numbers of people.

My father desires particularly to be remembered. He lately wrote to you fully on a subject interesting to you.

I have now to wish you every happiness and prosperity.

Professor Hugh Cleghorn to Mr Bell.

St Andrews, June 27, 1785.

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter a few days ago, but unluckily missed the post of yesterday, which prevented

me from congratulating you sooner upon an appointment so agreeable, and upon which may be founded such rational expectations of honourable independence.

You are every way qualified to discharge the duties of the office you have undertaken ; but since you are pleased to think that I can be of service by suggesting some plan of reading, our friendship will excuse my offering such a plan freely and without affectation.

In initiating your pupil into the principles of government, I would advise you, as a pleasing and necessary preparation, to begin with tracing its appearances in rude nations. For this purpose you may read first, a short account of primitive subordination in the second chapter of the fifth book of Smith's Enquiry.

This will be a good introduction to Millar's Distinction of Ranks ; and this book should be read by your pupil, if he is far enough advanced, from the second chapter to the end with attention. Goguet's Origin of Laws ought here to be occasionally consulted ; and as a relief from these studies, and as a confirmation of their principles, I would, at the same time, make him read Charlevoix's Voyage to Canada, D'Arvieux's History of the wild Arabs, or any other account of rude nations, which you may think better.

With respect to the principles of government, there is no book of any consequence that I know of but Montesquieu.

Do not attempt Locke upon that subject ; for his book is a tedious answer to the absurd writings of Filmer. The Spirit of Laws, therefore, must be read, but with caution, for it is very quaint. You need not make your pupil go through the first book ; it would probably disgust him, because it is difficult to understand, and

nonsense when it is understood. He may read all that the author says on the nature and principles of the different governments, and the corresponding parts of Ferguson's Essay may be read at the same time. This book, though not well connected, nor remarkable for illustrating what it intends, abounds with many noble sentiments, which it cannot fail to make proper impressions on a young mind.

The government of our own country is best learned from our history, since the accession of the House of Stuart. But here De Lolme should be read, and the first volume of Blackstone, with great attention.

Upon commerce and political economy there is no writer equal to Smith; and, if your pupil is intended for political life, he cannot study too closely the work of this author. Before you read him, however, you ought to peruse Harris upon money and coins. And when you read the commercial parts of Smith, you ought to compare them with Hume's Essays on the same subjects. Here, too, you should also consult the writings of the French philosophers, called Economists, particularly Quesnay, (I think his book is entitled "*Philosophie Niral*,") and also "*L'Ordre Naturel des Sociétés Politiques*," by Mercier. Mr Smith has pointed out their errors, but they are liberal and eloquent writers—the first, indeed, the most agreeable I ever read.

You may, perhaps, be advised to read "*Cours D'Etude*" of the Abbé de Condolac. The book is in vogue; but the learning of the author is that of a fop, and his politics those of a pedant.

I cannot pretend to give you a proper plan for the study of history. I shall mention, however, the outlines of one which I followed myself. In instructing

two young men privately this winter, I gave them a short account, chiefly by conversation, of the great nations of antiquity. For the Egyptians I chiefly consulted the “*Récherches Philosophiques*” by Monsieur De Pauw, and the account of their hieroglyphics in the divine legation of Moses. From the time you have to bestow upon your pupil, and from your acquaintance with the ancient languages, you will make him read many of their historians in the original ; and it is very proper to do so. But, believe me, few men are well versed in the history of antiquity merely by reading ancient authors, unless they confine their views to that object only. You will therefore be obliged sometimes to read modern writers upon that subject, and good translations of ancient ones.

Allow me strongly to impress upon you, in reading the dead languages with your pupil, not to engage him too much in the metaphysical subtleties of grammar. These may give *eclât* in a college, but they make no part in the trade of a gentleman. In studying modern history, you must begin with the feudal institutions, and these are most popularly delineated by Hume and Robertson. Make your pupil read attentively the first volume of Charles V. Then go to the books which treat of the subsequent and present state of European nations. When you come to Britain, I would begin with James I. and his son, and read every historian of name concerning these reigns. The opposite writers concerning the reigns of the second Charles and James should also be examined. I advise you to begin our history near the end, because it is there most important ; and also, by introducing to the acquaintance of your pupil objects of such consequence, you will more

than awaken his curiosity to enquire into their causes and their issue. I have thus given an imperfect sketch of what you desired; it is intended only to assist study at the beginning. To have done more would have been to write a catalogue or a lecture, which this letter, perhaps, too much resembles.

I have used the freedom to employ the hand of an amanuensis, who is employed by me during the summer: but I beg leave to assure you with my own that I ever am most sincerely yours.

The Rev. Dr Berkeley to Mr Bell.

Canterbury, June 17, 1785.

Dear Sir,

My old and very amiable friend, Lord Conyngham, said he has *immediate* occasion for such services as I know you to be admirably qualified to render him, in the education of his second son, a gentle, good-natured youth as you ever saw, of the sweetest manners.

Mr Nathanael Burton is near nineteen; has just left Hackney school; is intended for the parliamentary or diplomatic line, in the former of which his paternal uncle, Colonel Burton Conyngham, now makes so distinguished a figure in Ireland.

The scene of this amiable young gentleman's education is probably for some years to be laid chiefly on the Continent.

Geography, chronology, history, popular astronomy,

the principles of commerce and of legislation, and a little attention to classical knowledge—*these*, together with modern languages, (French is already familiar as English to him,) are to engage his time.

Mr Nathanael Burton is *not* an eldest son; therefore I am not authorized to offer terms so high as Lord C. wishes to offer to a scholar so accomplished as yourself. But I do very heartily advise you to close with them—one hundred and fifty pounds per annum whilst on actual service, and an annuity of one hundred pounds for your life, to commence on your retiring from actual service.



The Rev. Dr Berkeley to Mr Bell.

Canterbury, June 17, 1785.

My dear Sir,

You will receive from me a letter of this day's date, written by desire of Lord Conyngham, read and approved by him, and sealed with his seal. That letter I would advise you to answer in these terms—addressing your letter

To the Lord Conyngham, at Ramsgate, in Kent.

“Edinburgh, June 1785.

“My Lord,

“I have this day had the honour to receive your lordship's *proposals*—which I most respectfully accept—of one hundred and fifty pounds annual salary for so

long a time as I shall be employed in attendance on Mr Burton, and of one hundred pounds a-year for my life; this last annual payment to commence *on the ceasing* of my personal attendance on my pupil.

“ I shall leave it to the unremitting and earnest exertions of my life to prove how sensible I am of the confidence placed in me. A desire to do honour to the choice of my generous patron Lord Conyngham, and of my kind recommender Dr Berkeley, will, I trust, actuate me every day of my attendance as tutor to Mr Burton; nor can any line of studies be more agreeable to my own turn than that which lead to eminence in the *parliamentary and diplomatic* lines of life.

“ To render geography, chronology, history, popular astronomy, the elements of jurisprudence and commerce, agreeable and intelligible to my noble disciple, and to habituate him to a regular application of his time, (as well as to an economical expenditure of his income,) shall be the constant aim of a life which I consider as devoted to the service of my employer.

“ The principles of religion and virtue, I daresay, have been sown. It shall be my business to cultivate them without austerity. As the young gentleman has left school, and as your lordship’s proposal mentions an immediate want of a tutor’s assistance, I shall leave this place *in a few days*.

“ Having the honour to be, in some sort, under the protection of Lord Dacre, I shall take leave, perhaps, to pay my respects at Belhouse in my way to Ramsgate, where, however, I hope to have the honour of waiting on Lord and Lady Conyngham *before* the end of July.

“ With my best respects to her ladyship and Mr

Burton, I beg leave to subscribe myself, my lord, your lordship's most devoted and faithful humble servant."

George Dempster, Esq., to Mr Bell.

London, July 13, 1785.

Dear Sir,

It was very unkind in you to content yourself with twice leaving your card—*Mr Bell, City Coffee-House*. Could not you have added the reverend, or something to distinguish you from the rest of the chime? You'll see, by a letter I sent you to Lord Dacre's on one of the days you called upon me, how little I dreamt of your being in town. It is a subject of sorrow and regret both to Mrs D. and me, that we did not see you. Should you come to town again, pray drop me a line. I repeat my congratulations on your late appointment, and join with the rest of your friends in grateful thanks to your valuable patron Dr Berkeley, for having provided for you so handsomely. I know you'll give satisfaction to Lord C——, and do credit to the Doctor's recommendation, whatever you may think. You need none of my assistance to direct his political studies. A course of these studies is very well pointed out in the old proverb—"Honesty is the best policy." This is worth Montesquieu, Bolingbroke, and De Lolme, who are only good masters when they stick

and is most assuredly the most valuable book of this age. Dr Adam Smith and Ferguson's Roman History the next. I dare not mention D. Hume to any body with a reverence before his name; but, if I durst indeed, as a philosopher and politician, I will. Blackstone's first volume should be gotten by heart. Necker's late account of the French finances may be considered as a code of political wisdom on that branch of politics. If your pupil relishes these works he has a turn for politics. If not, for something I hope still better; though a rich man, in a free country, can hardly find a nobler pursuit than the study of how to become a good member of parliament. Let him know there is a higher character in this state than that of a courtier. If he is fully sensible of the advantage we enjoy over all the rest of Europe, there is no fear of him.

Please return my thanks to Dr Berkeley for his elegant occasional sermon, which he had the goodness to direct to be sent to me, and which I read with great pleasure.

Your letters shall be duly cared for, either up or down. How your appointment must delight your worthy father! Farewell.

Mrs Berkeley to Mr Bell.

The Oaks of Canterbury, 4th March 1786.

Dear Sir,

It was impossible for me to hesitate one moment to whose polite gratitude I was indebted for half a dozen elegant dried bottle bonnets, for which I request you to accept my best thanks. It is pleasing to one to be remembered by those we esteem. I should be very sorry to be quite forgotten by my Scotch friends; for I shall ever retain a grateful sense of kindness received from many in that land of hospitality, from whom I had no right to expect such attentions. We have had a Scotch family of fashion here all the winter: they are pleased to think that we have amply returned to them favours received from their connexions whilst we were in the north.

The Archbishop of Canterbury has sent down hither a young Scot as one of the six preachers of the cathedral. They preach only two sermons a-year each. His Grace has also given him two livings in this city. It is fine preferment for the young man. He owes it to the archbishop's lady, who knew his father, Dr Gregory of Edinburgh. It makes out my advice to all people who mean to succeed, ever to plough with the heifer, if they mean to rise; for whether the lords of the creation know it or not, or are too proud *to own it*, we females, one way or other, openly, or as the French say, *sourdement*, whether we be wife, mistress, sister, or daughter, guide the world. Has not the Holy Spirit, by the wise king, represented wisdom as a

female directing and *guiding*, to use a softer word than governing, at the creation of the visible world, which men naturally enough abominate? Here, however, Mr G. is a decent sensible kind of young man. He was a Glasgow exhibitor to Baliol College, Oxford. He is minister of the two churches in which you preached in the city, vacated by the sudden death of my excellent friend, Mr Duncombe, in the night of the 18th of January. I have never heard Mr G. preach. My son has, and says that he preaches well and sensibly. But of this I am sure, he is not admired and followed, as was a certain countryman of his who was here last summer.

I am sure it will afford you pleasure to hear that my son has lately printed an elegy on the death of my entirely beloved friend, the eldest Miss Malthus, whom you saw at Cookham. I repeat that it will give you pleasure to hear that it is universally admired. Indeed, some of the first geniuses of the age give it their *imprimatur*, or it had not seen the light in public. I wish it would travel in a frank, you should certainly have one. In the review of books in the *Gentleman's Magazine* is a part of it transcribed, and amongst the new poetry the entire epitaph; but that alludes to the beautiful frontispiece, which is a weeping willow shadowing an urn, with "Harriett, 1786," inscribed. The three Graces are adorning it with flowers, a river where all is reflected, and on the other side the river, in the background, Hope leaning on an anchor, and pointing up to heaven. The preface is esteemed a very elegant piece of prose. I do think he contrived to get one down, he told me, to his kind patroness, Lady Clark, if you know any one that knows her ladyship. I

always conceive the Scotch a little interested in the fame of my son, at least St Andrews. I trust they will have reason to boast of him. He is lately become acquainted with Mr Boswell, in the following way:—A near relation of my son's showed him the autograph, in Johnson's own hand, of the conversation between Dr J. and his majesty when he went to pay his duty. My son said it is a great pity but Mr Boswell had this, to which Sir Francis replied, it is much at your service to lend him. My son, naturally conceiving it would be most acceptable, wrote to Mr Boswell; and after two or three polite notes on either side, of which should wait on the other, a meeting was appointed at my son's chambers in the Temple. He is much pleased with *Bozzy's fine* understanding. However, it occurred either to my son or his relation, that there would be rather an impropriety in printing it without his majesty's permission, which they demanded. His majesty wished to read it. He did so, and said he was well pleased that it should see the light; so the public are indebted to my son for this *Royal Dialogue*. He has been in town some time attending the law courts, and keeping terms. I thank God he is very well.

I presume you have read *Drinkwater's Siege of Gibraltar*. It is esteemed a work of great merit. The writer is about twenty-eight years old.

Your old friend Thomas has obtained of his majesty, in compliance with the will of Lord Dacre, permission to assume the name and bear the arms of Barrett and Lennard, and he has been presented at court.

We have just now very unpleasant weather indeed—just like weather at St Andrews at *this* season. But,

myself there all the vile frosty severe weather. If I had a good safe balloon, Mrs Frinsham, who is now with us on a visit, and I, both declare we would set off in it in the beginning of November, and stay till May, then up again to England. My neighbours used to provoke me by saying, "Well, madam, this can be nothing to *you*, who have been in Scotland." I rave at them. I can conceive that an Edinburgh winter may be bad enough, but in London I never suffered so little cold as I did in St Andrews in winter: no, they were pleasant indeed.

I see by the papers the death of my son's kind friend, Lord Loudon. I daresay he is in great affliction for it; for he was truly grateful for his wonderful partiality to him.

May I beg of you to forward the enclosed to Miss Jessy Bell, in St Andrews. They are a pair of our famous Canterbury shoes. I don't know how they will travel in a frank. I hope they may get safe without rubbing or blacking; but black is the fashionable colour, and is best for walking.

I hope the good bailie continues to enjoy good health. I desire to be remembered to him and his daughter.

I hope that your present situation is perfectly agreeable to you. We could have been glad you had been our nearer neighbour. Apropos, many thanks for executing my little commissions. My black gauze was just the thing, and I cannot procure it in London at any shop.

If you are acquainted with Principal Robertson and his lady, pray make our kind compliments to them. I regretted sincerely the being so straitened in time as

to render it impracticable for me to spend a day with them, having ever promised myself that pleasure; but I was only a few hours in Edinburgh.

An excellent Italian master having come to reside here, my son has, by retaining him, become quite master of that elegant language, and has translated into elegant English some pretty things. Will you think me a vain doating mother if I transcribe for you half a dozen lines, returned by a great genius who had read the elegy on Miss M. in manuscript? Say no, and I will do it; but first let me add Dr B.'s and Mrs F.'s kind compliments.

“ The mournful muse that, sighing, doth complain,
And breathes her sorrows in no *common* strain,
That seeks with truth and energy to tell
The merits of the maid she loved so well,
In flowing numbers all her charms recites,
And bids us own it is a Berkeley writes.”

Mr W. Cundell to Mr Bell.

Leith, New-Year's Day, 1787.

Your friends here feel a great want in your absence, but suppress their regret when they think it is for your benefit that you are obliged to be so long from them. My family in particular would have been glad you had been here at this time, as we have a daughter to christen. You know you have already named me an Antony, and if I had my wish I would call this Cleopatra, which would make a pair of illustrious classical

T. Erskine, Esq., to George Dempster, Esq. M.P.

8th January 1787.

My dear Sir,

I return you many thanks for your very kind letter, and can assure you, with great sincerity, that no part of the regard which you are so good as to express for me is lost on the footing of *reciprocity, which is now the favourite word*.

I find it difficult to speak with accuracy on the subject of an adequate compensation to Mr Bell. It is not easy to go further than the principle, to which your good sense and justice will easily apply the evidence you may have before you. The principle is this. If Mr Bell has suffered a loss from the non-performance of a contract, undertaking, or agreement, on the part of Lord Conyngham, he ought to be placed in the same situation as if the contract, undertaking, or agreement had not been broken, as far as an estimate can be made of what he has suffered.

At all events the expense of his journey to and from Scotland must be paid, and whatever expenses were actually incurred by the arrangement of his affairs preparatory to, or in consequence of, his removal; and if any correct estimate can be made of any *positive and certain* advantage lost by his accepting the situation held out to him, that ought also to be considered. I say *absolute and certain*, because I think that it is not a case in which arbitrators should go upon speculative disadvantages and probable consequences of his

having come to England on the occasion mentioned by Mr Bell.

This seems to me to be the principle. The application is, of course, matter of evidence and calculation.

Mrs Erskine desires to join me in best wishes to Mrs Dempster; and I remain, dear Sir, with great regard, your much obliged and faithful humble servant.

The result was the following—"Minute of Award and Umpirage between the Right Honourable Lord Conyngham and Mr Bell.

" Lord Conyngham to pay Mr Bell one hundred and ten pounds, within three days after demand made thereof—and Mr Bell to execute a general release to Lord Conyngham.

(Signed) " J. ADAIR.

" 16th February 1787."

Mrs Cleghorn to Mr Bell.

January 26, 1787.

My dear Sir,

Your letter, my dear sir, I read over with a mixed pleasure, and could not forbear shedding tears of mingled pleasure and pain when I considered that I was

whose attentions will ever be gratefully remembered by me, and whose success I shall ardently pray for. Yes, sir, I have received from you such proofs of affection and filial regard as have made a deep and lasting impression; and it will give me the utmost satisfaction that you should remember me as a mother in the most distant part of the world. I received your letter this moment, and haste an answer. I regret you have not explained your plans more fully; but you have, no doubt, good reasons for your silence. I still, however, flatter myself with the pleasure of another letter before you leave Britain; and I need not put you in mind that I shall expect to hear from you when you arrive on the other side of the globe. I have some friends in the East Indies; but that is a wide word, as I know not your place of destination. I shall only mention their names. . . . We know not from what unexpected quarters important services may arrive; and were it no more than the sweet courtesies of life, we receive from them more pleasure sometimes, than from more solid advantages.

You will not suppose I will neglect your friends in your absence. They are my friends.

My daughter joins me in every part of this letter, particularly in ardent, good wishes for your success and prosperity, and that your most flattering expectations may be realized.

I am, sir, with real esteem, most truly your affectionate friend.

Mrs Cleghorn to Mr Bell.

Potterrow, Feb. 22, 1787.

My dear Sir,

Every instance of your affectionate attention gives me pleasure. Continue to make me happy from time to time, as opportunity offers, with accounts of your prosperity and success, which I ardently wish. But why, my friend, are you so dark and mysterious? A motive better than curiosity makes me long to be particularly informed of your plans and expectations. Whatever these are, may your most sanguine hopes be gratified! I am well satisfied your reasons for silence are proper, and I wish for no explanation till your own time.

You bind me still nearer to you, my dear Andrew, by the endearing manner in which you subscribe yourself my son. We allow much to the ties of blood; surely something is due to those of sympathy—the last is often as strong as the first. Adieu, then, my dear son! I have time for no more, as I hurry to catch the post, but cordial good wishes for your prosperity and happiness, in which my daughter heartily joins me, in hopes of good tidings from you.

Mrs Magdalen Hume to —.

Leith Walk, February 6, 1787.

Dear Sir,

I received yours, and hope the enclosed will introduce to your friendship a young man who is one of the best and most affectionate of sons. It were needless to say how much and how loudly the dowager ladies lament the loss of our pastor. Think not I believe this lamentation confined to me alone. I am certain it is not; but you know young ladies dare not avow all they feel. However, one and all venture to say that they doubt we shall never be so lucky again.

Mrs Magdalen Hume to her Son at Bengal.

Leith Walk, February 6, 1787.

This will be presented to you, my dear John, by the Rev. Mr Bell, who has been, for some time bypast, our spiritual guide in the chapel of Leith. I can with truth assure you, that it will give pleasure to the community at large, and myself in particular, if it be in your power to render him any services; as there is not an individual amongst us but thinks we have lost in him a friend. To you, my dear John, do I transfer my friendship, and expect, on some future day, to receive your thanks for introducing to your attention so worthy and deserving a man.

I refer you for particulars to a long epistle I wrote you on the 10th of December.

Miss Mary Hume to Mr Bell.

Leith, February 9, 1787.

Sir,

I am very happy your good friend Mr Kerr gave me an opportunity to bid adieu to my much esteemed friend Mr Bell. Shall I ever be ungrateful, or forget the attention and concern he showed for me? You say, write and tell me you regret my going. That I do with sincerity and truth; for I can assure you I was proud of your company—if but for a few minutes at a time, it always pleased. What a blank I feel! (How shall I rejoice to hear of Mr Bell's success and happiness! May his expectation be fully gratified, and health and spirits be their attendant! Whatever part he set foot on, never will he be forgotten here.) I delivered all your compliments, and put the cover of your letter in the fire. It is worth while to change place to be so regretted. Your prudence and discretion in all your behaviour is much extolled. May your friends never be fewer than here! If so, I say you are a happy man. Think so, and all will be well. If ever your sister come this way, I shall be happy to show her any civility in my power. Pray, write her so. I have been better this ten days past than any time since you left this, thank God! This gives me some hopes of a few years' reprieve. My sis-

ters join in best compliments, wishing you a pleasant voyage, and all the prosperity and happiness this vain world can afford. Take care of your health. I hope once more to see you in the land of the living, but not for some years. Once more adieu; and I am, with respect, sir, your most humble servant.

Mr Robert Kerr to Mr Alexander Bell.

1787.

. . . I am exceedingly happy to hear the doctor is going out with such good views; am sure I wish him all manner of success, health, and happiness. There is no young man that went from this place more regarded—not confined to his parishioners, but by all that knew him.

Bailie Alexander Bell to his Cousin.

St Andrews, March 26, 1797.

Dear Cousin,

In answer to your queries, Andrew happened to witness Lord Dacre's will, and was called to London to attest his subscription; and, having some accounts of

the best opportunity for that purpose, when he was on the spot, to draw his own money, having obtained leave from his parish to stay till it was finally ended. Our worthy member, Mr Dempster, who knew his merit, did not think it was rewarded by a bare livelihood, however genteel, and proposed his going to Bengal, in the East Indies, where literature is making a rapid progress, to establish an academy, where, Mr Dempster says, he will be soon at the head of the *literati*, and make a fortune for himself in a few years; and, without acquainting Andrew, wrote to this university, and got him made a doctor, which is the highest title they can confer, and the greatest testimony of their approbation of his studies. Mr Dempster's kindness to him was in the extreme. He dined and spent the evening every day with him, unless otherwise particularly engaged, and likewise received cards of invitation with that good family when they went abroad; by which means he gained a numerous acquaintance, which will be of great service to him. He gets his passage on board the Rose, Captain John Dempster, in the great cabin, just his right hand man, and for nothing, which will save him £200 sterling; yea, he will make something of it, as he is to have a class of officers on board. I have had letters from Leith. No person could be more regarded or more regretted for his leaving them; but they comfort themselves that it is for his good. It is not only, they say, by his whole congregation, but every body that knew him. They say, they hope he will soon come home a small nabob; for they are sure, if that country does not alter his dispositions, he will be satisfied with a competency—and indeed he

flattered by very intelligent gentlemen, who have come from that country lately, that, with his parts, he will soon do his business. I pray God he may be spared ; but, at my time of life, I can scarcely expect to see him again. He goes out well recommended, and he has assiduity and sobriety ; and, as he says himself, he goes out with a stock of experience, having been formerly abroad. He sailed from the Downs on the 21st of last month, in a fine new ship, copper-sheathed, upwards of 1000 tons burden. He wrote me he had dined on board with twenty people. The cabin was like a palace, and that he wanted words to give me an idea of the stateliness of the apartments.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevilimodoo, November 28, 1787.

Dear Sir,

. Favour me, then, with your company for a week the beginning of the month. We are, I hope, so near the right road, that we shall not deviate much during the short delay you desire ; and at your arrival you will find your flock disposed to follow whithersoever you shall lead.

I am ashamed to say I do not think I have either Bible or Prayer-book at this place, and I cannot answer for it that any body else has ; so you will please to take your measures accordingly. We have one or two little ones that we may . . .

Mr Petrie to Dr Bell.

January 30, 1788.

My dear Sir,

..... When I was at Busserah during the plague of 1780, the disease ceased at times for weeks, and then returned with redoubled vigour. While epidemical diseases prevail, the air, which was probably the original cause of the fever, becomes more and more septic, until at length it gets almost saturated with putrescent exhalations, and becomes no longer fit for the purposes of animal respiration. I was at Benguela, in South Guinea, during a plague. The Portuguese settlement was entirely carried off. The governor alone survived, and he was almost in the agonies of death. The natives told us that all the domestic animals had died, such as sheep, dogs, cats, fowls, &c. The air is also, I believe, an excellent conductor of infection. The plague of '80 began in the mountains of Diarbekir. It took the course of the Tigris and Euphrates for 600 or 700 miles, and did not extend six miles on the Turkish side, and not at all on the opposite shore.

A. Ross, Esq., to Dr Bell.

Madras, April 1, 1788.

Do you think, my dear sir, that Mr George Dempster and Bailie Alexander Bell will suppose, or will

they believe it if you should tell them so, that you have been “busied every moment, during a fortnight’s residence at Vellore, in expeditions into the country, parties of pleasure, and what is or ought to be no less pleasant, acts of duty, that you have scarce thought of any thing else,” instead of writing to them by the Princess Amelia, as they will find that you have *not* done; for she departed this morning at daybreak, and I received your letters for these two good men at the hour of 11 A.M., at which you will be very sorry? And the only comfort I have to give you is, that a conveyance may offer from Pondicherry in June; but from hence none is likely to cast up for England before October. . . .



Henry Dundas, Esq., to George Dempster, Esq.

April 8, 1788.

Dear Dempster,

I have your letter respecting Mr Bell, and have wrote to the chairman upon the subject of it. At the same time I much doubt my success; for the directors do not wish any appointments to be made abroad which ought to flow from themselves, and upon that principle they generally annul all such appointments; and, if they choose to follow that principle on the present occasion, I have no right to interpose.

Hugh Boyd, Esq., to Dr Bell.

Fort St George, May 2, 1788.

Indeed, my dear sir, knowing, as I do, your goodness, and experienced as I confess myself to be in the necessity of making apology to friends on the score of correspondence, yet I hardly know how to venture an excuse for not sooner thanking you for your kind invitation.

The best and most agreeable excuse to myself, would have been accepting it in substance, though I had omitted the acknowledgment of it in form. Unfortunately, it is not yet in my power.

Some business of another nature than that which you so obligingly think might repose a little on the downy pillow of friendly favour, occupies me—very disagreeably, because it prevents me the pleasure of visiting Waulaujaubad. You'll judge of the tyranny of the time, when you know that I have not yet been able, nor shall for a few days, to go twelve miles to see Mrs Moorhouse. She and Mrs Baker are at Ennore—well, and fair, and charming as ever. What can we say more? The colonel, by the by, you will be glad to know, is recovering well from an alarming liver attack.

Our excellent friend Dirom, you will also be happy to know, has now time, &c., to be more *generally adjutant* to society, of which, indeed, he is a most valuable member.

I am very glad that my old friend Bonnevaux is

yours. That he is only a *new* one, is only because you were not sooner acquainted.

But you do not mention what is a public as well as a friendly concern—your lectures.

Oblige me by letting me know every thing you wish; and believe me, &c.

W. Petrie, Esq., to Dr Bell.

May 17, 1788.

My dear Sir,

I certainly shall feel much flattered by your attentions to me in your communications with the learned world; but I am much afraid that your kindness for me makes you overrate the small progress I have made in science, as much as you have done the very trifling civilities which I have had the pleasure of showing you at Madras. I do most sincerely wish that I had power equal to my desire of promoting your welfare and success; but as it is not so, I feel mortified to be thanked where I have no title to acknowledgments.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevilimodoo, June 14, 1788.

Thank you kindly, my dear sir, for your obliging letter of yesterday, and for the pains you have taken to gratify my desire of having a dial at this place. There can be no doubt, I should imagine, that a wooden one, entirely seasoned, and thick, and painted, would answer the purpose perfectly; and if it last three years, it is probable it will measure out the last hour of many for whose use it was made. But Nature has kindly concealed from favoured man the painful knowledge of his own particular period, though not unfrequently we can form a tolerable opinion of the term of our fellow-travellers.

If the discovery of Mr Topping's observation is to deprive me of the pleasure of your company, and that of Mr Goldingham, I shall lament that it fell into your hands, and be disposed to question the correctness of Topping's scientific eye, in order to incline you to come here and verify. It would make me doubly happy if our ingenious and respectable friend, Mr Petrie, could find leisure for an excursion at the same time. Do me the favour to present my best respects to him and to Mr Goldingham.

Colonel Kelly and his family, all well, favoured me with their company here yesterday, on their march to Arnee. His regiment passed over our parade, and encamped just on the other side the Pallar. Our offi-

the corps on its march; and, during the two days it was in our neighbourhood, we enjoyed the society of its officers at Chevilimodoo.

For some days the heat has been about 95° at two o'clock.

George Dempster, Esq., to Dr Bell.

Dunnichen, July 8, 1788.

I wish to God this may catch the packet. I have waited for it till now. It offers but faint hopes; yet is the best, and all I can do. In great haste, with most respectful compliments to Sir Archibald Campbell, to whom I did not write concerning you, because I had importuned him too much before on account of my brother-in-law, Colonel Burrington, for whom I solicited the favour of justice, hard to be obtained in the East. I'll write more fully by next conveyance. In the mean time, believe me affectionately yours, &c. &c. &c.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevilimodoo, July 29, 1788.

My dear Sir,

Yesterday I was favoured with the dial, and with the instruments for ascertaining the hour and the level. Thank you very kindly for your useful labours, and, above all, for your obliging letter, giving very clear directions for placing the dial in its true position.

