soon after its foundation, this settlement had been pronounced as healthy as any part of the Indies, experience hath shewn that it was, beyond all places in the world, destructive to the lives of Europeans. This circumstance was regarded by the Dutch as an advantage, the terror of the climate affording as they supposed, a sufficient defence against any hostile attempt. But such a defence was no longer relied on when its sovereignty was transferred from the Dutch to the French. The skill which the latter so eminently possessed in the art of war was called into operation at Batavia, and a considerable body of French troops, officers, and engineers, were sent out for its defence.

The reduction of the Dutch settlements was first suggested to Lord Minto by Mr. Raffles, and his lordship was induced, by the information brought to his notice, to determine on the attempt upon his own responsibility. This was previous to the capture of the French islands. In the meantime, the governor-general received from home a qualified approval of his meditated operations against Batavia. The views of the home authorities, however, extended no further than to the expulsion of the Dutch, the destruction of their fortifications, and the distribution of their arms and stores; after which it was proposed that we should evacuate the island, resigning possession to the natives. Such a termination of the expedi-

tion would have been singularly ill-judged and mischievous. There is not, perhaps, a more dissolute place in the world than Batavia, nor one which contains a larger proportion of the elements of crime and disorder. The Malays are sufficiently notorious for perfidy and cruelty. The Chinese, forming another large proportion of the population, less ferocious and blood-thirsty, are generally distinguished by dishonesty and want of principle, and could scarcely be expected to have forgotten the atrocious murder of so many of their countrymen by the Dutch, in 1740. The number of slaves, too, was enormous; many of them having been reduced to captivity by violence and fraud, and almost all treated with great cruelty. These, maddened by their wrongs and sufferings, would eagerly have embraced any opportunity that might have offered for revenge. To withdraw from such a population the European control, by which they had been so long coerced, without substituting in its place any other, would have been to abandon the colony to all the horrors of insurrection and massacre; to invite in another quarter of the world, a repetition of the scenes which had been acted at St. Domingo, or, if possible, something still more frightful and appalling. Lord Minto, therefore, declined acting upon these instructions, and determined, in the event of success, upon establishing such a government as should be sufficient for the preservation of public order.

The preparations for the reduction of this last relic of the colonial dominion of the Hollanders, were upon a scale commensurate with the object to be attained. The armament sailed from Malacca, and the governor-general himself accompanied it. It had been objected, that so much time had been consumed in preparation, that the favourable season for its departure had been suffered to pass, and that it would have to contend against the adverse monsoon. This danger was obviated by the route chosen for the expedition. On leaving the straits of Singapore, it stood across to the western coast of Borneo; then, under the shelter of the land, and with the assistance of the land-wind, made good its course to Sambdar, and from thence striking across to Java, made the coast of Point Indremergan. The merit of ascertaining the practicability of this passage was attributable to Captain Greigh. On the 4th of August 1811, the expedition arrived in the Batavia roads. The army, which was under the command of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, was divided into four brigades, one forming the advance, two the line, and one the reserve. Nominally, the force employed on this expedition consisted of 5,344 Europeans and 5,777 Native troops, making a total of 11,960; but of these about 1,200 were left sick at Malacca, and about 1,500 more became so at Java.

The place of landing was a spot similar, in some respects, to that selected for the purpose at Mauritius; the natural obstacles which it pre-

sented having been considered sufficient to deter an invading army. In consequence of this belief, it was left unguarded, and the debarkation of the troops took place without resistance. The different corps had ground allotted to them, as they landed, on which to form, and as soon as the principal part of each battalion was on shore, it proceeded to the position which it was to occupy. The advanced posts were pushed on, and the troops were formed in two lines, one fronting Batavia, and the other Corsellis. In the course of the night, a patrol of the enemy's cavalry, accompanied by an aid-de-camp of General Janssens, galloped into the advanced posts on the Batavia road, where they received the fire of two six-pounders, and that of a picquet of infantry, and retired with the loss of an officer, and two or three men.

On the following day, the horse-artillery and cavalry were landed, and the position of the army was advanced towards Batavia. On the 6th, the roads to the city, and the country all along the coast, were reconnoitered. From some symptoms manifested in Batavia, the general judged it to be the intention of the enemy to evacuate the city. On the 7th, the infantry attached to the advance pushed forward, the only serious impediment to their progress arising from the destruction of the bridge over the river Aujol. A bridge of boats was constructed, by which a passage was effected

late at night; but, as the troops could only pass over in single file, considerable delay took place. On the following day, the burghers of Batavia surrendered the city without opposition, the garrison having retreated to Weelsbudin. Though the enemy had declined an engagement, he had made ample preparations for what may be called passive resistance. The houses were deserted, the bridges broken down, and the conduits which supplied the city with water destroyed. The public storehouses had been burned, and considerable efforts had been made to destroy every species of public property. Happily, some public granaries were preserved, and provisions were abundant.

Only a small part of the British force entered the town, in the first instance. Their arrival afforded a timely check to the system of depredation and destruction which the Malays had commenced, and they succeeded in rescuing several large stores of colonial goods from plunder.

Many circumstances combined to excite in the minds of the British authorities a suspicion that the enemy meditated an attack, and this was confirmed by the report of Captain Roberts, aid-de-camp to Lord Minto, who had been despatched with a summons to General Janssens to surrender the island. He was conducted blindfolded through the lines, but, as he passed along, he heard a considerable movement of men, horses, and artillery-carriages. The answer which he

brought back was in the style of gasconade which characterized the military school of revolutionary France. It was to the effect, that the commander-in-chief was a French general, and would defend his charge to the last extremity. Soon after the receipt of the French commander's answer, the troops were silently called out, and ordered to lie on their arms in the great square in front of the town-house. They had scarcely reached it, when the head of the enemy's column appeared, and opened a fire of musketry. Colonel Gillespie sallied out, at the head of a party, from a gate-way on the west side of the city, with the intention of charging the assailants in flank. The firing immediately ceased, and no more was seen or heard of the enemy during the night. It appears that they had calculated upon the British force in the city being less numerous than it really was, and they had also relied on the expectation of disabling our men by means not recognized among the ordinary instruments of warfare.

A large quantity of deleterious spirit was stored up in the town, and this the Chinese, in compliance, it was understood, with instructions from the enemy, pressed upon our soldiers instead of water, which was extremely scarce—a proclamation having been issued by the French general, forbidding any family to possess more than one jar of water for their own use. By the judicious and decisive measures of Colonel Gillespie, their

designs were frustrated, and the British force was preserved from surprise and destruction.

Early on the morning of the 10th, the troops, together with the inhabitants, had a narrow escape. A Malay was discovered, with a fireband in his hand, in the act of setting light to some wooden magazines, containing a considerable quantity of gunpowder. He was taken, and, on the following day, in a spirit of summary justice, hanged. These were not the only acts of similar character which occurred. The commanding officer's quarters were kept by a Frenchman, and, as an honourable way of serving his country, this man poisoned the coffee prepared for the breakfast of Colonel Gillespie and his staff: the atrocious attempt was unsuccessful, the effects of the poison having manifested themselves before sufficient of the adulterated beverage had been taken to produce the intended effect. In the hurry of the moment, it is to be lamented, that the author of this abominable act escaped.

On the 10th, Colonel Gillespie advanced with his corps towards the enemy's cantonment at Weellerneeder, supported by two brigades of infantry. They found the cantonment abandoned, but the enemy was in force at a short distance beyond. Their position was strongly defended by an *abbatis*, occupied by three thousand of their best troops and four guns, horse artillery. It was promptly attacked by Colonel Gillespie; and

after an obstinate resistance, carried at the point of the bayonet, the enemy's force driven to the shelter of their batteries, and their guns taken.

But, though vanquished, the enemy were not entirely subdued. They were greatly superior in numbers to the invading force, and they entrenched themselves in a strong position, between a large river and an artificial watercourse, neither of which was fordable. Their position was further defended by a deep trench strongly palisadoed, seven redoubts, and many batteries. The fort of Corsellis was in the centre, and the whole of the works were defended by a numerous and well-organised artillery. The season was far advanced and the heat violent; and these reasons, combined with the insufficient number of the British troops, determined the general to decline attempting the reduction of the position by regular approaches, and to endeavour to carry the works by assault. Some batteries were erected with a view of disabling the principal redoubts, and a heavy fire was kept up for two days with great effect; and, though answered by a far more numerous artillery, it succeeded in silencing the nearer batteries of the enemy, and considerably disturbing their entire position.

At dawn of day, on the 26th, the assault was made. It was proposed to surprise one of the redoubts constructed by the enemy beyond the Salken, to endeavour to cross the bridge over that

stream with the fugitives, and then to assault the redoubts within the lines. The enemy was under arms and prepared for the combat, and General Janssens, the commander-in-chief, was in the advanced redoubt when the attack commenced.

