



to be reared and brought to perfection in England. In a word, Mr. Hastings, in the seclusion of Daylesford, was precisely what he used to be when the fate of a great empire depended upon his will; he was constantly employed, and always had for the end of his exertions the attainment of some good and wise purpose, involving moral or physical benefits to his fellow creatures. It is not, however, to be supposed that he left himself without leisure either to watch as they befel the mighty events by which Europe was shaken, or to keep the fine edge of his genius from growing dull for lack of use. He never ceased to take an interest in public affairs; he never lost his taste for intellectual pursuits, and he contrived so to interweave them with the ordinary occupations of life, that the one seemed, in point of fact, to be a portion of the other. The following brief account of the manner in which one day at Daylesford was spent may be taken as a tolerably correct specimen of all the rest.

Mr. Hastings had always been an early riser: he was generally up and dressed before any other member of the family began to stir, and, shutting himself in his own little room, he devoted the first hour of the day to private study. Mr. Hastings breakfasted invariably alone, and his meal never consisted of any other viands than tea and bread and butter; in the former of which articles, by the



way, he was a decided epicure, for he made it after a fashion of his own. It was with him a maxim, that the tea having been once infused, and the teapot filled, no second supply of water ought to be added. All the aroma, he would say, is carried off in the first decoction; you extract nothing from the wasted leaves by saturating them again, except a bitter and unwholesome beverage. In like manner, animal food of every description, down, I believe, to the fresh laid egg, was, on principle, excluded from his early meal. But though he never breakfasted with the family party, not even when Daylesford house chanced to be full of guests, Mr. Hastings would come forth from his own room, which communicated with theirs, and sit beside his friends and do his best to amuse them while they were demolishing their tongue and venison pasties. On these occasions he not unfrequently made his appearance with a copy of verses in his hand, the composition of which had employed either his sleepless hours by night or his first waking moments in the morning; and they were uniformly so graceful—so perfectly adapted to the situation of the party, because touching either on the occurrences of the past day, or illustrating some subject of conversation which might have called forth his own wit or the wit of somebody else—that every interruption of the pleasant practice was felt as a grievous disappointment.





There is no poet, however, whose Pegasus will always soar on the mere volition of its rider ; and Mr. Hastings did from time to time join the family circle without bringing a poetic offering along with him. When thus reduced to matters of fact, he would either read aloud some passage from a favourite author, or, if public events happened to be peculiarly interesting, he took refuge in a newspaper. Whatever his text might be, however, he seldom failed to make it clear by an oral commentary ; and I have been assured by those who enjoyed the best opportunities of judging that he was never more agreeable, never more animated, than at these early conversaziones. There was a playfulness in his humour which won the best affections of such as listened to it ; there was a strength and power in his philosophy which commanded the respect of all to whom its maxims were propounded.

Mr. Hastings was a great advocate for bathing, which he regarded as conducive not only to cleanliness, but to health. He himself took the cold bath daily, the warm bath twice or thrice a-week, and, as often as an opportunity came in his way, he indulged freely his predilection for swimming. In like manner his fondness for horse-exercise, and indeed for the horse itself, was quite oriental. He rode remarkably well, and he piqued himself on the accomplishment to an extent which in almost



any other man might have been accounted ridiculous: for nothing pleased him more than to undertake some animal which nobody else could control and to reduce it (as he invariably did) to a state of perfect docility. The following anecdote, which I have from my friend Mr. Impey, himself an actor in the little drama, may suffice to show the extent to which this passion was carried:—

It happened once upon a time, when Mr. Impey was, with some other boys, on a visit at Daylesford, that Mr. Hastings, returning from a ride, saw his young friends striving in vain to manage an ass which they had found 'grazing in the paddock, and which one after another they chose to mount. The ass, it appears, had no objection to receive the candidates for equestrian renown successively on his back, but budge a foot he would not; and there being neither saddle nor bridle, wherewith to restrain his natural movements, he never failed, so soon as a difference of opinion arose, to get the better of his rider. Each in his turn, the boys were repeatedly thrown, till at last Mr. Hastings, who watched the proceeding with great interest, approached.

"Why, boys," said he, "how is it that none of you can ride?"

"Not ride!" cried the little aspirants; "we could ride well enough, if we had a saddle and a bridle; but he's such an obstinate brute, that we

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don't think even you, Sir, could sit him bare-backed."

"Let's try," exclaimed the Governor-general. Whereupon he dismounted, and gave his horse to one of the children to hold, and mounted the donkey. The beast began to kick up his heels, and lower his head as heretofore ; but this time the trick would not answer. The Governor-general sat firm, and finally prevailed, whether by fair means or foul I am not instructed, in getting the quadruped to move wheresoever he chose. He himself laughed heartily as he resigned the conquered thistle-eater to his first friends ; and the story when told, as told it was, with consummate humour, at the dinner table, afforded great amusement to a large circle of guests.

Besides preparing the poetical effusions of which I have spoken as giving a zest to the conversation over the general breakfast table at Daylesford, Mr. Hastings was in the constant habit of amusing himself in literary composition. I find among his papers, essays, dissertations, criticisms, poems, on almost every conceivable subject ; of which many appear to me to possess extraordinary merit, while all exhibit marks of talent, if not of genius. It is not, however, my intention to introduce into the present work any specimens of these literary productions. There are more than enough of them within my reach to form a moderate sized volume,



and I shall greatly distrust my own judgment in such matters for the future, if the readers of this memoir fail to thank me, should I by and bye arrange them into something like order, and offer them for general perusal.

Having premised all this, there remains for me only the pleasant task of filling up the present chapter with some of Mr. Hastings's familiar letters, taken at random, from the multitudes that cover my table. It will be seen that I choose those which are addressed to his earliest and most trusty friends, in preference to others which bear more imposing superscriptions. My reasons for doing so require no explanation. It is only in such correspondence as the following, that we may ever hope to discover a faithful picture of the writer's mind and feelings.

To G. R. THOMPSON, Esq., referring in part to his Negotiation with the Court of Directors about the Annuity, in part to the Congratulatory Addresses which had reached him from India.

Park Lane, 26th March, 1796.

My dear Thompson,—When you come to town I know that it is with such reluctance, and you have such powerful calls for your speedy return, that I never expect to have more than fleeting glimpses of you. My disappointment, therefore, is not so great as yours, if you are so near, and yet can afford me but little of your society, though no one of your friends sets a greater, if an equal, value upon it. Next time, however, do as you promise. Put up your portmanteau in Vere-street Hotel, or there is one in Oxford-street, or be anywhere near us.





Mrs. Hastings returned to town on the 14th, almost well, caught a new cough, added other and worse complaints to it, and is but within these three days well enough to go abroad.

The Directors have not yet closed my arrangements. I have desired them to purchase my annuity, to prevent my depreciating their bounty by selling it to a Jew, and to enable me to pay the remainder of my debts. A foolish motion of Lord Lauderdale in the House of Peers, giving occasion for a short delay, the chairman in that interval fell sick, and my letter remains unnoticed; but a Court is called, for next Tuesday, for the express purpose, as I understand, of taking their sentiments upon it.

In the mean time, the copy of a letter from the British inhabitants of Calcutta, congratulating me upon my acquittal, with the annunciation of two similar addresses from the officers and native inhabitants of Calcutta, is seasonably arrived, and these are aids to the business on the principle of popularity. The paper which is come is admirably drawn up. As it is in the newspapers, I conclude you have seen it. It is, as our great Lord observed, "simple and dignified, evidently proceeding from a sentiment of more than it was thought useful or becoming to express." It consoles me for the want of money to throw away on the luxuries of a farm and a greenhouse, and on the tax of town residence.

Mrs. Hastings gives her love to you and Mrs. Thompson, and under her protection I beg leave to offer mine.

I had almost forgotten a material object of my letter. I forgot what you told me concerning the person for whom you wanted the cadetship which Mr. Inglis promised me. I think you said that he was otherwise provided for. Let me know by the returning



post whether you still wish for it, as Mr. Inglis reserves the appointment for me, and must give in his nomination by the end of this month. If you adhere to the original recommendation, give me the person's name. At all events write an answer by to-morrow's post. Your affectionate.

The following to Sir John D'Oyley exhibits the writer in the light of an ardent agriculturist:—

Daylesford House, 10th June, 1799.

My dear Sir John,—I return you as many thanks as can amount to my sense of the strong testimony which you have given me of your affection, in the letter recommending Mr. Turton to General Ellerker, and the additional recommendation which you intend to give him to Captain Davies. This will be of more service to him than all my letters united.