The Madras Almanac does not show the sun's declination. You will, therefore, accommodate me exceedingly if you will be so good either to procure and send me any table thereof, or let your writer copy several days out of your own tables. The pedestal whereon the dial is to stand, must first be erected. I have taken measures for its construction this day; but, I dare say, it will scarce be ready this fortnight. I shall carefully preserve and send back again your brass instrument.

What now remains would be a favour of far more consequence than all, could it be accomplished. You have shown me how to mark the time, and it would cost you little trouble to show me how to employ it to the best advantage. Show but that which will overcome my habitual idleness, and I will raise deathless monuments to your fame.

I am covered with confusion when I reflect to how little account I waste the fleeting hour. How infinitely more might be done!

Others are idle too, but that is a shabby consolation.

A man, in truth, lives but so many hours as he employs. What children many are who die of old age!

Colonel Henry Malcolm to Dr Bell.

August 2, 1788.

Dear Sir,

I believe the order, strictly speaking, includes you, as it is meant to have every corps as complete as possible *at* their respective stations. I imagine, however, you will be perfectly safe in availing yourself of Colonel Kelly's long furlough; and, to be certain on the appointment, I shall mention the circumstance to the general, that the sword militant may not be less steady in its operations, from any deficiency in the principles which it is in your province to promote and confirm. By the by, there appears at present among Kelly and his officers a great want of military love; no less than three of them in arrest, and all the rest accused of combinations, and every thing else almost that is subversive of subordination and harmony in a corps. Your friend M'Ghie is to be tried. I shall let you know whether or not the general is of opinion that your admonitions may have more effect among the worthies at Arnee than the Articles of War.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevilimodoo, August 5, 1788.

My dear Sir,

We have no book here beyond the Articles of War, and Sir Archibald Campbell's Regulations for the Army under his Orders; so that, unless you are so good as to enlighten our darkness with any book that has a table of the sun's declination, the hour of the day will remain as much a secret to us as ever. I will faithfully return you the book, and the instrument I already have. But if your own leisure would admit of your paying us a visit, that would be the most satisfactory of all for every good and agreeable reason.

Indeed, if the sun continues to behave as he has done lately, your favours of the dial will be of little use; for I have not yet seen his splendid face since my return to Chevilimodoo.

Your last letter contains so many expressions of the very favourable opinion of my good friend Mr Ross, that I dare not enter into any reply or acknowledgments, for fear of convicting myself of vanity. I would rather incline to receive his praise, and in this view be thankful for it, as the less it is merited, the stronger is the censure it conveys.

I beg you will immediately propose to Mr Ross to come here, and see how imperfectly his good opinion is merited. . . .

Mrs Cleghorn to Dr Bell.

Potterrow, St Andrews, October 12, 1788.

Dear Sir,

I was made happy by your kind letter of 8th January, at once a pleasing testimony of your friendly remembrance and happy establishment. It is needless to say they are both very gratifying to me. Your unremitting attachment, and many instances of filial affection, will naturally assure you they are repaid by me.

I cannot give you such an account of my own health as you would wish to hear: I shall, therefore, draw a veil over declining years, ever attended with weakness and infirmity, only assuring you my better part is unimpaired, for I still remember my friends with affection.

You surely hear regularly from St Andrews. Your friends there are well. We keep up our correspondence; but before this letter is shut up, I shall be able to give you fuller accounts of them. Your father will, no doubt, inform you of the politics of your native village; indeed, they are what might be expected.

My son has got a very good and agreeable appointment as travelling tutor, to Lord Hume. He is now amongst the richest of our nobility. They are to be abroad for a year. Meantime he has secured his living at St Andrews, with the addition of assistant librarian.

If it comes in your way, be so good as enquire at the Boddam East Indiaman, Captain Elliott, for Mr John Smith, surgeon's mate there. He lived some time in my house, and was not in good health. I wish to know

if he is alive and well. But, perhaps, I ask what is not convenient or impossible ; if either of these is the case, no more to be said.

My daughter joins me in sincere esteem and best wishes for your happiness ; and I assure you again you cannot give a more pleasant proof of your friendship, than by frequently communicating accounts of your good fortune and good health. . . .

Colonel Ross to Dr Bell.

Monday evening, November 10, 1788.

Sir,

I have this moment mentioned the subject of your letter to Lord Cornwallis, to whom I found that it had been represented in the forenoon, that if the intended cleaning and fitting up of the town-house was interrupted at present, it could not possibly be ready by the day on which it is proposed to celebrate the King's birthday, or conveniently put in order for the public entertainments which are usually given in it during the winter. His lordship, however, said that he should be exceedingly sorry that this preparation should occasion any material disappointment to you, and will very readily agree to your making use of it to-morrow morning, provided that it can appear that it will not, in an essential degree, interfere with the measures that are indispensably necessary for the above purposes. He has, in order to ascertain this point, permitted me to

request of Captain Kidd to look at the court-house again ; and if he gives it as his opinion that the meeting of the subscribers will give no great interruption to Mr Firetta in executing the business in which he is now engaged, his lordship will be happy at your being accommodated in it. . . .

Colonel Ross to Dr Bell.

December 1788.

Dear Sir,

Lord Cornwallis is this moment returned from council, and he has desired me to say that the court-house is much at your service for Friday evening, which he has directed to be notified to Mr Firetta. Upon my mentioning that I had proposed to you to dine at the Government-house to-morrow, as I was not certain of the number that had been invited for Friday, and that you had been previously engaged for to-morrow, his lordship said that the party for Friday was but small, and requested that you would dine with him on that day instead of to-morrow.

Lady Jones to Dr Bell.

Wednesday morning, December 10, 1788.

Lady Jones presents her compliments to Dr Bell, and has the pleasure to send him *the heads of lectures* he wished to see, together with the only volume she has of Ferguson's, that he may compare it with the one he has. Lady Jones has marked with red chalk the experiment she had the pleasure of mentioning to Dr Bell last night, on the effect of light refracted through the medium of vapours.

Lady Jones to Dr Bell.

December 1788.

Lady Jones cannot yet discover any thing in the sixth edition of Ferguson which is not in the first. She will, however, examine it more fully when she has leisure. She now takes the liberty of sending Dr Bell a work of Wesley's. He will immediately see it is little more than a compilation, but arranged so as to be amusing and interesting, and guides our investigation of the wonders of nature to the noblest and best use—admiration and gratitude to the great Author of them. He mentions two or three little experiments in chemistry, which perhaps Dr Bell may not find unuseful, particularly the *arbor martis* and the *solution of alum*.

Dietrick is the name of the chemist who furnished Sir William Jones with some *pyrophorus*. He lives near the Portuguese church; and Sir W. Jones thinks him an intelligent, ingenious man.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevi'imodoo, 3d April 1789.

My dear Dr Bell,

Many thanks for your very kind letter of yesterday. I am also indebted to my friend, Major Bonnevaux, for one of the 31st ult. The grievance in my knee was of very short duration, and proceeded from taking cold. Dalmahoy's opodeldoc, and shampoing together, relieved me in an hour, and in another day I was perfectly well.

At the rate ye both go on, it would be no difficult matter to persuade me, too, that ye bid fair to live for ever—almost—and the life ye lead is well calculated to make ye wish it. The early exercise, the charming simplicity of the farm-yard, Bonnevaux's festive board, (my veracity and my experience will not suffer me to term it frugal as a farmer's ought to be,) your absence from the noise and nonsense of man, your rational conversation, your philosophic game, your host's perfect good temper—are all delightful indeed. The only *per contra* that occurs to me is what I am certain ye both lament, day and night, an occasion on which I join my grief to your griefs, and echo useless sighs. 'Tis most certain that man alone is but one half of a very

complete being. I have been running about after my other half so far and so long, that I almost despair of ever meeting it; not but I have now and then seen halves that would have fitted very well, but some perverse accident or other perpetually interfered, so that I have not yet been spliced.

. . . . I have this day a letter from General Medows, of the 7th March. Talks of coming to Madras, and passing a day or two with me in his way. Is apprized that his commission did not arrive by the Swallow, but seems to expect it. . . .



Colonel P. Murray to Dr Bell.

Calcutta, 5th April 1789.

My dear Sir,

. . . Your account of my valuable friend, Boyd, is well drawn: his powers are uncommonly transcendent and pleasing; but what is more surprising to me, and still more creditable to himself, is, that he possesses all the general manners of the most finished courtier, with the best heart in the world.

. . . One of your female pupils, who has the highest possible respect for your doctrines in general, has lately presumed to reject a favourite opinion of yours; *i. e.* "that bodies *only* approach but never touch." It happened lately that one of the window shutters was driven with great violence against Mrs P. Murray's head, and *cut it to the bone*. Your pupil submitted to this incident, which no doubt was inflict-

ed for some wise purpose, with all the composure which was naturally to be expected from a well-formed, religious, and philosophic mind, but she insists upon it, with invincible steadiness, that the window-shutter did not *only touch* her head, but did, to speak in the language of the celebrated Mrs Glass, make a large gash in it. She is therefore obliged, under the irresistible conviction of her feelings, totally to renounce your proposition; and she expects, from your philanthropy, that you will relinquish an hypothesis which would deprive her of any share of your sympathy on the present occasion.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevilimodoo, May 5, 1789.

Finding my friend, Sergeant-major, a little neglected, I wrote a note to Boyd, with whom I knew I might take that liberty, acknowledging sergeant-major as an acquaintance, and saying he thought himself entitled to an acknowledgment in the usual form, "to correspondents."

Boyd writes word the letter is too true—all the truth must not be told—soften him.

I reply that my friend is so much bent on making commanding-officers ashamed of their nonsense, and afraid to publish any more of it, that he has threatened me with sending it to a Colonel.

explanation ; and that a little controversy was supposed to be of no prejudice to a paper.

What is the process by which the business of your trip might be brought forward ? I do not see why you should not slightly glance at the object of your journey in some conversation with my good sir.

First, I imagine it may be desirable to ascertain the true state of the funds of the establishment, after Wooley's legacy, in order to see whether it admits of making it worth your while to undertake so laborious a charge. I feel certain that you cannot have a competitor. I heard it denied that Wooley's legacy was so worded as to describe the Madras establishment solely. My good sir has seen a copy of that part of the will, and this is a fair subject of conversation.

You wait with resignation because you are a philosopher, but nothing binds you to eternal silence. . . .

I cannot help imagining but General Medows has some certain account that his commission would be expedited—for I believe he certainly wrote to Anjengo that he should come soon. The public business of the nation cannot lay over long. A regent would immediately act, if his majesty's health had no appearance of immediate restoration.

I have a private letter of 27th November, from a Foxite much in the way of hearing—that it was believed the prince would be declared sole regent, and in that case it was highly probable that Mr Fox and his party would possess the administration.

It would be very becoming in the prince to continue his father's administration, and believe much the greater part of the nation would applaud

Dr James Campbell to Dr Bell.

Calcutta, 10th May 1789.

My dear Sir,

. . . We have had very hot winds, and delightful cool houses. Every body uses tattys now. They are delightful contrivances. My hall, you know, formerly Gregory's, by means of tattys has been cool as in Europe, while the other rooms were uninhabitable, twenty and twenty-five degrees difference by Fahrenheit's thermometer; the consequence of which is that Mrs Campbell, who never went out in the day, is healthy and rosy. Tattys are, however, dangerous, when you are obliged to leave them and go abroad, the heat acts so powerfully on the body that you are commonly affected with a severe catarrh.

Dr Lucas to Dr Bell.

Lucan, 19th May 1789.

Dear Sir,

. . . I have long wished the pleasure of showing you some pieces of mechanism, more particularly now before the Swallow sails, by which I mean to send one to Lord Cornwallis, with some proofs, which I shall cheerfully communicate to you, that my assertions of having discovered the *Perpetuum mobile, durante materia*, are not without foundation. Your

name will render it the best reception from the world, and which I doubt not you will give it in the most public manner on my laying undeniable proofs before you, wanting which I shall submit to the merited censure of a pretender.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevilimodoo, June 3d, 1789.

- My dear Sir,

No man has less occasion than yourself for a despatch from England, or a letter from Bombay, or a surmise about Tippoo, to make up a letter; therefore I cannot admit your apology for not writing, though I accept your letter, now indeed of old date, with great pleasure and many thanks.

With regard to the Asylum, I wish the managers would meet, and come to a determination what they would, or would not do, so far as concerns yourself. Wooley's benefaction, at all events, seems to be almost out of reach.

Thank you kindly for the account of the West Indian. I observe that, contrary to usual custom, the men have out-acted the women. But I feel the truth of what you observe relating to Lady Campbell. Her loss is irreparable, in this as in other circumstances. The want of her sensible and mild control in the casting the parts, has bedeviled all the female performers.

I have no objection to your being gratified with a full view of what you expect in the heavens. I only request you will keep it at a proper distance. By the feel of the air I thought your comet was at hand; for we have had a very inflamed atmosphere for some time, and a total absence of rain, except one small shower, for five months. This morning brought us a few delightful showers, and the air is considerably cooler. About three o'clock the thermometer is now about 93° or 94°, and it begins to fall about half an hour afterwards. . . .

With regard to new governors, nothing can be expected till our great government at home is finally adjusted.

* . *Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.*

Chevilimodoo, June 16, 1789.

My dear Doctor Bell,

In the course of this week, perhaps on Friday, I hope for the pleasure of shaking you by the hand; yet I am desirous of losing no time in thanking you for your letter of yesterday, and for the articles of intelligence you mention, which are so peculiarly interesting.

Our disappointments about General Medows are insupportable. If it is true that one of the letters brought out by the Sullivan, addressed to the general as governor of Madras, has the signature of Mr Dundas upon it

then I suppose there can be no doubt of his commission being actually completed. I rather think the commission will be sent here, and Medows have notice accordingly.

The crew and the passengers of any ships bound for so distant a voyage, so momentous to their life or fortune, or both, are in fact so occupied with personal concerns, that they have not a thought of any thing else, and recollect nothing more than that they came from England.

I have papers only to the 24th January, so that I cannot guess at the cause of Mr Fox's disgust. The Prince of Wales's letter to Mr Pitt, in the paper of the 24th, expresses all Mr Fox's opinions regarding limitation, and I should guess it to be drawn by Mr Fox's pen.

I laughed heartily, and was sometimes sorry too, on reading the examination of the physicians.

It appears clearly, however, that Dr Willis was the only person at all acquainted with the manner of treating the king's case—and the razor, the knife, and the play of King Lear, were perhaps experiments from which he drew useful conclusions. It appears to me likely, also, that Mr Pitt was all along assured from Dr Willis of the recovery, and found means to procrastinate accordingly. Ignorant as I am of similar disorders, I cannot help being fearful of relapse. No doubt the first moments will be employed in providing for a similar event in future.

Colonel John Murray to Dr Bell.

Calcutta, June 20, 1789.

Dear Sir,

. I wish you to tell me why I have, in my evening rides in my carriage, passed, in the course of a few seconds, through alternate streams of hot and cool air. I have remarked this frequently; and as the ground we were upon was all covered with verdure, I was the more at a loss to account for it. I have also made the same remarks when passing along a road made of bricks.

When you are at leisure, ascertain the component parts and proportions of the best plaster used at your settlement, with the mode of preparing it, and favour me with a memorandum on the subject.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevilimodoo, July 20, 1789.

My dear Dr Bell,

I congratulate you most truly on your acquiring any thing that is agreeable to you. I know not how far your late appointment may be convenient as well as agreeable, but I am certain it must still fall short of your merits, and therefore of my wishes. But your moderation is eminent among your other virtues; and while it commands the respect of all, it does not

I verily believe it is a strong motive in their breasts to favour and advancement, and this is probably the surest means of attaining the object in perspective ; at all events, it is certainly the most honourable.

There can be nothing in your present situation to prevent the continuation of your care of this flock at Chevilimodoo. I should be extremely sorry to lose this claim to the occasional advantage I always receive from your society. By the by, I must in truth relate to you that it is a sad drunken flock at present. The men have been paid off the balance of their accounts; in order to prevent their spending their money in the horrid drams of the country, which undoubtedly are horribly poisonous, and well knowing that people of their class esteem nothing but drinking enjoyment, I prepared a quantity of porter for them, and plenty of English salt beef and pork, all of the best quality. It was served out yesterday, and will last for some days ; and many a stout fellow has been laid low by the powers of porter, with the assistance also of their legal drams of good arrack. They will not be sober again till their money is all gone, a circumstance much to be wished. . . .

I fancy Neville's horse is as virtuous as any horse of these times, but I think means may be found to suit you better ; for that horse has some defect in his back, and as you have none in yours, I think a horse completely vigorous will suit you better, but virtuous withal.

Baron Reichel to Dr Bell.

Ennore, August 10, 1789.

My dear Sir,

It is with pleasure that I here subjoin what I know of the composition of our plaster of Madras, in the employing of which (when thus prepared) lays all the art, in order to give it that fine polish which we observe.

1st. The quicklime made use of is of burnt cockle-shells, which were previously well washed, so as to cleanse them of all the salt and slime they might be covered with.

2d. An equal quantity of this lime and pure sand is mixed together and formed into a heap, in the middle of which a sufficient quantity of water is thrown, so as to create a gentle degree of ebullition, and the heap is left in that state twelve or fourteen days.

3dly. The heap, after this time, is well stirred about, and is then fit for mortar, by being well beat with pestles, in stone grooves made for that purpose.

4thly, This mortar, in almost a dry state, is carried to the place where the plastering is to be made. Previously to the laying on the first coat, the wall or floor is well swept and bathed with jagary-water, (in the proportion of one pound of jagary to a gallon of water,) the mortar is then made sufficiently liquid with jagary-water, to be laid half an inch thick upon the brick-work. It is smoothed and modelled agreeably to the form required, first with a common trowel and then with a wooden one, rubbing and moistening continually with jagary water till it is

5thly. This coat is left to dry at least ten or twelve days.

6thly. A second mortar is prepared for a second coat in the following manner:—Two-thirds of the pure shell lime, well sifted, is mixed with one-third of pure sand, and this is ground upon a stone with as much water as will make it of the consistence of paste. It is then laid by in some large earthen vessels.

7thly. A quantity of pure shell-lime, without sand, is also ground exceedingly fine upon a stone, and again deposited in separate large earthen vessels, overflowed with clean water.

8thly. Thus having every thing prepared, the day that the fine plastering is to be made, the vessels which contain the grounded lime, without sand, is well stirred, and a few eggs, sour milk, and a pound of melted butter, are thrown in and well mixed with it; the consistence of this mortar is rather liquid.

9thly. Over the first coat of plastering, the second coat is given with the grounded lime and sand; and as soon as this is laid on smooth and well rubbed with the wooden trowel, the third coat with the grounded pure lime is immediately applied, not thicker than one-eighth of an inch. It is also rubbed lightly with a wooden trowel until it begins to refuse that kind of friction. The iron trowel or polisher is then used; and in the handling of this, as well as in the manner of giving it the fine and even polish, lays, as I said before, all the *delicatesse* of the art.

N. B.—Should you wish to colour the plastering, the desired colour, red, yellow, or black, must be ground separately, and mixed with the composition of the third coat.

The faces of the walls or floors thus plastered must be wiped dry for several days with a very clean cloth; and when the moisture appears pretty near evaporated, they must be rubbed for two or three days with the palm of the hand quite clean and dry.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevilimodoo, August 30, 1789.

My dear Dr Bell,

. . . . I will now proceed to trouble you about our young fry, and request you will be so good as to interest yourself in their reception at the two charitable institutions at Madras for the two sexes. I will proceed to name the children, beginning, as in duty, with the females.

	Yrs. Mos.		
Elizabeth White,	4	10	European parents, married.
Elizabeth Taylor	3	2	Half.
Elizabeth Taylor, the 2nd,	3	0	Half, rather weakly.
Charlotte Greenfield,	3	8	Half.

BOYS.

	Yrs. Mos.		
William Taylor,	5	0	Half.
Joseph Richardson,	3	6	Half.

We have, besides, two children, whose father is Portuguese and a trumpeter, a girl of four years, and a boy of three and a half years; but I know not if they would come within the description of the charity.

	Yrs. Mos.	
Catharine Lodevicius,	4	3
John Lodevicius,	3	6

Besides these we have thirteen children, some of them of married European parents, and fine children ; but as the boys are under the age of acceptance, and the girls under two years old, I have not mentioned them, believing them too young. But there is nothing I am-bitionate more, for their good, than finally procuring them to be received in the two noble institutions established at Madras. . . .

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevilimodoo, September 15, 1789.

My dear Dr Bell,

I am really ashamed of having so long delayed thanking you for your two most kind letters on the subject of our poor children. We ~~have~~, it seems, two boys of the age required to be admitted into that admirable institution.

I enclose you their names in the form required, and will forward them to Madras, ~~or~~ rather to Egmore, as soon as you are so good as to inform me there is an order for their reception.

I enclose you also a list of all our children, with their ages, &c. But I mean to send it you made out in the same form as the other, which is better, from being more detailed.

That you should have been worsted in the conversation you speak of, I marvel not. I guess you would have misnamed it had you called it dialogue.

One or two of the girls were at the Asylum before, and being then very weakly, were withdrawn, on my understanding that it would be agreeable to Lady Campbell. Charlotte Greenfield was one of them, and is now a fine healthy child.

Orphans are doubtless the first objects; but every soldier's child is a true object of compassion, and of such an asylum also.

I pray you not to be cast down, however often you may be worsted in conversation. But I am of opinion it may be safer to proceed by collateral application, rather than, confiding in your courage and strength, by direct attack in full front. This way is more magnanimous; the other more prudent; and we have all heard that discretion is the better part of valour.

I hope your proposed residence in Egmore Fort is entirely agreeable to you. I am certain it will be infinitely advantageous to the establishment.

Accept my hearty congratulations that your letters from Europe have been so satisfactory, though I do not entirely understand how they can be of immediate advantage to you.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevilimodoo, September 16, 1789.

My dear Dr Bell,

You are plagued to death with my children, and you will be quite scandalized to find so few of them legitimate. . . .

Inclosed is a list of all we have for the purpose of your benevolent intentions towards them. Was our dear Lady Campbell still here, there would be no difficulty in obtaining admittance for as many as are really of an age for it. . . .

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevilimodoo, September 23, 1789.

My dear Dr Bell,

Charlotte Greenfield is the only girl we have who was admitted into the Asylum, and was withdrawn on account of being at that time weakly; but she is now a very fine child, half-caste, sufficiently old.

Elizabeth White is a very fine child, European, legitimate, and near five years old. She would have been admitted by Lady Campbell; but at that time the foolish parents would not part with her. They would now be very happy to have her admitted, where they are certain she would be so very advantageously situated as at the Asylum; and I must confess I should esteem myself greatly obliged to Lady Joddrell if she would indulge me in admitting these two children. There are, indeed, others, as you will see by the list I sent you, who will be lost if her ladyship does not extend her benevolence to them. . . .

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Saturday evening, November 1789.

My dear Dr Bell,

I came here to sweeten a little, and am disappointed at not finding you; but I trust you have passed your time more agreeably than I have for about an hour past. In a mixed company home politics are abominable. I was silent, but sat with infinite pain and constraint to hear people discuss, with much crossness, venom, and ignorance, the conduct of some friends, and other persons with whom I live very well in ordinary society. I certainly had rather live alone than endure society on such terms. If I had found you at home, the benevolence of your character, and the moderation of your conversation, would have put me in better humour with myself and with my two-legged, *half-reasoning* tribe. I am very angry with several of them at this time, and yet fond enough of some others. The two dear little girls came to see me for half an hour, and they pleased me exceedingly indeed. But I did penance for this enjoyment afterwards. There are young rogues, too, in the world. I met the boy I mentioned to you, by whom I wrote to you from Chevilimodoo. He is either an impostor, or so very gross that it might be lost labour and vexation to aim at putting him in a better way. He said he had got your letter still, and made some evasions.

I have heard that Mr Roebuck had been his rounds to the aldermen, who are to decide on our claims, with a view of bespeaking their good favour. I cannot

descend from the purity of my intentions to solicit the favour of a judge, or insult their justice by supposing they might be influenced by any consideration but that of impartial duty. But I should like very well that they knew as much as I now relate, for some might deem it pride or insolence on my part that keeps me back.

The Rev. B. Millingchamp to Dr Bell.

Canton, November 30, 1789.

My dear Sir,

.

I condemn myself for not having written to you from Prince of Wales' Island. It certainly was my decided intention to have told you of the beauties of the harbour, the hospitable kindness of the governor, our turtle feasts, assemblies, and to have sent a few sketches of the most remarkable objects in the Straits of Malacca; but our stay was so extremely short, and my duty so severe, with christenings, &c., that I was under a positive necessity of deferring my narrative. The only adventure worthy of record in our navigation, was a formidable night attack from the Malay prowes. We had been threatened with a desperate armament of these opium-eating, bang-drinking mortals, by our politicians at Penang, which, I do assure you, made no small impression on some of the party; and, on the fourth evening after we bade adieu to our friends,

when the dashing Rockinghams were at high supper, a pale-faced officer came rushing *aft*, and informed us that he descried two lofty prows upon the bow. The captain seized the blunderbuss; the gallant Prescott, furious as a dragon, flew to arms, pointed the guns with exquisite precision, fired at our foes, and behold—they were a brace of islands! This was the only serious alarm which we had to encounter during our voyage. Rocks and shoals were trifles. My state of health continues very precarious—colds without end, and thermometer at 49° in a house which would be *honoured* by the appellation of a barn. Our evenings are stupid beyond measure. Captain Blanchard, although a very good sort of man, has no turn for society, and we have not unfrequently a most delicious *tete-à-tete* of five or six hours; the captain troubled with nervous disorders, and your friend sighing with anxiety for Madras: *the supercargoes I visit not*; my mornings are generally devoted to my Chinese acquaintance, who are astonished at my *great* learning, and tell me I have *very cunning inside*. On the 17th instant, when the sun was eclipsed, I explained to a very intelligent old Chinaman the nature of the solar system, and the next day I was much pleased to see it delineated with tolerable accuracy. The *sky-paper* is considered as a great treasure; but my friend tells me there are not two people in Canton who will believe it. He has given me some hints relative to the natural philosophy of the Chinese, which might probably be of important use to you in a future course of lectures, if I had time to expatiate minutely upon the subject. By way of specimen:—according to Laung-tyen, there are two species of air; or, as the Yu-king more pointedly

expresses it, the air has two sexes. When they agree, the seasons are regular, the weather favourable, corn grows, &c.; when they disagree, and the she-air will not permit the he-air to approach her, the consequences are terrible. He flies round her in a whirlwind, or tuffoon, earthquakes are caused by the male air enclosed in the bowels of the earth, and struggling to make its escape. The souls of good men after death take up their residence in the *he-air*, and become josses or semi-gods: the souls of bad men pass into the *she-air*, and become so many devils, &c. &c. &c. I could tell you likewise, that of the seven causes which authorize a divorce, the first is a woman's talking too much; but as we must not *border* upon scandal, I will bid you farewell.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevilimodoo, December 29, 1789.

My dear Dr Bell,

Many thanks for your information, that the ladies directresses have agreed to admit Charlotte Greenfield into the Asylum. I wish to know if I may send her. Elizabeth White is rather an object of compassion than of charity, it is true—that is, her father can afford to keep her, as he is a sergeant; but both the parents are illiterate, and the child a very fine one, such as

would receive at the Asylum. And, if this was made known to the ladies directresses, it might perhaps weigh with them.

Many thanks for your mention of the two boys at Egmore. I have received a packet from the secretary of that institution, and shall have the honour of answering it as soon as I can collect the sentiments of all our officers, some of them being absent.

The sooner I have the pleasure of seeing you here, and the longer you stay among us, the more you will oblige me. I learned, with great pleasure, from Bonnevau, that the deluge you complain of on Friday last had neither damped your zeal nor diluted your composition in favour of two asylums, but that your conclusion to your sermon of that day was most happily turned in allusion to the object of those charities. . . .

Principal M'Cormick to Dr Bell.

St Andrews, January 2, 1790.

Dear Sir,

Just before you left England, I understood from Mr G. Dempster that you wished to have a degree of LL.D. to carry out along with you to India. I accordingly made application to the University with that view, but found that they could not, in consistence with certain regulations, (laid down before I came hither, and of which I am ignorant,) grant any other

but the one which I procured. It is the degree they always give to men eminent for their literary qualifications without following any professional line.

Accordingly, it was the honour they conferred upon Dr Robert Simson of Glasgow, upon Dr Franklin in America, and several others, who published with great celebrity without any other title. The degree of LL.D. they reserve, it seems, for persons of another description—men in the highest rank, who have been eminently serviceable to their country or to the University.

I mentioned these circumstances in my letter to Mr Dempster, and would have mentioned them to you; but from the time I got his letter till I sent off the diploma next day, I had not a moment to write, and I was afraid to keep it one day longer, lest you had set sail before it arrived.

Indeed, as you never wrote to me that you had received it, and take no notice of it in your last, I would have concluded it had never reached you, had not Mr Dempster assured me that it had. As this is the case, I could have wished that you had taken some opportunity of acknowledging the honour intended you by the University, as this is common style in cases of that kind, and I find my brethren are much hurt with the neglect.

I rejoice to hear that you are going on so rapidly in the path to wealth and fame. May you soon attain as much of the former as will enable you to enjoy many happy years in your *natale solium*—a wish that is naturally prompted by the season in which I write. . . .

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevilimodoo, January 11, 1790.

My dear Dr Bell,

We have but one lady in the regiment; and, I must own, I am very anxious to provide for her ease and comfort when we take the field. I know your benevolence, and that you are acquainted with Mrs Paterson's amiable and respectable qualities. I therefore will not hesitate to request the favour of your assistance to procure her, in Fort St George, an officer's quarters, if it be practicable; and I beg you will use my name, if so poor an assistance can avail any thing. I know you have a quarter which your generosity might tempt you to offer, if not already disposed of; for it is not very likely that Tippoo will visit the neighbourhood of Fort St George this beut, so as to disturb you at Egmore; but you must not suffer that to lead you beyond reasonable and convenient bounds. If you cannot procure Mrs Paterson a quarter for herself and three children for the sake of her military connexion, I beg the favour of your assistance to hire, within the Fort, as eligible a house or lodging as can be procured, on reasonable terms, for this family, who do not want more than three rooms, nor insist on their being very large, but sweet, airy, and wholesome.