Colonel Gillespie, after a long *detour* through a close and intricate country, came on their advance, which he routed almost instantly, and with extraordinary rapidity proceeded, under a heavy fire of grape and musketry, to the advanced redoubt, of which he was soon in possession. He then, in accordance with the proposed plan, passed the bridge, and, after an obstinate resistance, carried with the bayonet a second redoubt. The operations of other columns were directed with equal success against different parts of the works; but the explosion, either by accident or design, of the magazine of one of the redoubts, destroyed a number of brave officers and men, who were crowded on its ramparts, which the enemy had just abandoned. The park of artillery was attacked and carried in a masterly manner, and a body of cavalry, which had formed to defend it, speedily put to flight. A strong body of the enemy, which had taken their position in the lines in front of Fort Corsellis, were attacked and driven from them, and the fort taken. The enemy was now completely put to flight; a vigorous pursuit followed, and the whole of the army was either killed, taken, or dispersed. So close was the

combat, that in the course of the day almost every officer was engaged hand to hand. Colonel Gillespie in person took prisoners two generals and a colonel, and another colonel fell by his hand. General Janssens, the commander-in-chief, succeeded with some difficulty in reaching Buitzenzorg, a distance of thirty miles, with a few cavalry, the sole remains of an army of ten thousand men.

The loss on the part of the British was severe, that of the enemy still more so. About a thousand bodies were buried in the works, many perished in the river, and many in the flight. Nearly five thousand were made prisoners, among whom were three general officers, thirty-four field officers, seventy captains, and one hundred and fifty subalterns. In the British army, about one hundred and fifty men, European and Native, were killed or missing, and upwards of seven hundred wounded.

The conquest of the island might now be considered as achieved: but as General Janssens shewed no intention of giving up the contest, Sir Samuel Achmuty prepared to push his success with vigour. Captain Bean was despatched with a detachment to Cheribon, and, on arriving there, proceeded in the exercise of his duty with great spirit, by summoning the French commander to surrender, allowing him five minutes for decision. The terms he proposed were, that the garrison should be prisoners of war, all public property

surrendered, but all private property respected. Immediately after the flag of truce had been despatched, Captain Bean stood in with the frigates towards the fort. The result was, that the terms were submitted to, the French colours hauled down, the marines landed, and placed in possession of the fort.

At this moment, the French general, Jamelle, and two other officers, one of them an aid-de-camp of the commander-in-chief, arrived with tidings that detachments to succour Cheribon were on their way, and that three hundred infantry and two hundred and fifty cavalry might be hourly expected. But it was too late—the officers were made prisoners, and Captain Bean, who had not waited for the ship which had the troops on board, landed one hundred and fifty seamen to garrison the fort, leaving the marines to act offensively in the field if requisite. The prisoners, being all natives, except one or two officers, were dismissed to their homes, with an intimation that if afterwards found acting against the British they would be hanged. It was said, that this caution did not appear at all to diminish their gratitude for their deliverance.

The marines were then marched to Cavang Sambig, thirty-five miles inland, where nine waggon-loads of silver and copper money, with stores to a great amount, were deposited. Seven hundred prisoners, including a very large proportion

of officers, were taken, without the loss of a single man, killed or wounded, during these operations.

Sir S. Achmuty having proceeded to Samarang, and being joined there by Admiral Stopford and a few of the troop ships, called upon General Janssens to surrender the island on terms of capitulation. This was refused, and the French general succeeded in making such a show of strength, as led Sir Samuel Achmuty to conclude that it was not advisable to assault the fort until further reinforced. Some fishermen, however, having reported that Janssens was withdrawing his troops into the interior, and had fortified a position a few miles on the road towards Kirta Sterer, Sir Samuel Achmuty, on the 12th, prepared to attack the town, when it was immediately surrendered.

Janssens had retired to the position which he had chosen, where he was completing batteries and entrenchments, and where he had succeeded, with the assistance of the native princes, in drawing together a large force. The British commander, having waited in vain two days for reinforcements, determined upon hazarding an attack, which he entrusted to Colonel Gibbs. In the course of the night, one ship arrived, which enabled the European garrison from the fort to join the field force, which was further strengthened by a company of sepoys. But with these additions it only amounted to about eleven hundred infantry,

was totally deficient in cavalry, and almost without artillery.

At two in the morning, on the 16th, the troops marched from Samarang; and, after advancing about six miles, discovered the enemy's force. They were attacked without delay, their flank soon turned, and they took to flight in the utmost disorder. But the British force was too much fatigued to pursue them, and in the night General Janssens made an offer of capitulation. The negociations were conducted on the part of Sir Samuel Achmuty with much firmness, and ended in the surrender of the island, as well as that of the French general, with all that remained of his army, as prisoners of war.

The naval operations were conducted with equal success. Captain Harris and Captain Pellew succeeded in reducing the French fortress in the island of Madura, and detaching the sultan from the interests of the enemy. This service was performed with extraordinary brilliancy. Leaving their ships at anchor under the isle of Pondrik, these officers landed about two miles from Fort Samarap, and forming their men into columns of sixty bayonets and thirty pikemen each, flanked by two or three pieces of artillery, and with a body of marines for their reserve, they marched with such perfect silence towards the fort, that, though the boats had been seen standing in for

shore, the men were not discovered till they were through the outer gate. In ten minutes, the fort was carried by storm, and several hundred Madura pikemen were made prisoners. At day-break, the natives began to assemble in great numbers, when Captain Harris called on the governor to surrender in ten minutes. In reply, he was required to evacuate the fort within three hours, on peril of having it stormed.

The governor commanded three thousand muskets, sixty artillery-men, and about fifteen hundred armed with pike and pistol, and he had four field pieces planted on a bridge, commanding a straight road of a quarter of a mile in length, along which the British must pass before they could reach the bridge. Captain Harris, however, determined to attack them. Leaving about fifty men in the fort, he led a body of ninety to turn the left flank of the enemy, and to make a diversion in favour of Captain Pellew's party, which was to advance as soon as this column should fire the first gun. This bold attempt was entirely successful. Some sharp firing took place while the British columns were advancing, but as soon as they were near enough to charge, the contest was at an end. The governor was made prisoner, and the colours and guns taken. Friendship always follows success: the sultan of Madura forthwith joined the conquerors, and offered four thousand men to assist in attacking Sourabaya. But this

aid was not needed, in consequence of the surrender of the whole island. The appointment of lieutenant governor was conferred by Lord Minto upon Mr. Raffles, who had preceded the expedition for the purpose of collecting information, and to whose judicious advice its success may in a great degree be attributed.

The fall of Batavia was followed by an event so remarkable as to deserve notice.

The sultan of Palambang, a petty chief in the south-eastern part of Sumatra, no sooner received intelligence of the success of the British arms, than he formed the atrocious resolution of destroying the Dutch resident, and every male person belonging to the factory at Palambang, not excepting even children, and of razing the fort to the ground. This horrible scheme he executed, in spite of the remonstrances of some Malay agents of the British Government, who represented that the destruction of the fort would be an act of hostility against those to whom the Dutch establishments had been transferred by right of conquest. The number of persons thus wantonly massacred was nearly a hundred, thirty of whom were European born.

The motives which led to this barbarous policy were probably twofold. The Dutch are regarded throughout the Malay states with inveterate hatred, and the feeling is not altogether without cause. The sultan perhaps rejoiced in an opportunity of

taking signal revenge upon a people, towards whom the feeling of hostility was universal and long cherished. He might further think that the circumstances which had occurred presented a favourable opportunity for dissolving all connections with European powers. The entire proceeding appears to have been marked by that sinister policy unfortunately so common among the chieftains of the East. The Malay agents alleged that, in the first instance, the sultan compelled them to sign a false report of the transactions, and afterwards, with a view of preventing a disclosure of the real facts, endeavoured to add them to the number of his victims.

Previously to these facts becoming known to the government of Java, a mission had been despatched for the purpose of taking charge of the factory at Palambang, and of making arrangements for the preservation to the British of a monopoly of tin, produced in the island of Baneim, but on terms far more advantageous to the sultan than those existing under the Dutch government. The mission was received in the most contemptuous manner; the claims of the English to succeed to the rights and privileges of the Dutch were denied, and the sultan even ventured to assert, that he had completed his hostile proceedings against the Dutch before the conquest of Java had been achieved. The real character of those proceedings he did not avow; but represented them to

be confined to the destruction of the fort and the expulsion of the garrison. This mission, therefore, returned without accomplishing its object. Its arrival was soon followed by that of ambassadors from the sultan, who repeated the statements of their master; but by this time the truth was known, and vigorous measures were determined on, to assert the rights of the British Government, and punish the faithlessness and cruelties of the sultan.