I rejoice at the birth of your Indian calf, and hope that I and my cow shall both live to profit by his services, when he is arrived at full estate. I am yet not without hopes of a similar accession to my own Indian family.

Mr. Cooke has sent me the implements which you were so good as to bespeak for me; and I shall set the chaffcutter to work before I close this letter. I have already tried it—yesterday, God forgive me! I do not think that the simple examination of a thing which may be converted to the general benefit of all the society around me can be termed doing any manner of work in the sense of the commandment. But I am just come from working it with lucerne, and oatstraw as a substratum, and have distributed the produce among my best horses. Sir Charles and my new broke colt eat it greedily. Mrs. Hastings's horse only rejects it, and my grey mare seems only not to dislike it. I





suppose the crudeness of the expressed juice of the plant is unpleasant to them from want of use. The instrument does not draw the lucerne alone, but works well with straw neatly laid at the bottom. If I am right in my recollection, P. L. Close gave his horses and cattle green and dry chaff mixed; and if his riding horse obtained his sleek coat by such provender, with (I conclude) a little addition of oats, there cannot be a better diet.

I have written to Mr. Cooke for a plough, and it will be in time.

I have fitted up a stand for two oxen, which I am now fattening on my idea of the principles (or rather of their application, for I cannot err in the principles) of Mr. Close's stables.

I find my bailiff heartily desirous to give my innovations a fair trial; but he, my groom, carter, and all are delighted with the chaff-cutter. I grieve that I want the bodily powers, which, if I possessed them, I am sure I could employ to the completion of my character as a farmer. I am resolved, however, to get back the cost of my machines by the use of them.

Having paper to spare, and a frank to cover it, I will fill it with some observations on the practice of giving cattle cut food.

From the frequent instances of oats growing out of horses dung, and the disorders to which elephants are liable from eating the leaves and succulent stems of plantain trees uncut, it is evident that it is only the soluble parts of vegetable substances on which the powers of digestion can act, the hard husk of the entire oat preserving the seed from undergoing any change in the passage, and the fibres of all grasses undergoing but little, especially the stems of lucerne and green tares near the roots, the greater portion of straw, and much even of hay. These of course often retain their



original substance, and are connected together like ropes, through all the intestines. How far this may disturb what is called the peristaltic motion, or in what other way they may be affected by the prolongation of the same undissolved matter through vessels formed for different processes of digestion, I am not anatomist enough to conjecture: but I am confident of the cause, however it may produce its effect. In the instance of elephants the effect is visible.

Hence it appears that in all cases, where cattle have fibrous food provided for them, of whatever kind, it ought to be prepared for the stomach by being first cut into small portions. I have read that hogs will thrive in a field of clover, but die, if it is given to them as it is cut from the field. This (if true) must be owing to the cause above assigned. I wish you would suggest this to Mr. Close. You need not show him what I have written.

I add to this a letter addressed to one of Sir John D'Oyley's sons, who had recently gone out to India as a writer. It does full justice to the kind and gentle disposition which induced Mr. Hastings to take so much interest in the well being of young people, and endeared him in an extraordinary degree to all the young persons with whom he ever came closely into contact.

Daylesford House, 24th April, 1799.

My dear Charles,—I thank you for your kind letter, and for affording me this proof of your retaining me in your remembrance, which pleased me, though I was far from suspecting that you would forget me. If you follow one of the dictates of natural morality, to love all who love you, and with the same measure of affec-





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tion, you will feel that sentiment in the fullest degree for Mrs. Hastings and myself as long as you live; and we wish for no better effect of it, than to be informed by your letters that you prosper and are happy. You have commenced your course so well, and seem to have laid down for yourself so judicious a plan of conduct, that I have no doubt of your attaining both these objects. Your excellent father, who unceasingly talks of you, and with what anxiety you need not be told, has gratified us exceedingly by permitting us to read your letters, knowing how interested we were in their contents, and how many sources of satisfaction they would, as they did, yield us.

You cannot too highly appreciate the benefits which you have received by your reception into Mr. Brooke's family; nor can you know so well as I do, be the present manners and fashions of the young men of Calcutta what they may, what perils you have escaped by having been thus withdrawn from their society. Against these your good sense would have been an insecure guard, and the goodness of your heart would but have more exposed you to them. Upon this subject I could give you a world of good advice; but you will not want it. Yet let me say thus much: cherish your present protection; and when you lose it, as you must in the course of a few years, resolve to be in every sense your own master, nor suffer any influence but the rectitude of your own understanding to prescribe your conduct in the pursuit either of pleasure, interest, or reputation.

Sir John and Lady D'Oyley made us very happy by deviating a little from the direct line of their route to Dublin, and passing a few, though very few, days with us in the last month. We expect them again in their way back in the beginning of the next, and propose to accompany them to Newlands. Your father appeared



to be in better health than I have seen him in for many years, and your dear mother holds her head almost as erect as if her neck had never received any injury. Indeed I never perceived the effects of it after the day of her arrival. Your little brother was so far of the party. He is very much like what you were at the same age, in temper and person, and less delicate in his health than I had expected to see him.

I beg you will present my kindest regards to your good friend, Mr. Brooke. I ever remembered him with the respect which was due to a truly amiable character, and I love him for his goodness to you.

Mrs. Hastings desires me to assure you of her kindest affection and good wishes. I am ever, my dear Charles, your affectionate friend.

To Mr. THOMPSON, relative to electioneering matters, in which he had been solicited by more than one friend to interfere.

Daylesford House, 14th March, 1800.

My dear Thompson,—Much occupation embarrassing me at the time when I received your letter of a date so distant that I will not mention it, may account for my long apparent inattention to it; but will not excuse me. Reading it over now, and feeling the same sensations excited by it, as the recent perusal of it must have produced, I can better comprehend the reluctance which an indolent mind, like mine, had to encounter, and to conquer in entering on the discussion which any reply that I could make to it would require. To have governed the first and only valuable portion of the British Empire in India thirteen years, to have received at my departure and since the fullest assurance of my carrying with me the regrets and affections of my fellow servants and countrymen there, and to find myself without interest with those whom I had successfully served, and without influence with my associates at home, might have been a subject of mor-





tifying reflection to a mind even less susceptible than my own: it has had less influence on mine by my incessant care to preclude or run away from it; and I am afraid this has grown so much into a habit, that I give way to it in cases where I ought not, as in the present. But one-fourth of a letter is too much for a preface. Let me proceed to the substance.

I have already done all that I could do for the late Mr. Dent, and was told that any further exertion of mine would be ineffectual. Something, too, I attempted, but I forget what, for his widow. If it be not too late, and I can repeat it by verbal application, I will, and will carry your letter with me to town for that purpose. Mr. Powney's kind interpretation of my silence to his application in favour of Mr. Porcher hurt me more than a reproach. I was sore, too, from other hurts from the same occasion. In the support (of whatever avail it may, or may not have been) which my old friendship for Colonel Toone exacted from me, willingly and zealously as I gave it, I yet felt grieved that I hurt two worthy people for whom I had a regard, at the same time that I broke through a fixed determination which I had long made and maintained. In the last contest I had two friends pitted against one another, and a friend of my friend's against them. If I could have departed from the line of forbearance which my reason had imposed upon me as an obligation, I should have given my interest (such as it is) to Mr. Auriol, to whom I was under pecuniary obligations. I excused myself to him, and stated my situation to Mr. Plowden, and expressed to both my disapprobation of the competitions of Indians with Indians, involving their common friends in mutual hostility, and too often in consequent hatreds, for the sole benefit of other candidates to whom the division of their strength was the means of success. Your letter arrived after



these explanations, and when I had received private assurances that neither Plowden nor Porcher had a chance of success against the powers of Government and Directors united in favour of Mr. Thornton; so that, if I had been at liberty, I could not have exercised it with any hope of success.

I seldom keep copies of my letters, for I can hardly command time to write them. But I did make a copy of my letter to Auriol, and I give you the following extract of it, because I think it possible that you may have it in your power to apply the substance of it, and your energetic manner give it greater effect, in the trial of it on Powney and his friend, than I had on mine; for I used the same arguments, and recommended the same accommodation to Mr. Plowden, but in other words. . . . . "In the present instance I should consider every vote that I could procure for you as remotely, but most surely, contributing to the success of the most powerfully supported of your rivals. In effect you, and Mr. Plowden, and Mr. Porcher, are labouring for the success of Mr. Thornton, by dividing that interest which, if united, might be a match for any that could be opposed to it; and it ought to be united. I might say in the words of Moses:—'Why smite ye your fellows? Why join the herd of your revilers and oppressors against each other, and against yourselves?'