I request the favour of your answer as soon as you conveniently can, for you may imagine the subject extremely interesting to those whom it most concerns.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevilimodoo, February 18, 1790.

My dear Dr Bell,

Your information of the 14th instant was highly acceptable. The late governor was a shabby dog, and a very bad chief of the community, in delaying to open Lord Cornwallis's despatch, which could not fail of being most momentous.

I think Tippoo's pride will urge him to a new experiment upon the Travancore lines; and, I dare say, we shall resent, so that a brush appears to me now probable. Your further intelligence, in a letter to Tom Paterson, of the Earl's intended visit to this coast, I judge to depend on his knowledge of General Medows's appointment, the news of which had not reached him when he formed his intention. I do not know that he can exercise his authority of governor-general anywhere but in Bengal, or even in Calcutta only. The principal officers of this army are so circumstanced as to render his presence very important, if General Medows were not here, (in case of war.) But, supposing General Medows present, then the Earl's presence in the seat of government may be more necessary than any where else.

The credit you are pleased to give my conjectures concerning Lord Cornwallis's opinions on hearing of Tippoo's hostility, is much more than I am entitled to. My conjectures were formed on your own ideas; and even if I went a little further than his lordship's in my *decrees* against Tippoo, it was probably owing to my

not being burthened with his lordship's responsibility.

I still think that, on the present occasion, a half measure will fail of the intention. If we take the field it must be in earnest, and with the whole energy of our powers, and Tippoo must be followed up until exterminated. In any event, I also think Tippoo should be compelled to pay the expenses he has occasioned.

I much fear the Vestal, however pure her intention, has made a trip to the eastward, by which we may still be deprived of our governor for many days. The Arabian Star has shone benignly on me, by bringing me two Arabian horses, and landing them safely. I expect them here on Saturday.

I have a visitor at present whose merits I had never before an opportunity of being acquainted with. They are disguised under a very unfavourable appearance, and a physiognomy in which I was mistaken. Mr Haliburton arrived here yesterday, edging away by degrees to Madras, as the coast clears. You know he is a good Persian scholar. By his conversation with natives, he has acquired a very considerable knowledge of their customs, manners, way of thinking, and of their history, all stored up in an excellent memory. He points out many imperfections in Orme, which he appears capable of restoring and completing. His opportunities with the public records and correspondence, and the narratives of persons with whom he has conversed, supply him with materials. I suggested to him the idea of writing notes in Orme's book. He seems to have no great inclination towards it; but told me he had once done so in an edition of Orme, which

he was under the necessity of lending to John Holland, but could never recover from him.

He seems better acquainted with the arrival of the Mahometans in India than Orme, and distinguishes a tribe of Arabs who emigrated and arrived in the Peninsula by sea, of the sect of Omar, while most or all of those who arrived from Persia and the North are of the sect of Ali.

My conversation with him was short, nor am I sufficiently informed to have drawn all the advantage from it which he is capable of affording; but I think you will find him worth your notice, and capable of throwing much light on the history of the peninsula of India, from the period we became interested in it; and I heartily wish you could engage him, or undertake it yourself, or else jointly to give the public a more correct history than has appeared.

For the rest, I do not admire this gentleman for his apostasy to his friend and patron, nor can I perceive it was founded on any reasonable grounds.



Captain Dirom to Dr Bell.

Camp Cartallum, June 5, 1790.

My dear Friend,

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We have been here since the 31st ultimo, collecting rice for our public and private followers. In a few days more we shall proceed, heavy laden, and with as

much as we could carry of any thing, except gold and jewels, from Seringapatam. We do not, however, expect that our present supply will carry us that far; but there is a fair prospect of plenty in Tippoo's country, and we are not without hopes that he means to do the handsome thing, and meet us on this side the Gauts somewhere between this and Coimbatore. He is certainly there marshalling his army, and collecting supplies and reinforcements from every quarter. When we do see him, be assured you shall hear of it, and I doubt not of our success.

To you who have seen the greater part of this mighty host, and the multitude that surrounds it, I can only say that it is now animated as we could wish, with our good, lively, and active general at our head. He takes more exercise on horseback than even the respectable old Colonel Musgrave, and more exercise on foot than all the camp, for he walks round one half of it regularly every evening—a duty which his staff are glad to take by turns; and, far from hurting him, it seems to improve his health, if possible; and he looks, thank Heaven! as if he would march and live a thousand campaigns.

Macaulay wrote to me—for I have not thought of asking him since—that he had sent you my books. There are two volumes of *Don Quixote* in Spanish, which I beg of you to send or give, with my best respects, to Dr Anderson—the third and fourth. He has already the first and second. The other books are of the solid kind, and may be of use to you, if to any person in Madras, particularly those on fortification, attack, and defence, which I rather suspect you may

have occasion to consult, as soon as we drive Tippoo from this end of the Peninsula.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevilimodoo, March 11, 1790.

My dear Dr Bell,

I have delayed till I am ashamed, thanking you for the sheep you did me the favour to send. I shall preserve it for a choice occasion, and such I should esteem the honour of seeing you in my tent.

We encamp near Walajahbad on Monday next. As all things were ready before, it is an excursion of pleasure to us. It would be a thousand pities to neglect the present opportunity. Tippoo must be extinguished, and our establishment of troops reduced, or else I guess, very humbly indeed, that our possessions in India will be found to cost more than they merit of men and money—chiefly the former. . . .

Dr Bell to G. Dempster, Esq.

Madras, July 7, 1790.

My dear Sir,

I have not words to express the satisfaction I derived from your favour of April 4, 1790, and the new

and earnest proofs it brought me of your continued goodness and attention. The official appointment by the Court of Directors, which did not, indeed, arrive till more than six months after the abrogation of Sir Archibald Campbell's nomination, found me, however, suffering no inconvenience from that revocation, and enjoying the very situation I had wished for, and will, I trust, render secure and permanent what my friends here have done for me. I wrote to Mr Dundas, as you desired, and also to Mr N. Smith, to whom my Lady Dacre also had applied in my behalf.

I am the sole resident in Egmore Fort, once famous for its powder-mills. It is a regular square, has a rampart and ditch, and drawbridge. It has a suburb of proportioned size, which forms our Male Asylum, where upwards of a hundred military boys are now educated. It has grown nearly to this its full complement during the short period of a little more than a year, in which I have taken a particular interest in it. With this charge I was tendered a salary of £240 per annum, which I declined, because it was from the funds of the charity that I was to have received it.

I am proud of Mrs Dempster's polite notice, and beg my respectful compliments to her and the young ladies. There is no family in whose memory I so much wish to live as yours. I feel sensibly your goodness in wishing me again in a situation to partake of your hospitality and share in your domestic happiness; and I can never forget your good offices, which hold up to me a reasonable prospect of having, some time or other, an option of revisiting my native country; but whether, after enjoying for a length of time this delightful climate, and being familiar with the advantages and indul-

gences of an eastern life, it were wise to run the hazard of that experiment which so many have tried, and almost as many repented of having tried, I have more and more apprehension every day. Still, however, I think I know to which side my predilection will incline. I did long endeavour, and do still endeavour, to retain my European habits, and as much as I can my European mode of life. But I fear I have changed, and am changing, in spite of myself; and though I am at present almost insensible of any change, I should feel it but too sensibly in another country. At the same time I must think, that my case would differ widely from those who came hither in early life, and are thorough-paced Indians. We want nothing here but as many women as men, to afford us that domestic happiness which is the great charm of life, but is much dissipated in the crowds that frequent almost every house here where a female face is to be seen.

Dr Bell to Lady Dacre.

Madras, July 15, 1790.

Madam,

I shall ever esteem it the greatest blessing that a good Providence has, for the most benevolent purposes towards me, thrown me, in some degree, under the patronage of your ladyship. By the resignation of one of the chaplains of Fort St George, I had been in possession of that situation almost a year when I was honoured with your letter, acquainting me of my appointment by

the Court of Directors. This most welcome information removes every apprehension of my being superseded at this presidency—insures to me, I trust, in the usual rotation of the service, the advancement to the senior chaplainship in the event of a vacancy—raises me above dependence, and, as far as the uncertainty of human affairs will admit, secures me from every apprehension of future poverty or want.

I am, therefore, to beg your ladyship will allow me to express, in the most respectful style, the warm and unfeigned sentiments of gratitude with which I am penetrated by your condescending, flattering, and successful attention to my interest. My past success has its usual effect of inspiring new hopes. Raised within an easy step of the summit of the ladder of my ambition, I cannot help aspiring to the goal so near my reach. Having now exhausted the field which this little society presented for my physical lectures, and being lately supplied with an expensive and extensive apparatus in experimental philosophy, I pant after a situation which may afford a wider range to my industry and activity. Calcutta, I speak from experience, offers the best theatre that can be imagined for the exercise of my favourite pursuits, so nearly and intimately connected with my professional duties. It were, therefore, of a consequence to me, much greater than to any other man in the east, to be appointed to succeed to the first vacancy of a chaplain at the presidency of Bengal. There I would engage myself in the system of lectures and teaching, which, if I do not flatter myself, and if I am not flattered by my friends, would be not less beneficial and grateful to that society than to myself. It is, indeed, presuming much on your ladyship's goodness

and indulgence, when I again solicit your interest with Mr Smith, to whom I am already so much indebted, to obtain for me, which I dare say might easily be accomplished, a nomination for this purpose.

Colonel Floyd to Captain Hamilton.

Camp at Singarnellore, six miles east of Coimbatore,
October 17, 1790.

My dear Hamilton,

At length I have received your favour of the 28th September, and am indeed greatly beholden to you for the very obliging things you say. Your good opinion is what I infinitely esteem. I felt the consequence of my corps at Sattimungulum, and knew the loss of it would entail the loss of all. I was anxious in the extreme; but, I thank God, felt perfectly collected and greatly animated. I was struck with the remark of a respectable sepoy of the 25th battalion. He had a large white beard. During the cannonade on the 13th I went along the front, and spoke to the men, and looked as I really felt, perfectly serene. Every man met my eye with a smile. I stopped to hear something a seppy said, and was addressed by the venerable beard I have mentioned thus:—"Sardar—On these occasions General Smith always led us to the enemy's guns." Others began to say, "Let us attack them." It had occurred to me before, and I had measured the space with my eye, and the advantageous part of the enemy's guns;

but if my attack failed, and I must have suffered great loss in the attempt, it incurred the loss of the army and all. The old sepoy's address, however, struck me, and I threw my eyes again upon the space between; but my former reflection recurred, and we stood fast till dark. Perhaps I might have defeated his army that day, but the serious reverse was on the hazard.

A most extraordinary thing occurs this moment. The prisoners taken by Tippoo at Daraporam are actually entering this camp, on parole, it is said. Wardrobe is already at headquarters.

I am impatient to learn the particulars.

P.S.—Tippoo and his army are to the southward of us. Old Lally died of the flux at Daraporam, it is affirmed.

Pressing letters are said to be written from Seringapatam to Tippoo to return. He will be clever indeed if he passes this way.



Colonel Floyd to ———.

Camp at Wambiloore, or Wombinellore, as it is in the map, November 21, 1790.

On the 17th instant Colonel Maxwell's army joined us, and encamped separately. On the 18th we marched, as it was intended to move a short distance and encamp at Durampore, and new arrange the army. About eight in the morning I discovered the army of the enemy in motion at a great distance, and very large

bodies of cavalry covering their rear. I prepared the advance for action; and General Medows ordered up Major Langley's brigade to join me, and came on himself to the front to view the enemy. Their horse waited till within cannon-shot. We saluted them accordingly with a six-pounder on our right, and made lanes through them; on which that part of them galloped off, and came no more in reach. Three large bodies waited for us in front of my left. Three or four six-pounders were opened upon them, and did considerable execution, on which they also galloped off, but halted from time to time till the guns reached them. The enemy threw a few very bad rockets at the general, but none reached so far. When we approached Adimancottah, the enemy's horse galloped clear off, and finally disappeared. I marched on to the entrance of the pass, picked up a few prisoners, and returned to the army, which I found encamped at the foot of the hills, Maxwell's corps some distance in the rear. We were thirteen hours on horseback, but lost neither man nor horse.

On the 19th we pursued the enemy down the Tapoor Pass. The order of march was changed, and a corps of infantry led—the cavalry following the line. We burnt two of their tumbrils that had broken down in the steep part of the pass, and found a quantity of six-pound shot, grape, and powder. Tapoor is properly in the middle of the pass or passes. The first part is steep and stony, among the hills. You then cross a pretty little plain and a river, where Tapoor stands. You then cross the second pass, consisting of water, morass, stones, and jungle, and then enter the plain of Wambiloore. The rear of the army arrived very late at night, and we

corps, being less in practice, could not reach us, and halted on the little plain at Tapoor.

On the 20th the cavalry resumed its advanced station, and the army marched. We picked up several of the enemy's sepoy, who were exhausted with fatigue and hunger, and knew nothing of the army and Tippoo, except that they had marched on. We arrived at Wambiloore and found the fort in flames—the pettah standing. All the inhabitants swept off; and saw the enemy's horse covering their retreat a few miles off. The army encamped here to wait for Maxwell's troops. We learned from a faquier that Tippoo marched from hence the morning of the 20th, and towards Sunberry Durgum we found many dead bullocks and some horses.

This day, the 21st, Maxwell's troops are to take up their new station in our line, and we are now to form one army. My advance is augmented with Tonyn's regiment, and the fourth European regiment, and the twenty-seventh battalion of sepoy. I had the thirteenth battalion of sepoy before.

It is probable Tippoo meant to get sufficiently a-head of us to attack Coimbatore, Carroor, and possibly Pulicandeherry. But the general's judicious movement on the 18th effectually disconcerted that plan.

Colonel Floyd to ———.

Camp, about 14 miles from Nameul, Nov. 25, 1790.

Tippoo is now before us, but fairly outruns us. He probably meditates a view of Carroor or Coimbetore, or perhaps an excursion towards Trichinopoly: but we shall always follow him so close that he will never have time to sit down before any place, with the hopes of taking it. We halt this day.

Maxwell's army is well pleased that we came to them. They would certainly have beaten Tippoo themselves; but he would have besieged them with his horse, so that their bullocks and themselves would have perished for want. It is doubtful whether this will reach you, as the enemy is spread about between us.

28th—Camp on the east bank of the Cavari,
ten miles from Carroor.

We have lost sight of Tippoo. It became necessary for us to be within reach of our stores at Carroor; and two brigades under Oldham passed the Cavari this morning, and one of them proceeds to Carroor.

We have had some rains, but not so as to injure us; but the weather threatens more. We halt to-day.

Captain Dirom to Dr Bell.

Camp near Conjeveram, 24th January 1791.

My dear Doctor,

Although we shall now meet in a few days, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of acknowledging your kind favour of new-year's day. I most sincerely wish you health, wealth, and happiness, and with all my heart, and that you may also enjoy them for many years, but as few of these as you would wish in this country; and whenever we both return home, should that happen, I most anxiously hope it may be in the same ship, and that we may never afterwards be more distant neighbours than between Egmore and Fort St George. We of the camp are, in the mean time, rather mortified in returning to our friends, few of us adorned with laurels, and none enriched by the spoils of the enemy. The public cause, however, has been essentially forwarded, and the ensuing campaign, if prosecuted, must certainly complete the tyrant's overthrow. . . .

Captain Wright to Dr Bell.

Velout, 29th January 1791.

My dear Doctor,

Some time ago I had the pleasure of receiving your note of the 1st January. We are again at your

all the undertakings of last year the head was covered with a dark cloud, while the body and feet were seen to be in endless labour. Our army was like one oppressed with the weight of his armour. Had Tippoo been matched by a general half as good as himself, he had never turned round after passing Tapoor Pass to return thanks to God for his deliverance. . . .

We are informed that you put Colonel Floyd upon the great wheel of fortune last night. I sincerely trust he may enjoy a long and agreeable turn. You are all, no doubt, enjoying an agreeable bustle at Madras at present. The ladies must needs enjoy the change of the scene, as nothing is so sweet as the renewal of love and friendship.

To Dr Bell.

Camp, 24th October 1791.

My dear Sir,

I was last night favoured with a letter from our friend Dirom, in which, among other matters, he makes an offer of your kind services and his own to procure admission for a strayed lamb of mine into the Male Asylum on the footing of a boarder. You will oblige me greatly by adjusting this point. The boy has hitherto been in the hands of the heathens, and, unless speedily reclaimed, will become utterly reprobate and unfit to be owned. Every man, my good Doctor, has much to answer for who introduces bad company into the world by questionable conveyances; but the only amendment

is; that their bad qualities be not allowed to increase from neglect. I will remit, by an order on Madras, the amount of a year's board, &c., so soon as I know to whom I ought to address it; and should any mishap befall me in the course of business here, I have already taken care to make a suitable provision for him. . . .

The army is at present encamped twelve miles from Bangalore, on the road to Ousoor, waiting the arrival of Captain Scott's detachment from Amboor, which will be in about three days hence. Soon after that, it is understood that an attack will be made on the hill fort of Savendroog, twenty miles west of Bangalore, on the road to Seringapatam. It is a place of infinite strength and great importance, as it commands the road from Bangalore to Seringapatam. It is not, however, deemed stronger than Nundidroog; many think not so strong. The acquisition of that latter fort was a most eminent example, that every thing is to be obtained by hard labour and courage united. A party of the enemy from the Coimbetore country are in the Barramaul, and have beset Oram at Tripatore. Colonel Maxwell is gone into that quarter with one regiment and three battalions, which will force his adversaries either to retire instantly through the Tapoor Pass, or to go into the Carnatic, unless they choose to be shut up in the hill fort of Kistnaghery. The setting in of the rains is somewhat unpropitious for the arrival of our troops and stores from the Carnatic. Matters were delayed much too long. It will be the 1st of December before we can move from Bangalore. We shall move, however, in mighty force, and copiously supplied with every thing. Since Nundidroog was invested,

from the north-west have been immense ; besides supplying the bazars amply, very great quantities have been purchased on the public account, and lodged at Bangalore. If Savendroog falls, we shall be amply supplied during the siege of Seringapatam by the private adventurers.

Captain Dirom to Dr Bell.

Camp, Sultan Pettah, 8th May 1791.

My dear Doctor,

. . . . The army arrived here yesterday. To this place we have marched all the way through hills from Bangalore, the country not admitting of much cultivation, and the little forage there was burnt by the enemy. Lord Cornwallis, with great good judgment, determined not to halt till we should get into a better country, not even at Cankanelly, which makes a figure upon the maps. Here we are in a charming valley, which opens to us a view of the rich plains of Seringapatam. Tip-poo crossed the mouth of this valley yesterday from the north, surrounded with dust and flames, no doubt in a wondrous rage, and gone to bid, we trust, a long adieu to his capital. His lordship finds it necessary to halt here also to-morrow : but after this refreshment we shall get easily to our journey's end ; still, probably,

Major F. Gowdie to Dr Bell.

Camp near Ossara, July 31, 1791.

My dear Sir,

. . . . You will, long before this reaches you, have heard of my capturing the strong fort of Ryacotta. I came before it the 17th, and summoned the fort, which the killedar pointedly refused to give up, or to have any communication with me. On the 18th I received instructions to take the cottah, or lower fort, and see if that would have any effect on the killedar; his lordship did not know that there was a centre fort, or he would not, I am confident, have ordered me to commence any attack. The 19th, at daylight, I began by blowing open the cottah gates, and made directly for the hill, and forced two more gates; the third brought me up. It was at least six hundred yards up the hill, and I was under the necessity of returning under the fine shelter I had got by possessing the centre fort. Lieutenant Crie was killed, and several Europeans and sepoy wounded. I found two fine six-pounders in the fort, and my orders were to keep possession of the lower fort or cottah, and four houses. I accordingly made a disposition to return at night, and wrote his lordship that I would do so; but on taking a view of the works I thought it practicable to get in, and wrote his lordship for a day's more leave, and got it. However, the 20th passed, and the killedar still held out. I wrote for a day more and got it, with a hint that his lordship would allow me but the 22d or 23d. The 21st I got some of my guns into situations to play on the gateways. The 21st passed with very

little hopes ; at daylight on the 22d I began a very successful fire on the three gateways, and was determined to assault the fort on the 23d, in the morning, under the fire of ten guns to cover the attack. However, betwixt one o'clock and two they held out the white flag, and before dark I was in full possession, and found I must have made my way, had I stormed, through not less than eight more gateways. I am confident that I should have carried the place from the effect that my guns must have had ; but I would have lost many men, and there would have been a greater carnage than was at Bangalore. I found fourteen guns in the fort. My loss, considering the heavy fire of cannon and small arms, was not much. Only four killed and eighteen wounded. Thus, my friend, by perseverance, I got a place of infinite consequence. It is only twelve miles from Kistnaghery. The army could now go down the pass with light guns, and in three days our pioneers can make a road for any guns. This is a very incorrect production, but a true statement, and I have no reason to say more than that I am yours sincerely.

Extract—Colonel Floyd to Mrs Floyd.

21st August.

Mr Boyd's account in his paper of the 11th is very incorrect. Seid Saib was not on our side the river at all. If he had, we should certainly have overwhelmed him.

Dr Bell to G. Dempster, Esq.

Madras, 19th September 1791.

My dear Sir,

Again I beg to tender my dutiful acknowledgments of your kind epistle of April 4, 1791.

The satisfaction I have derived from an account at your own hands, of your good health and tranquillity, is unspeakably great. The *otium cum dignitate* was never before so well earned, and never till now universally acknowledged to be so. Long, long may you enjoy the pleasing consciousness of the many services you have done mankind, and reap the sweet fruits of a well-spent life. It would be the highest gratification to me to witness your noble retirement, and once more to share of the domestic happiness of Dunnichen.

The appointment by the court of directors, for which I am so deeply indebted to you, is likely now, at least, to stand me in good stead. Mr Millingchamp, who, two years ago, went to England in an ill state of health, has returned to resume his situation of first chaplain at this presidency. His re-admission to this station will not, I hope, affect me very materially, and I have every reason to be thankful for what has been done for me.

The competency, which you so kindly wish me, would be doubly grateful to me, if it enabled me to tell you in return that I was able to do so.

Captain Wight to Dr Bell.

Camp, 19th December 1791.

My dear Sir,

. The army is at present encamped five miles east of Savendroog, waiting the result of the attack now carrying on against that place. I went there yesterday to witness the progress. Two batteries were then open, each at the distance of eight hundred yards or more; one of five guns, in a low situation, from which there was little fire, the shot having little effect—the other of three guns, by whose fire a bastion and a curtain adjoining were greatly damaged and falling fast to pieces. The enemy had not fired a single gun the whole day, and few muskets; during the preceding night seven men of the advanced working parties had been wounded, and a Lieutenant Enbury or Hanbury, of the Bengal Engineer corps, wounded in the thigh. Batteries were constructing for six guns on high ground within two hundred and fifty yards of the outer works. The guns were then getting up, and it was expected that the whole would be finished by this morning; if so, the whole of the enemy's works will, in all probability, be destroyed during the course of this day, and the assault made to-morrow morning, at any rate by the morning of the 21st instant. The flank companies of the 71st and 76th regiments marched this morning to reinforce the besieging army, where the whole of the 52nd and 72nd regiments already are. I am just now at some little distance from camp, on the advanced picquets, so d

not hear the accounts that are brought in from time to time, but from the reports we hear of the guns our batteries seem to be very busy. The enemy's works are constructed of large square stones, but the mortar of the curtain is mud, which, after a little battering, breaks fast, and the wall does not seem of great thickness, as we see many shots pass entirely through; and my own opinion is, that the place will be carried with little loss, for to all appearance the enemy are dispirited, and conscious of an inability to defend it. Five horsemen, who had deserted from Hyder Saib's party, came in to Colonel Cockerel yesterday with their horses.

Captain Wight to Dr Bell.

Camp, 21st December 1791. Half-past One.

My dear Doctor,

Savendroog was taken by assault this morning at ten o'clock. The storming parties consisted of the flank companies of the 52nd, 71st, 72nd, and 76th regiments. Captain Gage led the grenadiers, and Captain Monson the light infantry. We had a full view of the spectacle from the high grounds about camp, and it was plain the enemy made little opposition, for our people got immediate possession of every part. The only particulars we have yet learned are, that about three hundred of the enemy were killed. We have yet heard nothing about the casualties on our part, or if we suffered any. Tippoo descends by rapid

Major Dirom to Dr Bell.

Camp, 11th January 1792.

My dear Friend,

Colonel Floyd's detachment joined the army this morning, and I am again at my camp home, where I have had a very happy meeting with all my friends, and a most kind and gracious reception from our great men. The gallant Colonel, at the head of his dragoons, passed along the front of the camp, from the right to the left, where his ground is, to the great joy and admiration of all persons both great and small, who little expected ever to see this favourite leader head his corps in such force again during the war. They looked like themselves (for it would be injustice to compare them to any thing else) going out to be reviewed in their best days.

Captain Dirom to Dr Bell.

My dear Friend,

. . . . I have great pleasure in hearing that your Asylum is to be so well appointed in a secretary, who has not only the will, but all the qualifications, to be of every possible service to it in that line. I am also happy to find that part of the prize money is to be allotted for the benefit of these excellent establishments.

and I am the better pleased to hear of it, as it is what I did not now expect to be done ; for when Lord Cornwallis and General Medows declined receiving any part of the prize-money, it was proposed they should reserve their shares to be appropriated to those and other charitable uses to which it might be applied in the course of the war. But our great men chose rather to give up their prize-money at once to the army, than even to derive from it the advantage and satisfaction of bestowing it on charities connected with the army, to which they were besides, at all times, ready to contribute. Such was their decision. No doubt, noble-minded and highly to their honour ; and yet I do not think it to their discredit if it be altered ; for the army will still get all they have a right to, and be further benefited by the essential support given to the asylums. The sum that may be thus applied would now amount to 20,000 pagodas.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Camp, Grand Army, near Outredroog,
January 14, 1792.

My dear Bell,

Here the catastrophe approaches apace. We fired a royal salute yesterday, on account of a consider-

able advantage obtained by Purseram Bhow over a large detachment of Tippoo's, at or near Simogu, in the Bednore country. All we have yet heard is, that the enemy was intrenched—that Captain Little, with his brigade of Bombay sepoy, forced the intrenchment, when the Mahrattas broke in and routed the enemy, taking eight pieces of cannon, and their general. It is said the Mahrattas lost a good many people in the attack, but it is probable the enemy paid dearly for it.

Two hircarrahs arrived at Lord Cornwallis's yesterday from Tippoo. It is reported they brought an offer from Tippoo to send persons with full powers to treat.

Colonel Duff arrived in camp this day with the battering guns, and the last of the stores of all sorts; so that, in a very few days, we shall move forwards, and, in all human probability, conclude our business in a very few weeks more.

I am quite concerned you have seen Mrs Floyd but twice since she returned, and both times at church. I have mentioned it to her as a matter I regret; but I am willing to hope that we shall find means, when I am happy enough to return, to meet oftener, and in a family way.

Captain Wight to Dr Bell.

Camp, 14th January 1792.

My dear Sir,

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The news received yesterday by express from Purseram Bhow are of the utmost importance, and was celebrated by a salute of twenty-one guns. Tippoo had sent a strong force to the vicinity of Simogu, to cover the transport of a great supply of stores and grain from Bednore to Seringapatam. The Bhow moved from Chittledroog, and found them in an intrenched camp. He beset them; and, while one of his confidential chiefs was employed in reconnoitring the enemy's situation, he was killed. It is said that the Bhow, irritated at the loss, desired Captain Little to attack and endeavour to force the enemy's works with his three Bombay battalions. This Little did, and with some loss succeeded. The enemy on this took to flight, and were resolutely pursued by the Bhow's cavalry, by whom the whole were either entirely dispersed or cut to pieces. The only account is contained in a letter written by the Bhow to his lordship at sunset on the day of action, and while the pursuit yet lasted. He mentions having taken eight guns, ten elephants, the commander of Tippoo's party, their camp equipage, baggage, and the stores and provisions which were conveying from Bednore. A Lieutenant Ross of the Bombay service was killed. Tippoo's communication with Bednore is now entirely stopped. All the late reports of the black people are, that Tippoo is

disordered in mind, and that Comaul Ud Dien Cawn has set up a standard, to which 10,000 of Tippoo's men have attached themselves. This, however, I only mention as the prevailing news, only that there is little or no doubt of Tippoo and Comaul Ud Dien being at variance. . . .

Majör Dirom to Dr Bell.

Camp at Hooliadungum, 27th January 1792.

My dear Friend,

Your letter of the 21st, full of alarms, is just arrived. What became of our friends of the bungaloes, and of Mrs Floyd? Did you draw up your draw-bridge *early*, or did you defend them as gallantly as you did yourself and your fort? You, like other historians, give great consequence to the account of your military operations, and render them highly interesting; but still many particulars are wanting, especially of those who are first in our thoughts in such cases of danger. However, we have great pleasure in hearing that the enemy have gone off, and that they have only been formidable in the fears they have raised.

Here we are again in possession of this nice hill-fort, which has been repaired since destroyed, and given back to us on being asked for. It will make an excellent post, and is fifteen miles nearer the capital than Outredroog. We remain here, for various important reasons, for some days; but shall proceed, I believe, on

the 1st February at furthest, and may hope to see the old city again by the 5th.

Dr Bell to Colonel Floyd.

January 1792.

My dearest Friend,

You liked the extract I sent t'other day so well, that I have a mind, at times, to send the original, sure that you would like it better than my edition of it, which, by the by, though I quoted from memory, I believe is pretty nearly correct and exact, or if it was not, it must be inferior to the original, which is really beautiful and elegant; and if it were allowable to compare small things with great, or to institute a comparison where the disparity is infinite, it is next—

“ But next with many an endless length between ”—

to ———.

But as I cannot send it, for you would like it so well you would not return it; much less can I send you one of the 24th, for it is so admirable, you would never part with it. Yet I will not deny you the pleasure; for pleasing I know it will be to you to read a new and superior proof of the excessive goodness and kindness of my good and kind friend. Sure I am this will meet its just praise.