For this purpose, a force, consisting of nearly a thousand men, was put in motion, under the command of Colonel Gillespie: it sailed from Balasore on the 20th March 1812, but its progress was considerably retarded by contrary winds and currents. On the 3d of April the fleet reached Hawk's Island, and continued a week at anchor. Tents were pitched on shore, and a number of artificers employed in the completion of the boats intended for the passage of the Palambang river, in constructing platforms for the field-pieces, and in providing shelter for the troops from the oppressive heat of the day, and the noxious air of the night. On the 10th, the fleet got under weigh, and came to anchor on the 15th, opposite the west channel of the Palambang river. On the arrival of the British force, the sultan attempted to negotiate, transmitting messages to the commander filled with expressions of the most profound respect, and the warmest attachment to the English

nation; but his treacherous character was too well known to allow of any one being deceived by such professions. Colonel Gillespie refused to treat except with the sultan in person at Palambang. The expedition accordingly advanced and took possession of the works at Borang; on learning which the sultan fled, leaving the fort, palace, and city, in a state of inconceivable disorder. He had previously removed his treasures and his women into the interior.

After the occupation of the works at Borang, the troops had been reembarked: but, on learning the state of the capital, Colonel Gillespie determined to push on with the light boats, and endeavour to stop the scenes of confusion and carnage which were taking place there. The city, which stretched along the banks of the river for upwards of seven miles, presented to the view of the British an awful scene of murder and pillage. The most dreadful shrieks and yells were heard in all directions, and conflagrations appeared in various places. An eye-witnes declares, that "romance never described any thing half so hideous, nor has the invention of the imagination ever given representations, equally appalling." Amid these horrors, Colonel Gillespie stepped on shore, accompanied by only seven grenadiers, and proceeded into the city, surrounded by the glittering weapons of ferocious Arabs and treacherous Malays. One of the latter nation

pressed through the crowd, approached the colonel, and was walking by his side, when a large double-edged knife was silently put into his hands by one of his countrymen. He received the instrument, and was in the act of concealing it in his long loose sleeve, when a sudden flash of lightning discovered it. The man was instantly disarmed, and his murderous design thus frustrated: but amid the confusion that prevailed at the moment, he found means to mix in the crowd and escape.

On approaching the palace, the horrors of the spectacle were aggravated. The apartments had been ransacked; the pavements and floors were flowing with blood; the flames were rapidly consuming all that plunder had spared, and while they were pursuing their devastating career, the crackling of the bamboos is said to have resembled the discharge of musquetry. At intervals, the roofs of the various buildings fell with tremendous crash, and notwithstanding the torrents of rain, the fire continued to spread, and threatened even that part of the palace where the British forces were compelled to take up their temporary abode. This force consisted only of a few grenadiers and seamen, and they were surrounded on all sides by hordes of assassins. The best means of defence were adopted by the little band; at midnight, they were joined by a small reinforcement under Major French, and in the morning by

another under Colonel M'Leod. Resistance was now no longer thought of, and the resolution of Colonel Gillespie had thus, without the loss of a man, placed in the possession of the British the city, fort, and batteries, defended by two hundred and forty-two pieces of cannon.

Notwithstanding the subjugation of the Dutch and French power, parts of Java remained in a disturbed state. The sultan of Djoejyocarta, one of the most turbulent and intriguing of the native princes, manifested a hostile disposition to the British Government; in consequence of which, Mr. Raffles, the lieut.-governor, proceeded in person to his court, in December 1811, with the hope of definitively fixing by treaty the relations between the two governments. His visit was attended with some danger, and it seems not easy to acquit the lieut.-governor of the charge of rashness in undertaking it. His escort consisted only of a small part of the 14th Regiment, a troop of the 22d Light Dragoons, and the ordinary garrison of Bengal sepoys in the fort and at the Residency-house. The sultan received Mr. Raffles surrounded by several thousands of his armed followers, whose deportment was marked by extraordinary violence. Creesses were unsheathed, and it was plain that those who brandished them, only waited for the command to put all the English to the sword. The command did not issue, and the lieut.-governor and his retinue retired

in safety; but they certainly had as much reason to congratulate themselves on their good fortune as the stork when he withdrew his head in safety from the throat of the wolf. Negociations with native princes, especially until they are considerably tamed, should be carried on at the head of a commanding military force.

A treaty was concluded, by which the sovereignty of the British over the island of Java was acknowledged by the sultan, and the English East-India Company were confirmed in all the privileges, advantages, and prerogatives which had been possessed by the Dutch and French Governments. To the Company also were transferred the sole regulation of the duties, and the collection of tribute within the dominions of the sultan, as well as the general administration of justice in all cases where the British interests were concerned.

This treaty was concluded before the expedition against Palambang. The occupation of the troops, which had been despatched thither, seemed to afford the sultan of Djoejyocarta a favourable opportunity of breaking the treaty into which he had so recently entered, and this, in the true spirit of native policy, he eagerly embraced. By his agency, a confederacy was formed of all the native courts, the object of which was to expel all European settlers of every country, and to sweep from the island every

vestige of European power. As soon as the design became apparent, preparations were made for resisting it by such means as were at the disposal of government, and in the emergency Colonel Gillespie opportunely arrived from Palambang. The lieut.-governor and the commander of the forces immediately proceeded to Djoejyocarta with such military force as could be collected, and hostilities were precipitated by Colonel Gillespie, arriving with a reconnoitering party, unexpectedly falling in with a large body of the Sultan's horse.

As offensive measures had not been determined on, Colonel Gillespie refrained from attacking them, and endeavoured, through Mr. Crawford, the resident, to prevail upon them to return to the palace. They for a-while refused, and some stones were thrown at the English party. This outrage was not repelled, and at length the sultan's troops consented to retire; but, taking advantage of the growing darkness, they again threw stones at our men, and a serjeant and four dragoons were wounded. This attack was followed by several others, and our dragoons were ultimately obliged to cut their way out sword in hand.

On the following day, an attempt was made to negociate, but without success, and it was clear that nothing was left but an appeal to force. The residence of the sultan was about three miles in circumference, surrounded by a broad ditch with

drawbridges, a strong high rampart with bastions, and defended by nearly one hundred pieces of cannon. In the interior were numerous squares and court-yards, enclosed with high walls, and all defensible. The principal entrance, or square, in front, had a double row of cannon facing the gate, and was flanked with newly-erected batteries, right and left. Seventeen thousand regular troops manned the works, and an armed population of more than a hundred thousand surrounded the palace for miles, and occupied the walls and fastnesses along the sides of the various roads. The Dutch had erected a fort close to the palace, and this was now occupied by the British. Their force was small, not exceeding six hundred firelocks; but what was wanting in number was made up by intrepidity. They forthwith commenced cannonading the palace; the fire was immediately returned, and in the evening the sultan sent a message demanding an unconditional surrender.

In the course of the night, Major Dalton, who with a party of the Bengal light infantry, occupied part of the Dutch town, between the fort and the palace, was attacked four times in succession, but on every occasion repulsed the enemy with great steadiness. Various skirmishing took place between parties of the enemy and others of our dragoons, in which the latter displayed remarkable gallantry. The day after, a detachment under Colonel McLeod, whose arrival had been anxiously

expected, reached head-quarters, but their long march and exposure to a burning sun rendered some repose necessary. In the evening, Colonel Gillespie ordered all the troops, both cavalry and infantry, into the fort, and this measure fully persuaded the sultan that he had struck the British commander with terror.

He was mistaken. No symptom of concession having been evinced by the enemy, Colonel Gillespie had determined on an assault. Two hours before day, the leaders of columns received their orders, and instantly proceeded to execute them. The assault was made by escalade, and was completely successful. The British force quickly occupied the ramparts, and turned the guns of the enemy upon themselves. The word was "Death or Victory," and no other thought seems to have occupied the minds of those engaged. The sultan was taken in his strong-hold. He was subsequently deposed, and the hereditary prince raised to the throne. The other confederated princes readily acceded to the terms proposed to them. The conquest of Java was thus complete, and the British power was paramount throughout the island.

The general peace restored Java to its former possessors; and it may, therefore, be deemed a task of little utility to record the circumstances by which it became a temporary appendage of the British crown. But it is not an unimportant matter

that Englishmen should bear in mind what their fellow-countrymen have achieved, although diplomatists may compliment away the possessions which have been so dearly earned. The magnanimity of Great Britain in restoring Java has been much praised. She has too frequently been magnanimous to her own cost, and her sacrifices have never been paid by any thing but praise. Java unquestionably ought to have been retained. One great power must predominate in the East, and it is not for us to raise a question what power that should be. The acquisition of territory by any other European nation ought especially to be guarded against, as far as we possess the means. We ought not, indeed to wage a war of ambition or aggression—we ought not to draw the sword for the sake of conquest; but when hostile operations become justifiable, as they undoubtedly were at the period of our conquests in the Indian seas, we ought not to throw away their results. We should have the firmness to insist upon retaining what we have had the courage to win. Java was important, not only in itself, but also from its proximity to other islands, over which the British authority ought at fitting opportunities to have been extended; but England has always been afraid of her own good fortune in the East.