"I own, it has long been a matter of painful regret to me to see the gentlemen from India so little regardless of the reproaches and contumelies which are cast upon them by their countrymen at home, and the universal combination which has existed against their name, reputation, and interests. I believe that my long trial, and the voluminous matter which it produced in evidence, may have served to remove a part, though but a part, of the odium which has so ungrate-





fully, as well as unjustly, prevailed against the whole body of the Indian service; the members of which might both efface the rest, and render themselves respectable, if they would but assert their own rights, and yield to the dictates of that natural principle which all mankind obey, but themselves—self-defence.

“If you ask me how this is to be done, I will tell you, and apply my answer to the case in point.

“Let the present candidates (I mean the Indian) meet together, with their respective friends. Let each produce a fair state of his own force and expectations. Let the weakest consent to resign their present pretensions to the strongest, and join their interest to his for his support, reserving and assuring to the next their combined aid against all other competitors, when the next vacancy shall enable him to enter the lists.

“One of you by this accommodation might have a fair chance of succeeding; but if three members in their aggregate amount are not sufficient to produce that effect, I am sure that no one portion of it, if divided, will.

“I have long ago wished to propose to my brethren from India such a defensive plan of confederacy against their common enemies; but I have never been in a situation which suited with such a purpose. For many years I was so circumstanced, that a proposition of this tendency coming from me would have been liable to the imputation of attempting to form a party to elude the course of justice. Other considerations have since dissuaded—I should rather say, disabled—me. You have it in your power, let the state of your canvass be what it will. Let me conjure you to weigh well what I have written, before you reject my advice. If you follow it, the event may not indeed prove it to be right, but if you do not, I am sure that you will find it so.”



I am sorry, my dear friend, to put you to the charge of double postage; but I have exhausted so much of my time and paper, as I shall your patience, on alien and unpleasant subjects, that I must add something, *quod magis ad nos pertinet*, and more pleasing, to relieve the foregoing.

Notwithstanding the querulous tone of some passages in the other sheet, I do not complain, nor have cause for it. Of the ingredients of happiness which I once enumerated in rhyme, I possess all (and the catalogue is pretty large) but one; and that occasionally comes and goes. Daylesford is very much improved since you saw it, both in its ornamental acquisitions, its comforts, and its husbandry. My beloved wife is what she was in her moral and spiritual substance, and I should and ought to be perfectly contented, if her health (which is not worse, but rather better) was more stable. The worst is, we live too much secluded from society, excepting that of our neighbours, and too remote from our friends; but our hearts turn to them with as much warmth as ever, and with as hearty an interest in their concerns, and in none more, hardly any so much, than in those of our dear friends at Penton. May their number go on increasing, and Heaven bless you with the means of providing for their future comforts, and with the fortitude of self-privation, if that should be necessary to that end! Present to Mrs. Thompson, and accept the assurances of our truest love, and believe me ever, my dear Thompson, your affectionate.

To Mr. THOMPSON, on agricultural affairs.

Daylesford House, 13th April, 1801.

My dear Thompson,—I have ventured to depart from your instructions, and instead of the coach, I have directed the sack containing your barley wheat to be





sent from London by the Salisbury waggon; having, besides the direction on the sack, desired my waggoner to give special injunctions to the Salisbury people to drop it at Andover, where it will be left till called for. To have sent it by the coach would have imposed upon you a charge of at least fifteen shillings; I suppose five shillings will be the cost of it by the waggon. You will take care to intercept the sack at Andover, lest, by a not unusual negligence, the people should carry it on to their last destination.

The sack contains no more than two bushels, and the quantity of a peck taken from some that I had caused to be dressed for baking; and this I have packed in a small bag by itself, that you may make trial of it, if you choose it. My bailiff, with more expedition than I expected, had carried all the rest, with the reserve of one bushel, into the field; and I was only apprized of it in time to recover one bushel from it. This added to the first makes up the contents of the sack.

The quantity required for an acre will depend upon the process; three bushels would be required for broadcast; two for the drill, if the lines are eight or nine inches distant. I should recommend the distance of a foot at least, or rather eighteen inches. This last will afford more room for horse- (or any) -hoeing, and the roots will draw more nourishment by having space to spread in. With so small a quantity you can afford to hoe by the hand, and to earth up the loose soil to the stems of the growing plants.

If you make trial of the small parcel for bread, you should keep the flour, after it is ground, a fortnight at least before you use it, turning it often, that it may not ferment, and become clotted. I have tried it. It makes bad bread; that is, black and heavy; but it is well tasted, especially if sliced and toasted. I have



sent four quarters to be made into malt; and the maltster says, it swells more, and promises to turn out altogether better than any barley that he ever malted. So much for barley wheat.

I wish my ability was equal to my inclination. I can only assist you by my inquiries. General Harris is in quest (I hear so). Chapman will be in England in August or September; but I may be able to afford you more information when I am in town. I do not go yet; but keep myself ready to start. Something will be done to day, or by and bye, in Parliament; the issue of which, as I have made it up in my own mind, will be the nomination of the Queen to be Regent, with a Council of Regency, in which Mr. Pitt will preside. The first possesses my most devout wishes; the last has not one good one for me.

Do not make excuses for not answering my letters. My last (which I had almost forgot) did not require one; and I should be glad that every friend I have would neglect me in that way now and then, to set my conscience at rest, which has always a dozen sins of this kind oppressing it; and suggesting the same reflections, word for word, as you have made upon your own omissions, with less cause than any man living.

Mrs. Hastings interrupted me while I was writing, to desire me to mention her in the most affectionate terms to you, and through you to Mrs. Thompson. To her I beg to be most kindly remembered. Your dear children have our best wishes ever. I proceed to attest a sentiment expressed in the close of your letter. To Mrs. Hastings we are both indebted for our mutual friendship; or rather to Providence, which made her personal danger the means of calling forth your humanity, and my gratitude for its exertion, when we were unknown to each other. You may have forgot this. It is fresh in my remembrance. Adieu, your affectionate.





To Mr. CHARLES D'OYLEY, giving him two commissions to be executed.

Daylesford House, 30th March, 1802.

My dear Charles,—I am greatly obliged to you for your kind letter, which, though dated the 7th of May last, has been but a few days in my possession. I am not afraid of your forgetting me: yet I am pleased with this proof of your remembrance. I read with a particular interest your description of the characters of my young friends Waring and Impey, and even of Mr. Metcalfe, though I am not personally acquainted with him. They may be gratified with your praises: for yours have been imparted to me in terms equally honourable to you; and the distinction shown you by Lord Wellesley proves that you are deserving of them. I am grieved to understand that the Court of Directors are not disposed to confirm his collegiate establishment; because I think it well conceived, and likely, if it were prosecuted, to be of infinite service both to their servants and to their interests; and I regret that by placing it on so large a scale, his Lordship should have indisposed them to it altogether.

It is a long time since I heard from your excellent parents; but I often hear of them, and by the last accounts that they and all around them were well.

I wish to load you with two commissions; one relating to a matter of mere curiosity, in investigating which your own may be gratified equally with mine. In the other I have a substantial interest. Mirza Aboo Tauleb Khan, a native of Lucknow, now in England, has informed me, that in a small district, called Mohaun, about fourteen miles from Lucknow, if the ground be dug to the depth of fifteen yards, a stratum will be invariably found of a substance resembling wood in all its properties, and covering a bed of the purest water. As the Mirza is a man of good understanding, and something analogous to this matter, but ascertained to be an imperfect coal, is to be met with in Devon-



shire, I think it well worthy of inquiry, and that its existence, with all the circumstances appertaining to it, should be authentically and accurately ascertained. I shall be much obliged if you will obtain this knowledge and transmit it to me. The second commission is, that you will procure and send me some seeds of a grass which grows in the province of Gooracpoor, constituting its principal pasture, and remarkable for its nutritive effects on all animals that feed on it. This circumstance also I learn from the same person, who assures me that it is sufficiently known by the qualities which I have ascribed to it, though he does not know that it has any specific name. If you can obtain any of the seeds, be so good as to tie up the quantity of an ounce or two in a bag like a pounce bag, and give it in charge to any mate, or rather passenger, coming to England, with instructions to keep it where the air may have access to it in the passage. If too much confined it will not keep.

Mrs. Hastings desires me to assure you of her affectionate regard, and sincere wishes for your prosperity. She is, I thank God, at this time in good health, though she has been a severe sufferer this last year by the want of it. Adieu, my dear Charles. Believe me ever your most sincerely affectionate friend.