“ I wish from my heart, as she ” (meaning a truly great, a very superior, a most excellent, most worthy,

and most respectable woman, his mother) “will, that you should be one of us: but whether that happen or not, you will ever find a most welcome home in our family, and I trust, if not relations, we shall surely be always friends.”

What, now, do you say to this? Is not this true friendship? Is not this real goodness? Is it not to live and enjoy life, to have such a man for a friend? It is the circumstance of my life which has brought upon me more misery, or more happiness, than ever any other man enjoyed, that I have never been in any part of the world where I have not had that very person for my friend whom I most wished to have; and that person has always been possessed of the amiable virtues, and sometimes, too, the most exalted genius. My married friend, or one of them I have done the honour of presenting to you, and I have shown you a specimen of her talents, but I have never told you her merit and praise, but only how much and sincerely I love her; and though she be younger than I am, beautiful, elegant, and accomplished, and was often called (by a young lady who was also much my friend) my sweet friend. We never spoke, or wrote, or acted differently from the instances you have seen.

The young lady whom I have styled much my friend, is the daughter of a woman I loved with filial reverence and affection. I used to call her my mother, and she used to style me her son, and ever treated me with parental fondness, parental instruction, and parental correction. With this excellent lady I have always corresponded; but she is now grown infirm and weakly in constitution, though her mind is yet all alive, and her affections as warm as ever. Indeed, she tells

me in her last letter, that her affections, in which she knows I know that I share largely, are all that are alive of her. My younger friend, who is rather older than myself, has styled herself the amanuensis of her good mother, and now does me the honour to write to me. By a strange inconsistency which I have always found about myself, I continue to answer her letters in letters to her mother, just as if the mother, and not the daughter, had written to me.

How many, many, many inducements did I use to think I had to go home quickly, and how little did I think might suffice above what little my friends might be able to get me in addition! But this country spoils a man, and he becomes unfit for any other after being a while here. At least I find this the case with myself. This is a confession I would not make to every body. But I do not believe I shall ever again enjoy England half so much as I have done. My affections have been the only source from which I have drawn high satisfaction and delight; and, somehow or other, I make sure none of these friends will acknowledge me as they were wont to do. I shall never be so dear to them again. The lady I presented to you, I am almost sure I shall keep out of the sight of, lest I should suffer the mortification of a cool or indifferent reception. How I think aloud to you!

Captain Wight to A. Cockburn, Esq.

Camp, 8th February 1792.

I wrote you on the 6th instant, the day after our arrival before Seringapatam. On the evening of that day, at seven o'clock, the army was drawn out, under arms to attack Tippoo's lines of encampment, and formed in three divisions. The centre division was under Lord Cornwallis and Colonel Stuart; the right under General Medows; the left under Colonel Maxwell.

We had a route to march of from five to seven miles. The 36th regiment formed the van of General Medows's division, with the addition of the flank companies of the 76th. Between ten and eleven o'clock, the action began by the left division attacking the work on the hill opposite the east end of the island, which they speedily carried. Lord Cornwallis's division, nearly about the same time, attacked and penetrated the enemy's centre; and, without loss of time, crossed the river, and part of them landed under the walls of the fort.

Tippoo was in his camp, but retired across the river to the fort soon after the alarm. His army broke, and fled in utter confusion. Maxwell, with the best of his party, descended from the hills, and also crossed the river. The Petta on the island was gained, and great slaughter made. Soon after eleven o'clock, the van of the right division fell in with a redoubt of immense strength, which covered the left of Tippoo's lines. It

had a glacis, with two ditches—seven guns within, and three without. This post was considered to be the most important of the whole; and to secure it, 2000 infantry and 1500 cavalry were assigned for its defence. The greatest part of the infantry were within the works; and consisted of Lally's corps, and all the deserters and renegades, both black and white. The assault was made with great vehemence and rapidity, and the outworks and entry were immediately carried. The centre of the works was crowded with the enemy, who made a desperate resistance for some time. They turned one of their guns upon the entry, and fired grape upon us with great effect: by repeated efforts, however, in which Major Dirom made a distinguished figure, we mastered them. . . . We have taken in all seventy-seven guns. Among the guns found, there were two brass sixes we had lost at Sattimungalum. Our army carried no guns. Tippoo, on his retreat, retired to the fort and shut the gates. His army is almost wholly dispersed. Twenty-seven of our prisoners were found in the Petta, all in irons; some of them of last war, ('81-2.)

Yesterday evening Tippoo caused Chalmers and Nash to be brought to him. He not only caused them to sit down in his presence, but also made a black girl of Chalmers's to sit. He told Chalmers that he had been hitherto ignorant of his high rank, and was sorry for the ill-treatment he had suffered: set them at liberty, and begged that he would use his utmost endeavours with Lord Cornwallis to induce him to make peace; spoke in the same terms to the girl; and sent letters to his lordship along with them. They came

merly covered Tippoo's line, now covers ours. The loss of officers on our side was great—nearly forty killed and wounded. . . .



Major Dirom to Dr Bell.

Camp, 9th February 1792.

My dear Friend,

.
The sultan sent in Lieutenants Chalmers and Nash last night, and requested of the former that he would *intercede* with the lord in his behalf. He and his people, it appears, are in great consternation; and from what we have seen of the fort, there seems little doubt of our having it in a few weeks. . . .

I have had the honour to be appointed to conduct the detail of the troops on the island; and am just going down to remain there with Colonel Stuart during the siege.



Major Dirom to Dr Bell.

Laul Baug, 12th February 1792.

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Nothing new in this great garden. We are making it into gabions and fascines as fast as possible;

and by the time Abercrombie joins, we shall be ready to begin our approaches against the fort. He is crossing the river to-day at a good ford, some distance above Canambaddy. Colonel Floyd is gone to join him. He may be with us about the 16th. The Bhow is also advancing; and when they both arrive, we shall certainly invest the south side of the fort, when the sultan's dominions will become very limited; and by the middle of next month, he will probably have nothing left. His horse even now begin to desert. . . .

Captain Wight to Dr Bell.

Camp before Seringapatam,
13th February 1792.

My dear Doctor,

I did not conceive, when I wrote to you on the 6th inst., that the great blow was to be struck so immediately after. The detail of the action must have reached Madras by a thousand channels. I would have written earlier, but that I had not, until to-day, a leisure minute to do more than send a few lines to my friend Cockburn. His lordship's plan of the attack was both bold and judicious. It was calculated to create distractions in every part of Tippoo's line at the same time. We carried no guns, which rendered our motions certain from Fraser's hill, which formed the right of Tippoo's line, to the Dungan redoubt, which formed that on his left. This distance was not less

than four or five miles; yet the attacks on both, as well as the great one by the centre division, were all begun within half an hour of each other. The enemy was completely surprised, but not unprepared. Tippoo was himself in his camp, but retired soon to the fort, and shut the gates; his army was speedily overwhelmed with confusion, and became dispersed. Tippoo's green tent was found standing, with lighted chandeliers hanging from the ridge pole. His son, Hyder Saib, was wounded in the breast, and many of his principal sardars killed, and abundance of his people. Our regiment headed the right-hand attack under General Medows, and were employed to take the Dungan redoubt, which, for strength and equipment, was equal to any thing of the kind I ever saw: 2000 infantry and 1500 cavalry were stationed for its defence, and the defence of the ground about it. Said Aumeed, the commander, a man next in rank to Comaul Ud Dien, was killed. The post had been that evening reinforced by Lally's corps and three guns, two of which were six-pounders we had lost at Sattimungalam. Tippoo told them, that if they gave up that post, they might next tie him and send him prisoner to Lord Cornwallis. To do them justice, they did more than I ever saw men do before. After we had gained the outer part of the work and the entrance to the centre, they turned a gun upon the gorge, and maintained a fire of grape and musketry that made the place hotter than the portal of Nebuchadnezzar's fiery furnace. Dirom was with us, and in the midst of it; and, ten times over, I thought he was down. After eleven officers and forty-six men had been killed and wounded we made

bodies of the enemy. Medows, after this, ought to have turned to the left, according to his orders, and to have passed through the enemy's camp towards the centre division. He blundered his task with open eyes, which excited both anger and disappointment in the lord. His lordship had received a slight hurt in the fingers of the right hand from a spent shot. Next day, Medows atoned, in public, for his blunders. He said to his lordship—“*My lord, you have received the rap over the knuckles which I deserved.*” Colonel Floyd with the 19th and Major Orr's regiment marched yesterday to meet the Bombay army, which is expected to arrive to-morrow evening, or the morning after. Among the deserters come in from Tippoo are almost all his Europeans, French, and Portuguese; and among them a man who acted as chief engineer. He has given important information, and pointed out the weak parts to Colonel Ross. Tippoo has obtained a hearing, and some time this day his vakeels are to come out and hold a conference with the lord, the Nizams, and Hurry Punt, at the Dungan redoubt. I do not expect that any thing will be concluded on before our batteries are opened: then I think he will yield up.

Major Dirom to Dr Bell.

Island, 17th February 1792.

My dear Friend,

.

Our preparations for breaking ground are in great forwardness, and in a very few days more we shall be at war with the fort. It will be such a battle of guns, as our last was of musketry, conducted with our usual decision, and, I trust, attended with our wonted success. The vakeels, however, are still at work, and may stop the attack.

Major Dirom to Dr Bell.

Gardens, 19th February 1792.

My dear Friend,

We have been breaking ground on the north side, and breaking up the enemy's camp on the south side, of the fort, last night. You will know the particulars from Cockburn. The sultan is, of course, in a wondrous passion this morning, and firing at us in all directions. Here, indeed, without effect; and I hope not with much at our new works, which are near to him on the north side. The conference, we hope, is broke up; at least the lord talks in his orders yesterday as if he meant to take the place. . . .

I have taken a small slip of paper, that I may not write much, as I have much to do.

Captain Wight to Dr Bell.

Camp before Seringapatam,
20th February 1792.

My dear Doctor,

This being holiday with the 38th, gives me an opportunity of saying a few words about the progress of our operations, and of acknowledging the receipt of your kind letter of the 13th instant, which reached me this day. All things being prepared, ground was broke on the night of the 18th instant, in front of the right of our line of encampment, and against the north face of the fort. The working parties consisted of the pioneers of the army, and 250 Europeans and 500 sepoy of the Bombay line. They were covered by the 36th and 3d Bengal sepoy. On the same night, in order to draw off the enemy's attention, Major Dalrymple was sent from the island to the south side of the river with the 71st regiment, and a battalion of sepoy, to alarm the enemy's camp there. Captain Robertson was sent in with four companies of Europeans and four of sepoy, and bayoneted 100 horses and 200 men. The covering and working parties moved from our lines at sunset; and, in the course of the evening, broke ground about 800 yards from the wall of the fort, and constructed a parallel of considerable extent. Tippoo had

not in the least suspected our intentions; for at the time I was in front of the parallel posting our guards, and during the whole night after every thing was silent on that side of the fort. At daybreak next morning, when the enemy had discovered what we were employed on, they began to cannonade from all the guns that could bear upon us, which at first were not many, but which have since been increased. The work continues to go on without interruption. The parallel is completed, and the approaches are carrying forward to the ground where the batteries are to be erected, which will be about 200 yards nearer to the ~~fort~~ wall. The work to be breached is principally a curtain with double wall, and full of embrasures; but the glacis, which was intended to cover it, is incomplete. In storming the passage of the river, to gain the breach will be the most arduous part of the task.

On the morning of the 19th, General Abercrombie, with two regiments and four battalions, and their field-pieces, got across the river; and after various manœuvres and slight encounters, in which Tippoo appeared in person with his cavalry, the enemy were either dispersed or shut up in the island, under the guns of the fort. The whole of the Bombay line is to take post on the south side of the river, which will leave the enemy without any communication with the country. Dirom is with Colonel Stuart, who commands on the island, with two regiments and four battalions. I saw him well three days ago. Colonel Floyd, with the cavalry and some infantry, is gone towards Bangalore to cover the supplies coming from that quarter. Tippoo's vakeels continue to come out and negotiate; but on what terms, and to what purpose, I cannot tell. I believe to very

little purpose. Every part of our attack will be deliberately and substantially executed. But after all, I have little doubt that two weeks more will bring on the crisis. . . .

Major Dirom to Dr Bell.

20th February 1792.

General Medows has agreed to go in the Dutton, if he can have a passage; and I wrote yesterday to Hamilton, enclosed to Boyd, on the subject. . . .

How small is our foresight! The above was written this morning, the 26th February. I then rode-out to take a near and last look of Seringapatam, and to see the two young princes come into our camp. Judge of my astonishment on being told, in returning, that General Medows had committed the rash act of *suicide*! That he had shot himself! I soon found from others I met that it was too true; and, on going to his tent, heard that he was still alive and sensible, but scarcely a hope of his recovery. He made an unfortunate mistake the night of the 6th, after the assault of Lally's redoubt; and, instead of leading his column directly down into the enemy's camp to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis, made a circuit to avoid some other redoubts, which it was thought would be, and were, quitted in the morning, which carried his column out of the enemy's lines; and it never came again within them, nor

into action during the whole night. This error, though a gross one, was eventually attended with no bad consequences. He afterwards felt severely for it himself; and in spite of all that Lord Cornwallis, and every other person, could do to soothe his mind, that unfortunate business, which would have been soon forgot, has produced this dreadful and fatal effect.

You may wish to know, and it is now too interesting to be left to the accident of your hearing it elsewhere, that, as several spoke on that occasion, and I believe my opinion was asked, I took the liberty to advise the General, in presence of several officers, and aloud, not to quit the enemy's *lines* on any account; that we had come there to encounter and surmount every difficulty; and ought, *according to the orders*, to sweep the enemy's camp to the left, and go the straight road to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis. It will scarcely be believed in his character, that, with great personal courage, his foible was too great caution; and from the error he committed, Lord Cornwallis and part of his column had nearly been cut off. He was afterwards so sensible of the propriety of my advice, that he told me next morning I should be with him at the great storm, which he had asked to command, and mentioned me in very handsome terms to Lord Cornwallis. Had this siege come to a storm, he would have fallen gloriously, or satisfied his mind in making amends for that mistake; but as it did not, it would seem, too, that he could not bear to attend to see the princes brought in triumph to Lord Cornwallis, when, but for his former errors, they might have been brought to himself; and shot himself at ten o'clock, the hour they were expected. I had parted, a few minutes before, with Colonel Floyd, who

was with Colonel Harris when the accident happened, and they both ran into the General's tent. They found him sitting in his chair at his table, perfectly sensible, his arms hanging down, and the pistol on the floor; the other loaded on the table. He made light of what had happened, and attempted to joke with them; but told them he would not do it were it to do again, and promised to Harris that he would make no further attempt upon his life. He is still alive and sensible, and talks in the same style; so Dr Laird has just told me now—six o'clock; but that there is scarcely a possibility of his recovering, as there are three small bullets in him, and also the wadding, which have all entered just below the stomach. He still says he is not sorry for what he has done; but that he shall be contented to live, if he recovers. What a sad catastrophe at the end of this glorious war!

The young princes have come in, and every thing is in a train of final adjustment. Do not, my good friend, show this confidential letter to *any* person but Mr and Mrs Cockburn, and have the goodness to request of them to keep all these particulars entirely to themselves. The Colonel will tell all that may be proper to his good lady. What has happened is sufficiently public; but the detail I have given you is private and confidential.

Dr Bell to Mrs Dirom.

Madras, February 21, 1792.

Madam,

When my estimable and esteemed friend did me the honour to desire me to communicate to you, on the dispatch of every packet, the latest tidings of your son, he did not know all the happiness he gave me ; nor was I sufficiently aware how selfish the task in which I engaged. I did not foresee how grateful to the feelings of a friend the report I have now to make of their son and brother, to his mother and sisters, was to turn out.

The committee of the army, having examined his settlement of their accounts with this government for prize-money, have done justice to his great merit, and have rendered to him rewards, both honorary and pecuniary, for his judicious, able, and successful execution of a trust committed to his sole conduct.

In his military capacity, too, he has signalized himself so as to obtain the most distinguished praise from every quarter ; and to be reported to the commander-in-chief, my Lord Cornwallis, as having performed the most essential services on the 7th of February, which, it is thought, has finished the war. . . .

Major Dirom to Dr Bell.

Laul Baug, 23d Feb. 1792.

My dear Friend,

I have seen the *Courier* of the 16th, which gives a good idea of our attack at Lally's redoubt, could they have added, "and were rallied, the last time by Major ———, and led on by him and Captain Wight." As it stands in the *Courier* it would seem as if the men had been left to themselves, which was by no means the case; and in justice to them it ought to be known, that, although we were repeatedly repulsed at the inner gorge of the redoubt, by superior numbers and a heavy fire, yet not a man of ours ever quitted the traverse across the gorge, nor went out at the little gateway by which we entered. But the account in the *Courier* is in many respects erroneous, as all public accounts must be, unless such as come from the Commander-in-Chief. For my part I did no more than my duty, and thought myself very fortunate in having any share in our success. Wight is a noble, steady fellow; and but for him and Gage there would have been still greater loss and difficulty in carrying that redoubt; for while I spoke to the men and got them in order, opposite to the gorge, Gage to the right, and Wight to the left, got parties up on a *banquette* on each side, and fired into the redoubt upon the enemy with great effect. In the last effort but one, Lieutenant Robertson of the 76th regt. on my right, was killed, Lieutenant R. Campbell of the 36th on my left, severely wounded, and myself knocked down; and many of our good soldiers, who were coming on,

killed and wounded by a powerful discharge of musket and grape shot. But I was not hurt: and Wight returning to his former post, he and Gage again kept up a heavy fire on the enemy, while I got our men in order for another charge, in which we easily succeeded: for as soon as the enemy saw us advancing the last time they broke immediately, and most of them leaped out at the embrasures into the ditch. Such are the particulars, which I would not mention were they more to my credit than what you have already heard, and were it not necessary to relate them in order to give others their just share of merit. There are many besides who had infinite merit, whose exertions I did not see; and it was merely matter of accident, from our not succeeding at once, that I got into the front of the attack.

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Captain Wight to Dr Bell.

Camp, 24th Feb. 1792.

Once more, good doctor, there is peace to the heathen and the sinner. Last night Tippoo's vakeels returned to him after having concluded an agreement; and this morning his lordship sent orders to the officer commanding in the trenches to cease hostilities, and to withdraw the working parties. Our approaches had been advanced within little more than five hundred yards of the wall of the fort, and this night a battery of

to the terms of the treaty, I can say little upon certain authority. I believe the following particulars are pretty correct: Tippoo cedes to the Mahrattas and Nizam countries on the north-east and north-west frontiers, equal to about half of what he possesses above the Ghauts; to our nation the countries below the Ghauts, with three crore thirty lacks of rupees, the thirty lacks to be distributed to the army as a donation. To-day his two sons are to be delivered up to us as hostages for the final execution of the articles of the treaty, and are to be sent into the Carnatic. I presume, however, that the troops will not be withdrawn from the lines until the money is paid.



Captain Wight to Dr Bell.

Camp, 27th Feb. 1792.

Yesterday, my good doctor, I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 20th instant. One leading article of the treaty of peace was fulfilled yesterday by the arrival of Tippoo's two sons in camp. At Tippoo's own request they were conveyed directly to Lord Cornwallis's tent, and there presented to his lordship, who had offered to make the first visit, by waiting on them after their arrival at their own tent. The oldest of the two is said to be nine, and the youngest seven years of age. They are handsome children, and no doubt form a much stronger tie on Tippoo's mind than if they had been of so advanced an age as to be capable of

ing or of creating jealousy. Cockerell's brigade and ours were drawn up in front of headquarters to receive them. They passed close along the front of the line, and were saluted by the officers, and by nineteen guns from the park, as they approached. Their equipage was splendid, each on an elephant with a silver howder. It was a day of great humiliation to the hitherto unbounded pride and ambition of Tippoo. The youth, beauty, and apparent innocence of the children, placed as sureties to counteract the father's wickedness, excited a strong sensation of pity.

The three crores of rupees to be given by Tippoo is to be divided among the allies—to each a crore. One-half of the whole sum, with the thirty lacs for the army, to be paid on the spot, the remainder in twelve months. Tippoo forfeits half of his territories, which are to be divided equally among the allies, agreeably to the treaty of partition and defence.

A schedule of the revenues of all Tippoo's provinces is to be delivered in to Lord Cornwallis, who is to select the half that is to fall to the confederacy. The Mahrattas and Nizam confided the entire management of the treaty to Lord Cornwallis, relying implicitly on his justice and honour. The share that is to be selected for ourselves is not yet declared; but I believe we are to retain Ryacotta and Ousoor, which are the keys and strongholds of the Mysore district; and we are to pass by the Coimbetore district, but to take all those adjacent — Paligautchery, Dindigul, Carroor — take Namcull, and Eroad, with the Barramaul.

The singular and unaccountable step taken yesterday morning by General M—— is matter of regret and amazement: that it proceeded from insanity is evi-

dent, his mind until now being disordered. The wound is in the lower part of the belly, and whether mortal or not hardly well ascertained. The balls are not yet extracted. . . .

Major Dirom to Dr Bell.

Camp, 11th March 1792.

My dear Friend,

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Even *my* account was erroneous in some particulars. There never was any repulse, nor an attempt to lead the men into the gorge of the redoubt till the one I mentioned. Our people were firing into the gorge instead of charging in with their bayonets. Our second charge carried the place. It was Lieutenant Robertson of the 73d, doing duty with the 36th—not 76th—who was killed in the first charge. I have got all the particulars of that, and the other attacks. . . .

Captain Wight to Dr Bell.

Camp, 19th March 1792.

My dear Doctor,

Lord Cornwallis had received his despatches by the Swan two days before ; but nothing of their contents have transpired, nor had any thing been mentioned of the money sent out. The state of uncertainty we have been in for so long a period, respecting the terms of our late treaty with Tippoo, is now at an end. The definitive treaty was sent out signed last night, late ; and this morning, at eleven o'clock, was formally delivered to his lordship by Tippoo's sons, at his lordship's great tent, where half the officers of the army were assembled. The vakeels of the Nizams and the Mahrattas were present, and received each their copy of the treaty from his lordship. The three copies were presented first to his lordship by Tippoo's oldest son. In this treaty, the districts that are to be ceded to each of the allies are fully distinguished. Immediately after the ceremony of delivery, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the park, and returned by the fort, and our guards withdrawn from the trenches.

Captain Wight to Dr Bell.

Camp, 28th March 1792.

My dear Doctor,

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Tippoo was extremely anxious for our removal from his neighbourhood. The island was evacuated the morning of the day before we marched. We had no sooner quitted it, than he sent workmen to dig up and remove the bodies of the Europeans who had been buried in the Laul Baug, most of whom lay near Hyder's mausoleum, which had been used as our hospital. The talk of the head-quarter people now is, that Tippoo, after the conclusion of the preliminary treaty, behaved very fairly and equitably, and complied with more than he was literally bound to. If-so, the less for their credit.

I see that his lordship's letter to Sir C. Oakley, on the business of the 6th February, is printed in a Bengal paper of the 5th March. It is a remarkably ill-penned and incorrect account of the business. It makes the general's conduct, and the conduct of those about him, appear more mysterious and unaccountable than ever. The fact is—but it is a fact that cannot be explained to the public—that, from the outset, the general was bewildered, and incapable of being made to understand what was intended to be done; and that, in the exe-

George Dempster, Esq., to Dr Bell.

Dunnichen, 2d April 1792.

My dear Sir,

I thank you for the news of my niece's marriage, of which we had the confirmation from many quarters. My wishes for all my female relations are extravagant; and, on this occasion, however, I hope realized. I wish 'em all *good* husbands, with which a little more wealth, rank, or consideration, or a little less, is but buckram and prunella. I envy your share in the Male Asylum. My wishes about that are also extravagant. I wish you to make all your orphans *good* lads—the rest will follow.

It is odd what should make you Europeans so anxious to return to the cold and inhospitable climates which gave you birth. I am such a lover of warmth, that if ever I went towards the line, I should be tempted to take up my quarters under it. You are the only European I ever knew who balanced the case, and still with you the icy scale prevails. The truth is, nature calls us strongly back to our original haunts: where we sought our birds' nests, is the spot where we wish to smoke our pipe, and take our snuff, in old age. There was a man who retired some time ago from Copenhagen with a fortune, in order to build a house upon a tree, or under ground, and to live on train-oil at home. So return you will, and encounter with pleasure the northern blasts of the Scores and the Links of St Andrews. Bring a good constitution and L.10,000 with

you, and you won't desire to return from wanting the comforts of life. Our friend, Captain Duncan, never entertained a wish of the kind; nor those who avoid the expense and ostentation of the metropolis and its courts. We are all anxious for news from Lord Cornwallis's army. This is a moment of anxious expectation; we know the fate of the war must be decided; we know the news of the decision is on the road to us, and we know no more. I am so far on the side of the Blacks, as to wish we had never stained a British sword with their blood, nor filled a British purse with their plunder. We are disturbers of the face of the earth; and we disorder the beautiful variety of colours, characters, manners, and religions with which God has diversified this globe. You will see the captain, but not George Fleming, at this bout, for he is gone to the country service at Bombay. You will probably see Colonel and Mrs Burrington and your pupil Nell. They will tell you every thing about us; but don't trust to their telling us every thing about you; but write us yourself. I now enjoy the most uninterrupted state of health, and plenty of easy, amusing occupation in planting, enclosing, draining, fishing, riding, road-making, both here in Angus, and in Sutherland; of all which you will perhaps one day partake. My wife, Miss Charlotte, and Rose, desire to join me in best respects; and I beg you will believe me at all times to be with sincere regard and affection.

Dr Bell on the Poor Funds.

Madras, 7th April 1792.

It is my opinion, that, as the expenditure of the native poor fund so far surpasses the interest of the principal, having amounted, for the two last months, to upwards of 1100 pagodas per month, that some means should be devised to reduce the expenses in a manner as little inconvenient and distressing to the poor as possible.

In these two last months, we have expended each month a sum equal to the annual income of our funds. And if we were to go on at this rate, the whole of the funds will be expended in little more than twelve months. There is no doubt that the distress was urgent, and the past expenses were necessary to relieve those who could not find supplies elsewhere in the time of the famine. But surely the state of the funds will not admit the continuance of the same allowance at a time that a new crop is coming in, and at a season of the year when paddy is generally cheapest and in greatest abundance. Nor does it seem to me, that in any other case but the last necessity, we should continue expenses which the funds will so ill bear. By the present mode of feeding those who were collected in the time of great scarcity, we may retain many of those who, were the necessity once established, would find a livelihood amidst their families and relations; and, by declaring we are to keep up the same daily allowance of rice, we keep up the number of those who have thrown themselves upon this charity.

At the same time, I should be extremely unwilling to take any measure which could be attended with any real or permanent distress to those who are indigent, and unable either to work or any how else obtain their daily food. But I think it would be an easy and safe experiment to try the effects of a declaration, that the number of bags of rice will be reduced at stated periods; as in this way, those who have a means of livelihood elsewhere will probably see the necessity of having recourse to such means, and leave a situation where they will find they cannot always be supported.

At this period the trial cannot be attended with any great distress; whereas, if we go on for little more than a year at this rate, we shall have no funds left for the original poor and real objects of distress, who have depended upon this charity. And the supply from a subscription may, except in a case of famine and urgent distress, be very precarious.

I therefore propose, that we give out in time to those who have been lately collected, that it is intended to discontinue the distribution, which was only established during the famine, gradually; and that, at the end of each week, a bag shall be taken from the present allowance, till things be reduced to their old state. This appears to me the more necessary, that, if we go on much longer, we must stop at last, and a great deal of suffering may be occasioned, especially if, at a time of scarcity, a sudden reduction should take place.

At the same time that I propose this trial, I have ever wished to recommend it to the committee, who have had the goodness to take an active part in this charity, to do, in cases of distress, as they shall see fit; and would by no means prevent their continuing some

time longer the present allowance, if they find occasion for it, after such trials as their discretion may direct, to reduce the number of those who resort to this charity.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

7th April 1792.

My dear Dr Bell,

I thank ye very kindly for all the trouble you have been so good as to take about my watch. I blush to think of it; and still more, when I observe you treating your scientific skill so light, and turning your phrase as if you had received, instead of conferred, an obligation.

Mrs Floyd has regulated your watch pretty handsomely, I believe. It certainly won't go wrong. I only wish it may go at all.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

7th May 1792.

My dear Bell,

I take the liberty of sending my watch again. It's vastly foolish and obstinate.

James Amos, Esq., to Dr Bell.

Isle of France, 25th April 1792.

My dear Sir,

Having been obliged to put into this place through stress of weather and a crazy ship, I embrace the opportunity of writing to you.

Our captain has found himself under the necessity of purchasing another ship, to convey his merchandise and passengers to Europe; and I embark upon her, with my little family, about the 2d or 3d of next month. I shall not trouble you with a detail of what passed in the passage hither: suffice it to say, I have had sufficient experience to recommend it to my friends, to prefer going in an English ship to that of a Dane.

There are no less than 9000 French inhabitants, and about 30,000 blacks in the island. The latter are slaves, and chiefly employed on the plantations. The *Rights of Man* is as much the subject of conversation among the French of this place, as it can be in Paris: but I am sorry to observe that, amidst this spirit of liberty, (if it may be so termed,) there is little of the feelings of humanity towards their slaves, who exhibit the most deplorable spectacle that it is possible for human beings to be placed in. The cattle they import from Madagascar, for tillage and other uses, are much better treated than the miserable Africans. The reform that has taken place in their Church, seems as extraordinary for the suddenness of its transition, as the change in their mode of government. There are no

pictures or images to be seen in their places of worship : the adoration paid to the Blessed Virgin and saints is abolished ; so also is the confession to priests : transubstantiation is ridiculed ; and, in short, they boast of being better Reformers than either Luther or Calvin.

I have been very hospitably entertained by the King's treasurer, commissary, and the imperial consul. The former lives in greater splendour than ever I have witnessed in India ; but the inhabitants in general live miserably, compared with the modes we are accustomed to.