The transfer of Java was to be lamented, perhaps, even more on account of the inhabitants than on our own. The Dutch government had never

been strong, and it had on many occasions resorted to the usual expedients of conscious weakness—oppression and cruelty. Under the dominion and influence of the English, various beneficial changes were introduced, and the country was in a progressive state of improvement. This was checked by its surrender to the Dutch, and since that event there has been no lack of discontent and disturbance.

The establishment of the British power in the East, without an European rival, was the crowning act of Lord Minto's administration, and it was one of which he had reason to be proud. Having completed the usual period of residence, he resigned his office and proceeded to England. But he was not destined to enjoy that period of repose to which men look as the termination and reward of public services, his death having taken place within a few weeks after his arrival in this country.

The administration of Lord Minto was distinguished by great moderation, but it was marked also by very considerable ability. The line of policy pressed upon him from home was that of peace, and he laboured assiduously to preserve it. But he was not insensible to the peculiarities of our situation in India, surrounded by those who regarded us as hostile intruders: he was conscious that a pacific policy might be carried too far for national interest no less than for national honour, and his views on subjects which, soon after his re-

tirement, became of vital importance, were probably not very dissimilar to those of his successor. He was fully conscious of the inapplicability to our situation in India, of that timid and indecisive policy which was fashionable in England, and the expression of his opinions was not without effect in the most influential quarters. His mistakes and failures may fairly be attributed less to himself than to public opinion in England, which overawed and controlled him. The outrages of the Pindarries, the encroachments of the Ghoorkas, and the insolence of the Burmese, attracted his attention; but he waited for encouragement from home to determine him to grapple with them. This was the most exceptionable part of his policy, and it must be attributed to constitutional caution. The most brilliant, as well as valuable, acts of his government, were the well-planned and successful expeditions against the enemy's possessions in the East. He here showed that he understood his country's interests, and he acted upon his convictions with vigour and decision. Upon the whole, though a few of those who have occupied the same high station with himself have left behind them a reputation more brilliant and dazzling, that of Lord Minto rests on a basis of substantial service, and he well deserves to be held in remembrance as one of the eminent statesmen of India.

CHAPTER VI.

RENEWAL OF THE COMPANY'S CHARTER, IN 1813.

FROM a feeble and obscure association of traders, the East-India Company had, in the eighteenth century, become the lords of a large portion of Hindostan, and the dominant power in the field of Indian politics. They had attained this high position under the license of the British Crown; but beyond this, their obligations to the government of their country were few. It was to the talents and intrepidity of their own servants, that they were indebted for the commanding situation which they held; and the extraordinary ability displayed by men educated upon ordinary principles, and taken from the ordinary walks of life, may be received as evidence, that the native vigour of the English character will manifest itself under any circumstances which afford room for its display.

The Company struggled long, but finally triumphed; and the acquisitions of these "Royal

Merchants" became so extensive and important, as to render it necessary, in the opinion of Parliament, to place them under the especial supervision of the Crown. Thus shorn of some portion of its regal state, the Company still retained its commercial privileges with little diminution; but these, together with the right to administer the government of India, were to terminate in the year 1814, and that period was, consequently, looked to with no ordinary anxiety.

The renewal of the bargain between the Crown and the Company, always a subject of great interest and keen contention, was now unusually so, from the progress which the principles of free trade had made, and the influence which they possessed in the high quarters where the matter was ultimately to be decided. Those principles had made their way languidly and slowly; but still they had gained ground. The reputation of having first maintained them is usually bestowed on Adam Smith: they are, however, to be found in earlier writers; and whatever be the degree of estimation in which they are entitled to be held—whether they are to be received as fixed and perfect rules, never to be departed from on any occasion—or whether they are to be admitted in a more guarded form—to be qualified by reference to what a modern political economist has not infelicitously called "disturbing forces," and to the peculiar circumstances of the state to which it is

proposed to apply them—the honour of their discovery, be it what it may, does not belong to Adam Smith—they had been enunciated by writers who long preceded him. Nor can this be allowed to detract very greatly from his fame; for the principles themselves lying at the very surface of inquiry, little honour can be gained by their discovery; and the merit of having given a clear and lucid exposition of such opinions, is almost equal to that of having been the first to propound them.

Previously to the time when the Scottish professor converted a chair of moral philosophy into one of political economy, the advocates of free trade were few; and among practical men of business, they made scarcely any converts. Statesmen and legislators, even in despotic states, are, to a certain extent, guided by the popular will. In a free country, those who undertake to be the exponents of that will, if persevering and unresisted, must ultimately be victorious. In such a country, whatever men possess, they hold by the tenure of the public voice, and they grossly and foolishly betray their own interests, if they neglect the use of any of the means which they command for shewing to the public that their claims to retain what they have acquired are reasonable and right. They should be active and unremitting in rendering themselves this justice—they should also be early. When the flood of opinion has been

suffered to roll on and gather strength, it will require increased efforts to turn it, if even any efforts should be availing. The majority of men decline the trouble of judging for themselves. They follow with their neighbours the prevailing opinions of the day, and those who wish to keep possession of their influence over the public mind, must commence early, and proceed vigorously in their exertions, to give it the desired direction.

On every occasion, when the East-India Company had sought a renewal of their privileges, their claims had been resisted; but the grounds of resistance were different from those taken in later times. Men will always be anxious to participate in a trade which they believe to be profitable, and they will never be unable to suggest plausible reasons for acceding to their wishes. But the principles of which Adam Smith, though not the author, was the great disseminator, furnished new weapons for combating all exclusive privileges of trade, and afforded the means of concealing the interested motives of the opponents, under the guise of science.

This new sign of the times ought to have been carefully watched by all who were desirous of retaining such privileges; but such precaution was neglected, and the very slow progress of the free trade doctrines afforded a ready, though an insufficient, excuse for the neglect. While the promulgation of these doctrines was confined to the

moral philosophy class at Glasgow, those who were hostile to them, might suppose that there was little cause for alarm. But they ought to have recollected that these opinions were propounded in the heart of a great commercial city, by a man of acknowledged talent, and that no inconsiderable number of young men annually quitted the university imbued with the principles of their teacher. The last fact was especially important. No error can be more fatal, than to disregard what are contemptuously called the opinions of boys. It is true that the real value of such opinions is small—they are the result of circumstances—they are taken up on trust, without any exercise of the judgment, and at a time, indeed, when the judgment is altogether unformed; but they enable us to cast the horoscope of the coming age: from the minds of the youth of the present generation are to be traced the spirit and destiny of the next. In the disregard of this truth lay a great error, and it was not the only one. The appearance of the book, on which the great advocate of free trade expended his strength, ought to have called forth, from those who opposed him, either a manly defence of their opinions, or a candid renunciation of them. It produced neither. The advocates of regulated trade seemed to shrink from the discussion of their own principles; and though what is called the mercantile system, for a while, retained the

influence which habit had given it, and was the creed alike of the counting-house and the cabinet, intelligent observers could not fail to see that it was undermined, and that the period was rapidly advancing, when the influence of the school of Adam Smith would predominate, both in the commercial world and in the councils of the nation. One party slept while the other was at work, and the result was, the slow, but gradual and steady, advance of opinions, which have now attained such an ascendancy, that few have the hardihood to impugn them. Every new battle, therefore, in behalf of regulated trade, was fought under increased disadvantages, and, at last, there was little left for its advocates but to yield to the "pressure from without," and surrender a portion of what they possessed, as the price of a temporary retention of the remainder. Those interested in maintaining it, had despised public opinion, and they paid the penalty. They preferred relying on the ministers of the day, and those ministers invariably deserted them whenever it suited their purposes.

The terms upon which the government and trade of India were to be continued in the Company, gave rise to inquiry and discussion for several years before the expiration of the old Act. In 1808 some correspondence took place on the subject, between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors; and very early in the following

year, it was intimated that his Majesty's ministers were not prepared to concur in an application to Parliament for a renewal of those restrictions by which the trade with India had been hitherto limited. This intimation was, of course, little agreeable to the Company. A variety of arguments were adduced in opposition to the proposed innovation; and it was alleged, not without an appearance of probability, that "the loss of the Indian monopoly, such as it was left by the Act of 1793, would lead, by no slow process, to the entire subversion of the Company both in their commercial and political capacity; and of that system which the Legislature had appointed for the government of British India: of which system the Company formed an integral and essential part."