I enclose a more minute account of the substance mentioned in my first commission, written by Mirza Aboo Tauleb Khan and a P.S. on the outside of it.

To the same, on his marriage.

Daylesford House, 16th March, 1803.

My dear Charles,—I thank you for your affectionate letter of the 6th of September, and for your attention to my commissions.

The intelligence which we received of your intended marriage with Miss Greer was received by Mrs. Has-





tings and myself with a joy, that, as very prudent persons, we ought not to have avowed. We were pleased with the choice which you had made of an amiable, accomplished, and sensible companion; and for her sake we rejoiced that she was about to be united to a man whom we knew to possess a heart capable of the most generous affections, and to whom we gave credit for a principle that would preserve his affections from decay. May the Almighty bless you both with many years of mutual love and happiness!

My dear young friend, you are now on the eve of a great change which is to give the colour to all your future life; and that will depend entirely on the manner in which you enter upon it. For God's sake avoid one rock on which many young families have struck, and have been wrecked. Avoid entertainments: keep no table; and that you may avoid the obligation of returning invitations, accept of none, but from persons so much your superiors in age and standing as not to expect it: and firmly and intrepidly persevere in this cautionary rule, till your station, or situation in the service, shall exempt you from the observance of it. Upon this point, and upon every occasion in which you shall be called upon to determine upon your own line of conduct, first deliberately and dispassionately ask yourself what you ought to do; and when you have received the answer which your reason has dictated, make that answer your law, and never depart from it, whatever censures, sneers, or temptations may provoke or attempt to seduce you to depart from it. Be the slave of fashion in indifferent matters; but be your own master and independent in all such as may affect your moral character, or influence either your own happiness, or (which indeed is yours) the happiness of your family.

I intended, when I began the foregoing paragraph,



to confine my advice to one single and practical point. In attempting to enforce it by a general principle, I have imperceptibly extended it to an universal maxim. It is, however, the only one on which a true manly character can be built : but I revert to that with which I commenced, conjuring you to practise it, by all your hopes of returning to your country in time to bless the latter lives of your beloved and most affectionate parents ; and to perform those other duties which will be required with a growing family, and which no parent ought to abandon to another, who can perform them himself.

Advice is hateful. I ventured upon this with that general prepossession against it : but, my Charles, I know that it is both useful and necessary, and of easy practice, and that it is offered to you by one who has loved you from the hour of your birth ; and it shall have the concurrent sanction of Mrs. Hastings, who loves you at least as much as I do ; or I will not send it. She is well, and knowing that I was going to write to you, charged me to assure you of her affection. We have heard lately from Ireland, and that all there were well ; your excellent and virtuous father strenuously persevering in an occupation which many consider as a degradation. In some sort I think it one, and honour him the more for it for that very reason, deeming it a sacrifice of his pride, and his personal ease, to the welfare of his children.

Adieu, my dear Charles. May heaven bless and prosper you. Your truly affectionate friend.

P.S. I add what follows, as dictated by Mrs. Hastings. She authorizes me to say, that she approves most heartily of every syllable that I have written, and joins her recommendation to it. She rejoices to hear that you were so well, and is impatient for the letter which you have promised to write to her. She regrets





exceedingly that it was not in her power to see dear Miss Greer before she embarked—her health and other causes not permitting her to go to London; but her best wishes and prayers will attend her. We shall long, not without much apprehension, to see our dear Marian; but fear we must wait many months first. When you write to either of us, it will give us a pleasure to know what station you occupy in the service: in short, there is nothing which can interest you that we shall not have an interest in. You will hear that we are under recent apprehensions of another war. There seems to be but too much reason to believe them to be well grounded.

TO DAVID ANDERSON, Esq., acknowledging the receipt of a Copy of one of Sir Walter Scott's Volunteering Songs.

Daylesford House, 13th September, 1803.

My dear Anderson,—I heartily thank you for your letter, short as it is. I thank you too for the beautiful verses that it enclosed. Beautiful they are indeed, and though consisting entirely of a trite image, perfectly original. They possess all the graces of poetry, with what the critics I believe call a complete whole, *i. e.* one single subject completely finished. I wish I had free access to the author. The only use that I should make of it, would be to persuade him if I could, to write his own acts, and turn them to poetry: such at least as concerned the part that all men are to take in the defence of the country, and such of course as all men ought to understand. It is not indeed necessary that an Act of Parliament should possess genius or elegance; but it should be intelligible, and it should be what I have praised in the poem, a whole. The late defence bills are terribly deficient in these qualities, though they are strongly marked with that sublimity which Mr. Burke says is displayed in an artificial combina-



tion of words, which have no meaning of their own, but are at the mercy of their readers or hearers to ascribe to them any meaning that they please. See his *Sublime and Beautiful*, with his exemplification of the doctrine in Virgil's receipt for making thunder: "*Tres imbris torti radios*," &c.

In obedience to the Parliamentary receipt, and applying my own meaning to the most sublime, or most mysterious part of it, I called out the youth of Daylesford, and with the very able instruction of Colonel Ingloff, my old porter called from Chelsea College for that purpose, and myself, looking on, taught them to march, and to carry themselves erect like soldiers, when a circular letter from the war minister to the Lord Lieutenant induced me to disband them, lest I should be thought guilty of disaffection, by teaching men the use of arms which they might possibly turn against their country, as they were precluded from the defence of it. In serious truth, I am sorry that the spirit of the people was not more effectually excited to action, and that when it had manifested itself, it was not encouraged, instead of being checked as it has been: but though checked, not (I trust) damped. I should have been pleased if an abridgment of the numbers who offered to serve as volunteers in each county, in the event of an invasion, had been published, for the honour of the country, and to undeceive our enemies. I am persuaded that the sum total would greatly exceed a million.

As we are not always conscious of the motives of our own actions, I am not sure that mine, when I began this letter, were not to save you half the postage of it by consigning it to the charge of Mrs. Hastings as far as London. She leaves me to-day with her venerable mother, who purposes, as soon as she can get passports, and a conveyance, to return to her own very





distant home. This will be to both a most afflicting period. I remain only for another sorrowful office, to receive and lodge our poor friend, Sir John D'Oyley, and his mournful family, and shall then follow to town. Our stay there will be short, if we find no difficulty or delay in obtaining passports for Madame Chapusetin. If you should have occasion to write to me in the course of this month (but do not because of this supposition), direct to me at Colonel Imhoff, No. 6, Portugal Street, where we shall sojourn. I think I shall have occasion to write to you before I leave town.

Poor Lady D'Oyley died on the 6th of this month. Sir John had ventured over to Daylesford but a few days before, encouraged by her apparent amendment, which was such as to indicate every symptom of returning health. I have lately received a letter from our excellent friend Colonel Toone, expressive of similar hopes, I fear as delusive, of his daughter, who has lingered under excruciating pains for many months past. His letter is dated the 7th, and I am sure I should have heard from him again, if his hopes had been confirmed by a continuance of the same favourable appearances. There are not two better beings on earth than Toone and his wife: yet he sinks under his affliction; and she, with as sensible a heart as his own, sustains her health and strength unimpaired, though she is never absent from her child, by the force of religion. Adieu, my valued friend. Accept, and present to Mrs. Anderson, and to your sister, our united best regards, and every wish for your health and happiness. Yours affectionately.

P.S. Mrs. Sands left us on the 8th in apparently good health, but much regretting her departure, and as much regretted. I will give your thanks to Mr. Osborne. His direction is Melchet Park, Rumsay, Hants.



## MEMOIRS OF WARREN HASTINGS. 389

To Sir JOHN D'OYLEY, whom reverses of fortune had compelled to return to India.

London, 19th August, 1806.

My dear Sir John,—I closed a letter to you on the 11th of this month, and sent it the next day to be put into one of the packets, which I know it was, though I know not which. In that letter I told you that I had, in concert with Mr. and Mrs. Henry Grant, engaged to place your son, having previously removed him from Twyford, with Mr. Lendon, a teacher of twelve pupils at Pentonville, near Islington. I sent you, not knowing it, the wrong card, describing the branches of education taught at the school, and the terms of it; Mr. Lendon having added to the latter, since it was printed, five guineas entrance; as you will see by the right card enclosed. On the 14th I attended good Mrs. Grant, with John, to Mr. Lendon's, and delivered the dear boy to his charge, with a particular recommendation of him to Mrs. Lendon. We left him cheerful, well pleased, and in good apparent health. As he is yet, and perhaps by nature, delicate, I wrote to Sir Walter Farquhar, and desired him to permit me to call upon him, when he could spare me a few minutes of leisure, expressing my object, which was to consult him upon this subject. I had yesterday the pleasure of a visit from him, in which in the most kind and the heartiest manner, he anticipated my wishes; promising to see the little boy from time to time; to keep a constant watch on his health; to give proper instructions concerning the treatment of him to Mrs. Lendon; and to concert besides with Mr. Partington what might become necessary, in the event of his not being able himself to visit him, if his assistance should be occasionally wanted. He assured me that he would begin these benevolent offices by calling at Mr. Lendon's this morning. He said he would do his duty to his young relation; and I am sure he will do it.