The military on the island of Bourbon have risen against the patriots, and some lives have been lost. Men's minds are not well reconciled to the new constitution, and I should not be surprised if some revolution took place in this island ere long.

Captain Wight to Dr Bell.

Camp, 10th May 1792.

My dear Doctor,

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When at Colar, the hostage princes went in state to pay their devotions at the remains of their great-grandfather and mother. They were met and attended by all the fakiers, trumpeters, tomtom men, dancing girls, &c. &c., in and about the place. They are at present in much anxiety to reach Madras, and, in particular, to see a ship and a coach. A balloon has been

described to them ; but they are unwilling to believe in it, even when vouched by the lord.

Bangalore and Ouse Cotta have been both evacuated. We look anxiously for the news of an Indian's arrival.

The sentence on Blackadder, the surgeon, who had charge of the sick and wounded at Outredroog, that had been sent from Seringapatam, was published yesterday—eight months' suspension and a reprimand. His neglect of the wounded men was proved to have been flagrant beyond any thing ever heard of before. The lenity of the court in their judgment has excited the lord's strongest indignation, and he has expressed it in the most unqualified terms. I do not know, that what he has done is strictly regular and proper ; but there is no doubt that both court and culprit deserved all that was said. Blackadder's suspension is to be continued until the directors decide further on his conduct ; and, in the mean time, the payment of his donation of six months' batta is ordered to be stopped. Last night the lord ordered Colley Lucas to be put in arrest for disobedience of orders, in recommending a Mr Stone to be employed at Outredroog as a surgeon. He was one of the gentlemen recruits who came out last season. Gowdie was a sharer in the transaction ; and it is feared that he also will be ordered into arrest.

There are vague reports here of Medows's intention to remain another year ; but the people at headquarters do not understand that he intends it. •

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

May 23, 1792.

My dear Sir,

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I am pretty certain she has done nothing about your papers; and most likely they are scattered about her drawers, and about the house, like some other articles I could name: and, to say the truth, I think you almost deserve it, for attempting to spoil the good lady by similar flattery; and Heaven only knows when you are likely to see your papers again. I will endeavour to obtain some information concerning them in the course of the day, and let you know the event; but the less you hope, the smaller will be your disappointment, should matters turn out as I suspect. The injury, however, is of such a nature as to preclude your complaints, for fear of the obvious retort “why?” &c.

You are very kind about my foolish watch. I give over my other as a desperate case. It is kicked and tumbled about the bed, and tossed and towzled about by Pat and Reta, and all the Fanny Katchies; and I am forced to perceive all this without saying one word.

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Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

May 24, 1792.

My dear Sir,

While she was a little better, yesterday, I mentioned your papers; and she said she would send them to you yesterday, or to-day; but she is unwilling, and I believe unable, to speak much, or to do any thing. I am much chagrined and uneasy at her situation, and the more so as I believe it has been considerably owing to improper management, against which all my entreaties have failed.

The moment she is again a little better in spirits I will again mention the papers. Send them home by all means. I have not a doubt of their doing you honour, and service to the public.

Dr Bell to the Rev. Dr Adamson.

May 26, 1792.

My dear Sir,

I have a double obligation to acknowledge to you. Your obliging answers to certain loose interrogatories I happened to scrawl to my sister Jessy, affords me a just view of a subject with which I was little acquainted before. Your history of the town and university is particularly interesting to me. It is a gratification which I

have not otherwise experienced, to be presented with a distinct picture of the scenes which have lately passed there. There needed no apology as if Jessy might have furnished me with the same intelligence. The views which this good girl takes of the same objects are so widely different, that it will be a real kindness to me if you will have the goodness to continue your most acceptable communications.

In my brother's affairs, in which I intreat you to interest yourself and Mr Frazer, there is nothing I wish for so much as a speedy and final decision. It were well done, if it were soon done.

The rich Indians seem to wish for the fermentation, which rises in the minds of men in Europe, to subside before they return to their native country. We here enjoy a seeming repose, if it be not disturbed by the ambitious projects of Scindiah. We live in too much affluence to be in danger from popular tumults. We are not, however, less independent in our spirits. We live under a government despotic in its form, but mild in its administration. It is not our wish to be involved in any commotions.

That revolution which has of late years been propagated in our modes of thinking, seems not to endanger society but when it reaches the lower classes of people: with such, as in France, it naturally runs into an extreme. We have scarce any people of this description, or, if any, they are generally men who have the fear of being remanded to Europe before their eyes, and are kept in entire check. With the rational, and with the affluent, it is the wish that our reformation and improvement may stop short of the subversion of government. . . .

It is pleasing to survey the thriving and flourishing state of the kingdom, and it is to be hoped that this consideration will serve to remove the idea of all dangerous innovations.

I feel a share of the satisfaction arising from the revival of commerce, and re-establishment of manufactures in my native city; and I regret that the tidings of the university are not equally happy. I have not, indeed, expected it to be otherwise. Some of your classes have not yet been taught in that way which only can render them generally useful, or command general attendance. To speak only of the Natural Philosophy class in a general point of view. A course of experimental philosophy in this class would be attended at first with an additional expense, but an expense that would more than repay itself. It would always cost more labour for the professor, but the labour would be pleasant and sweet. It would take in a wide range in science, be readily apprehended, and eagerly sought after. But I fear it will be long before men bred at universities, and deep in sublime geometry, will descend from their speculative heights to the level of common capacities, and the philosophy of common life. They cannot bring themselves down to matters of general utility, nor to give up that knowledge which, having cost themselves much, and serving to elevate them above other men, they value most. Every branch of science which they teach is embarrassed with views, which not one man of a thousand ever comprehended.

Some of those you mentioned I have had the pleasure of seeing, and mentioning your name to them. Tom Wilson was here some time ago, and used to visit me.

Mr Walker is here now, and equally kind. Walter Wilson is with General Brathwaite at the presidency. I have met him at Sir Charles Oakley's, and other places; but we are grown too old for either to recognise the other. All of these, and the others you mention, are well, and deserving well.

Tippoo Sultan has made his second payment to the allies. In a letter to this government he says—"That his eyes are opened; and that none but God, and a great *sardar* like Lord Cornwallis, could have opened them."

To his vakeels, ~~who~~ attended his sons, I had the honour to preach lately, ~~when they~~ attended our church. Garrum Ally, who never moves from a silver chair on account of a rheumatism, which has deprived him of the use of his legs, was the sultan's ambassador at Constantinople, and is said to be a man of great political abilities. He expressed great satisfaction, and was even much affected with the service of the church, though he did not understand the language in which it was read. The prime minister is of a liberal and enlarged mind: and they all acknowledge Jesus as a great prophet.

The same week the princes gave a dinner to Lady Oakley, some women, and several men. It consisted chiefly of pilows, dressed in the Seringapatam mode, and of fruits. Nor was wine banished the table. The boys sat at a small distance from the table, by Lady Oakley. On this and every other occasion the younger and fairer prince has displayed much vivacity, and shown a great desire to amuse, and even attempted to speak English. He seems of a gentle and mild disposition. The elder boy, who shows more mind, is more silent and reserved, and looks of a stern disposition and commanding aspect. We think we see the father in his countenance.

Their pictures, by a famous miniature painter here—Smart—are preparing at the desire of my Lord Cornwallis for the father; and a duplicate, it is imagined, will be presented by them to his lordship. . . .

It is not unworthy of notice, that of all the large train of these eastern princes, there has not been a complaint of the least irregularity, or disturbance, or misbehaviour. . . .

Captain Wight to Dr Bell.

Pondamalee, 31st May 1792.

My dear Doctor,

I hope, my good doctor, that the people at Madras have received the lord suitably, and that they have poured sweet oil upon his head from the horn of sincerity, joy, and gratitude. I hope their reception of the princes did not express any thing of exultation or tumultuary happiness, but that it was silently polite.

Captain Wight to Dr Bell.

Pondamalee, 5th June 1792.

No doubt, your ball last night was a splendid, well attended, magnificent show. A strange sort of

message was sent to Pondamalee, which amounted to this:—that any of the officers who might chance to be that day at Madras might come to the ball. Of course, none went from the cantonment; and, I believe, very few attended of those who chanced to be at Madras. It is not wise with the general to assume importance with his intimates. He is only the grand Lama so long as he remains behind the curtain. When he advances upon the stage he is instantly discovered to be a wooden *swamy*—mere carpenter's work.

I met Tom Patterson and his family at Conjeveram. Tom complains heavily against you for having asserted Tippoo's character; calling him a truly great man, although borne down by superior influence. The last act of Tippoo—his putting to death the people who were made prisoners by us, and delivered back to him since the peace—is rather in favour of Tom's argument. There certainly can be nothing truly great in the character of a man capable of such deliberate, unprovoked acts of inhumanity. The Bramin Kistnavow, his paymaster-general, who was taken at Bangalore, is one of the late forty put to death, owing to an application through that channel to Tippoo for the release of Dr Hare; and there is the strongest reason to conclude, that the brutal tyrant ordered the execution of that worthiest and most inoffensive of men. The two Bramins who carried Kistnavow's letter to Tippoo concerning Horne, were certainly put to death, as we learned soon after.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Conatore, June 21, 1792.

My dear Bell,

We are better off here than I expected. The officers' barracks are on a good plan, but require repair. My own quarters, with little additional expense, may be excellent. The men's want virandahs, and are falling down. Provisions excellent. Rice at fifteen seers per rupee. Soge has a thermometer which, he declares, rises every day to about 93°, which is hot enough; but what is odd, and makes me suspect some error about the instrument, is, that the air feels cool, and is acknowledged so by every body.

I had a conversation, the day before yesterday, with Mrs Patterson about her son, and told her how often I had seen the boys under your superintendence, how happy they were; that if I had a son of my own, I should be happy to place him there; and that I was convinced it was for the good of the child that no distinction whatever should be made. Yesterday she told me that what I had said had made a great impression on her; that she had received an account from a lady which had prejudiced her; that she was convinced she had been in an error. She knew that the children imbibed instruction in a wonderful manner; and she believed nothing would give her so much satisfaction as her son's being placed there. I told her to consider of it; and if she came to that determination, I would then write to you: so all this is under the rose.

Now, my old difficulty about the time of the day

recurs. Pray, do me the favour to look out for a good clock, and buy it for me; and, if possible, do procure me one of those universal dials, such as you lent me formerly, together with a table of the sun's declination. Topping will, perhaps, give me the latitude of the place. My watch goes admirably; but last night it stopped, for the first time, about two hours after winding up and laying it down, but when I put on my socket in the morning it went again.

Another of my wants is *Robertson's Disquisitions on the Trade with India*. Pray, do me the favour to procure me as much of all this as you can, and send it by a cooley, well packed up by your man, together with a note of costs of suit.

Is there any such thing as a good English or French translation of *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, or *Livy*?

Mrs Maddison takes to the place and the way of life very well. Her good man was unreasonable enough to go out last night and beat a native in his village for drumming his tomtom in celebration of the feast of *Mareata*; which, I suppose, the native's forefather celebrated exactly as he does now, during many ages, while our forefathers were painted savages.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Conatore, 30th June 1792.

My dear Bell,

I am greatly obliged by your letters of the 24th and 28th, and by the arrival of your servant with the parcel this morning, with a note without date, but, I presume, written on the 27th.

I accuse myself of great harshness towards this poor fellow. I wanted him to rest himself, and set out in the morning, by which time I would write by him; but he said he must go directly, as you had ordered him not to stay; upon which one of those feelings to which I am subject took possession of me, and I felt out of humour, and coldly told the poor fellow he might go; and off he went. I had not then opened my treasure. The books are very highly acceptable. I thank you very kindly for them. But when I saw Mrs Floyd's parcel and her note, my heart dilated, and I immediately felt all the barbarity of my behaviour to the poor fellow with whom I had so lately been angry, when, it is evident, he deserved praise. I am greatly obliged to you for giving Mrs Floyd notice that you was about to send, as her parcel is particularly valuable to me. . . .

Having nothing else to do, I am taking up again my former fondness for the children of the regiment, which I really think ought to be considered by the commanding-officer as his own; consequently, I feel all the merit and value of your kind letter.

I flatly refuse your horizontal dial, and will wait, if you please, the event of the chapter of accidents. Do as to you seems best about the clock. The horizon is sufficiently level towards the rising sun, to observe it pretty exactly. Topping gave me a card dial of his own making a year ago, which I had mislaid, but have found again; but as no explanation accompanies it, I am ignorant of the method of using it.

I shall be very careful of Alexander Cockburn's book, and of all your books.

The Polygar is surely unwise to encounter the irresistible. Like you, I am willing to hope nothing has been blown up but a waterspout, or some deceitful cloud; yet I have my fears. . . .

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Conatore, 26th July 1792.

My dear Dr Bell,

.

I will not, my dear sir, trouble you to send any thing you have been so good as to collect for me to this place, as I am in great hopes of seeing you soon at Madras, where, if I am directed to remain by government, I shall have something of a dwelling of my own, the door of which will fly open to receive you; and this, I am certain, will be perfectly agreeable to my fair lady, who has often lamented with me the strange circumstances which prevented our intercourse.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Many thanks for *Robertson's India*, the *Translation of Herodotus*, and of the *Travels of Anacharsis*. I only wish this latter had been the French edition, which, I suppose, was not to be had.

I am also in hopes you will at length succeed in providing us both a good clock each. Do me the favour to take the one you intend for me, and regulate it along with your own.

By following your advice, in searching among the European regiments, I am likely to procure a man very capable of instructing some of our people here in writing and arithmetic. I have no chance of procuring the person you formerly named from the artillery.

We have a very zealous, and, I really believe, a very intelligent man, come out to us this season as surgeon's mate. He is young and active. His name is Corrie; studied under Hunter; and was chosen member of the Royal Veterinary College just before he left London. He writes, moreover, M.D.—a title which does not grace all the great men we know here. It was a main object with him to attend to the diseases of horses; and I have completely accommodated him in this pursuit.

Anatomy seems to be his chief passion; and we suppose him to possess superior lights in this line. I hope to have some opportunity of making him known to you, and to Dr Anderson, and to our friend Mr Ross.

. I think there are some pretty good arguments in the account of the debates, which I have just read in the *Courier Extraordinary*; but Lord Cornwallis has certainly the best of them all in his own hands. Yet, to be candid, it does not appear to me,

from any thing published that I have heard of, that Mr Dundas was warranted in his sanguine expectations of a happy issue to the Indian war; but that, on the contrary, the Opposition had no bad grounds, from the documents published, for entertaining much apprehensions of the event. As to the loan to the Mahrattas, I should be very curious to be acquainted with all the circumstances attending it, and whether it has been repeated. I am sorry for the uneasy, nay, unhappy situation of General Abercrombie, whose Periapatam story seems to be fully known.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Conatore, August 15, 1792.

My dear Bell, -

The coincidence of subject was very whimsical the day the vakeels were at church. Had they understood it, they would certainly have thought it contrived on purpose. The last verse of the 21st chapter of 1st Kings would apply vastly well to Hyder, and his son Tippoo.

“Seest thou how Ahab humbleth himself before me? because he humbleth himself before me, I will not bring the evil in his days: but in his son's days will I bring the evil upon his house.”

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Conatore, August 24, 1792.

My dear Bell,

If you think Mr Paine's second pamphlet will not drive me mad, as you say it has every body else, I should like, of all things, to see it; yet this would be rather a violent measure on my part, for it appears, like some drugs, to operate both ways; for if it makes some madly in love with it, others again seem to be as vehemently affected against it. Yet if its base is like a geometrical line or point, it won't stand long.

I rejoice, my dear sir, that you have the satisfaction of an old friend by your side, who gives you satisfactory accounts of your great and good friends at home. I shall, however, be very sorry to hear of your returning to those friends until the fair purpose of an Indian voyage be accomplished. Like all reasonable men, I know you are moderate in your wishes. Of course, you will be the sooner happy. Yet it sometimes happens that eating excites the appetite.

. For God's sake never give yourself the least trouble about *ill-tempered* and *foolish people*, but consider it as a great honour and a blessing to be hated by them.

I have an usher, and benches, and tables, and shall soon have a school-room or hut; but I am wholly at a loss for the books proper to use, and for the cheapest and necessary quantity of stationery. If the spelling-books and others necessary for persons a little more advanced are to be procured at Madras I will take it

as a great favour if you will direct your man to procure them and the stationary for me, and dispatch them hither. I expect to have between twenty and thirty students, great and small, and hope they may all learn to write a better hand than either you or I. . . .

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Chevilimodoo, August 29, 1792.

My dear Bell,

.

The intelligence you communicate is very remarkable, and the era singularly eventful towards crowned heads. Sweden assassinated; Denmark insane; Britain has known her misfortunes and accidents; Orange, though no crowned head, chief of a great country, nearly expelled, but restored by armed force; France dethroned, imprisoned, and liable to further misfortunes; Empire said to be poisoned; Portugal insane; Spain not very wise. I see none but Prussia, who reigns in full, personal prosperity; for I scarce consider Poland as fully and firmly established in his new and magnanimous system, among a very inconstant and hot-headed people; Russia, though victorious, greatly reduced by her war, and personally infirm. I think there are no less than three sovereigns in Europe liable to attempts on their persons, owing to the colour of the times. In two of them you will very likely agree with me—France and Poland. In the

third, whom God Almighty protect, I am not so sure that you will agree with me ; but he has been the subject of several odd accidents, and they strangely lead to one another. . . .

I thank you kindly for undertaking so readily so many troublesome commissions as I have plagued you with. But as you have good-naturedly submitted to such multitudes already, it affords an excellent argument for trying your patience a little further. I shall be obliged to you if you will, at your leisure, make me a list of the Greek and Roman authors, such as are termed classical ; and then lose no opportunity of picking up for me such translations of them into English, French, or German, as you can meet with. I shall read with great curiosity this wonderful Tom Paine, when you are so good as to send him. . . .

I shall scrupulously attend to all you say about my school. The chief object of it is to instruct non-commissioned officers, and promising young men, in reading, and writing, and arithmetic, sufficiently for writing their reports, and keeping the men's accounts. For we are wonderfully deficient in these circumstances ; and I really did not imagine there had been so large a proportion of the common people of England who had never received any schooling, as I find there is. As to the Irish, they are still more untaught than the English. The Scotch more instructed than either.

Your *scroll* is really, to be candid with you, sometimes not to be made out by any but an expert decipherer like myself, who frequently deal in ciphers too. Notwithstanding all that, I read with avidity whatever you write.

I left Conatore yesterday, and am overlooking my

wilderness here. I think next year the pines will be as good as ever, if not better.

To-night I shall be at Stiripirmatoor, and wait the arrival of two personages very interesting to me—my wife and child. I do not expect them there before to-morrow evening. . . .



Dr Bell to G. Dempster, Esq.

Egmore, Madras, September 13, 1792.

My dear Sir,

I enjoy all your improvements, as I have received them at the hands of the newspapers, my cousin, and my captain. I could easily be persuaded, as soon as I can, on the conditions you specify, to take a nearer survey of them. I enter into the spirit of all your plans for the cultivation of the most valuable animal—man. For the sake of mankind, as well as of your family and friends, I wish you long health and increase of fresh years; and I believe that your occupations, and the reflections attendant upon such a use of human life, have a tendency to lengthen as well as felicitate our days. . . .

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Conatore, September 16, 1792.

My dear Bell,

I am so indebted to you in letters and every way, that I am covered with confusion.

I thank you most kindly for "Anacharsis," and for Beloe's "Herodotus." The first volume of the former is arrived safe. I have looked no further into either of them, as yet, than their prefaces; but they are bills of fare that whet the appetite. Your present of books for my school is truly kind and valuable. I wait Mrs Floyd's sending a man to Madras, to return you Robertson's "India," Paine's pamphlet, and the amount of the stationary, which your head man has been so good as to procure for me, and for which I am very much obliged to him.

Paine's book is really a wonderful production. I shall not attempt to explain to you how forcibly it strikes my mind. How beautiful, I think, such a constitution, and such a government; nor with what horror I am seized in thinking of the consequences of the critical passage from an established government to a new one. It is impossible to deny how wide all our old governments are from virtue; nor that such deviations at the head operates with baleful influence on the genius, truth, and virtue of the inferior individuals of the community. From my earliest infancy I always thought that truth was the best guide to man's happiness; that it needed no disguise, no precaution, but would for ever stand its ground against all assault. Let

me stop here, lest the enthusiasm I feel, in contemplating virtuous governments and virtuous characters, make you think I really am mad; and that it is Paine has made me so. Let me with pleasure tell you that Mrs Floyd has begun "Livy," and has great taste for the Roman history. I know of nothing on earth so likely to raise the mind, and form the heart as it should be, as the opportunity history affords, and pre-eminently the Roman history, of comparing virtuous characters and glorious deeds with those that are vicious and mean. She sometimes desires me to read to her, which I do with delight; but am sometimes so moved and agitated with particular relations of virtuous deeds that I am unable to proceed, and obliged to let her finish the passage herself. You will perhaps think that I am softened by her presence; but it is not that, for I have the same sensations when reading alone—feelings that I would not barter for all the gold on earth.

People are coming in and interrupt me. Thank you very kindly for Agnew's "Narrative." It is very correct as far as it goes. There is one circumstance in the action of the 15th May which I have never seen mentioned publicly. It is a horrid thing to boast of, but nothing can alter the fact; which is, that scarce any of the enemy were killed except by the cavalry, and they actually left dead on the ground nearly every man of that part of the enemy's army which they charged.

Your letter of the 14th is copperplate. Say no more, and fish not for compliments.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Conatore, October 4, 1792.

My dear Bell,

How can you think of apologizing again and again for a circumstance that deserves and has my thanks? Convinced, as I am, of the kindness of your intentions, how is it possible I should be such a monster as to take offence! I protest to you, my sentiments are quite in the opposite scale.

I know very well that your own opinion coincides with the many you have heard, that my nine o'clock guard mounting, at which all officers attend, is the cause why so many of them are ill. I will not assert that some of them may not be, in some degree, affected at times; but did I ever urge any one to come out who did not feel equal to it?

If the officers are sickly, it arises, I believe, from other causes. Many unfortunate young gentlemen are put into the army by their barbarous *friends*, as they are called, who have not constitutions for a man-milliner, and shipped for India, where the climate is certainly adverse, in general; and, without the previous habits of robust exercise, are sent to the devil here to fight the blacks. These young gentlemen often live indiscreetly in their diet, and frequently take journeys in the sun for their own amusement. It is an established observation among us, that scarce any officer returns in health from Madras.

To what purpose do such young gentlemen enter the army? Their frame will not support the operations

necessary to learn their profession. Of what use can they be as military men? How barbarous is it to thrust them against an enemy, where they have no chance whatever of annoying him, and scarce any of coming off with their lives, except by the particular interference of Providence, which it is not prudent to tempt too far?

This guard-mounting lasts about half an hour. If the sun could flame with double fury, it scarce could affect any but the flimsiest constitutions in that time. The officers have all the advantages of diet, dress, and comfort on their side, which the men have not. If they do not avail themselves of these, who is to blame? It was remarkable in the 36th regiment, formerly at Poonamalee, that the officers were uncommonly healthy at the very time when they passed the whole day in the sun, playing at long bullets.

The men of the 19th have always been the healthiest corps in India. I never knew so many sick as at present, which may be attributed to a larger proportion of new men, and the effects of the campaigns on some of the older ones.

But you say only a small number of them are exposed to this nine o'clock sun. Very true; but they all ride out to water in their shirts, and often bare-headed, at eleven o'clock. They repeat the same sport at four; their rest is broken in the night by the duty of sentinel. In short, there is no sort of comparison between their inconveniences and what falls to the share of the officers. This class is chosen by dimension. The officers are taken just as it pleases God, in his infinite variety, to make them.

I should, however, prefer an earlier hour for guard,

were it not for what appears to me good reasons to the contrary. The early and cool part of the morning is wholly employed in exercise. Horsemanship cannot be attained without unremitting practice, and every man, and every horse, in health, is thus employed under my own inspection. Between this season and nine o'clock the officers have time to examine into the state of their men and their horses, of which they give an account to me at guard-mounting, at which time I survey the lines, and regulate all matters of detail, and give orders for the operations of the ensuing time.

Here ends the labour of the officer, who only saunters out in the cool of the evening to see his horses eat their grain. I do not believe any one could devise a more healthy habit.

What you mentioned had by no means escaped my reflection many years ago, and has occupied it very frequently since. You are entitled to any explanation I can give, because of the worthiness of your intentions. I will only add one remark more, that, if the guard-mounting and the horse-drill were performed at the same hour, both would be very imperfectly managed.

You must not imagine Mrs Floyd serious when she reproves you and abuses our friends. She does both for sport, and has a very just value for you and for them.

Her remarks on the pitch of your voice in argument, are not wholly unfounded. *Turn about* is fair play; and your colloquist has a right to be heard some times, which I am sure you will agree to, as well as that he should be overpowered and silenced by superiority of argument instead of sound.

Do me the favour to make my best compliments to

Mr Toriano; and make haste back, that we may see how you improve upon these hints.

Mrs Floyd's best compliments attend you. Ever,
my dear Bell, &c.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Conatore, Nov. 2, 1792.

My dear Bell,

I am made happy to-day by a most kind and affectionate letter from the oldest and dearest friend I have in the world—Lord Pembroke. It is, however, the first letter I have had from him written by the hand of another. He says I shall not wonder at his endeavouring to spare his eyes when I recollect that he was born in 1734. I sighed deeply: God send I may once more have the happiness of embracing him! Though I was no longer a boy when I came to India, up to that date I was never able to meet him after an absence of a few months, or to quit him for a time, without an emotion that stopped my words and filled my eyes. How often have I wished for some remarkable occasion of expressing my affection and gratitude towards him at any cost or risk to myself! I have thought I could die to save him with pleasure. It is true I owe him every thing except my being, and I have the most cordial satisfaction, and the highest gratification, in recalling to my mind each act of kindness, of benevolence, and of protection, with which my whole life has been filled, especially the more helpless and defenceless part

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Conatore, Nov. 10, 1792.

My dear Bell,

.

It is impossible to avoid remarking the emotion under which great part of your letter of the 5th is written; and I confess it has given me very great concern to think you should have been so circumstanced as to be so moved. It is a great misfortune to have too much sensibility, but I verily believe it a much greater to have none at all. But indeed, my dear Bell, you have sometimes appeared to me to be agitated without much cause, and I have wished you more composed, more on your own centre. I know no man who has better grounds for a philosophic tranquillity.

Your sentiments towards your friends in Europe, which an absence of six years cannot weaken, do you great honour. But trust me, never quit India until you have a right to determine never to return. I should really consider it a want of constancy, ay, of consistency. No one can decide for another what sum will make him, in his opinion, and therefore really so, independent and comfortable; and I am altogether as little a judge what progress you have made towards it. I doubt not but the quantum you propose is what most people would think moderate: stay and attain it, and let it be moderate—then retire with honour and live with comfort. Live for the present hour, and not for a future day which may never come.

Be at all times provided with a will, and, having thus done your duty towards yourself and towards your neighbour, be satisfied, fully composed as to the event.

Only think of my presumption in attempting to preach to you. . . .

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Conatore, January 20, 1793.

My dear Bell,

Before Sir A—— C—— had left the Tanjore country, after placing the present rajah on the musnud, I understood that the young boy, adopted by the late rajah, was already treated with neglect, if not with contempt, although Sir A—— C—— had stipulated for his good and honourable usage. The present rajah is the brother of the late rajah. When Sir A—— C—— came to Tanjore twelve pundits were separately shut up, in order to collect their several opinions who was the legal successor, according to their own laws and customs, of the late rajah. Sir A—— C—— told me they were unanimous in favour of the person, whom he, in consequence, led, and placed on the musnud in my presence. Many of us lamented what we heard of the treatment of the young boy, and anticipated misfortune toward him. I rejoice he has escaped to Madras, where, I hope, he will find that protection which belongs to a nation of character to give, and which it is not merely honourable, but sound policy, and really advantageous to do.

Poor *Schwarts*, thus he spells his name, is a simple, well-meaning creature, extremely vain of his reputa-

tion of sanctity, whose habits have long led him from the world, of which he probably never knew any thing. I conceive his being pleased with the accounts-current, without any capacity of appreciating the real merits of the institution entrusted and thriving under your care. To be sure, the average sum of two pagodas and thirteen fanams per month for each boy is wonderfully small indeed. . . .



Dr Bell to Major Dirom.

Egmore, Sunday, January 27, 1793.

My dear Friend,

When will the Swallow packet arrive? When shall I hear of the safety and health of my much-esteemed and much-loved friend? When shall I expect his return, with the best blessing of Heaven under his wings? . . .

I am bringing forward, for my select society—and a most respectable society it is—my Lectures in a new form, and with an apparatus, as well for its extent as its arrangements, almost entirely new. Never before had I either leisure or opportunity of arranging, or collecting, or digesting.

Till you return, let me always hear from you; and never fail to mention to me, particularly and minutely, every thing about *yourself* and *yours*. Be sure you forget not this of *yours*. Fain would I flatter myself with the hope of seeing you soon, such as I would have you. . . .

Captain Wight to Dr Bell.

Pondalmalee, February 14, 1793.

My dear Doctor,

The enclosed contains a delineation of the figure I mentioned to you the other day. It is carved on the roof of a choultry, adjacent to a pagoda, near this place. The spaces between the outer circle and the angles of the square, and between the first and the second, and second and third circles, are filled with sculpture, descriptive of the incarnations of the god Vishenou; the equilateral triangles, the circles and the square, and their combinations, seem to me evidently to be the work of a geometrician; the combinations of the triangles produces first a nonagon; next, nine triangles, with equal sides and equal angles—nine quadrangles, with equal sides and equal angles—nine spherical triangles, with equal sides, equal angles, and equal segments—the god Vishenou underwent nine incarnations; and it is by no means improbable that this repeated production of the number nine, from the combination of three geometrical figures, alludes to the number of the incarnations. It may also be understood that the triangle represents the Hindoo trinity; and that the conjunction of three triangles produces a figure of nine sides, as three is the root of nine. The distance of the circles from each other, is not from measurement, but put down at random. The proportion, therefore, which the sides of the triangles bear to the sides of the square, in this drawing, are not to be reckoned upon; but I shall try to get an accurate

measurement of the dimensions of both, and then it will be a problem for you to calculate the relation which the areas of the triangles have to the area of the square. It will be a great discovery if we find that the areas of the three triangles, or, which is the same thing, if nine times the area of one triangle be equal to the area of the square.