During these discussions a parliamentary committee was engaged in an elaborate investigation of all the great branches of the Company's affairs; and upon the ground that it was desirable that the reports of the committee should be submitted to Parliament, before the question of renewal was brought forward, the correspondence on the subject was suspended for a considerable period. At the close of the year 1811, it was resumed. The opening of the trade with India, generally, to British merchants and British ships, was again laid down by ministers, as the only ground upon which the negociation for continuing

to the Company any portion of its powers could be conducted. The clamour from without seemed to excuse the pertinacy of ministers; a large proportion of the mercantile and manufacturing world appeared to look upon the East in the light in which it had been represented by the writers of fable, and to regard an introduction to it as a passport to the possession of unmeasured wealth. Though the sober habits of men of business would lead us to a different belief, experience shews that no class of men are more open to the influence of such delusions.*

* A petition presented from Sheffield was so remarably eloquent, that it is impossible to resist the temptation to transcribe part of it. Among other things, the petitioners declared themselves to be "fully persuaded," that "if the trade to the East-Indies were thrown open to all his Majesty's subjects, such new and abundant markets would be discovered and established, as would enable them to set at defiance every effort to injure them by that sworn enemy to their prosperity and the peace of Europe, the present unprincipled ruler France; and that the petitioners doubt not, if the trade of this United Kingdom were permitted to flow, unimpeded, over those extensive, luxuriant, and opulent regions, though it might, in the outset, like a torrent repressed and swoln by obstructions when its sluices were first opened, break forth with uncontrollable impetuosity, deluging, instead of supplying, the district before it; yet that very violence which, at the beginning, might be partially injurious, would, in the issue, prove highly and permanently beneficial; no part being unvisited, the waters of commerce that spread over the face of the land, as they subsided, would wear themselves channels, through which they might continue to flow ever afterwards, in regular and fertilizing streams; and that

The denunciation of monopoly formed the principal ground of attack upon the commercial privileges of the Company; and on this point no

that, to the wealthy, enterprizing, honourable, and indefatigable British merchant, conducting in person his own concerns, no obstacle would prove insurmountable, no prejudice invincible, no difficulty disheartening; wants, where he found them, he would supply; where they did not exist, he would create them, by affording the means of gratification."

Such was the glowing picture presented to parliament by the active imaginations of the good people of Sheffield. At a later period, we might have supposed it to be drawn by a gentleman who for some time represented that borough in parliament, and who, on his first appearance as a candidate there, announced to his supporters, the approach of a universal cry for cutlery, extending from Jaffa to Japan. It is unfortunate for both prophecies, that, like those of Johanna Southcote, they have not been fulfilled. There is, as yet, no large export of razors to Tibet; and though the trade with India has been open for twenty-five years, and the "unprincipled ruler of France" occupies a few feet of earth on the road thither, England has, during that time, passed through a period of commercial distress altogether without parallel, while to India "the waters of commerce" have certainly not operated as "fertilizing streams"—to that country they have been the "waters of Marah"—her manufactures have perished—her agriculture has declined, and her people been subjected to intense suffering. "The wealthy, enterprizing, honourable, and indefatigable British merchant" may have found wants, and where he did not find, he may have created them, by "affording," or rather by offering, "the means of gratification;" but something is yet deficient. All men desire to possess "the means of gratification;" but to this end, it is necessary that they should have "the means" of purchasing and paying for them. What has India had to export? Her cotton and silk goods have been driven out of

almost

defence was offered. Monopolies generally were given up; but some attempts were made to shew that they might be tolerated under certain circumstances, and for definite periods of time; and, further, that as the trade was then carried on, the monopoly of the Company was not a very close one. The principle that all monopolies are injurious, was fortified by allegations of particular evils, supposed to result from that of the East-India Company. Manufacturers of various articles declared themselves, as well as the country, wronged, by being restrained from pouring an unlimited supply of their various commodities into India; and such restraint being pronounced "humiliating to individuals, and degrading to the national character," there could be no difficulty in arriving at the conclusion, that it was "a national grievance."*

almost every market in the world—to a great extent even out of her own; her sugar, which when brought to this country, is necessarily subjected to the disadvantages resulting from a long voyage, and consequent increase of freight, was until lately (lest the producers should grow rich too fast) saddled with a duty greatly exceeding that levied upon the sugar of other British possessions. When this gross injustice could no longer be maintained in its full extent the repeal was ungraciously confined to a part of British India—and that the most flourishing part—to the exclusion of the less prosperous districts, which more especially call for encouragement and support. Thus do our statesmen legislate for the good of the people of India.

* Papers respecting the Negociation for a Renewal of the East-India Company's Exclusive Privileges.

But one of the most remarkable, not to say one of the most amusing, charges against the monopoly was, that "it cooled the ardour of generous and liberal competition."* Self-interest has a wonderful effect upon the mental powers, and enables men to discern generosity and liberality, where those not enlightened by the same influence, can perceive nothing but selfishness and baseness, and reckless disregard of right. The generosity and liberality of commercial competion, gave rise to those sanguinary scenes in the East, in which the Portuguese and Dutch were such distinguished actors. The generosity and liberality of commercial competition, as manifested in the slave trade, deluged Africa with blood and covered Europe with guilt. And the generosity and liberality of commercial competition are now strikingly set forth in the factory system of England, under which the happiness of myriads of human beings, through time and eternity, is sacrificed to the Moloch of manufactures; the wages doled out to the wretched victims, during their brief career of life, being, in fact, not the reward of labour, but the price of blood. Such are a few of the triumphs of a generous and liberal commercial competition; and it must be admitted, that they are fully sufficient to justify the call of the wollen manufacturers, in 1813, for an exten-

* Papers respecting the Negociation for a Renewal of the East-India Company's Exclusive Privileges.

sion of its principles to the whole world. Yet it is only fair to add, that the generosity and liberality, which mark commercial competition, are generally so little observable, that the advocates of unlimited freedom of trade deserved great credit for the discovery.

The Company replied by affirming, that the paramount object of any new arrangement for India ought not to be commercial, but political; and that the commercial monopoly was to be regarded as an instrument in the hands of the Company for the government of India; that the Company's territorial rights could only be enjoyed through the medium of commercial privileges; and that no provision made for securing them could be compatible with the entire opening of the Eastern trade. These assertions were clearly erroneous; the territorial claims of the Company were quite distinct from their commercial privileges; and there could be nothing to prevent the retention of the one, after the other had been relinquished. Experience, too, has shewn, that the commercial privileges of the Company are not indispensable to the maintenance of its authority in India.

They were more fortunate in referring to their own exertions to effect the introduction and consumption of European commodities—exertions made through a long series of years, with great perseverance, and at extraordinary cost; to their

labours in upholding our interests in India, against European rivalship and native jealousy; to the magnificent empire which they had added to the British dominions; and to the great wealth which flowed into this country, in consequence of their spirited and judicious policy. After enumerating some of these advantages, in one of their official papers, they emphatically and justly added, "Such are the injuries, the grievances, the evils —such the degradation, which the East-India Company have brought on the country."

The debts and embarrassments of the Company afforded a ground of accusation peculiarly calculated to render them unpopular, and of course they were not forgotten. The answer of the Company was to the effect, that they had never had occasion to apply to Parliament for aid to support their own establishments; but that their applications had been in consequence of levies made by Government, on the score of a right to participate in the territorial revenues; or for the purpose of obtaining reimbursement of immense sums, disbursed for the state in military expeditions—sums very tardily acknowledged, and not then fully paid; or to enable the Company to meet the transfer to this country of Indian territorial debt, the increase of which was not to be attributed to the Company, but to his Majesty's Government and to Parliament. There was much in these statements that deserved consideration; but when

either individuals or societies expend their funds for the public benefit, they rarely meet with much gratitude in return.

Political economy did not furnish the whole of the arguments by which the privileges of the Company were assailed: the higher science of natural law was invoked to the same end. A full and free right to trade with all countries and people in amity with the British crown, was asserted to be "the natural birthright and inheritance of the people of this empire, of every subject of it, and of every port in it." What may be "the natural birth-right and inheritance" of a "port," it would not be very easy to determine; and if the assertion be taken in the sense in which it was probably meant, it may reasonably be doubted whether a position so wild, merited any answer at all. If it did, the Company gave it a very proper one by observing, that men living in society must submit to the laws of society, and to restraints upon what is called their natural liberty, when, in the opinion of the Legislature, the public interest demands it; that the Indian monopoly was established because it was thought beneficial; that it had been continued on the same principle, and that its abolition, or further retention, must be a question purely prudential. In urging their plea of natural right, some of the opponents of the Company endeavoured to make a special case. Their principle, it was alleged, became strength-

ened by its application to countries acquired and maintained by the efforts and valour of the forces of his Majesty. The countries, however, with which they wished to trade, had been, for the most part, acquired and maintained by the efforts of the Company and the valour of their servants, and altogether under the exclusive powers and privileges which it was now desired to abrogate.