I have already acquainted you with the letter which I had received from Mrs. Close in her husband's name, in consequence of one which you had written to him, and with the substance of my answer, in which I had detailed to him all that I had done, and purposed doing for John. To this I have received a reply from the same hand, "assuring me that Mr. Close is perfectly satisfied with my plan for little D'Oyley; that he wished long ago to have removed him from Twyford, but indisposition for several months prevented either his doing himself any thing, or giving any direction concerning him, or any other business." I add what follows in the first person of the letter, though what I have written is almost literal.

"He is now, thank God, so much better, that though he cannot read or write, he can converse, without much difficulty, and begged me to inform you, it gave him great pleasure to have met with a gentleman, who is well acquainted with Mr. Lendon, and who is a near neighbour to him, and I think he will be glad to show little John any kindnesses, if you, my dear friend, should approve of his now and then (at proper hours) paying him a visit. Mr. Lendon frequently associates with this gentleman." This is a kind of constructive testimony in favour of Mr. Lendon. I hope we shall have a better in John's improvement. Mrs. Close has also informed me of the power which you have given to Mr. Close to withdraw your pecuniary concerns from Mrs. Williams's hands, and offered "to remit to me, or any one whom I should think proper to appoint, any expense that has been incurred for dear little John." If they receive any money, and have no other call for it, I will charge them for Mr. Lendon's demands, which are yet very distant, meaning to make this the limit of my own responsibility.

Now, my dear Sir John, I must tell you, that though I have taken upon me to remove your son from one



school where you yourself had placed him, under a real or supposed superintendency of many of your other friends, whom I have totally excluded from all participation both in that, and all other acts relating to him; and transferred him to another at a cost exceeding both your original instructions, and probably the amount of the funds appropriated to this portion of his expenses; and though I am determined to resist all efforts that may be made to take the boy from my jurisdiction, till you have given your sanction to it; yet I am fully aware that I have exceeded the letter of the authority with which you have invested me, nay, even your own expectations. You have expressed indeed a wish to charge me with the whole power over your child; you have declared, that among your numerous friends, I was the only one to whom you could delegate that important trust; yet, from a delicacy, which I can only regret, you assign to me only a general control. I have taken an absolute one, and the whole active management; for if I had waited to conciliate every person to whom you had given a right of interference, our poor child must have returned to Twyford; and if his health has suffered, and his understanding has been uncultivated in all the time that he was there before, the mischief would have been aggravated, and its effects more difficult of retrieval. I do not know that I have given offence to any; but I should, if I had consulted them, and decided upon my own judgment. You will, at least, have the satisfaction of knowing how your beloved child is disposed of, and occasionally of hearing what progress he makes, during an interval of a little less than two years. The sequel will depend upon yourself. If you approve of my plan, and choose to depute to me the care of him, I should have no objection to hold it in participation with Mr. and Mrs. Harry Grant. Otherwise it must be absolute; and to whom-





soever you may consign that trust, it should be, to render it effectual, to that one alone, and be a delegation express, and such as may be shown as authentic. In making this provision, you will bear in mind that I am marching fast to my 74th year, and have no rational ground to expect the extension of my life beyond that term, though I feel no actual symptoms of mortality.

The commission which you gave me in one of your letters (I cannot now turn to it) I have not yet been able to accomplish, though it has pressed incessantly on my mind. I will write to you upon this subject hereafter.

Have I thanked you for your present of the Persian seal? I received it with pleasure, with a double pleasure, as a pledge of the distinction which you allow me in your friendship, and a precious memorial of a dear friend, whom I shall ever regret, and cherish in my most affectionate remembrance.

This is the 20th. Yesterday the nomination of Sir George Barlow to be Governor-general, and of Lord Lake, Messrs. Udney and Lumsdaine to the Council, passed the Court of Directors unanimously. So far I am pleased, but not satisfied. I dare not mention my reason, lest by the chance of war my letter should be intercepted.

I can impart nothing of news that you will not receive from the papers. I stand, like Addison's man of virtue, unmoved by the crush of falling worlds, and if I am not a gainer by any of the late convulsions, (for the most dreadful evils produce good to some men,) I am not a sufferer by them. I am in tolerable health, though I have resided seven weeks in London, and have been absent almost ten from Daylesford; and I have the happiness of seeing Mrs. Hastings in better health and looks, than she has appeared for many years past. I could add more, but I suspect her friends of flattery,



and my own eyes of that fallacy which prepossession may impose on visual decay. She equally partakes in my cares and affection for our dear John, and in fervent wishes for your happiness, and the happiness and prosperity of all your children, to whom, and to their new relations, we desire to be jointly remembered with sincere expressions of affection, and equal claims to theirs. Adieu, my beloved friend, yours ever most truly.

To MR. THOMPSON, on the rise in the value of Land.

Daylesford House, 2nd April, 1808.

My dear Thompson,—I thank you for your attention to my question concerning the estimate of my farm. I put it so abruptly, and in such concise terms, that I was afraid you would have considered it as the suggestion of the moment, and of no permanent consequence. The truth is, that my only tenant has always held his lease from year to year, without any condition but his rent. I want to make a new distribution of the lands; to give him a long lease of the portion allotted to him; for that purpose to ascertain their value; and also to make a provision for its future depreciation. The opinion given by Dr. Sheppard, though doubtless very accurate, will not serve for my purpose. It respects only the quality of the land. That I can well ascertain, and am almost qualified to estimate it myself. I am willing to give my tenant the advantage of his improvements, with one exception, but to make him pay me an increase in their valuation, proportioned to the diminution of the value of money. For example, I find that in the year 1792, the average price of wheat was five shillings a bushel; it is now ten. This is independent of the variations of seasons, or culture; but has arisen from the progressive accumulation of our national debt, which has added so much more money, however unsubstantial, to our circulation. If the in-





crease has been equally progressive, the common term of difference for each year has been  $3\frac{3}{4}d.$ , and the rate of 1798, when my lands were valued, was by that mode of computation  $6s. 10\frac{1}{2}d.$  I am therefore disposed to raise my rents by the rule of three for every £100, thus:—to  $6s. 10\frac{1}{2}d. : 10s. :: £100 : £145. 10s.$  But I am so shortsighted in these matters, that I am sure I am wrong in my application of my principle, though I am sure the principle itself is right. I, therefore, in my statement of the question meant to exclude the quality of the land altogether, and to say, suppose a field in a course of husbandry to have been worth 20*s.* an acre in 1798, and to have retained its quality unchanged, what is it worth now? To be sure the best mode of solving this question would be the practical one, of competition: but I cannot invite other bidders; for I cannot part with my farmer.

I beg your pardon for not answering the question which you put to me by the return of the post, because I am sure you had a good reason for obviating the delay; but unfortunately I had so wearied myself with other business begun before the post came in, that when I came to apply myself to your letter, I grew lazy and procrastinating, and either forgot your question, or that it might be answered in one word, "No;" and forgot again that Saturday being a non-conductor in matters of post, I should consequently lose two; and shall lose another, if I proceed in this waste of words. I answer then, "No." I never received from the Company, or from the nation (the nation!) any allowance of money for my own passage, or that of my fellow passengers from Bengal to England. The Directors generously allowed Mrs. Hastings a remission of the duties on her things; but made me pay an enormous sum—she says £1,000, I have forgot the precise amount—for mine, and permitted their officers to de-



fraud me. I believe that, to be correct, I should say officer; for my memory fixes that charge on only one.

I did not know that Mrs. Harvey was a neighbour of mine; but I will avail myself of your information, and devise some decent mode of imparting to her the object of it.

Mrs. Hastings sends you one of her best compliments. You are always in our remembrance, always mentally, and often nominally in our cups. Your affectionate.

To the same, thanking him for the present of a Horse.

Daylesford House, 10th May, 1808.

My dear Friend,—I accept your present thankfully, but with remorse and regret: with remorse, because it originated with a commission; with regret, because I shall never dare again to desire you to procure for me anything which I cannot obtain by my own means, lest I shall appear to solicit a gift. But I repeat, that I accept, and thank you for it, and heartily. I had determined that I would leave off riding during the remainder of my life. I shall now make a point of conscience to ride constantly during the summer and autumn; and if it shall add (as it may) a year to my life, I will accept that too as your gift, and thank you for it.