I have seen delineations of the same sort in many other pagodas, which proves that something particular is intended either to be taught or received. I don't remember, however, to have seen mention made of them in any of the books that treat of the Hindoo mythology.

Major George Hart to Dr Bell.

February 24, 1793.

My dear Sir,

With my best thanks for your kind and flattering attention, I return your entertaining and instructive little treatise or lecture, which, I assure you, I have read with great pleasure.

I hope you will do me the honour of always considering me (as far as my little knowledge, influence, or means can go) to be an humble promoter of all or any of your scientific, *benevolent*, and *humane* undertakings, herein so forcibly expressed, and so uncommonly and happily blended, for the best of all good purposes. Would to Heaven that your (I cannot help

saying *bold*) panegyric on Pythagoras could tend to make us, *savage, barbarous* lords of the creation as we call ourselves, desist from our brutal, bloody, carnivorous feasts upon our fellow-creatures!

Mrs ——— to Dr Bell.

February 27, 1793.

Dear Sir,

I have a favour to ask you—If you would accompany me so far as Conjeveram at any time it is your leisure, and there I shall beg of you to perform a solemn ceremony. It is a serious one, indeed. What do you say? Yes or no is to *marry me*. Yours obediently.

Mrs ——— to Dr Bell.

February 27, 1793.

Dear Sir

Upon reflection, I have changed my mind as to what I have wrote you. I beg you will not mention any thing about it. Yours truly.

Mrs ——— to Dr Bell.

27th February 1793.

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your letter of this morning. Indeed I have such confidence in you that I am perfectly satisfied. You will think me an odd woman perhaps, and I confess I am so. Adieu. Your most obliged.

George Baker, Esq., to Dr Bell.

St Thome, 19th March 1793.

My dear Sir,

I am sorry that I was not at home when you did me the favour of calling here last night. Herewith I send you the hydrometer, which I spoke to you of yesterday, in its glass for holding liquors. The weights that are to be occasionally added to the top of the instrument when required, are (or at least all of those not lost) in the accompanying small old box. This box also contains two brass stands for hydrostatic balances; certain weights, and other fragments of two or three different-sized balances, &c. This rusty rubbish has long lain by me in an old trunk as useless. I trust the whole must be equally so to you; but should any part of it prove in any degree otherwise, it will afford proportionate pleasure to, my dear sir, your very respectful and obedient servant.

George Baker, Esq., to Dr Bell.

St Thome, 25th March 1793.

My dear Sir,

Though nothing can prove the truth of your proposition, respecting the rise or fall of bodies in fluids, more clearly than you this day demonstrated; yet having, on searching for them, found five, out of about a dozen, small images, &c., which I once had, I take the liberty of sending them to you in a small wafer-box by bearer; but submit the consideration of a *public* use of them to your *own* discretion—doubting myself, whether it may not be considered by some men as rather a ludicrous, or even a ridiculous, juggling trick, than a truly scientific demonstration of the proposition. You best know the wide distinction between the philosopher and the juggler. I, for my part, consider the latter as knowing, from experiment, observation, and frequent practice, that certain powers of nature, applied in a suitable manner, will produce certain effects, without distinctly knowing to what immediate cause the production of those effects may be properly ascribed. But the philosopher *does know*, generally speaking, the immediate cause of any particular effect; and from that cause, considered as the effect of some previous cause, ascends to the cause producing it; and so on, from effect to cause, ascending till he arrives at that primary cause of all which we call *God*. *God!*—the incomprehensible, inconceivable, omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent Being, which we all do, and which every philosopher, above all others, must most reverently and most de-

voutly adore. Pardon these reveries; and allow me to be most sincerely and most respectfully, my dear Doctor, yours in truth.

George Dempster, Esq., to Dr Bell.

Dunnichen, Forfar, April 6, 1793.

My dear Sir,

I am particularly indebted to you for the Chunam receipt. It is quite in my way. I have sent it to the *Bee*, a weekly publication of the literary kind, at Edinburgh, where it will be circulated and preserved. This publication would not be an unamusing book for you to order from London. The editor is a friend of yours, Dr Anderson, who, of all the literary people in India, seems to deserve the best both from this country and that. His efforts under the Eastern despotism will often be thwarted; but he must not despair. The people will deify him.

Spottiswood writes me he has received payment, which I am glad of, as I set down Lord Conyngham as the founder of your fortune. I cannot tell you how much both the humanity of your charity school, and the system of education you have hit upon, pleases me. I wish it success. I need not wish well to its founder, because the idea and execution will secure your prosperity even in this world. The termination of your war does immortal honour to Lord Cornwallis. I now

rank him almost in my list of worthies, on the next form with General Washington, and among the heroes of our age. I don't trouble you with public matters. The newspapers will show you Europe in a ferment; and France in a frenzy, and shocking doings. . . .

George Dempster, Esq., to Dr Bell.

My dear Sir,

.
You will come to us, I hope, well, and encounter with much pleasure the northern blasts of the Scores, and the Links of St Andrews. Bring a good constitution and £10,000 with you, and you won't desire to return from wanting the comforts of life. Our friend Captain Duncan never entertained a wish of the kind; nor those who avoid the expense and ostentation of the metropolis and its courts. We are all anxious for news from Lord Cornwallis's army. This is a moment of anxious expectation. We know the fate of the war must be decided. We know the news of the decision is on its road to us, and we know no more. I am so far on the side of the blacks as to wish we had never stained a British sword with their blood, nor filled a British purse with their plunder. We are disturbers of the face of the earth; and we disorder the beautiful variety of colours, character, manners, and religions, with which God has diversified the globe. You will see the captain, but not George Fleming, at this bout,

for he is gone to the county service at Bombay. You will probably see Colonel and Mrs Burrington, and your pupil Nell. They will tell you every thing about us; but don't trust to their telling us every thing about you, but write us yourself. I now enjoy the most uninterrupted state of health; and plenty of easy amusing occupation, in planting, enclosing, draining, fishing, riding, road-making, both here in Angus, and in Sutherland, of all which, perhaps, you will one day partake.

Dr Bell to Major Dirom.

Egmore, 3d May 1793.

My dear Friend,

I am in possession of my dear friend's letters of the 19th of September and 12th of October, both from London. Let us, as far as we can, draw a veil over those calamities which no prudence can prevent, no concern cure.

I know no pledge of friendship you could send me which I should value half as much as the enclosures you so kindly enclose to me. The interest I so sincerely feel in your superior family, renders any communications of theirs highly gratifying to me.

We look out daily for the first ship of the season, when I make sure of hearing, more satisfactorily than I have yet done, of your destination and arrangements.

yourself from such a family as yours ; yet, as I think there will be found a necessity, I cannot help wishing that this season may restore you and some of your friends to this happy country, and to the happy society we have here awaiting you. I need not repeat how much it is the wish of us all to have you amongst us. Your friends, the Cockburns, and Binny, Secretary Jackson, and myself, constitute a society, which meet by turns at one another's houses, at a late dinner, and spend the evening in the most temperate, social, and pleasant style.

Though I hope you are now on your way hither, yet I cannot forbear writing by each despatch, lest it should be otherwise. Wight, who is seldom absent from me, writes to you about your return, and how you will find every thing ready for you, and that no arrangements in your absence will or can be made. This is what I understand ; but it is to our friend you are to look for authentic advices on this score. . . .

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Conatore, May 30, 1793.

My dear Bell,

.

Letters received here mention the sentence of Irvine's last court-martial as being known, and that he is broke ; but I have it not from authority. I only know that reference was made by Braithwaite to Lord

Cornwallis, who has written to Braithwaite on the subject; for he has directed a dragoon, who most impudently perjured himself at the general court-martial, to be tried by a regimental court-martial.

There was, indeed, a most scandalous scene of prevarication with intent to deceive, exhibited by several persons on that trial; and I always intended to mention it to you, that you might, at your leisure, and if you fully approved of it, turn your thoughts towards a discourse on the subject of bearing false witness, and of uttering untruths on solemn occasions, showing not only the immorality, but the pernicious effects on society, of such practices; that it is of the nature of a lie to be impossible to bear it through; and that soon or late it must be discovered; and what I myself firmly believe to be true, that it is the essence of an immorality to carry with it its own punishment, which operates indeed variously, both as to time and manner, but certainly.

I am much entertained by your remarks on Maveliveram, and your discussion with Wight, concerning that curious place. I am open to conviction, and have by no means made up my mind to any of the systems concerning it.

I feel, however, none of the arguments in support of the opinion that the sea hath receded from that coast; but am, on the contrary, much inclined to admit the tradition, that the sea hath greatly encroached. Of this the fragments in the water appear to me good argument. As to the sandhills, nothing is easier than to imagine that the winds have created these a little inland, and that the waves themselves have thrown these on the margin of the sea. While I was stationed

at San Thome, I was an eyewitness of several operations of the kind upon that part of the coast. It happens every year that the mouth of the river, which empties itself into the sea near the old castle of San Thome, is choked up by a high sandbank, not washed up and deposited by the receding waters, but pushed up bodily by the reiterated thumps of the sea; and while I was stationed at the house near the flagstaff, the sand drifted by the wind in the street by my door, so as to be obliged to be removed in order to pass. It would otherwise have raised a bank as high as the house itself.

With regard to the rents in the rock, and the many curious detached rocks wrought into places of worship or of sanctity, however these were occasioned, I think they must have been, by some violent and sudden operation of nature. I should prefer the earthquake to the lightning, because of the extent and number of detached pieces. These, again, have been shaped by the labour of man.

The war of the gods, sculpted in the rock, appears to me to relate a volcanic eruption, which caused a rain of fire and stones, which destroyed all living creatures on one side the question. This an ancient Bramin related to poor Pringle and myself when we were there. Felesinga was our interpreter. They also relate that, at a remote period, which they named, Maviliveram was halfway between what we Europeans now call Conjeveram and the sea, that the sea had encroached since then in the manner we saw, but had not perceptibly advanced on the land within the remembrance of the oldest Bramin there. In those days, according to their tradition, Maviliveram was the east gate of Conjeve-

ram ; Oringeveram, beyond Vellore and Policunda, was the west gate ; Chittore the north gate ; Volcondah the south gate.

In the flourishing days of the Gentoos, before Mahometan invasion, I daresay this, with some little latitude of explanation, might be true, and that a large, scattered track of habitations, somewhat in the manner of the present Great and Little Conjeveram, with paddy grounds and gardens intermixed, did actually cover all the space between, great part of which I have seen, and observed marks of ancient tanks and ancient cultivation, and of ancient villages, of which now only slight traces remain, which an uninquisitive eye would not observe.

I am inclined to respect *tradition* sufficiently to think it worth investigation, and am somewhat disposed to imagine that, out of a very extravagant story, duly sifted, historical and philosophical lights may sometimes be obtained.

Pardon this digression, which far exceeds what I proposed, and which may be, God knows, as extravagant as any a story concerning Maviliveram.

I much wish you to see and examine Tiroovycurry, or Trivicurry, in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry—a place abounding in curious objects of natural history, and of tradition no less. Here the gods and the giants had a devil of a contest, till Vacarasacrain, a goddess, played the poor giants a trick, in consequence of which they were totally overthrown, and their limbs scattered over the ramparts, where, at this day, we mistake their bones for petrified trunks of tamarind-trees.

Now, for aught I know, if you take Wight there, he may undertake to prove that these are not, and

never could have been, giant's bones ; and if he denies the divinity of Vacarasacrain too, I, at least, must leave him to fight it out with both gods and giants.

My dear Bell, how could you lead me into all this stuff? See what you have done!

Now, like a true Rambler, and an incoherent writer, let me return to the homily. You may probably think it necessary, after showing the consequence of vice, to exhibit the advantages of virtue. On this head, again, my own belief is firmly fixed—that virtue carries in its essence its certain reward in this life, independent of what may be looked for hereafter—each virtue in its kind, and after its own manner. For the positive and active virtues, the reward will appear more manifest to beholders. To the more passive virtues, a consciousness of worth, a calm mind, and an irreproachable conscience, must convey that peace which the world cannot give, and the happiest confidence in a favourable futurity. . . .

Have you a mind to send all this to Mrs Floyd for her perusal? If so, do.

Major Child to Dr Bell.

Camp at the Red Hills, July 31, 1793.

My dear Tutor,

I am favoured with your letter, and am very happy to find that we have at last some chance of seeing you.

My tent, such as it is, shall be at your service. You shall occupy the whole, or any part of it; and you are sufficiently acquainted with my temper not to be ignorant that you will be perfectly at your ease with me. Bring with you all your philosophy, which, added to a little of mine, is, no doubt, equal to encounter every thing.

I entirely approve of your intended preparations—palanquin, horses, smith. I do not see what else you have to prepare but a couch, with bedding, chair, and half a dozen plates, (including soup,) a few knives and forks, a tumbler or two, not forgetting a couple of wine-glasses, that you may, when so disposed, quaff the *Falernian*.

Should you bring a tent, you will require bullocks to carry it, and Lascars to pitch it. All these are to be had at Madras, I presume. I would advise you to carry what luggage you bring by coolies, which may likewise be had there. Should you be at a *non plus*, consult your *philosophical* friend, Wilks, who is on the spot, and who will, no doubt, lend you every assistance in forwarding these matters, in which, unless I am mistaken, you must, I presume, be a perfect griffin.

Liquors of every kind (should you want) you can procure here, perhaps better than at Madras.

With the above I think you may rest content, and enjoy the pleasures of a military life, without sharing the dangers.

I shall expect you to live with me at our mess. Therefore take no care "of what you shall eat, or what you shall drink, or in wherewithal you shall be clothed;" *à propos*, however, you may as well look to the latter article—a stock of linen. . . .

Dr Bell's Journal at the Siege of Pondicherry.

Thursday, August 2, 1793.

Set out from Egmore. I found only six palanquin-bearers when I arrived at Choultry; where palanquin was posted; and, by the great failure of the head bearers, could not have proceeded but for horses—my own, Lieutenant Hughes's at Chingleput, and Mr Welsh's at Permacoil.

4th, Visited the Rock of Permacoil, taken by Tippoo Sultaun in the late war, Lieutenant Brunton having capitulated.

5th, Arrived in camp to breakfast with Captain Wight, commanding 36th regiment; waited on Colonel Floyd, and accepted his invitation to be with him till the arrival of my tent-equipage; and, on waiting on Colonel Braithwaite, received an invitation to be of his, the commander of the army's, family. Dined with him.

6th, Visited the port at Arioncopaing, next the fort. Saw videttes within 200 yards over the river. Dined with Colonel Floyd.

7th, Visited the Engineer's Park, the Blancherie, and posts to the north. Dined with Colonel Nesbit.

8th, Visited the gardens, De l'Arches: saw Moravians: saw gabions and fascines, and general hospital.

10th, At night, enfilading battery begun of eighty yards long and twenty-four feet thick, about 750 yards from the north-west angle of the fort—eight twelve-pounders and two mortars. Its progress very small

the first night, but the working party undiscovered, the blue lights being thrown to the north.

12th, At night the approaches begun from the village of the Blancherie, about 1300 yards, and a zig-zag of 750 yards completed.

13th, Parallel and battery now begun. Captain Thomas Galpine, of the 73d regiment, killed.

14th, Buried Captain Galpine.

15th, Lieutenant Macgregor and Ensign Todd, of the 73d, killed; and, at half-past eight o'clock at night, Lieutenant-colonel Maule, chief engineer, going from the trenches to his tent in his palanquin, a cannon-ball killed three bearers behind, and carried off his head.

16th, Buried Ensign James Todd and Lieutenant D. D. Macgregor, and Lieutenant-colonel George Maule. Rain all last night and this morning.

17th, Buried Lieutenant Henry Lane, of the 52d regiment. Rain last night and to-day.

20th, Opened enfilading battery, which rendered the firing of the fort less frequent and less certain.

21st, Buried Ensign Home, of the 36th regiment.

22d, Northern battery of fourteen twenty-fours opened at daybreak, and before seven o'clock silenced all the guns on that face of the fort. A flag sent in at four o'clock from the fort, offering to capitulate.

23d, Eight o'clock morning, capitulation signed. Private property sacred. Soldiers prisoners of war; Sepoys set at liberty. Colonel Floyd in command of Pondicherry. English flag hoisted at one o'clock.

25th, Walked all round Pondicherry. Enterable by the sea face from the south.

26th, Spent the whole day at Cuddalore, most pleasantly, with Mrs Sheriff.

29th, Margaret, daughter of William Woolvin, sergeant 52d regiment, and Sarah, his wife, baptized. Camp at Pondicherry.

Dr Bell to Mrs T. Cockburn.

Madras, September 17, 1793.

My dear Madam,

.
Our worthy Major Dirom, I hope, is often with you, talking over Indian matters, and remembering Indian friends, who never for a moment forget you.

The society, which meets at the favourite Bungalo, at the Hexagon, at the Plain, and at Egmore Fort, maintains its ground, and flourishes in full vigour, the envy of the settlement. It has not failed to attract the shafts of malice, and it has been accused of excluding from its pale that part of the creation best adapted to give and receive happiness. It may be so; but its otherwise select and happy parties seem averse from any change till the happy day when she whom we esteem its foundress returns to give the lead to this or a better meeting, and, as perpetual patroness, to adopt and discard as she shall see best.

Next to this, or before this, would it be my wish to return with your friends to England, and be of the same society there. For surely you say rightly, that it is the society of our friends, more than the place, that constitutes the happiness of life; and where can friends

and families associate with so free, and easy, and constant an intercourse, as here? I fear that, in England, the state of matters is so widely different, that it is temporary visits and occasional society which must take the place of the daily parties at Madras.

You can now ascertain, to your own knowledge, the knotty points we were wont to dispute so warmly, and none of us will now dispute your sovereign arbitrement. Set us right, then, as to our ideas of the European and Asiatic worlds.

If your health be re-established, which is the grand and primary object, you have then a free option, and will direct Mr Cockburn to what is best. In this country you will recollect those advantages which he above other men enjoys—high rank, a respectable station, an employment not less honourable than lucrative; a sense of his own usefulness, conscious worth, and superabundance of wealth; and on the event of your safe return and good health, there is that which only can give the highest zest to every other gift of Providence—the most perfect domestic happiness.

Such is one side: I leave it to you to fill up the other side. Your health, which must and will outweigh every other consideration, I every where count first. For the rest, I wait your statement, when I shall endeavour to balance the account.

But then how shall I be able to comply with your requisition, and join your society in England, when my friends leave India? Be so good as tell me what you reckon would be a competency to partake of such society in England? Suppose, for once, I really were as partial to England as you have at times thought me to India, and say what the living in the Church, or

what the annual income should be, to induce a man in such a society as this to forego India. In England, and perhaps regarding India with a prejudice unknown before to yourself, you have every ground on which to form a judgment; and there is no one on whose judgment I would, on every account, rely with such implicit confidence. . . .

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Pondicherry, December 26, 1793.

My dear Bell,

When I name cares, it would be unjust and ungrateful to fancy myself weighed down by them. On the contrary, I feel and own, with a heart full of piety and gratitude, that I have no cares that grieve, but all the enjoyment a reasonable being can well have. My wife and myself have uninterrupted health; our children are all I can possibly wish them; my affairs clearly above board; my friends tried and true; and I reckon it among my chief comforts that there is no person living to whom I bear hatred: I don't mean to say that I have no enemies, but they are so obscure, or so impotent, that I can neither fear nor hate them.

I wish, my dear Bell, it suited your convenience to wait upon us at this season. On New-year's day, I could promise you a view of almost every body here, at a dance we are to have. All are on pretty good

terms here. Christmas eve is a time of much religious performance. The young Saviour of mankind is represented in wax, after having been duly announced by the angel to the shepherds, and great numbers of young angels fly about like butterflies. On Christmas day, a handsome, young, newly-married lady undertook the charge of collecting charity for the poor at the church. It was Madame St Paul L'Aime, attended by Monsieur Capitaine Laws. She did us the honour to come in the evening with her charitable purse, and presented it to me for my offering.

I observed, that when angels came a-gathering for the poor, it was fit they should take what was proper, and accordingly opened and presented her my purse. But she declined dipping her finger into it; and the purse was referred to Mrs Floyd, who did not hesitate to "remember the poor."

You mention Dirom's having written to me. I have, however, no letter. It would please me to see the praises of the reviewers.

As much as I saw of Dirom's book, I liked in its way. It is very closely historical, and extremely detailed; and if you desire to be acquainted with the facts, what else would you wish for?

There is another sort of history, wherein much reasoning on the facts is employed; and it is always pleasant, and often instructive, to learn the opinions of sensible men. There is, again, the philosophy of history, which views the great outline only, which considers and weighs it as it affects whole nations, or the whole mass of men.

To blame any one of these species of writers, because you do not find in him what belongs to either of

the others, is not fair nor intelligent; yet I think this is often done, and probably is the very despotism of opinion of which you complain. For no blame can lay with Dirom, unless he could be detected in error.

.

Be so good as to remember me very kindly to our friend Wight. He shot by us here like a rocket. Colonel Nisbet, with all the cares, doubts, and dilemmas of the whole army on his shoulders, is, I believe, on a visit to Mr Kenworthy, at Cuddalore.

Mrs Floyd desires her best compliments to you. The little girl runs about perfectly strong and safe, except against corners of tables, which she does not allow for with any great precision. The little boy is perfectly strong and well, and sits up in his mother's arms, with a perfect, steady neck, like a sturdy fellow.

—♦—

Mr Amos to Dr Bell.

London, 27th December 1793.

My dear Sir,

.

A considerable fortune is necessary to enable an Indian with a family to enjoy that comfort in this country which he so fondly anticipates in India. Gentlemen who are possessed of small fortunes, that is to say, from ten to twenty thousand pounds, and are disposed to employ it in some business or profession; may turn it to good account, and live comfortably on its

produce; but such fortunes are inadequate to accomplish the wishes of those who would live independent. Single gentlemen may certainly be comfortable upon £500 per annum, enjoy his favourite studies or amusements, with all those comforts of society that a moderate or thinking man could wish for. But if a family is in view, double that income will be at least necessary.

I found the change from the habits, manners, and customs of society in India to those of this country wonderfully great. It will require a considerable time to be so reconciled to the change as not feelingly to regret the difference. . . .

Dr Bell to the Rev. James Rudd.

Madras, 16th February 1794.

My dear Friend,

The misfortune of your letter through the hands of Mr Calhoun was the cause of much alarm to me, as I began to fear that your mind or memory might have undergone some of those changes which are said to be more frequent under our more sultry sun. Jessy first sent some very pleasing proofs to me of Mrs Rudd's, as well as your attentions and kindnesses to her; and the books which arrived gave me some earnest of further correspondence. Mr Inglis at last proved a very welcome messenger to me, and I was made happy by a friendly letter. Your young messenger, who is a

very fine boy, is again on shore here for a few days, and is with me daily. To-morrow he spends with me, previous to his embarkation, and charges himself with this letter.

Mr Calhoun has had the sad misfortune of suffering very severely on his way hither, and has unhappily witnessed all the calamities of shipwreck, from which, however, your letter has been preserved. He was established at Mr Haliburton's, President of the Board of Revenue, an intimate friend and near neighbour of mine, and he could not have been in better quarters. He has been constantly with me since his arrival. I first presented him to the physician-general, who has given him an eligible situation at the hospital of Vellore, where he will have the advantage of acquiring the practice of the profession in this country, and an acquaintance with its disorders. On your account, I shall show him all the attentions in my power. I leave it to him to give you, through his friend Dr Cochrane, the detail of the share of his sufferings of the shipwreck. You will present me kindly to Dr Cochrane, and remember me to his sisters, who, I am glad to hear, are well, and established at Edinburgh.

Captain Dallas I made happy some time ago by uniting him to a very agreeable, pleasing woman, whom we all here liked exceedingly, and wished that she had remained at the presidency. Every addition of female beauty and goodness has its full value in these regions, where women are much fewer than we would have them. This good lady seems quite reconciled to her situation at Hyderabad, though very solitary; but is not, I fear, partial enough to India to persuade her sister to follow her hither; though a young lady so very

beautiful and accomplished as this other cousin of Mrs Rudd's, would, without any Asiatic compliment, be a great acquisition to our female society; and, in our situation, you would be Asiatic enough to entertain the same sentiments we do on such beautiful subjects. I beg my best respects to Miss Dallas. Tell her that I have seen a good deal of the three brothers, and that they all do honour to their profession as soldiers, and to themselves as men.

I am in a long arrears of pecuniary obligations to you, heightened by the odd conduct of a man who could not be tempted to touch money in the East. I have directed Jessy to pay off my long score, and beg my sincere acknowledgments for all your favours, particularly for the books you are so good as to procure for me; for these, and whatever else you have kindly advanced for me, I have made a remittance to Jessy, who will of course inform you. My other debts to you, how strong soever they are felt, cannot be so readily discharged. But be assured my memory, whatever failures of another sort it may undergo, does not fail in the faithful record of your friendship.

I expect every day to have the pleasure of hearing from you more fully, as you promise me in your last. Mr Kerr, a young preacher of Ireland, having arrived here in one of His Majesty's ships from Bombay, opened a school at Madras, but was soon appointed a chaplain to one of the regiments here, and will, in the event of the confirmation of this nomination by the Court of Directors, rank in our clerical line the fourth in the list.

Dr Bell to Major Dirom.

Madras, 18th February 1794.

My dear Friend,

It relishes me much to listen to your counsel of meeting soon, if not here, at home. Every day brings new motives to me for the latter determination. Our very wise as well as very amiable friend Mrs Cockburn, has anticipated them for me; and proposes, in her charming way, that, as my friends drop off from hence one by one, and two by two, I should think of following them; and here now goes my Wight, and leaves not his like behind. Binny, in the same ship, breaks the first link in the Ponsborne society, and a link which it were not easy to repair. Our excellent friend Cockburn will not, I believe, remain longer than this year apart from his admirable partner. Jackson, the other member, will also follow his *cara spoza*; and I shall be left alone with my young friend Alec to form a new society, which I feel less and less disposition to encounter, in a country where the object is no sooner embraced than it vanishes. I begin to think that ever so little fortune is sufficient to happiness, where one revisits early friends and those already formed, and, in some degree, independent of fortune. This being my mind, Jessy will know not to budge from her spot. But why do I say aught at this period?

During the whole of this year, our invaluable friend Wight has heard every word I have uttered to myself, and knows all that has passed in my mind during that

period; and I hereby constitute him my plenipotentiary to inform you on every point, and wish you, on the very first possible occasion, to sit down and inform me whatever is material in regard to England, of which you have now had full experience. Lay your heads together, and send me most particularly, and most fully, your instructions, when, where, and *how* I am to meet you. Let a duplicate of these instructions follow by the next ships, and particular attention to the *how* much will do. . . .

Dr Bell to George Dempster, Esq.

Madras, 20th February 1794.

My dear Sir,

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I cannot forbear again mentioning to you Captain Wight. His reputation as a soldier, as a man of talents, and what you value infinitely more, as a man, stands so high, that it were presumption in me to add my feeble voice to the universal cry. But as he is one of my earliest friends in the East, has been much with me, and is at present an inmate of this house, and as he admires with all admiration your character, I cannot refuse myself the satisfaction of making him known to you. You will be at once much pleased with his wide extended, and well digested knowledge, as well as with those qualities and that worth which have earned him a fortune without envy, which he will enjoy without

ostentation, and spend like a man truly wise and good. He has for the two last months heard every word I have uttered to myself, and knows all that passes in my mind, and can satisfy any curiosity you may entertain in regard to your very unworthy, but very ambitious *élève*. . . .

I am at present busied in making up, at the desire of Sir Charles Oakley, a complete apparatus in experimental philosophy for Tippoo Sultaun, to whom the governor is to send it, along with a boy trained at this school, who is acquainted with the use of every part of it.

The school thrives, has established itself in good company, and has given earnest of its public utility. But I must not, for the present, enter upon this favourite subject in the detail. . . .

Mr William Smith to Dr Bell.

Devanelli Fort, 8th April 1794.

Reverend Sir,

I take the liberty to inform you, that we arrived here the 28th ultimo, without any particular occurrence in the way. The day after our arrival we made our first visit to the Sultaun, and he entertained us at his court for upwards of three hours.

On the 1st instant, Captain Doveton sent me an order to open the boxes, and lay out the machines, to show them to the Sultaun. Accordingly, on the 3d, I

was sent for, and I exhibited the following experiments, viz. Head and wig, dancing images, electric stool, cotton fired, small receiver and stand, hemispheres, Archimedes's screw, syphon, Tantalus's cup, water-pump, condensing engine, &c. Captain Doveton was present, and explained, as I went on, to the Sultaun, who has given us an instance of his being acquainted with some of these experiments. He has shown us a condensing engine made by himself, which spouted water higher than ours. He desired me to teach two men, his auris-begs.

On the 7th, I was again sent for, and the following were exhibited:—Tumbler and balls; sealing-wax; twelve men shocked, among whom were several khans and vakeels; electric stool, a man of eminent rank stood, and the Sultaun applied his hand about the man to receive shocks; inflammable air fired, at which he was astonished at first, and afterwards greatly pleased; bladder burst, after which he applied his hand upon the receiver; bladder and weight; pneumatic bell; microscope; mechanical powers. At his own request the following were exhibited:—syphon, Archimedes's screw, water-pump, Tantalus's cup, and condensing engine. Captain Doveton was not present. The Sultaun walked round the instruments, and handled several apparatus. He desired me more than once to teach a man, who professed several mechanic arts, the doctrine of the syphon, Archimedes's screw, and the water-pump.

After the experiments were over, the Sultaun requested me to stay eight or ten days, and promised to send with me a couple of hircarrahs to Kistnagherry,

the place I told him where is my employment as a writer.

I am now removed into the Fort, where a very good place is provided for me and the machines. Tippoo Sultaun was pleased to present me with a hundred rupees, which, except thirty, I have delivered to Captain Doveton, in order to have it conveyed to Captain Read.