A plausible, and not altogether an unreasonable objection to the continuance of the Company's privileges, was founded on the fact, that the existing system gave advantages to foreigners, which were denied to British merchants, and that the Americans, especially, had availed themselves of these advantages to secure the markets of Europe, South America, and the West-Indies. From this latter circumstance, also, an inference was drawn in favour of general freedom of trade. The Company answered, that the connexion of the Americans with the Indian seas was formed under peculiar circumstances, and that their success in the market of Europe was to be ascribed to the political state of that part of the world.

The necessity for the claimants finding new channels of enterprize; the misery of the manufacturers, occasioned by their exclusion from the continent of Europe; the certainty of finding a remedy in the unbounded field which the trade to the East would open to manufacturing and mercantile industry—these, and similar topics, fur-

nished another class of arguments, which were pressed with extraordinary pertinacity by those who conceived they had interests hostile to those of the Company. It was answered, with much calmness and moderation, that any great extension of the trade with India must take place very gradually; that consequently the benefits to be derived from it must be very distant, and that, though it might be very easy to send out to India large quantities of goods, it might not be equally easy to obtain returns.

Experience has shewn that these opinions were correct. The trade which succeeded the Act of 1813 has been little beneficial to England, while to India it has been positively injurious. The petitioners for an open trade had, however, made up their minds to its advantages, and, further, that they were destined to enjoy them—for it was urged, as a reason for extending the trade to the outports, that at Bristol and Liverpool the docks had been enlarged in anticipation of the concession. This specimen of commercial confidence is, perhaps, without parallel: it calls up the recollection of the married lady named Simpkins, who bought a brass plate with the name of Jones upon it, because, if she should happen to become a widow, and marry a gentleman of the latter name, it would come into use.

Such were the principal arguments, by which the advocates of free and of regulated trade res-

pectively supported their opinions. But the question was virtually decided before the discussion commenced. The principles of free trade had made too great progress for ministers to venture to resist them without exercising a degree of magnanimity, seldom acquired or retained amid the haunts of office. The efforts of the Company to retain the China trade were permitted to succeed, but that to India it was determined to throw open.

On the 22d of March 1813, the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of the affairs of the East-India Company; and the various petitions which had been presented having been ordered to be referred to the committee, Lord Castlereagh proceeded to expound the plan which he had to propose on the part of the ministers of the crown. The term for which the Charter was to be renewed was twenty years. The Company were to retain for that term the exclusive trade to China, but the trade with India was to be thrown open on certain conditions. It was to be confined to ships of a certain amount of tonnage; the trade outward was to be open to all the ports of the empire, but the homeward-bound trade to be restricted to certain ports, to be hereafter named. The Company were to be left in full possession of the power of deportation, to enable them to remove from India individuals whose conduct or intentions they might find or suspect to be dangerous: and this power his lord-

ship held to be sufficient to calm any apprehension that might be excited by the facility of commercial intercourse about to be established. It was also proposed to continue to them the command of the native army, as, after mature consideration, ministers were of opinion that to separate the command of the army from the civil administration of India, would be to sap the foundations of the Government. Another revised arrangement related to the number of king's troops in India. This had fluctuated with the necessities of the times; but it was proposed, that in future there should always be a stated number of troops, to form, as it were, the garrison of India; and when more became necessary, they should be paid by this country, as it was unjust that the Company should defray the whole expense of a system of defence which was called for by the general interests of the empire.

At every recent renewal of the Charter, the Company had been called upon to sacrifice some portion of their authority to the ministers of the crown, and of course the present could not be suffered to form an exception. The crown previously possessed the power of recal; but under the pretence that this was an invidious exercise of prerogative, it was proposed to render the sign-manual of the crown necessary to the validity of certain appointments. One of the most important and most beneficial of the contemplated changes

applied to the defects of the ecclesiastical establishment. The members of the Church of England in India had hitherto been deprived of those rites of the church, the administration of which appertain exclusively to the episcopal function, including among them the rite of confirmation. To remedy this grievance, it was proposed to appoint a bishop for India, and three archdeacons were to superintend the chaplains of the different settlements. Lord Castlereagh embodied the principal points of his speech in a series of resolutions, and concluded by moving them.

He was followed by Mr. Robert Thornton, the Deputy Chairman of the East-India Company; who, after reminding the committee that the Company had the sanction of sixteen Acts of Parliament, passed under various sovereigns; that it had existed for 213 years; and that eminent statesmen, of different and adverse parties, had agreed in supporting the monopoly, proceeded to animadvert upon the speech of the minister. Many of the petitions lying on the table he regarded as undeserving of attention, several of them being from places which could derive no benefit from any possible change in the East-India trade—and he instanced one, from a district in Scotland, which had nothing to export but horned cattle. He expatiated upon the attempt made to mislead the public, and the credulity with which they suffered themselves to be misled. The alleged advan-

tages of America arose, he said, out of a treaty, in which the interests of the East-India Company were too little considered; and surely the Company ought not to be sacrificed on that account. He warned the House to pause before they surrendered experience to theory, and claimed the fullest consideration of the subject before final decision.

Mr. Whitshed Keene suggested that evidence should be heard at the bar of the house; a proposal to which Lord Castlereagh appeared inclined to demur. The proposal, however, found a supporter in Mr. Tierney. That gentleman expressed a wish to have the opinion of competent persons, on the probable effects of an influx of all descriptions of persons to India. He knew the noble lord said he had checks; but then he did not see how that could be called a free trade, in which an inhabitant of Liverpool might be allowed, indeed, to go to India, but when there, was to be subjected to the government of his competitors and rivals, who might send him home without assigning any reason for so doing. With regard to the advantages of an open trade, he had not as yet met with any thing beyond mere assertion; and after the blunders committed in South America, he was not disposed to place much reliance upon the opinions of manufacturers. The question, he said, was now narrowed to this point—having an empire well governed, are we to hazard this empire for an increase of trade? Was it too much to wish to know

where the trade was to come from? If they instituted such an inquiry, and it should turn out that the probable increase would be very small, it certainly would become a question, whether it would be worth while to risk what we possessed for the expectation of a trifling improvement. All he wanted was, for the House, before it argued the question, to have something to argue upon. He was, therefore, for hearing evidence, and the calling for it would involve no sacrifice of time; for what was consumed in evidence would be saved in speeches. He wished to have the opinions of such men as Lord Teignmouth, the Marquess Wellesley, and Mr. Hastings.

Mr. Canning supported the resolutions generally, but seemed disposed to go further, and throw open the China trade—if not immediately, at an earlier period than the expiration of the proposed Act. He deemed it unnecessary to call evidence to support the proposal of free trade. Mr. Canning at this time represented the great trading town of Liverpool, in which the strongest desire prevailed for the opening of the eastern trade.

Mr. Grant was unfriendly to the contemplated change. He repeated what had been said by Mr. Thornton, that the argument derived from the opening of the trade to the Americans was of no force, as it was the act of the British Government, and not of the Company. But he went beyond him, by suggesting that the remedy was easy

—it was only to shut out the Americans. He quoted the authority of Lord Cornwallis as hostile to colonization; avowed his dislike to the scheme of ministers, because it went to throw down the whole fabric of the East-India Company; protested against undue haste; and wished that evidence should be heard on certain points. Lord Castlereagh, finding the sense of the house strong on this point, ultimately consented to hear evidence.

On the 30th, the committee was resumed, and evidence called. The first witness was a man rendered eminent by his career in India, and no less so by the long and harassing judicial proceedings which awaited him at home. It was Warren Hastings, then in the eightieth year of his age. His examination was of some length, and related to various subjects—the settlement of Europeans, the demand for British commodities, and the propagation of the Christian religion. To the first he expressed himself strongly opposed: he apprehended great injury and oppression to the natives, and regarded the indiscriminate admission of Europeans as fraught with danger to the peace of the country and the safety of the Company. This opinion, he averred, he had long maintained, and he expressed himself anxious to vindicate himself from the suspicion of being biassed by his obligations to the Company. With this view, he stated that, twenty years before, when the privileges of the East-India Company were under discussion,

he spontaneously addressed a letter to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, in which he strongly urged the necessity of providing against the irruption of British adventurers into India. A clause having been inserted in the Act, permitting strangers to reside by license, he addressed a second letter to the Chairs, remonstrating against it, as likely to produce greater mischiefs than even the permission of indiscriminate residence; because the favoured parties would appear to have the sanction of the Company, and would thereby possess an influence which no man would dare to resist; while a body of adventurers without privilege, would be under the jealous eye of Government, and naturally excite its attention. In a still more recent letter, he had repeated these opinions.