My man will go off this evening, and find his way to Ilsley by to-morrow evening. I thank you for this accommodation. On all occasions of this nature you know there is a perquisite due to the groom, and (as I have no other way of conforming to it) I shall take the liberty to enclose a one pound note in this, and beg of you to pay it to the man whom you have employed to bring the pony to Ilsley. I am pleased to think that I shall be able to make trial of my new steed before I commence my excursion from Daylesford, which is fixed for the 24th.





I read in your disappointment, and friend Baber's, my own; but am consoled for it by the assurance that I must have been a gainer by it in the kind of revenge which you both took of me for it.

We desire you to present our affectionate regards to dear Mrs. Thompson, and to Miss Thompson, and accept our blessing on all your children. Remember us kindly to Mr. and Mrs. White. I am ever, my dear Thompson, your truly affectionate friend.

To the same, on the same subject.

Daylesford House, 2nd November, 1808.

My dear Thompson,—I receive so much pleasure from the sight of your handwriting, that I should feel myself inexcusable for not soliciting a more frequent repetition of your letters by the claim which I should give myself to it by my own if I had anything new to write to you, or even nothing, if I had a nothing that I could make pleasing; but for that I am grievously deficient both in imagination and self-satisfaction. I hope you blame yourself unjustly, for I keep an orderly list of all the letters that I write; and, unless I neglected to enter a letter, which I hope I did, my last entry in your name is dated the 19th of May last; so that I not only have not told you how I liked your pony, but I have not even acknowledged that I received him. I could justify myself, but it would be by telling a long story, and long stories are unfit for an unfranked letter. I will afford you, however, the satisfaction of knowing that he has proved to me an invaluable acquisition; for he is not only my favourite, but Mrs. Hastings's also, and therefore more mine. If Brewer had had eyes, or memory, he might have informed you that he met Mrs. Hastings on his back; for when she is in health (and the pony has much contributed to it) she rides him daily, often before breakfast, and sometimes repeatedly in the course of the



morning ; but you have excited our suspicion that he is not the identical horse which you intended to send us ; for you call him a bay ; Mrs. Hastings says he is a black ; and to my senses he appears to be a dark roan. He cannot, however, be a changeling, for the genuine could not have been a better. I must add, that you have been the means of prolonging one amusement, and probable source of health, to both Mrs. Hastings and myself ; for I had almost resolved, and Mrs. Hastings absolutely, to renounce riding during the remainder of our lives ; and, with some days of exception, she is evidently in better health since she renewed that exercise, and evidently in better spirits by the means of it. In how many ways may the affection of a friend extend its effects beyond that of its professed act !

Mr. Forster shall have a supply of my barley wheat with all the information that I can give him concerning the manner of cultivating it. I will write to him myself. I will deal the same to you. I am glad that you are disposed to renew the trial of it. I suspect that the former failure of it was not caused by the sterility of the soil in which it was planted, but by the carelessness or ill-will of the people who planted it. It will thrive wherever barley will. I will send you what I can spare in the month of February or beginning of March, as I make it a rule to thrash only for immediate use, whether for sowing or malting, and never to take a stack either of wheat, barley wheat, or barley, to pieces, without thrashing it from day to day till it is finished. And you too shall obtain with a supply all the instruction and information relating to it that I am competent to give you. I can only say of its produce, that every body is pleas'd with'n that ha drunken en ; which is saying a great deal.

I read with a pleasure that will last, the account





which you give me of your family. I have only had a glimpse of your eldest daughter since she was approaching to womanhood, but that glimpse was sufficient for my attestation of the truth of your report of her. Her form and features were excellent, both as conveying the impressions of beauty, and as indicative of the internal graces, and to these were added, when I saw her, the superior charms of external beauty, a glow of health almost unequalled. It was the fault of the churlish servants where she lodged that I saw her only once. My memory at least retains only one occasion of it. May the Almighty long bestow to her, to her dear mother, to all her brothers and sisters, and to yourself, that inestimable blessing! I am glad that you have relinquished your project, because it was right to do so, whatever its result may prove to others. Whatever errors you may commit, it will be a source of comfort to you now that you cannot be called over the coals for them.

We have not heard from Jersey a long time past, near ten days. They were well, and have promised us a long enjoyment of their society this winter, a portion of which we purpose to pass at their house in town, if my dear wife's agricultural duties will permit her to withdraw herself from her hitherto unremitted attention to them; for these are now exclusively hers; and if she derives no other emolument from it, her health, though with a late, but short interruption, is already improved by it. My own deposal I dignify by high examples, and call it abdication. Somehow or other I do not find my own occupation much diminished by this assumption of it.

If I had written to you last Friday, I should have told you that Mrs. Hastings was in better health than she had possessed for a twelvemonth back. What she has suffered since did not arise so much from any



defect of her constitution as from a neglect of its peculiar wants; and she is sensible of it; and she is, just now, thank God! pretty well again. She herself does not yet know how necessary her health is to mine. Yet it will be a shameful inconsistency of confession, after such an observation, that I am, and have been, in better and more equable health than perhaps five men in a hundred at my time of life, fast approaching its 76th year, can boast of, if that be a subject for exultation. Though reluctant to send for my horse, I mount him (thanks to you for it) when he comes with pleasure. I sleep well; my hand is as steady as a human hand can be; and my spirits only disturbed, perhaps not so much as they ought, with my own prospect before me; add to this a promptness to lassitude with short and not violent exertions. I thank God that the best part of me, my affections, remains uninjured by wear; nay, I sometimes think them stronger than they were. It is on these, and on their moral principles of attraction, that I depend for the accomplishment of my best hopes of happiness hereafter—the perfected society of those whom I loved in this life. To this hope, my dear Thompson, you contribute largely; and the duration of the similar sentiment which I with pleasure hailed near the beginning of your letter, short as the letter was, will conduce to realize it.

I have suffered this letter to run into length, because by keeping it back another day, I hope to send it under the cover of a frank. It would have been closed within a much smaller compass yesterday, had I not been interrupted by a visit from young Scott Waring, the most wonderfully improved man in understanding and acquired endowments in the short interval since I thought him a little better than a blockhead that I ever knew. He was almost a dwarf when he went to





India. He is now about the stature of George Powney, only twice his bulk. He could not gratify my inquiries after my friends in Bengal, not having been there these three years; but his knowledge of Bombay is intimate, and, as far as I am interested in it, which is in a very confined degree, very gratifying to me. You desired me to be very communicative of everything which can interest you. I think I have complied with your request most biographically. But I have almost forgot to mention Mrs. Hastings's request to be informed whether you have had any late letters from Ireland, which enable you to ascertain whether there is any, and what, deficiency in the payment of Sir J. D'Oyley's interest. We both desire to be affectionately remembered to Mrs. Thompson, and that you will accept the same token of our affection to yourself.

To the same, on the death of his Daughter.

Daylesford House, 23rd November, 1809.

My very dear Friend,—I have been restrained from writing to you by the fear of irritating the sufferings of your mind by any allusion to them; and I have felt it as a seasonable relief, that my dear Mrs. Hastings has afforded me a plea to yield, for the time past, to that reluctance, by conveying in her letters the expression of my sympathetic feelings for you and your dear lady, with her own. All that your best friends (and I rate myself high in that relation) can effect in this case is to remind you, that there are those who do sympathize with you. All other consolations must spring up from your own breast: its recesses alone can attemper your grief. I would not wish, if I had the power, to cure it. Sorrow for those we love is the link that extends and binds the affinities of this world to the next, and is the pledge of our reunion with the objects of it. This is not a doctrine of the moment;



it is the result of the meditations of many past years. I have often, and intensely, dwelt upon it—I have written upon it—I have devised objections to it and refuted them—and I have imprinted it upon my heart with a holy conviction which is blended with my hopes of eternal felicity.

May heaven bless and preserve to you both, for all your years to come, all the present objects of your affection! Mrs. Hastings unites with me in kindest remembrances of Mrs. Thompson and yourself. I am, my dear friend, ever most affectionately yours.

To Mr. JOHN D'OYLEY, a son of Sir John, just entered at Heylibury College.

Daylesford House, 31st January, 1810.