I am, reverend sir, with most sincere gratitude and respect, your very humble servant.

Mr William Smith to Dr Bell.

Kistnagherry, 4th May 1794.

Reverend Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that the letter, dated the 8th April, I wrote just after I got into the Fort of Devanelli, in order to send it with Captain Doveton; but the Sultaun's auris-begs informed me that I must wait for their master's leave, who the same evening removed to Nundydroog; and the letter continued in my hand till I arrived at Ryacottah, the 1st instant, from whence I have sent it.

I was nineteen days detained in the Fort of Devanelli, at which interval of time I taught the auris-begs every experiment that the apparatus can admit of being performed. The Sultaun was pleased to send with me

an hircarrah and two sepoy's to conduct me out of his country, whom I dismissed at Ryacottah, with a receipt from Lieutenant Macgregor, of the 4th battalion of native infantry, commanding Ryacottah.

Captain Read is at Tripatore, where I will be the 6th instant.

I am, reverend sir, with most sincere gratitude and respect, your very obedient servant.



Mr William Smith to Dr Bell.

Tripatore, 12th May 1794.

Reverend Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that I arrived here the 6th instant, and commenced writing for Captain Read, and to superintend the boys.

Of some particulars that occurred while I remained at Devanelli, after I wrote the letter dated 8th April, I now take the liberty to write you.

April 10, (two days after I was sent into the Fort,) Tippoo Sultaun sent an hircarrah, with an order to enquire if the man, appointed to learn the doctrine of the syphon, Archimedes's screw, water-pump, and condensing engine, had been taught; and to send the man with the same to Seringapatam, in order to have it made on a larger scale.

The electric machine was in the best order I ever saw at the times that the experiments were exhibited

before the Sultaun, and while those men the auris-begs were learning—it never wanted amalgam ; the weather warm. The air-pump needed nothing to be done to it ; but the apparatus has undergone some bad management by the auris-begs. The liminous conductor—the glass tube—broke close to the handle ; but it was soon repaired by means of sealing-wax, and now it answers its end. The large tumbler glass hydrostatic cylinder, and the brass cock screw of the transferer—the two former entirely broke ; the latter easily repaired.

It would, I believe, be otherwise if I were to handle those instruments. But the case was thus : the auris-begs were to perform what experiments they wanted to learn, while I, at the distance of three or four yards, was only to inform them when they were wrong.

The object I had in view before I began to make out directions how to perform experiments, was, that if the Sultaun wanted his men to be taught, I might have translated into their language. Accordingly, I asked those men if they wanted written directions ; but they answered me that they have no names to give to the apparatus, else they would set about translating it.

I am, reverend sir, with most sincere gratitude and esteem, your very humble servant.

Captain Wight to Dr Bell.

St Helena, 15th May 1794.

My dear Doctor,

We anchored here on the morning of the first instant, after a passage of ten weeks. No man-of-war for convoy, nor store-ship for supply of the island, has yet arrived from England. It is ordered that the India-men now here, sixteen in number, and two Botany Bay ships loaded at Canton for the Company, shall sail for Europe on the morning of the 20th instant. The whole will be under the direction of Captain Montgomery of the Bombay Castle. . . . We had no bad weather during our passage here. Our ship was found the best sailer in the squadron, but the dirtiest. All the Scotch passengers thought they had got to Edinburgh by a sudden transition. The utmost harmony prevailed among the passengers one and all, at the same time that the unaccountable meanness and bad conduct of the captain induced the whole of us to treat him with the most pointed marks of displeasure and contempt. . . . It was difficult to procure good lodgings in the valley; and he (Binny) and Colt chose rather to go to live in the family of a Lieutenant Seal on the other side of the island. In the history of this island there is no record that so great a number of ships ever visited it at one time as at present. Beside the sixteen Indiamen, we had as many others, Dutch, American whalers, Portuguese, Swedes, &c., as amounted to thirty-seven. Loud complaints by many of the passengers of the want of proper accommodations. For my part

nothing astonished me so much as that such an island, producing so little, could, by any contrivance whatever, make shift to accommodate so many strangers in so comfortable a manner—no store-ship from England for a twelvemonth past. The island, twenty-one miles in circumference, and the soil, for one mile inwards from the sea, unproductive even of weeds. The interior parts produce grass for a few cattle, sheep, and horses; potatoes, yams, pumpkins, and garden vegetables, but no corn of any sort; not twenty yards of level ground in the whole island except on the ridge of one long hill. At one part of the island limestone has been found. Every other part, as far as has been discovered, is composed of the lava of a volcano. The whole mass, as it would appear, has been vomited upwards, through the ocean, from the bowels of the earth, at one great eructation; for there is nowhere any appearance of a crater from the centre of the island, which is the highest point, and where all the ridges terminate. The liquid matter seems to have flowed in all directions, and so to have formed a circular mass sloping towards the sea. During the passage we were assured by the captain, and all the officers of the ship, that there was no soundings any where round the island, except at the anchorage ground opposite the town. There are soundings all around the island, and anchorage ground, and various landing-places. A person whose mind has been enlarged by intercourse with the world must consider living in this island to be living in a prison; but I do not by any means wonder at the attachment to it which prevails among the native inhabitants, who, by the by, are very numerous. They have their houses, their plantations, their gardens—are almost all connected by

intermarriage; have numerous families of beautiful children, enjoy a temperate equal climate, and seem exposed to few vicissitudes. They are respectable in their manners, free from the rudeness and insolent vulgarity so very common in Europe. Their circumstances are narrow, which makes them habitual economists. But poverty and bankruptcy seem strangers here. The governor is a civil, active, hot-headed little man. The lieutenant-governor, an old soldier, a virtuoso, and an ass. . . .

We do not forget our friends at Madras of a Saturday. The impression made on my mind at parting from you and a few others, on the evening of the 20th of February, is still so strong that I have yet hardly begun to look forward to Europe. I look back to Madras like a person who, for particular reasons, had found it expedient to be divorced from a wife he sincerely loved. Some people of our fleet loudly wish themselves again at Madras, but for reasons different from mine. They think themselves treated with less attention and respect than they think is due to them. This is common to all people who think only of their own side of the case; before a person concludes that it is the duty of his neighbour to bow first, he ought to consider the reasons that are to induce his neighbour to such a compliance. In all the circles in which I have ever lived, I have been as well treated as, in my own opinion, I had reason to expect. Perhaps, if I had expected more, I would have received less.

Mr William Smith to Dr Bell.

Tripatore, 28th May 1794.

Reverend Sir,

I most heartily thank you for this last kind favour (which I received the 20th instant) among many other very strong proofs of your attention and interest towards my welfare; and I hope I will always have it in the best of my power to deserve such.

I will, with the greatest pleasure, inform you whatever else happened during my residence in the Sultaun's country.

I can assure you that Tippoo Sultaun was mightily pleased with the electric machine and the air-pump, especially the electric machine. He was prepared for every experiment I exhibited except the firing of the inflammable air.

I was greatly surprised when he called out to those who were just preparing, hand in hand, in order to receive a shock, to stand without emotion, and that they will presently feel something suddenly pass through them; and, when it was done, he laughed much at their staring at one another without speech.

When a man stood on the stool I gave him the large metallic knob into his hand; but the Sultaun desired to take it back from him, telling me at the same time that it is of no use, and that the man's fist is sufficient.

It did cost me several minutes before the firing of the inflammable air proved successful, (having never understood, that by the point of the discharger applied to the knob of the pistol, I could more effectually discharge

it than by the knob,) during which interim he was in a very impatient emotion; and when that was done, it did indeed surprise him: he desired me to go on it three times.

I once had an occasion to apply the amalgam to the electric cylinder: he asked me if I could make the amalgam. I told him I could not make it, but that I have bought three boxes of it, which will last him a long time. About the acid he put the same question; I answered, that that phial-full I brought will be sufficient to make up almost two quart bottles full; and that, if it should be out, he could easily apply to any European doctor, who will immediately procure him some.

Mr William Smith to Dr Bell.

Tripatore, 11th June 1794.

After this the Sultaun arose (five hours being elapsed) to quit the court, and desired the present (of a hundred rupees) to be delivered into my hands, with these words—"this is given you as a present for the trouble you took in performing those experiments, which verily pleased me;" and a command that I am to stay in the fort ten days, "after which," he continued, "I will send you to Kistnagherry, with two hircarrahs, in order to conduct you safely through my country."—I returned the compliment with a salaam, in the manner I was instructed, saying, that I thankfully accept his present, and am willing to obey his commands.

Dr Bell to George Dempster.

Madras Male Asylum, 15th June 1794.

My dear Sir,

By my last letter, through my excellent friend Captain Wight, I informed you of having made up an apparatus in experimental philosophy for Sir Charles Oakley, to be presented to Tippoo Sultaun. The assortment took in a wide range in science, and left me nothing to wish in point of extent. In charge of it I sent a boy, whom I trained up in this school, and had just before bound to Captain Alexander Read, in the revenue department; and I have now the pleasure to put into your hands copies of his letters on the subject of this errand. The facts they contain will give you a better idea of the Mysore prince than any words I can employ.

I am informed, at the same time, by the most respectable authority, that when the machinery was first shown to the Sultaun, he especially admired Archimedes' screw for its simplicity, and immediately bethought himself of applying its principle to practical purposes. He seems to have had the same view in regard to the water-pump.

In his letter of thanks to the governor, for the presents sent to him, he shows the value he set upon this part of the compliment, by distinguishing the philosophical apparatus with particular notice. The sentiment he expresses at the sight of the experiments, is what never fails to arise in the breast of the observer who reflects at all. His reflection, if I recollect rightly, is to this purpose—"and the further I see into the won-

ders of nature, the more am I led to adore the Almighty God."

But what will become of science, if it should be thought to have any tendency to such doctrines as are now taught, or to lead to any practices at which humanity revolts? I tremble for the condition of man under such circumstances. . . .

Dr Bell to Major Dirom.

Madras, 15th June 1794.

My dear Friend,

I take the very first occasion which has presented itself of communicating to you my most sincere and heartfelt congratulations on your happy establishment at home.

There is no distant event in which I could so entirely share with unmixed satisfaction. On any other occasion I should have felt your subduction from your friends at Madras. But it cannot even abate of my enjoyment of your happy lot, that it reminds me of my far different state. My more and more earnest wish to participate for myself in what I am persuaded is the only solid comfort of life—a union with an amiable and sweet partner—leads my mind constantly to that fair island—the mistress of the world—where there is a fair chance, which we have not here, of forming an acquaintance with a fair one, with whom, if her consent could be obtained, a man would be happy to cast his

lot in life. On this principle turns your latest advice to me which I have received, so exactly consonant to my wishes, my feelings, and my sentiments. But I have to regret that the long letter to which you refer Cockburn—full, I hope, of yourself and your new and happy state, and anticipating such happiness for your friends—is not arrived.

The moment I heard of your new condition, I made sure of your never revisiting India more, and had, through our common and good friend Cockburn, the things in the go-down given over to public outcry.

. . . .

I have of late been upon an expedition to visit our friends, Colonel and Mrs Floyd at Trichinopoly, Colonel Maxwell at Tanjore, Mrs Nixon at Pondichery, &c. &c. &c. I could not overtake Madura, the weather being so hot; and, indeed, I am less and less reconciled to this sultry sun. I could scarce be able to hold out the argument with an appearance of earnestness with our amiable friend Mrs Cockburn, to whom I beg to be most kindly and affectionately remembered.

. . . .

Since my return from Tanjore, Colonel Maxwell has fallen a sacrifice to this climate, when he had arrived at full honours, the highest favour, and the brightest prospects, of royal patronage and advancement. His situation at Tanjore was such as afforded him ample hopes of an early return to his native country, with another great object of Oriental ambition. But such is the end of all our full-blown honours and highest ambition. . . .

Dr Bell to Captain Wight.

Madras, June 1794.

My dear Friend,

I set out the beginning of March on my southern expedition, but went no further than Trichinopoly. The weather was so hot that I was obliged to give up Madura, and return, as I went, by the sea-side. I have not derived that benefit to my health which I experienced last year in our seven pagoda expedition. Every day I see more and more reason for my following the example of my friends; and I request, at all events, that you stop the machinery I commissioned from coming hither, and let me suffer any loss that may occur. I can, in no event, now take it in hand.

Much of my time is devoted to the school; and I experience the advantage of it to the boys, who are in perfect health, and coming on better and better.

The grand jury, at the quarter-sessions, have conducted their office by a presentment, in which they blame, in the strongest language and most unqualified manner, the omission of appointing a third member of council, according to act of Parliament, and the consequent delay of holding courts of oyer and terminer. The sitting magistrate, the state of the Black Town streets, the walls without parapets, the taxes on provisions, the state of the court-house, and its insufficient accommodation, the not forwarding a recommendation to his Majesty for the pardon of a convict, have all

been severally presented; and even the Court of Appeals has not escaped their wide range.

Still confined to a hundred on the foundation, the boarders now amount to near a half more. No death has happened since the inoculation the beginning of last year; and, for many months, not a boy is absent from his place in the school.

But I must learn to wean myself from such pleasing visions. I find my constitution less and less able to resist this sultry sun, and have suffered, during the former and present seasons, what seems a warning to me to make trial of a colder climate. . . .

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

8th July 1794.

My dear Doctor Bell,

It is long that I have been indebted to you for an interesting letter, as all yours are, and for some very curious anecdotes of Tippoo, by Mr William Smith, which show the said Tippoo to be, what I believed before, a man of genius, and further, what I did not know, a man of information.

I think you might, without offending any one, put a little money into this deserving young man's pocket, by letting him publish a narrative of his journey to the Durbar of Tippoo, then encamped at Deonelly, in attendance on the commission sent to restore the Sultaun's hostage sons to their father, &c. &c.

He would, perhaps, have occasion for a slight assis-

tance in methodizing, and an introductory page might inform us who the author is. .

A subscription might be necessary to defray the expense of printing; but a great many copies might, without any risk, be sent to Calcutta for sale, and be advertised for disposal here.

Captain Wight to Dr Bell.

London, 20th August 1794.

My dear Friend,

When at St Helena I wrote to you, and I hope you received the letter. Our voyage became tedious, and we were all desirous of being put ashore any where in the British dominions. Our being put ashore at Galway afforded us an opportunity of traversing Ireland, a circumstance to me new and highly pleasing. Our fleet was taken for French on its appearance off Galway; and, after our landing, the lower order of people gave us the most unequivocal proofs that, had it been so, they would have risen to plunder the country, and co-operate with the enemy. This did not appear to proceed from any liking to the French, or disliking to their own government, but purely from a liking in the poor to plunder the rich.

The gentry, yeomanry, and people of property, throughout the three kingdoms, are now all armed in support of the constitution; and so great is the stake, and so imminent the danger to which it was exposed

by the schemes of the republicans, that there is little doubt of a hearty co-operation should it be necessary to act. The levelling scheme, however, seems abundantly discredited—for the present suppressed. Matters were ripest in Scotland for an insurrection; but the well-timed convictions of Muir, Palmer, and Skirving, intimidated their associates throughout the three kingdoms.

Mr William Smith to Dr Bell.

Pillanary, 10th Sept. 1794.

Reverend Sir,

My reply to your enquiry, whether I was offered to be detained in the Sultaun's realms, is, that it was Gollam Ally Khan; and his Ars-beg asked whether I would stay, in case the watchmaker sent by the Nabob, (whom I have mentioned in my former narrative,) was reluctant to be taught how to perform the experiments. To which I did not consent, on account of my having experienced several repeated instances of their rough treatment of my dress and behaviour—that Englishmen are disagreeable images to the Sultaun's sight, and, what more to be observed is, my being a stranger to every one and to the language there.

I could never complain of the place provided for me in the garrison of Devanelli; but what I take a great deal to heart is, my being guarded all round with

sepoys—not even allowing me to walk out any part of the day during the whole nineteen. A guard followed my boy whenever he went to market; and, to show the character of the country, no rice is to be had, which would be the best diet I could have had. I was obliged to live upon raggy, or Achinee flour baked into cake, which made a very coarse meal.

These circumstances I once thought would have been the last to be required of by you, and were almost fallen into oblivion, and would have been quite forgotten had you not reminded me in your last epistle. . . .

Dr Bell to Major Dirom.

Madras, 26th September 1794.

My dear Friend,

.

My school is now almost established to my wish, and elevated high above the conceptions of those who have formerly marked the characters of children educated in this country. In addition to many individual donations, we are about to receive from the prize-agents a sum of 8000 or 10,000 pagodas, for which we are greatly indebted to our friend Wight. I must think of weaning myself from this favourite object. Beside the deep interest I take in the welfare and success of this seminary, there are several personal considerations which would induce me to wait the event of another year, if my health would permit; but to this grand

consideration every other must yield. Under my present impressions, I would have you instantly, on the receipt of this, to write to Wight to stop my commissions, in any stage, and at any risk, as my health will not admit of my wonted exertions.

I now look forward with new anxiety to the period when I may revisit my European friends. I long much to be made acquainted with your amiable and accomplished partner, to whom I beg you will commend me more and more, with every good wish. . . .

Mr Dempster invites me to his Chunam parlour, which he is constructing in an addition to his house at Dunnichen; and I have a very strong wish again to be his guest. . . .



Dr Bell to George Kelly, Esq.

Madras, 26th September 1794.

Dear Sir,

Your son Alec, who is a charming youth, left with me the accompanying letter, when the Centurion went on a cruize, said to be off the Mauritius. His captain knows his value, and promised him promotion in his present line; while he refused this discharge, that he might accept of the offer I had for him in the king's army. He has also an assurance of being left in India, when the ship returns to Europe; and I trust that the appointment now in my hands from the court of directors, sent out by Colonel Henderson,

will obtain his immediate discharge on his return hither. It is the very appointment I should have wished for him, if I had my wish. I am impatient to deliver it into his hands. You will direct to him at Calcutta; and, if you please, to the care of any of your friends there.

May his success equal your warmest expectations. Merit like his never goes unrewarded in this country. I beg my best compliments to Mrs Kelly and family. Be so good as remember me to all my dear parishioners, and their good pastor, Mr Fenwick.

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

October 4, 1794.

My dear Bell,

I believe I mentioned to you the loss I have sustained in my dear Lord Pembroke—the greatest I can experience in this world. I loved him with a tenderness not to be expressed. Ever since I was eleven years old, he has been to me as the most affectionate of fathers. My great view in wishing to return to England—the great reward I looked for, if my conduct, since last I saw him, has been in any degree praiseworthy, was to be pressed to his bosom—to hear the sweet sound of his approving voice.

This loss has much unhinged me. I know many particulars of his death from casual correspondents; but, by some accident I cannot account for, I have no

letter from any one of his family, or from any common friend of his and mine, since his death. There must have been something written to me, I am certain; but I have received nothing. I have a most friendly letter from Lady Pembroke; but it was dated just before my dear lord was taken ill. . . .

My little girl is the mildest and sweetest-tempered child I ever knew: she is of great use to me. Her innocence recalls my wandering mind from unpleasant thoughts, and I look upon her sweetness with delight. She is the most affectionate little creature that can be imagined. Her brother is evidently of a more disturbed temper; but vastly engaging when in good-humour, and promises, I think, to be handsome. . . .

Boyd's accident and misfortunes grieve me. He is, however, very culpable in having wasted his opportunities and his admirable talents; but to die of a broken heart is surely the worst of all deaths. I hope, but I do not know how it may be done, Boyd may yet recover his arms and his respectability. . . .



Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Trichinopoly, December 3, 1794.

My dear Bell,

No Madras tappal has arrived here since Sunday last; and it is now Wednesday, past mid-day, and I cannot account for this unusual delay, except some accident to the tappal carrier.

Abercrombie's victory over Golaum Mahomet, Rajah of Rampore and of the Rohilla's, appears to have been complete and decisive. I have a letter from Auchmuty, dated beyond Rampore, 31st October, in which he says—"We are in pursuit of Golaum Mahomet, who, we hear, has fled to the mountains." These Rohillas appear to have been more in earnest than any people we have had to do with.

We have a conjecture that some operation is to take place against the Ramnad Rajah, who is a despotic, high-minded man; and, in answer to a letter from Government, requiring him to wait on our collector Pony, he flatly said—"He would not." I should not wonder if this man had intercepted the tappal for intelligence.

About three weeks ago, the tappal man, between Tanjore and this place, was bit by a snake, and died immediately. . . .

I observed in the *Courier*, of the 21st ult., a most insidious and malicious attempt to blast the memory of poor Boyd, certainly drawn with a wicked design by some contemptible character, jealous of the superior talents and universal knowledge of our deceased friend. In his grave let us bury his faults. Alas! who is without them; and let us remember his social and amiable qualities, his unbounded good temper, his extensive and bright abilities. Alas, poor Boyd!

I truly marvel at your abstract account of Harvey's strange conduct, and observe you have ascertained the source of it. The author must be some contemptible scoundrel, if it was purposely contrived.

I am ashamed of all the trouble I give you on a variety of occasions, particularly about the timepieces.

Such an instrument as you speak of is very valuable ; and, as you took the trouble to procure it purposely for me, I shall be glad to receive it. Pray, would it be practicable to procure a good clock for the church at Trichinopoly to strike on a loud bell ? and would it be expensive ?

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Trichinopoly, December 7, 1794.

My dear Bell,

Your account of Auchmuty's narrative of cavalry movements, leaving wings exposed to attack, is exceedingly curious and interesting, and may, perhaps, be considered as accounting for the great loss of men, which seems also to have been very partial. There is an obscurity in the relation of the action, and of the loss, which I considered, at first sight of the *Calcutta Gazette*, as studied. I suppose we shall have the whole of it, at least, bit by bit.

There appears to be reason for thinking that the Company's cavalry in Bengal has never been well methodized ; but it is practicable, no doubt, and I should think it easy to point out the means, and to execute it. I dare say the men have courage enough ; but I conceive that troops, either horse or foot, may be rendered timid by imperfect and ignorant attempts to establish a regular system. The men perceive, instead of system, which always gives confidence, nothing but

uncertainty, and imagine that the slightest derangement of the curious order spoils and ruins the whole fabric, and thus entire confusion ensues.

When I was in Russia they began to enregiment and discipline the Cossacks, and it was thought that for the present they were entirely spoiled.

I think your military friend and critic is very courageous in giving an opinion of the order of battle, without having very full information indeed, not only of the situation of the troops, but of the particular surface of the ground.

The situation *en potence* was, no doubt, intended to obviate the inconvenience of being outflanked. To disciplined troops it is perfectly easy, thus situated, to move an army, if the surface admits, in any direction. Dallas can easily show you how; but to move a large corps, or a little army, in this *potence* situation, is the most likely thing in the world to break, and to throw into utter confusion, undisciplined or awkward troops, even where no enemy is at hand. But we are apt to abuse the poor men, when the error lies wholly with the officers, or rather with the superior officers. Persons versed in the detail should be employed to instruct; and a rational system of tactics will be found much more simple than the figure of the very plainest country dance through which everybody can hobble. But genius alone will not suffice: you must acquire rudiments from those who have gone before in the art or science of tactics, just as in any other art or science. The rudiments once established, it belongs to genius to apply them advantageously, and events improve upon them, and so transmit the science to your successor in a better state than you had found it.

Excuse me, my dear Bell—people will sometimes mount the hobby. . . .

A. Ross, Esq., to Dr Bell.

Madras, 28th Jan. 1795.

Dear Sir,

When I got to Dr Anderson's this morning I met Dr Berry, on his way to visit his last inoculated patients—the four children of Mr Chace; and taking an opportunity at breakfast to ask Mr Ponton of the hopes of success with these and other children that are under the operation, something was said of discouraging appearances in some of them, which drew the head doctor's attention, and gave him occasion to say, with an emphasis, that more pains was taken than was necessary, and indeed injudiciously, in preparing children, as it is called, by reducing their diet and otherwise so much that it generally did more harm than good; and sometimes, perhaps, often tended to defeat the purpose for which it was adopted, by depriving the patient of that stamina and degree of strength which is far more likely to receive and support the infection, with the intended effect, than where those means are rendered defective by too solicitous a precaution.

You will naturally suppose that my meaning, in troubling you with this note, is, that it may not be amiss if you take the earliest occasion to make the doctor's sensible opinion known to Dr Baillie, who may,

if he pleases, go and speak of it to the doctor himself, for the sake of our own and Mr Leslie's boys; and it would, I think, be agreeable to you also to hear the doctor's sentiments on so important and curious a subject.

Andrew Ross, Esq., to Dr Bell.

Thursday, 11 A.M., 29th Jan. 1795.

Dear Sir,

You will naturally suppose that it was from the favourable opinion which I had formed, of what Dr Anderson had suggested, on the subject of preparation in the practice of inoculation, that I gave you the communication, and, under that impression, I took a copy of it. Your answer added so much to my satisfaction that I determined to show them both to the doctor, and to that purpose I carried them out with me this morning, with the intention of going to him; but seeing, as I passed Mr Charles White's, that he was come from the Red Hills, (where he has taken refuge for his boy from the infection of the Orphan House,) I stayed breakfast with him, and determined to go to the doctor as soon as it was over; but, lest he should go out before I reached him, I thought it best to send him the two papers, that he might have sufficient time to peruse them, and wrote a note with them, saying, that I would come to him to talk upon the subject after I should have breakfasted, which I did; and he told me that he

had desired Dr Ponton (who was with him) to send them to Dr Baillie, with a note, intimating that he saw it proper that he (Dr B.) should be acquainted with the opinions they conveyed. By this means I am deprived of what you have said, (which I regret;) and if I can suppose that you took a copy of it, (though I hardly do,) I shall be much obliged to you for a transcript, and as you can easily get one made of my note to you, I beg the favour of you to do so at your leisure, and to send it to me.

A. Ross, Esq., to Dr Bell.

Thursday, 5 P.M., 29th January 1795.

Dear Sir,

You will, then, take the trouble to put upon paper the sense and substance of what you said to me, and, as far as you can recollect them, the very words; and the sooner you do this the more it will be to your own satisfaction, whilst the matter is fresh in your memory. I need not say that no part of the process of inoculation is more important, interesting, and curious, than that which we allude to, and, therefore, deserving the best attention, and more especially with such an authority as Dr Anderson on our side. I do not conceive that the day of examination can take place till the inoculation is over, and then Lord Hobart, who is a great advocate for it, will see the boys with far greater satisfaction.

Dr Bell to Dr Rudd.

Madras, 20th February 1795.

My dear Sir,

Most of my earliest friends in this country have already left it; and many of those of a later growth have followed them; and I find myself too old, or too much vexed with such frequent losses, to be able to enter with the same warmth of attachment into new friendships, where there is almost a certainty of being so soon torn from them, or they from you. I look back with unabated ardour to my friends I left behind me, and forward to those who have gone before me. . . .

George Dempster to Dr Bell.

Skibo, Tain, N. Britain,
April 6, 1795.

My dear Sir,

I have duly received your several favours of this season, and your large communication respecting Tip-poo. I do not know whether most to admire his profound knowledge in natural philosophy, or his boundless generosity towards its professors. I have no doubt that, under the auspices of so enlightened and generous a sovereign, arts and sciences will flourish through his extensive dominions; and more especially as, I presume, an entire liberty of speech and freedom of the

press reigns from one corner of it to the other. His gratuity to your young student reminded me of a present of the same kind made to a Dr Mackenzie by a Turkish bashaw of three tails, whom he recovered from a mortal distemper. After keeping him till the doctor would stay no longer, he pulled a wizard apple out of his bosom, and presented it to the doctor. But what was singular, the whole courtiers at the post congratulated the doctor, and envied him so noble a mark of the bashaw's gratitude.

I am persuaded your school will be attended with the most beneficial effects on the inhabitants of the Carnatic. But I am always in a puzzle about any institution that tends to enlighten the minds of a people who must be governed by a handful of strangers, lest one of the first uses they made of their improved understandings, should be a discovery of the preposterousness of such a government, and the next a plan to get rid of it. . . .

Dr Bell to George Dempster, Esq.

Madras, 22d April 1795.

My honoured Patron and Friend,

I have the utmost satisfaction in your most welcome communications, and feel a double interest in my shipmate, young Anderson, when he comes to me under your wings. My late communications with him, and before with Captain Orrock, fill my mind

with a new earnestness to revisit Dunnichen, and follow the opinion and advice of my good captain, who, I hope, is with you, or near you, along with his amiable partner and charming boy.

My school has almost reached the summit of my expectations; and I have the pleasing sight of a youth of eleven years of age, with his little assistants under him, teaching upwards of fifty boys, about a third of our whole number, with a degree of attention and success of which grown men seem incapable in this sultry climate. The higher part of this school is also in such a train, that I think it more than time I had given over my charge to younger hands, for more zealous will never be found. I look upon it as my own bantling. It is a reflection I shall carry with me, that it has been my occupation for six years to rear this favourite infant beyond the dangers of infancy.

Its funds have grown with its condition, and have doubled themselves of late years, having, from last year to this, risen from 18,000 to 37,000 pagodas. . . .

Colonel Floyd to Dr Bell.

Trichinopoly, May 7, 1795.

My dear Dr Bell,

.

I have a letter from the Nizam camp, near Hyderabad, of the 23d April, from which it appears, that the Nizam ordered our detachment away before

he could have received the concurrence of our government. It was imagined to be a preliminary but private stipulation of the Mahrattas, that our detachment should be immediately dismissed. It is fair to conjecture, from the ignorance of our residents as to the specific articles of the treaty, that they are not favourable to us.

My letter mentions that the delivery of the minister Mooshir Ul Mulk, was the first preliminary demand of the Peishwa. It adds, that this was concealed from the minister who was sent by the Nizam as a mediator of peace, with an honourable escort. As soon as the Mahrattas had made their arrangements, the minister was informed that he was prisoner. What infamous scoundrels there are in the world!

Several other particulars are stated, most of which we have heard before; and the newspaper accounts are said to be very tolerably correct. It is affirmed that De Beynes's corps and his own abilities have been greatly overrated.

I think, upon the whole, that the Mahrattas have extended views, and probably have engaged the Nizam to a very close alliance, with a view to assert claims on us, and Tippoo, &c., and at length to dismiss the Moslems altogether. The Bramins, I am informed, every where inculcate the opinion that the Hindoo sovereignty of India is about to be restored; and we all know that predictions sometimes tend to their own accomplishment.