On the question as to the probable demand for British commodities, Mr. Hastings was less decided, but he thought it would be inconsiderable. It was his opinion, that the trade between India and England, as then regulated, was far more beneficial to both countries than if perfectly free. Being reminded that, in a review of the state of Bengal, which he had written some years before, he had said, "that although we had been so long in possession of the sovereignty of Bengal, yet we had not been able so far to change our ideas with our situation as to quit the contracted views of monopolists," and that in the same work he had insisted upon it, as a fixed and incontrovertible

principle, that commerce could only flourish when free and equal, he professed not to recollect the words alluded to, but to have no doubt of their being correctly quoted; and added, that he did not come there to defend his own inconsistencies, —that if he had ever expressed such opinions, he then abjured them,—that his present sentiments were widely different,—and that he could not say when he changed them.

On the subject of the propagation of Christianity in India, the opinions delivered by Mr. Hastings were singularly vague and undecided. On the proposed episcopal establishment, he expressed himself with an equal degree of oracular darkness; and, for the son of a clergyman, he certainly evinced a most philosophic indifference, both to the general interests of Christianity and the welfare of the Protestant Episcopal Church. On the whole, he did little for the elucidation of the various questions before the house, and his answers were distinguished by nothing so much as the pompous and inflated language in which they were conveyed. Looking at the exhibition which he had made on this occasion, it is impossible to avoid concluding, either that age had materially impaired a once vigorous mind, or that Warren Hastings was a greatly overrated man.

Lord Teignmouth was the next witness examined. His lordship appeared to apprehend that an unrestrained influx of Europeans into India

might be prejudicial; but thought, that though great numbers might be led by the first opening of the country to rush into commercial speculation, the disappointment which would follow would soon mitigate the evil. He conceived there would be little difficulty, in the existing state of the police, in confining strangers within due limits. The consumption of any great quantity of European goods, he regarded as improbable; the natives, according to his experience, having neither the taste for such articles, nor, for the most part, the means of purchasing them. He saw no danger in discreet and well-regulated efforts for the introduction of Christianity, and did not believe that the natives entertained any alarm on the subject.

The examination of witnesses was resumed on future days, and several distinguished servants of the Company were examined. Among them was Sir John Malcolm. It was his opinion that, of all the powers vested in the local government, none was more essential to its existence in full vigour and force, than that which enabled them to restrain the residence of Europeans. He expected little increase in the consumption of European commodities among the natives. Sir Thomas Munro, who was also examined, thought that the habits of the Hindoos were too unchangeable to admit of the hope of a large demand for English goods. He participated, also, in the apprehension felt by some witnesses, as to the probable conse-

quences of an unrestrained access of Europeans; but saw no evil in an open trade, if confined to the principal settlements.

After being persevered in for some time, the mode of investigation originally adopted was suddenly abandoned. Ministers either found, as they alleged, that the time of the house was too much occupied, or the affair was taking a tendency opposed to that which they desired. On the 13th of April, Lord Castlereagh, after complaining of delay and inconvenience, and referring to a precedent to authorize the course that he was about to recommend, moved for the appointment of a select committee, to examine witnesses, and report the minutes to the house. Mr. Robert Thornton opposed the motion, on behalf of the Company, as did also Mr. Grant and Mr. Astell, the last-named gentleman denouncing the proposal as an attempt to smother the remainder of the Company's case. Mr. Canning, the representative of one of the towns most interested in destroying the Company's privileges, supported the motion. It was resisted by Mr. Tierney and Mr. Ponsonby, leading members of the opposition; the former of whom insinuated a charge of unfairness against the ministry. On a division, the motion was carried, and the select committee met on the 15th, and continued to sit, notwithstanding the house adjourned for the Easter holidays.

In the mean time, the question of the renewal

of the Charter had been introduced into the Upper House. On the 30th of March, the Earl of Buckinghamshire announced, that though a different course had formerly been adopted, it had been deemed advisable, in the present instance, that the resolutions, which had been laid before the Commons, should also be presented to their lordships, and that a committee of the whole house should, with all the documents before it, proceed to the hearing of any evidence which might be offered. Lord Grenville having suggested a select committee, as more advisable, Lord Liverpool, the premier, immediately assented, and a motion for the appointment of such committee having been made, it was carried without a division. On the 5th, the select committee of the Lords met, and proceeded to hear evidence. As in the Commons, the first witness called was Warren Hastings. His answers to the questions put to him were of extraordinary length, but added little or nothing in substance to the evidence which he had given before the Lower House. Some further evidence was heard, and on the 9th, an animated debate took place, on a motion, made by the Marquess Wellesley, for the production of certain papers connected with the inquiry in which the house was engaged. The noble marquess introduced the motion by a very long and elaborate speech, in which he lamented the delay which had taken place with regard to the question

—a delay which he viewed as prejudicial, inasmuch as it gave time for the propagation of notions respecting freedom of trade, which his lordship considered wild and even frantic. He equally condemned the mode in which ministers had ultimately submitted the question to the Upper House, by throwing on the table a set of resolutions unexplained, unconsidered, undebated, and almost unread. He argued, that to apply abstract principles to the present case, without due regard to its peculiar circumstances, was absurd. The origin and progress of our empire in India was altogether singular. A portion of it had fallen into our hands through the medium of commercial enterprize; it had been completed by the combined operation of commerce and military skill; and his object was to shew the impolicy and danger of legislating upon principles which did not arise out of the nature of the case. This was a complex question, and was not to be determined upon the ordinary principles of political economy. He protested against any attempt to decide it upon the pretence that it was an anomalous state of things when the same person was merchant and sovereign. If it were an anomaly, still if it worked well in practice, he held that it ought not to be disturbed. The objection, that the Company lost by some branches of their trade, he considered no reason why they should be called upon to surrender it. It did not follow that they could be deprived of

this without sustaining even a greater loss. A merchant's books might show that his trade in a particular article was attended with loss, and yet it might be possible, that to discontinue this particular branch of trade might disarrange his entire system of commerce, and bring the whole to ruin. There might be such intermixture and connexion in various parts of a large establishment, that to touch one was to expose every part to danger;—thus it was with the Company. The exclusive trade, under proper modifications, was an important ingredient in their character; and he declared most solemnly, speaking, he might venture to say, with some knowledge of the subject, that, in his opinion, to deprive the Company of the trade to India, would most materially and essentially affect their ability to carry on their political functions. If it were objected that they conducted their trade in a more expensive manner than private merchants, it behoved their lordships to recollect why they did so. It was their mixed political and commercial character which rendered this necessary and expedient.

The testimony of the marquess, founded on personal experience, was obviously entitled to great respect, and it was given most unequivocally in favour of the East-India Company, as an instrument of government. He supported this testimony, by appealing to their banishment of foreign influence and intrigue,—to the consolida-

tion of institutions and authorities,—to the amelioration of the condition of the natives, and especially to the state of tranquillity in which those countries had been placed—the Deccan, for instance, and the provinces north of the Mysore—which, in all previous times, had been constantly exposed to war and devastation. These were the fruits of the government of the East-India Company, and he anticipated still further improvements. The noble marquess denied that the customs, manners, feelings, and habits of the people of India were so immutable as they had been sometimes represented. He asked what it was that made the difference between the native armies that we employed in India, and those raised by the native powers? It was the fact, that our sepoys had departed from many of their original habits and prejudices, and this was the whole substantial difference between our armies and those of native chieftains. Could it be said, then, that such a people were incapable of improvement? They clearly were not; but, at the same time, change must be gradual and voluntary; not crude, precipitate, and forced.

The restrictions upon the residence of Europeans, the marquess regarded as necessary for the benefit of the natives; but he did not see how those restrictions could be maintained after the establishment of a free trade. A free trade to India, and a virtual prohibition to the trader from

residing there, was a contradiction too glaring to be admitted for an instant. Some inferior points of the ministerial plan, such as the extension of the trade to the outports, also met his lordship's disapprobation. He reiterated his principal objection, that to divest the Company of its commercial character, would incapacitate it as an efficient organ of government, and concluded by moving for copies of various papers illustrative of the subjects to which his speech had been directed.