My dear John,—I received your letter this morning, and answer it immediately, because I am much pleased with it. I am happy to hear that the professor, by whom you passed your examination, said he was very well satisfied with you. I am much pleased with your description of the college; an architect could not in the same compass of writing have expressed it more intelligibly. It is also my wish, as well as you express it to be yours, that you may pass as much of the next vacation as you can at Daylesford; but Mrs. Sperling will expect you to afford her a part of it, and I dare say you will think her claim but reasonable. So far as this regards Mrs. Grant, she has given her consent to it. But there is ample time between this and June to form this arrangement.

It was my wish, and at one time my intention, to go to town, for the purpose of assisting you in all the acts which were necessary for accomplishing your admission into the college; but the friendship and activity of Colonel Toone rendered it unnecessary, and did the business more effectually than I could have done it if I had taken it all upon myself; and I am the





better pleased with having left it to him, because it has given him an opportunity of knowing your character, and that knowledge has made him your friend. Such friends are worth cultivating.

This suggests to me a subject on which I have had it some time in my mind to write to you. I believe I have not troubled you much (did I ever?) with advice. In the first place, I have thought you possessed so correct a mind as to be able to direct and control your own actions; and in the second, I have observed, that at your age advice is not always welcome, even when given with the kindest intentions and from the most experienced judgment. Mine is directed more to the place where you are than to yourself. I have heard of parties having been formed in the college against the authority of the masters, and that they have even proceeded to open violence. Upon such occasions it is a common trick of the leaders to preach to their followers the doctrine of public spirit, and to brand with meanness every one who will not join them and go the lengths that they do. As you value your future character and hopes of success in life, my dear Johnny, shun all such detestable cabals, and repel with firmness every advance made to you to poison your mind with their corrupt principles. In the service to which you are destined, you may hope to rise to situations of the highest authority. Begin early, by the practice of obedience where it is now due, to qualify and entitle yourself to the obedience of others, whose services may be necessary hereafter to your prosperity. Mr. Lendon delighted me in one of his letters, by telling me, that "*his boys looked up to you.*" Be looked up to where you now are and wherever you are hereafter. Disdain to be the tool of any one: be not a follower even of the wisest and the best: but do what is right from the impulse of your own judgment, not the ex-



ample of others. In a word, maintain the character given of you by Mr. Lendon. *Be looked up to*, and acquire that eminent distinction by example and conciliation. This is a word not commonly addressed to a boy of fifteen; but you have been in the practice of the sense which it implies, and I trust therefore that you will thoroughly comprehend it.

As this is the first and will probably be the last moral advice that I shall offer to you, I beg that you will imprint it on your mind; and I desire, that you will write to me again very soon, to assure me of it. I am, my dear Johnny, your truly affectionate friend.

P. S. Mrs. Hastings gives her love to you. She is happy to hear that you have got so well through all your difficulties, and looks with pleasure to see you here in the summer. She desires me to say, that she feels the same interest for your good conduct that I do, as her affection for you is equal to mine.

To Mr. THOMPSON, on the death of a second Child.

Daylesford House, 21st August, 1812.

My dear Friend,—“The letter which communicated to us the tidings of your sad loss caused us, as you may well imagine, the deepest affliction. We will not attempt to say anything to assuage your grief, as that belongs solely to a higher power. Your consolation can only arise from that source, and the assurance of her perfect happiness. You have employed much of our anxious thoughts; and their result is, that if you feel yourself equal to undertake the journey, and will come under our roof with your son George, it will highly gratify us. You shall be under no restraint, see no one whom you will not wish to see, and indulge your own feelings, in which we shall participate rather than endeavour to repress them.”

These, my dearest friend, are the words of my be-





loved wife, taken down with scarcely any alloy of my own; and it was principally for the want of an interval of leisure to interchange our thoughts upon this painful subject before answering your letter, that we have from day to day postponed it; for it seemed to prescribe a duty to us, at the same time that we were aware that anything we could do or say, under that impression, would be unavailing. For my part, I call God to witness, that if the temper of mind under which your letter was written could be changed by the suggestion of any sentiment that I might urge, I would suppress it. In my eyes you are yet a happy man; happy in the contemplation of the blessings which you still possess, and happy in that of the perfected virtues of her whom it has pleased God to remove from you for a few years of separation, to be followed by a certain reunion with her for ever. How rarely does it happen, that in a calamity of this kind our affections are not clouded by the recollection of some shade in the character of the lamented object, or by some compunctious feelings of our own past conduct towards it. You are conscious of having acquitted yourself of your duty; and of her you can say, in the sentiment of the Duke of Ormond, that you would not exchange your departed child, and lose your sorrow with it, to be the father, and to possess all the affections of a father, of any other daughter out of your own family, that could be given you in compensation.

We read the letter addressed to you by your divine daughter as a composition of inspiration. How indicative of a pure and spotless life, and how apt a close of it!

We pray you to present our most affectionate regards to dear Mrs. Thompson: may heaven bless you both! Your affectionate friend.



## CHAPTER XIII.

Renewed embarrassments of Mr. Hastings—Correspondence with the Court of Directors—Conference with Mr. Addington—Negociation with the Prince of Wales—Return to Private Life—Correspondence.

FROM the tone of the preceding letters, the reader might find it difficult to collect, that he who wrote them was otherwise than at peace with the whole world; that his fortune was abundant, his condition in life in unison with his wishes, and his mind altogether at ease in reference both to the past and the future. Far be it from me to insinuate that Mr. Hastings ever gave way to a temper so unprofitable in itself,—so little worthy of a great man,—be his situation and prospects what they may, as querulous discontent. Mr. Hastings had been trained in a school which taught him to master his own feelings; yet were the difficulties which surrounded him, from first to last, trying enough. The arrangement which the Court of Directors had made for relieving him from the pressure of his pecuniary embarrassments proved quite inadequate. In spite of a rigid economy, for which his early habits peculiarly unfitted him, Mr. Hastings fell sadly into debt, and the idea of owing money seems to have been one of the most





horrible that could be presented to his imagination. He appears to have suffered long, and in silence, ere he could make up his mind to assume again the character of a petitioner before the East India Company; yet a sense of what was due both to himself and to others, at length overcame his scruples. On the 16th of June, 1799, he accordingly wrote to Sir Stephen Lushington, who at that time filled the chair, enclosing a letter for the Court of Directors, which he wished the chairman to present. Both documents are so characteristic of the man, that I should not feel justified were I to withhold them.

TO SIR STEPHEN LUSHINGTON.

Daylesford House, 16th June, 1799.

Dear Sir,—I do not apologise to you for the liberty which I take in troubling you with the enclosed, because I should think myself wanting in the respect which was due to your office, and the generous sentiments which your former conduct has taught me to believe that you entertain for me, if I were to transmit it through any other channel. Yet I must accompany it with a request which I cannot add without bespeaking your excuse for it. It is this, that if you should disapprove of the letter, or not choose yourself to present it to the Court, you will not insist on my recalling it; but you will either have the goodness to deliver it to the secretary, or that you will return it to me, that I may send it to him for presentation.

The purpose of the letter has dwelt upon my mind for more than three months past, with so many painful reflections, and a daily augmented remorse for



having so long withheld it, that no reception which it could meet with would hurt me so much, as the consciousness of having neglected to try the only means which I can allowably use, to ward off the ruin which must inevitably fall upon me, or rather on others through me, if the Court of Directors should refuse me the relief which I have solicited; and which it was assuredly their original intention to afford.

Let it, my dear Sir, take its chance, and let me, at least, have the satisfaction of knowing the worst, with that of having done my duty so far, and have recourse to such other means as it may then become necessary and incumbent on me to take, to alleviate the consequences which I dread.

I beg you will permit me to address this to you, merely as a private letter; and that you will have the goodness to present mine, with Mrs. Hastings's respectful compliments to Lady Lushington. I am, dear Sir, your much obliged and obedient servant.

The letter enclosed ran as follows :—

To the COURT of DIRECTORS.

Daylesford House, 16th June, 1799.

Honourable Sirs,—A sense of duty, superior to every consideration of what may be termed delicacy, though long restrained by it, impels me to address your Honourable Court once more upon the subjects of my own concerns.

When a trial of nine years, instituted on charges preferred against me in the name of my country, had left me, though acquitted, exhausted of my whole fortune, and sinking under a load of debt, which had been contracted by it, your Honourable Court, acting on the declared wishes of the proprietors of the East India Company, my honourable employers, and participating in the same spirit of generosity, stood forth





for my relief: and for this purpose, on the 20th of February, 1796, you passed two resolutions in my favour, one to grant me an annuity of 4000*l.* for the period of twenty-eight years and a half, commencing from the 21st of June, 1785; and the other to lend me the sum of £50,000, without any interest, for the term of eighteen years, upon my giving security to your satisfaction, for the repayment thereof. Both grants were declared to be intended for the purpose of relieving my present embarrassments, and the first to be made in consideration of important services rendered to the East India Company by me whilst I was Governor-general of India, and particularly in the increase of the revenues of the Company.