How fortunate it was, and how happy you must feel, at having saved from execution a guiltless man! Macauley told me he was with Lord Hobart at the race ground when the communication was made, and he

speaks of his lordship's great anxiety on the occasion. He mentions a strange circumstance of the man condemned, that, on being arraigned, he said he was guilty of murder. The *alibi* certainly clears him of the murder in question ; but if the man said what is alleged, I suppose he murdered somebody else. . . .

The Bishop of Delicta, and three other missionaries, dined here yesterday—one of them, Father Fabri, said to be a man of science and ability. I visited them this day. He refused apartments in my house in the Fort, and lives in a very wretched hovel. The self-denial and mortifications of these missionaries are really astonishing. Their reward is not in this world. I am partial to this bishop, and am pleased with the modesty and good sense of the missionaries in general. I am not intimate enough with Fabri, or if I was, I am not sufficiently informed to judge of his science. He appears an acute, mild man—all of them emaciated with their labours and way of life. The bishop told me there required infinite management to conduct their flock—very subject to disputes and quarrels among themselves. It seems the black Christians do not lay aside many of their Indian customs, which the missionaries are obliged to admit. The distinction of castes is strictly observed, and they have separate stations allotted at the church, which is cut open into divisions for the purpose. The bishop and his missionaries all speak Malabar. He has made a tour through our newly acquired country, and wanted to go into the Mysore ; but was not permitted.

Lieutenant Page to Dr Bell.

Fort, July 12, 1795.

Sir,

Understanding that a boy of your school, by name Charles Main, is desirous of going to sea, I am authorized by the commodore to say, he will be received on board his Majesty's ship Suffolk, and provided with the customary allowances of a servant, kept to his writing, &c., and have every opportunity given him to learn the duties of a seaman and navigation, and be promoted according to his merit.

I am clearly of opinion that our boys cannot be more usefully disposed, either as it relates to the public or themselves; nor can I conceive any indenture necessary in such cases. I would only have it understood, that, if it becomes necessary to discharge or set the boy on shore again, before he is of an age to provide for himself, then, in that case, he should be returned to the Asylum again.

(Signed) A. Ross.

I think the provision is precarious, as a conclusion of the war might throw the boy on the world destitute, before he knows sufficient of a profession to procure a livelihood.

Dr Bell to Rev. Dr Fenwick.

Madras, 27th July 1795.

Dear Sir,

It has often been my wish to acknowledge the kind assistance I received at your hands in my parochial duties at Leith, and to enter into a correspondence, in which I feel a double interest from the charge you now hold of a congregation, for which I shall ever retain the most sincere regard. But, from much employment, and a difficulty in the first breaking of the ice of your frozen regions, I had delayed this office till I began to hope I should be able to repay the one in kind, and to revisit the other in person. Near, however, as this prospect now seems to be, I am sorry to have occasion, in the mean time, to break in upon you at this period; and I wish I had not such an apology as I am now to offer for doing so.

Mr Alexander Kellie, the son of your good parishioner Mrs Kellie, was again with me some days, on his passage from Bombay to Bengal. At Bombay he had received an account of his appointment on the Bengal establishment; and having gotten his discharge from the Centurion, embarked in the Borlum, Captain Inns. While here I put his appointment into his hands, and gave him letters for Calcutta; and with his education, his disposition, his gentle and pleasing manners, his modest deportment, and his virtuous disposition, I entertained the warmest expectations of his success. But these hopes were soon blasted, and he was doomed to

be cut off before he began his career in the company's service. The *Borlum* was lost in the mouth of the river Hoogly, and the captain, and most of the crew and the passengers, perished.

As I had anticipated the happiness Mr and Mrs Kellie would derive from the accounts they would receive from every quarter of this excellent youth, who was beloved wherever he went, and who had raised such expectations in all who had conversed with him, I now feel the more sensibly the shock which this melancholy event must give to his afflicted parents, the family, and friends.

I share too deeply in their grief to offer any other consolation than the most heartfelt sympathy with their sufferings. But, ignorant as we are of our future destiny in this world, and instructed that no man should be called happy before his death, we may safely pronounce this a happy youth, who, while his heart was yet untainted with any vice, and his mind deeply impressed with every moral sentiment and religious principle, is removed from a world, in which virtuous practices and principles are not always to be found, and placed in a secure haven, where we may hope to go to him, but he cannot come to us.

May God Almighty support his parents, and bless to them this his severe chastisement !

Dr Bell to Colonel Dirom.

Madras, 1st August 1795.

My dear Friend,

From what you now write, I readily anticipate the statement of your long expected letters, to which you refer me on the subject of European economy; and I hold myself bound to follow your advice, and gratify my own inclinations. For the present, there still stand in the way the daily hopes of the termination of the war; and the anticipations of the projected arrangements, of which we have anterior copies, both as to the army and the funds, in which you, as well as myself, are interested.

The public funds, too, which, during the administration of Sir Charles Oakley and the kists of Tippoo Sultan, were superabundant, furnished no good mode of remittance. But it is probable that the state of the public finances will soon require such supplies as may lead to drafts on England; and there is also some chance that the expected arrangements of the new consolidated fund will present a more favourable remittance than has occurred for some time past. In either event, the delay of your remittance, which, in the mean time, you have cause to regret, will, in the end, prove beneficial to you. I have shown your paragraph on this subject to our friend Cockburn, who will not fail in observing your instructions, and embracing the earliest opportunity of a good remittance.

These obstacles still in our way, we have had reason

to expect, year after year, would be removed—the war—the long promised adjustment of the consolidated fund, and the projected arrangements of the army, and the expected opportunity of remittance. But I am very unwilling that any considerations of such a sort should interfere with my design for another season, when, if it shall please Almighty God, I hope to witness your agricultural pursuits; and I rejoice exceedingly in your having given your time and mind to this innocent, pleasurable, wholesome, and rational occupation, instead of the perpetual noise and dissipation, extravagance and folly of town, (the great metropolis,) ruinous to the peace and welfare of so many Indians.

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Is there any landed estate in your neighbourhood, or any good neighbourhood, with a decent house and accommodation, to be purchased for £5000 or £6000, or so? or any piece of land that would produce four per cent, after every deduction?

Dr Bell to Lieutenant-Colonel Dirom.

Madras, 1st October 1795.

My dear Friend,

.
Such rich favours as it has graciously pleased a good Providence to bestow upon you, if enjoyed, as I am sure you enjoy them in your united hearts and congenial minds, with habitual gratitude and humble

thankfulness to the Supreme Governor of the Universe, the giver of every good and perfect gift. Human life can boast of no higher gratification. To the wise and the virtuous it belongs to unite in their minds what, in themselves, are essentially separate—to concentrate, as it were, into a focus, the scattered sunbeams of the three periods which compose the life of man—the past, the present, and the future—to collect, by anticipation and reflection, what can never unite of themselves, though the latter are perpetually changing places with the former. Of this view of the entire mass is our happiness, as social, and moral, and rational creatures composed. To enjoy the present, so as to afford a source of self-complacence when it is past, and to contemplate the future, so as to add to the relish of the present, seems to me the only secret of giving untainted and entire enjoyment to this life, exalted to the highest pitch by the unspeakably nobler prospect of a felicity that knows no bounds but those of eternity, in which, as would appear, the past, the present, and the future are, as it were, inseparably blended for ever. May this sum of human felicity long and ever be yours !

To quit the language of the pulpit, and to speak as an arithmetician. Let us call the happiness of an individual bachelor in the present good things of life as one. Then, *cæteris paribus*, I would reckon that of a married man as rising in geometrical progression, as twice two, or four ; add children, and we may fairly double this number, and count eight ; and bringing into our reckoning the past and the future, as well as the present, and we calculate this at the rate of three to one, and have twenty for the sum of human felicity, which may it long and ever be yours.

Dr Bell to W. H. Toriano, Esq.

Madras, 21st October 1795.

My dear and good Sir,

As I this morning heard of the melancholy event which had taken one of the best women I have ever known from one of the best men I have ever known, I went to attend your two sons at their house. I found them in great affliction, and so deeply sensible of the irretrievable loss, which you, and they, and the family had sustained, that I fear they will scarce be able to write themselves. They were both lying down, and could not speak a word for a quarter of an hour after I went in; and I could scarce speak to them, knowing, as I so well do, the reason they had to grieve, and sharing, as I do, in their grief, I could indeed say but little. I advised them not to yield more than they could help to grief, to comfort one another as well as they could. That though their loss was never to be repaired, and was such as few others could sustain—for how few can boast of such a mother?—yet that, in proportion to its greatness, it had its consolations. For if their mother was equally valuable and dear to her family, and exemplary to the world, as a good wife, a good parent, a good woman, and a pious Christian, we have, on that very account, reason to entertain just confidence and joy, that her happy lot is placed far beyond the sufferings and miseries of this uncertain and unsatisfactory state. It is our duty to her memory to console ourselves on her account, and to look forward to the period when, if we follow her good example, we

shall receive her reward, and meet her again in those happy regions, where pain and sorrow are no more, and where all tears shall be wiped from our eyes for ever.

To you, my dear friend, I can presume to say nothing. You best know the invaluable worth of her who is gone. You best know the consolation she was wont to afford on former losses and sufferings; and you will feel some part of that consolation which her sympathy with your distress would, had it been possible, have administered to you. I pray that Almighty God may support you under this severe trial, with which he, in the unsearchable wisdom of his providence, has seen fit to afflict you, and that your Christian resignation may not forsake you on this occasion. It will be Mrs Norris's study to console you, and your endeavour to console her will be of service to yourself. You will reflect that it is for yourselves and your families only that you have reason to grieve; and you will exert yourselves to relieve, as far as you can, your grief by returning, as soon as you can, to your usual occupations. Your family now has a double dependence on the remaining parent. May God bless you, and sanctify to you this his severe dispensation! and may you long live to be a comfort and support to your family, and they to your declining years!

If in any thing I can, in any way, serve you or your family, have the kindness to command me, and believe me ever, with the most unfeigned regard and affection, &c.

*Translation of a Letter from Sir John Shore, Bart., to his
Highness the Nabob Omdut-ul Qmrah Behauder.*

Dated 20th Oct.—Received 12th Nov.—1795.

I have been informed by Lord Hobart, that your venerable father, my late much-respected friend, has, according to the will of the Almighty, quitted this transitory state, and undertaken that journey which no mortal can evade.

When I reflect on the intercourse of unfeigned concord and amity which so long obtained between your departed parent and this government, I am at a loss for words to communicate the sensations which I feel. In the language of condolence,

Hemistich!

On this mournful occasion, my eyes overflow with tears, and my heart is pierced with anguish.

Since it is known to the more enlightened part of mankind, that the Divine Architect of the creation has erected the baseless fabric of sublunary existence on the water of the never-ceasing current of Time—that it is permitted to no mortal to remain long in this world of care—that the life of man is as frail and fugitive as the decrees of fate are inexorable and sure—impatience and affliction, therefore, on events like this, is a sin against Providence, and there is no other remedy for grief but resignation.

I make no doubt, then, that your highness will, on this melancholy occasion, derive that consolation which

an affiance and acquiescence in the will and dispensations of Providence so fully affords; nay, I hope you will diffuse comfort and peace among other mourners.

I beg your highness will believe that my friendship and attachment to you is greater, if possible, than it was even to your revered father.

I request to be favoured with frequent accounts of your highness's health, for this will contribute to my happiness. What more?

A true Translation.

(Signed) A. FALCONER,
Pn. Tr.

Cornet M^c Gill to Dr Bell.

Arcot, December 7, 1795.

My dear Doctor,

You must have heard of the terrible storm we had here upon the 29th, and of the losses sustained by every one of us. It began to blow a violent gale about two in the morning of the 29th, accompanied with a heavy fall of rain, and continued to increase until three in the afternoon, when it blew a perfect hurricane, and levelled every house in the cantonment with the ground, except the commanding-officer's, which was a good deal shattered. Captain Forrin and four other officers being driven away from their own houses, went to take shelter in a bungalow belonging to Major Younge,

thinking it secure ; but they had not remained there long before they were completely surrounded with water on all sides, and the house began to fill fast ; upon seeing which, they immediately ascended the top, which, from the violence of the rain and wind, soon gave away, together with the veranda. There being now no hope of relief left, they began to prepare rafts, in which they were employed during most part of the night up to their middles in water ; but Providence being always kind, the morning began to appear, and the storm to subside ; for if it had continued one hour longer, these unfortunate men must have perished, while a number of their brother officers were spectators, and had no possible means of sending them any kind of relief—a scene which I hope never to see again.

The whole of us have lost our houses, together with our little all. Captain Dallas has suffered severely ; an elegant house, which he had just built, was completely carried away, with a great part of his plate. His loss cannot be estimated at less than 5000 pagodas. Mrs Dallas has suffered nothing from the fright.

Language cannot possibly convey to you any idea of our sufferings ; and this, from being one of the most beautiful spots in India, is now a perfect desert. We have applied to government for relief, which I hope they will give us. If they do not, I know not what we are to do. . . .

Professor Hugh Cleghorn to Dr Bell.

Ramanad, 26th December 1795.

My dear Sir,

I remained with Colonel Floyd three days, but these were so entirely taken up with the object which led me to Trichinopoly, that I had not a moment to dedicate to private friendship, otherwise I should not have failed in writing to you. I found Colonel de Muron before me, and our meeting was productive of all the advantages I expected, or could possibly desire. Captain Mackenzie is now fully instructed in every particular which can facilitate the object of his enterprise, and I have obtained much useful and well detailed observations on the produce of Ceylon, its government, and resources. I find that about £80,000 of paper money has been issued by the government of Columbo, and that this currency constitutes at present almost the only money of the market. The guarantee of this money will naturally be proposed as one of the first articles of capitulation. I have stated, at great length, my opinion on this subject, and I think, if the government of Madras has any doubt, the subject should be referred to his Majesty's ministers. In a national point of view, the sum in question is inconsiderable. The refusing to guarantee it, by involving the property of many individuals, may lead to an obstinate resistance, protract the siege, and, in the end, cost more expense than can be entailed upon the island by the funding of its debt. But the national debt of the island may be the means

of securing to us the fidelity of the present inhabitants ; if we guarantee their paper currency, they will become interested in the permanence and security of our government, upon which alone the realization of their property must ultimately depend. But as no regulations at Madras can give perfect security in Ceylon till a peace declares whether it is henceforth to constitute a part of our empire, such a proposition for funding their government paper, instead of meeting with a direct refusal, might, with prudence, be referred to the government at home. If my representations can have any influence there, I shall zealously and conscientiously support the guarantee ; for I never could understand the doctrine which would separate the interest of the governors from the prosperity of the governed. This, however, is entirely between ourselves. . . .

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• *General Floyd to Dr Bell.*

Trichinopoly, January 12, 1796.

My dear Dr Bell,

I am ashamed of not having thanked you for your kind and friendly letter of New-Year's day. That is, I omitted to write it, but thanked you in my heart, and cordially wished you many and happy years.

Your favour of the 8th, this morning received, is a little enigmatical. But I will endeavour to understand it. The fault is probably in my conception. There can be no doubt in the world in your having my entire

consent for becoming chaplain to the regiment. Day, most likely, bought it of the colonel of the regiment, Sir William Home, such being the custom of the army. Thus Day may sell it; and Sir William Home must approve and recommend; so that it remains with you to judge how far this transaction is worth your while.

The chaplain and the acting chaplain cannot both be in England. The latter must be within reach of serving with the corps, that is to say in India, so long as the regiment is on the establishment of India.

In the event of your returning to England I have no engagement on my hands, and shall very willingly receive a proposal from you of a successor as acting chaplain; and it is very great odds indeed, but I accept and recommend the person. I should be unwilling it were —.

Thus, my dear Bell, you must tell me plainly, and in direct terms, your wishes, in the full assurance of my desire to accommodate you. •

You have omitted to enclose a letter you speak of, which, it should seem, would explain further.

I must relate to you that Malcolm retrenches your half batta since the regiment has been at this station, until the pleasure of government be known. I have answered the article this day by stating that you are absent on duty, being in charge of a public establishment, under the orders of government, and by enquiring who is to demand the will of government; you may follow up this hint and get it settled.

The winding up of affairs is a serious concern, and it behoves every man of common sense to look to it. You will certainly marry in a very short time after you reach home: and I trust that you have already, in some

degree, made provision for this purpose ; yet I am sensible that India is but a very indifferent school for economy.

I thank you very kindly for your care about the boys of the regiment.

Professor Hugh Cleghorn to Dr Bell.

Columbo, 17th February 1796.

My dear Sir,

I am, at this moment, almost decided to return to Britain by land, and I shall probably set off for Suez this evening. The public interest, as well as my own, requires that I should get to England without loss of time. I can present myself with confidence to government, for every occurrence has contributed to facilitate the object committed to my care, and to verify the details which I have sent home. The public measures which I wish to be adopted are more likely to be attended to when enforced in the moment of success, and my private views will more probably be gratified by returning with the accounts of the favourable accomplishment of my mission. I was, by accident, in the heat of the skirmish on the morning of the 13th, but, though many bullets passed near me, my name will not have the honour of appearing in the *Gazette*. I escaped the Malays as they were running into my quarters.

Professor Hugh Cleghorn to Dr Bell.

Camp, Negombo, 7th February 1796.

My dear Sir,

We are preparing to march to Columbo. There is no apprehension of resistance in the march, unless the Dutch dispute the pass of Pospital, within less than a league of Columbo. I hope, even there, a very serious defence is not to be dreaded. Much will depend on the articles of capitulation which we may be disposed to grant. I have been very busy since I arrived in the island, and think I have gained much useful information. I remain with the army, a member of Colonel Stuart's family, till Columbo falls. I am inclined to think that the public service will then require my return to England, without, perhaps, visiting my friends at Madras. . . .

Professor Hugh Cleghorn to Dr Bell.

Cairo, 27th April 1796.

My dear Friend,

I arrived here yesterday, and leave it to-morrow, having already secured a passage in a neutral ship for Venice. Unfortunately I cannot touch at Alexandria,

as the plague rages, and has raged there for three months past, with a destructive malignity hardly ever known before. Cairo has hitherto escaped; but the villages on the banks of the Nile through which I must pass, are attacked, and I must use every precaution to guard against it which experience has pointed out, or which prudence can suggest. I have had letters from Mr Baldwin, our consul at Alexandria, describing the ravages to which that city has so long been exposed, and advising me to anoint my body with oil as a certain antidote against the infection. My ignorance of this scourge of the human race, and the multitude of important objects which now press on my mind, prevent me from being much alarmed, and I am somewhat of opinion that fear often produces the diseases which we are most anxious to avoid.

There are no accounts from Europe in this country later than the end of February, and these probably will be better known at Madras than here, when this letter comes to hand. It is said the French have been beaten by the Austrians, that Pichegru has retired under the walls of Luxemburg, and Jourdan under those of Dusseldorf; that each party has suffered by bloody attacks, and that a suspension of arms, without limitation, has been agreed upon; hostilities not to commence without ten days' notice. In France the assignats are depreciated to nothing—8000 livres sell for a locier.

In England a party are carrying their sedition to immediate attacks on the king's person; and, at different times, stones have been thrown at his Majesty as he passed in his carriage. Parliament have been forced to make a law preventing meetings of more than twelve persons in one place (I suppose the church excepted).

under the severest penalties. The general election took place in February, and I own I have my fears that it may have afforded means of fermenting the public mind. The war, though, in my opinion, just in its principle, has never held forth any object which could satisfy the understandings of ordinary men. The vulgar cannot comprehend its motive, and the conduct of the Allies has hardly left to men of sense a resting-place for their wishes. There is also in England an unfortunate scarcity and dearness of corn, which the people are too apt to attribute to weakness or wickedness of their rulers. But withal I hope and believe that the general good sense of England, and the real excellence of our government, will prevent, during our time, those seeds of destruction, which every thing human carries in its bosom, from coming to a harvest. I have given you this short sketch of Europe news, as I have picked them up here, without in the least degree vouching for their authenticity.

Dr Bell to Sir John Murray, Bart.

Egmore, Fort St George, 28th July 1796.

My dear Sir,

If I have neglected for a long time writing, you will impute the neglect to any other cause than a forgetfulness of the family in which I had the happiness to be domesticated at Calcutta. Having my mind long occupied with one object, I thought I could present

nothing to you worth the trouble it would give, except I could tell you, after full trial, that I had succeeded in what I had attempted, conformably, as I conceive, to those views of human affairs which I had seen direct your conduct.

When you first showed me the Orphan School at Calcutta, with such earnest interest in its welfare, I did not imagine that I should so soon have occasion to interest myself still more particularly in a similar institution. You will, perhaps, recollect that I was prevented from revisiting the happy society of our Indian metropolis, which I had set my heart upon, by entering upon the charge of the Male Asylum here, which has circumscribed my views, and required my attendance ever since.

When I had the satisfaction to hear—and it was a great satisfaction to me—of the honour His Majesty was pleased to confer on you—an honour which will wear well, because well earned—I should immediately have offered you my sincerest congratulations, but that I expected every day to fulfill my labours at this school; and, at the same time, present to you the result. And though Captain Sandys, who has the goodness to charge himself with these papers for you, tells me that both you and your brother go home soon, yet I conceive I cannot commit these papers, such as they are, into better hands, as I know if you find any thing in them worthy of use, you will be at pains to put them into such a train that the proper use may be made of them.

In the accompanying scheme I put down what appeared to me most material to be noted: but what I have inserted bears no proportion to what I have omitted. Were any one to make an attempt similar to

the mode of teaching detailed in this statement, many questions will arise which are not answered here. It will ever be a gratification to me, wherever I happen to be placed, to reply to any enquiry which may be made for this purpose. My address, while in Europe, is to the care of David Scott, Esq., and Co., London.

I imagine, by a letter I received several years ago, from the secretary of the Asiatic Society, that my name was meant to be enrolled among the members of that respectable body. Sensible of the honour conferred on me, you will add to the obligation by requesting the Secretary to correct an error in the name, and put Andrew in the place of *James*, or rather A in the place of J, as it has hitherto been printed.

However unworthy a member I may have been of your society, I have not been an idle one. If you think this essay, or any part of it, worth their attention, you have my leave to make such use of it as you may see proper. Lord Hobart has ordered copies of it to be prepared, that he may forward them to the Court of Directors, to the Supreme Government, and to Bombay. Will you have the goodness to mention this to Sir John Shore, and to present to him my sentiments of the highest respect and estimation of his character, which adorns his station?

I add, as it will give you pleasure, a specimen of the many rich honours conferred on my poor endeavours, by the directors of the charity.

Mrs Floyd to Dr Bell.

A

Tritchynopoly, August 5, 1796.

I cannot help confessing myself affected by this your farewell letter, but fear your admonitions are thrown away. The graces and ornaments with which you are pleased to say God has gifted me, I care not a fig for, and, of course, shall not cultivate as you are so good to wish. But while God is pleased to make my life serviceable to my brats, and let me retain sufficient of the engaging to charm a husband, who with them divides my heart, am content to pass my life as I do, caring for the opinion of no one, (except here and there a rare production like yourself;) in the power of no one to control or contradict: unseen and unadmired. Thanks are due, however, to you for this last kind effort of your friendly inclination to serve me, and I thank God I make them with a heart as sincere and unconscious of harm as when it first began to beat. The gentle Jessy retains, as the sister of my friend, a place in my remembrance. A tour through Scotland will immediately follow one through England, should we ever get home; and there I hope to be permitted to present her with some rare productions of Tritchynopoly workmanship. Pray, remember me to her.

I don't want the poets.

And what am I to do with a celestial globe without a guide to its use? I should greatly have preferred my favourite sermon.

I want to teach my Miranda to read, and so on.

How am I to do it? And what books will be proper for her at first?

I have learnt her already to hold a promise sacred, and not to tell a lie; and she is well disposed, of a sweet temper, and generous heart.

For all your farewell, you "may write" to me on your arrival *any where*. You know I am curious as curiosity itself; and an account of any place I have not seen from you, would be a treasure to me; and, besides, I want to know how dear England looks, after once being away awhile. It is now near eleven years since I lost sight of it, except in the mind's eye. Mamma lives in the Fort, and does not know of your letter, or I am sure she would have sent you a remembrance. My f—— is now here; but I don't think you, any more than myself, value much what he says at any time.

I must have done, for the tappall is on the wing. I danced last night late; and, of course, with my other calls upon my time, have not had much to write since the receipt of your favour of the 1st, this being the 5th; and so I conclude—as you do, by the bye—with the date at the bottom of my letter, when it should be at the top.

I hope the foregoing will serve as a proof of the continuation of my esteem, and so your servant.

Dr Bell to Mrs Floyd.

Madras, August 17, 1796.

Your feeling response requires an acknowledgment, and commands a rejoinder.

Jessy, already elevated by the favour of my Indian as well as European friends, will be overpowered with your notice.

Your reform cannot be complete, while you would neither send the two volumes of my poets to me, when I desired it, nor now let me send the rest to you.

The globe, too, is broken, but it forms the pair with the other, which also you refused to return.

The sermon of which you speak I am at a loss to divine, else I should not fail to obey your last command. I should have supposed it a Good Friday sermon, if I did not know that you have, or had a copy of it.

I thank you for the satisfactory and pleasing account of Mira. This is a good symptom. Promises are ever sacred with great and noble spirits, and truth is always most sacred. The former must never clash with the latter, else we might sometimes err in our instructions to youth—an error which it is impossible always to conceal from them. It is example—it is precedent which takes hold of the infant mind, by its love of imitation and its natural affections. This prevailing principle of our nature you must never lose sight of. If you live only for your husband and children, (though in doing so you do not do right, because our primary

duties by no means dissolve our secondary ones yet,) this is the only way in which you can live for them.

I send books for Mira; and M. Read will tell you, as well as he can, how they are used. Play-books and play-things, and such stuff, are all nonsense. My account of my school will inform you of the mode of teaching practised by me. And I can add nothing to the recommendation I have given it. I am afraid I have been constrained to betray a vanity, which, under other circumstances, I would have concealed. If you are honest, as I have ever believed you to be, and will honestly tell me, by the first packet, what your opinion is of my narrative, you will do me an essential kindness. I should be also glad of the general's opinion; but men do not deal so honestly with you as women in such points.

The cover of your letter, perhaps, contains more than meets the eye in regard to Soubriah. I shall therefore go beyond your question. I have seen Soubriah, but with little favour on my part. He is to be married on Friday next. He laments extremely his ill luck in losing your favour, and will, no doubt, obey your commands, whenever and however conveyed to him. His brother *Verry* has served me from his earliest volunteership—for almost six years: deserves the character of a faithful, honest servant; and, with a good master, would make a good servant, being of a better disposition and more manageable than most of his caste I have met with.

We are on the eve of being dispatched. You will make allowances for the state of my mind in leaving my friends here, which I yet should feel more sensibly

than I do, if I did not expect to meet most of them, before long, either in England or here.

God Almighty bless you, your family and friends;
and your servant,

A. BELL.

Tellisigna Pillah to Dr Bell.

Madras, August 18, 1796.

Tellisigna Pillah presents his respectful compliments to the Rev. Dr Bell, and much regrets that a severe cold, which confines him at home, prevents him from having the pleasure of wishing Dr Bell a good voyage in person. He begs leave, however, to do it thus; and to add a further wish for Dr Bell's future happiness. He will be much obliged to Dr Bell to make his respects to Colonel Dirom.

Indorsed thus by Dr Bell:—"Curious as being the production of a black man."

Thomas Cockburn, Esq., to Dr Bell.

Madras, August 19, 1796.

My dear Doctor,

I give you two parcels of letters; one marked to be put into the first post-office, the other to be delivered by yourself. You will, in case of mishap from the enemy, endeavour to preserve these my precious charges. Let them open and read them, if they will; only get them back to forward to those deeply interested in them. I have told Mrs Cockburn that you have been so good to assure me that you will aid her with your advice in regard to placing my dear boy at school, and in directing the progress of his education—the greatest favour you can confer upon me. I have told her also you will not be long in calling upon her after your arrival, and that you will put on her marriage finger the hair ring I now entrust to your charge. You see what trouble your regard brings upon you; but I hope soon to see you in Old England, and give you my thanks for all this toil. One more request—you must let me know what a man of my habits can live for—that is to say, comfortably—consulting, of course, my better half, and her ideas, which you can soon collect, and collate with your own opinion what you know of mine; and this do as soon as you can, that I may benefit from it. Sure you will, my good friend, ever reflect with pleasure on that part of your life spent amongst us. You leave a monument behind you, as honourable as I trust it will be lasting, of your anxious and successful zeal in promoting the good and

happiness of mankind. You may be assured the Male Asylum shall, as far as in my power, be guarded against innovation. Wishing you a speedy and pleasant voyage, and a happy meeting with all those who are dear to you, I remain your sincere friend.

Dr Bell to ———.

Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope,
9th November 1796.

Again and again, my dear friend, I felicitate you on the happy event which presents this letter to you. I feel in part all the joy which the presence of your charming partner will afford you. I rejoice beside that it will furnish you with a good apology, and a reason beyond all apology, for withdrawing yourself, your mind, and your pen, from the toilsome drudgery to which you have so long submitted yourself, for the sake of the public and your friends, and from which they have benefited so largely. It is now full time that your own health, your family, and your inclinations should be consulted for. If the considerations I have mentioned in a letter by the Hemings, or any other consideration, should induce you to revisit Europe at an early period, nobody will rejoice more to see you there than I shall, if it be my good fortune to meet you there.

I have solicited your friend to say to you, that I wish

no stake of mine to remain in India, without strong reasons, after your departure. Whatever arrangements you may make for yourself in regard to remittances, the same you will have the goodness to make for me. The advantageous terms on which remittances are now made from India, and the high rate of interest attainable in the British funds, I wish to be considered in my case as well as your own.

Mr Toryn will give you all the public and private news. But I must write no more, for you will have eyes and ears but for one person at the time this is delivered to you; and if it be read a week after its delivery, I shall think it has good luck.

Nothing could be more grateful to me than your very kind mention of the children at Egmore, whom I hope you will show to the good lady, and let me always hear of them.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.



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