After Lord Buckinghamshire had spoken in defence of the conduct of ministers, Lord Grenville delivered his opinions in a very long and elaborate speech. He considered all former arrangements relating to the government and commerce of India only as experiments, and not always successful ones; at best only calculated for a limited duration, never permanent, nor even meant for permanence. He wished not to perpetuate these anomalous and imperfect arrangements, but he believed the time had not arrived when any final regulation could be safely established. Whatever was now done, should be temporary, and he objected to the part of the ministerial plan which proposed that the arrangements now entered into should be for so long a period as twenty years. He regarded the claims of the East-India Company as nothing, and argued that the first duty of the British Parliament was to consult the welfare of the country for

which it was called upon to legislate. Next to this object in importance, was the interest of our own country, which was deeply implicated in the discussion. Taking his stand upon these principles, he considered both the plan of the Marquess Wellesley, for re-investing the Company with all their privileges, and that of ministers, for divesting them of a portion, as highly questionable. He was friendly to a free trade, but he could not hope that a competition, in which the whole influence of the government, territory, and revenue of India would be arrayed against the unprotected enterprize of individual adventurers, could either deserve the name of free trade, or ensure its advantages.

His lordship reprobated the union of the characters of merchant and sovereign, which he alleged to be opposed to all authority, and condemned by all experience. For nearly fifty years, the East-India Company had exercised dominion in India, and the results of their trade, in a country whose government they administered, and whose commerce they monopolized, was a serious loss. If they derived a profit from any part of their trade, it was that with China, where they enjoyed no sovereignty, but, on the contrary, were banished, like outcasts, to a remote and narrow corner of the empire, there to reside under a perpetual quarantine. He would not admit that the improved condition of India was to

be attributed to the Company, but claimed the praise for the wisdom and justice of the public councils of the state. For twenty years after the Company acquired the dewannee, India was so constantly ill-governed, as to compel the forcible interposition of Parliament; and good government commenced only in the year 1784, when the power of controlling the Company was vested in commissioners appointed by the Crown. It is observable, that this was the precise period at which Lord Grenville, and the party with which he then acted, commenced a long official career.

His lordship proceeded to say, that he was for transferring the government to the Crown altogether. He thought that arrangements might easily be made with regard to the patronage, by which all danger of unduly increasing the influence of ministers might be avoided; but he did not state that he had not thought so in 1784, when he opposed, and succeeded in throwing out, the far-famed India Bill of the coalition ministry, because it deprived the Company of its patronage. The plan of which his lordship was the advocate, went to put up the civil appointments for competition among certain public schools, and to appropriate the military appointments to the sons of deceased officers. Lord Grenville, adverting to the China trade, condemned the intention of ministers to continue the monopoly to the Company. He apprehended, that when

the India trade was thrown open, it would be, in fact, impracticable to preserve the Chinese monopoly, as the productions of China would be brought down in country vessels to any of the ports of the Eastern Archipelago that our merchants might choose.

Lord Grenville made some observations on minor topics connected with the renewal of the Charter, and the debate was closed by Lord Liverpool, who briefly defended the line taken by ministers. The motion for papers not being resisted, was, of course, carried without a division; and it seems, indeed, only to have been made for the purpose of enabling the peers to deliver their opinions on the principal question.

The speech of Lord Grenville was, undoubtedly, the most remarkable that was made. The sweeping doctrines which he avowed were, perhaps, at that time, little to be expected from any member of the House of Peers; but, of all men, they were least to be expected from the noble baron who gave them the weight of his authority. Lord Grenville had been long on the political stage, and his conduct on this occasion must alike have astonished his friends and his foes. His political course had hitherto been guided by expediency, not by abstract principle. No one had ever suspected him of being a theorist, and the robe of the philosopher was assumed too late in life, to be worn with either ease or grace. It was an

incongruous covering for a man who had become grey in habits of official intrigue, and whose political life and liberal doctrines were bitter satires on each other.

Independently of his general character, there were some particular incidents in Lord Grenville's career, which certainly did not lend any weight to his advocacy of the destruction of the East-India Company. He had, as has already been mentioned, been one of the most active and zealous of that party which, with Mr. Pitt at their head, had succeeded, in 1784, in displacing the coalition ministry, solely on the ground of their contemplated violation of the chartered rights of the East-India Company. Some years afterwards, he had, as a cabinet minister, given his consent to an Act which continued to the Company that monopoly and that power which he now professed to regard as so dangerous. It was unfortunate that political philosophy should have deferred her visit to this statesman until a period when both his mind and body were enfeebled by age, and his moral vision clouded by those feelings which must attend a man who, after passing a long life in office, finds himself doomed to linger out his declining years in the cold atmosphere of the opposition benches.

It is possible, indeed, that there was another cause for Lord Grenville's altered views. The East-India Company had strenuously and effec-

tually resisted the appointment of a governor-general, recommended by the ministry of which Lord Grenville was the head. It is not easy to determine what influence this might have had in effecting his lordship's conversion into a philosopher; but, in endeavouring to account for so extraordinary an event, it is not unreasonable to seek for an extraordinary cause.

In the House of Commons, the select committee continued the examination of witnesses which had been commenced in the committee of the whole house. This labour lasted much longer than had been expected; but, having been at length concluded, the Commons, on the 31st May, once more resolved themselves into a committee of the whole house, in which Lord Castlereagh proceeded to submit an amended series of resolutions. The first, declaring that the privileges should continue for a limited period, with the exception of such as might be subsequently modified or repealed, having been moved, Mr. Bruce entered into a long and laboured history of the Company, from its incorporation by Elizabeth, and condemned any deviation from the existing system, as replete with danger.

He was followed, on the same side, by a far more brilliant speaker—Mr. Charles Grant, junior, now Lord Glenelg. That gentleman glanced at the speech of Lord Grenville in the Upper House, and argued that the improvement, which was ad-

mitted on all hands to have taken place in India, was attributable to the Company. He denied that the year 1784 constituted the epoch of the commencement of a new order of things. The foundations of improvement were laid earlier; and it was not until much had been done, that the Legislature interfered. The King's Government had, indeed, subsequently co-operated with the Company; but it did not follow that because certain results were produced by the operation of a complex system, the same results would follow if one part of the system were removed.

Mr. Grant's opinion of Lord Grenville's plan for the distribution of the patronage of India, was delivered with much freedom. He viewed it as altogether inefficient; and contended that, if adopted, it would ultimately be the means of effecting that which it professed to guard against, by placing the patronage at the disposal of the minister of the Crown. He maintained, that the efficiency of the existing system for the government of India consisted, in a great degree, in its publicity—every man engaged in it acted on a conspicuous theatre. He could hardly hope that the rules of the service would survive the existence of the Company; and if they did, their vigour and efficiency might be entirely superseded. He objected, further, to the suggested plan of patronage, on the ground of its exclusiveness; and thought it remarkable, that a plan, professing to proceed

upon hostility to all exclusion, should in itself involve a system of exclusion the most cruel and unjust. To confine the civil services of India to the highest classes of the public schools, and the military service to the sons of officers who had fallen in battle, was cutting off the larger portion of the British community from a wide and honourable field of exertion.

Proceeding to the question of the union of the political and commercial functions, the objection to it, Mr. Grant said, rested upon the authority of a great master of political economy, Dr. Smith. But it was curious to observe how the charge had shifted its ground since it was first made. Dr. Smith objected to the union, because he thought the interests of the Company, as merchants, would interfere with their duty as sovereigns; his disciples take precisely the opposite ground. The merits of the Company, as rulers, are admitted; but it is alleged that they sacrifice their interests, as merchants, to their duties as sovereigns. But, after all, the charge rested upon assumption. It pronounced the junction of the sovereign and mercantile capacities to be ruinous; but the only instance upon record of such a junction, is that of the East-India Company, and it seemed like begging the question to begin with laying down a theory, and then to reason from this theory, and pronounce *à priori* upon the only fact in history to which it can be applied. To

argue that such a mixture of functions must upon theory be bad—that the system of the East-India Company is an example of such a mixture, and therefore is a pernicious system—such a mode of arguing was assuming the very point to be ascertained. "Political science," said Mr. Grant, "depends upon an induction of facts. In no case, therefore, can it be allowed to close the series of experiments, and to declare definitively that for the future no practical results whatever shall shake an established doctrine. Least of all is this allowable, when the doctrine can by possibility refer only to a single fact, and when that single fact is at war with the doctrine."

The expectation of a great increase of commerce, flowing from an unrestrained intercourse with India, Mr. Grant considered a delusion—a delusion, however, which the evidence which had been heard ought to be sufficient to dissipate. The manufacturers had been duped by misrepresentations which had been industriously circulated among them, in some degree, he believed, from ignorance, but in some degree also, he feared, from motives less excusable.

To the happiness of the people of India, Mr. Grant apprehended great danger from the influx of Europeans. With the solitary exception of Asia, British adventure had not been favourable to the happiness of the countries visited. He appealed to our intercourse with the native tribes