In consequence of the first of these resolutions, on the 3rd of March following, I received from your treasury the aggregate amount of the annuity due by the terms of the grant, to the end of the last half yearly period, being £42,000; but the second remained in suspense till the 22nd of the same month, when it obtained the final ratification of your Honourable Court, by a resolution, of which, as it essentially constitutes the plea and justification of my present petition, I beg leave to subjoin a literal copy.

“At a Court of Directors, held on the 29th of March, 1796, Resolved, that this Court do confirm their resolution of the 26th of February last, whereby they agreed to a loan of £50,000 to Mr. Hastings without interest, on condition that Mr. Hastings do give security to the satisfaction of the Court, for the repayment of the said sum of £50,000, by instalments of not less than £2000 per annum; and provided that the balances due, be all paid at the expiration of eighteen years from the time when the money shall be advanced, and that the said sum of £50,000 be a charge upon the territorial revenue of India.”



By a subsequent order grounded on this resolution, I was required to deliver, and did deliver, separate assignments of £1000 out of each of the half-yearly payments of my annuity, for the payment of £36,000 of the loan of £50,000; and of my estate of Daylesford, rated at £14,000 for the remainder. These assignments were dated, I believe, the 8th of April, 1796.

To this arrangement I submitted with great, though silent regret, and some mortification. I considered it a direct contradiction to the declared terms of the loan; for instead of being exempted from the payment of interest, I was charged by it with an interest of four per cent., only one per cent. being remitted of the rate which might have been legally taken. It defeated, in a great measure, the beneficent purpose of the loan, by leaving me nearly as much encumbered with debt as I was before, transferring what I owed, rather than extinguishing it. To those who were only acquainted with the reiterated and confirmed resolutions of your Honourable Court, as they were publicly reported, I was held out as a man of superfluous opulence; but to others who better knew what had been bestowed, and what was withheld, the reduction of one moiety of a recompense so honourably made for acknowledged services, would suggest the idea of a too precipitate liberality, exceeding desert, and in part retracted, to apportion the one to the measure of the other.

Yet as I had no claim to what was thus resumed, nor yet to what remained, but that which I derived from your spontaneous bounty, I acquiesced, as I ought, in your determination, happy in obtaining an effectual deliverance from instant and extreme distress; and hoping by the observance of a line of strict economy, both to confine my expenses within the bounds of the means which I possessed to defray them, and if I could not lay up a provision for the destined





hour of insolvency, at least not to aggravate its difficulties; and trusting to, I know not what remote contingency, for their prevention or removal. Three years afforded me for more temperate reflection have since dissipated that illusion.

If it had been left to my option, as the words of your resolution seem to imply, to offer such security as might be satisfactory to your Honourable Court, (which I have no doubt I could have done,) I should, by the same appropriation of three-fourths from my income, which I now make from it, have provided for the complete liquidation of the debt which I originally owed, with the interest accruing on it, and for the accumulation of something more than £36,000 by the expiration of the period when the repayment of your loan would become due; and I should then have only a deficiency of £14,000, for which the mortgage of my estate now in your hands is an ample security, to make up the full sum of your loan. But by the mode which your Honourable Court has prescribed for the repayment of your loan, though that will indeed be completely discharged, yet I shall still remain a debtor of £20,000, with the loss besides of the only productive property which I possess, my estate of Daylesford, which I shall have no means of redeeming.

I again repeat, that I have no claim upon your Court. Their bounty, and your direction of it, have already preserved me from the immediate and decided ruin to which the justice of my country, if I may not be allowed to give it any other appellation, had implacably devoted me, and which, though protracted, still hangs over me. From that source of relief, I do not ask for more, I ask only that you will render that relief effectual to the purposes for which it was granted, and according to the terms in which it was successively ordered and declared to be confirmed, by per-



mitting me to hold without interest the loan which you were generously pleased to grant me without interest, that is to say, that you will be pleased to order an account to be made out, and annually renewed and kept, of the accumulated sums withheld from my annuity, and the growing interest, so that I may still reap the full benefit of it, in the same manner that I might have done had the whole been paid into my hands; but that it remain a deposit in yours, for the repayment of your loan when that shall finally become due, as far as its accumulation shall suffice for that end; and that credit be then given me for the amount, set in opposition to that of the amount of loan, and the balance only charged on my estate for the remaining payment.

It would be ungracious in me to distrust your liberality to me, after having so amply received the proofs of it; but it would also argue a presumption as culpable to infer your assent to my request, as a necessary conclusion from my own opinion of the reasonableness of it. You may possibly think otherwise of it. In that event, that I may not again obtrude myself upon your attention, may I request that you will have the goodness to permit this letter to be inscribed into your records, and that I may be apprized of your final determination upon it. I have the honour to be, &c.

There was no reluctance on the part of Sir Stephen Lushington to receive and lay before the Directors the preceding letter; neither were the Directors inclined to deal with it otherwise than in a spirit of perfect liberality. The Court met, took Mr. Hastings's proposition into consideration, and promptly and unanimously acceded to it. The following from the chairman, dated the 15th of





July, reached Daylesford on the 17th, and for the time being, at least, set the mind of its owner at rest.

East India House.

Sir,—I have great pleasure in forwarding to you the resolution of the Court of Directors, upon your late application. I am Sir, your very obedient servant.

S. LUSHINGTON.

At a Court of Directors, held on Tuesday the 9th of July, 1799, resolved, that in order to comply with the spirit and real intent of this Court's resolution, of the 26th February, 1796, to lend to Warren Hastings, Esq., the sum of £50,000, without interest; which resolution is defeated by the mode of stopping £2000 annually from the annuity, likewise granted to him; the said sum of £2000, so withheld at half yearly periods, be invested in the Company's bonds, and that the interest thereon accumulate till such time as the amount of the bonds, in principal and interest, shall liquidate the loan of £50,000; after which period Mr. Hastings or his heirs shall enter into the full receipt of the annuity of £4000 for the remainder of the term; and that the Company's treasurer and accountant be directed to carry the above resolution into effect.

The single subject on which Mr. Hastings appears never to have used aright his powers of discrimination and judgment was that of accounts. He invariably miscalculated the chances against himself, and the results on the present occasion were not different from what they had formerly been. The new resolution of the Court of Directors afforded him no relief from immediate difficulties; so that his embarrassments, instead of



diminishing, increased from day to day. He never could bring the year's income to cover the year's expenditure; and he was once more driven by stern necessity to lay his case before his indulgent masters. It is an act of justice to all parties, that the form of this second application should be given, as well as that the measures adopted in consequence of it should be explained. The following speaks for itself.

To the Honourable COURT of DIRECTORS, &c., &c., &c.

London, 30th May, 1804.

Honourable Sirs,—I once more submit to the necessity of exposing my personal wants to your Honourable Court, in the hope, and with the assurance (without which I should not venture to obtrude myself in the character of a suppliant on your attention), that my application, whatever may be its final result, will be received with your accustomed indulgence.

My case is briefly told. Your former beneficence, in the two instances of an annuity for my permanent subsistence, and of a loan for the discharge of my debts contracted by my impeachment, had the effect of a present and continued relief; yet it was not adequate to all its destined purposes. Other debts, derived from the same cause, still remained. The interest of these, added to the growing taxes, which I pay at a rate much exceeding the proportional value of my real income, and the resumption of one moiety of my annuity for the gradual liquidation of my debt to the Honourable Company, have left me a provision so unequal to my yearly expenses, that I have been under the necessity of borrowing £5000 on the mortgage of all my landed property; the interest of which is a further charge upon my income.





My expenses are none of them such as deserve the character of extravagance; yet I cannot conform to that strict line of economy which another might, who possessed by inheritance an income of the same measure as mine, and had formed the habits of his whole life to it. This was not to be expected from a man who had passed all the active part of his in the hourly discharge of public duties, which allowed him little leisure or thought to attend to his own affairs, or to care about them.

I have now no other resource left me, but in your liberality, and my confident belief that your Honourable Court will not suffer me to descend to the grave with my last moments embittered with the prospective horrors of an insolvent debtor.

I have served the Company long; they have approved of my services, and have amply rewarded them. I have suffered much, and (permit me to say) for acts which have originated in my zeal for their interests, and from which they enjoy many acknowledged benefits. It was not from them that I was entitled to expect a compensation for wrongs which they had not inflicted; yet to their benevolence I owe all of compensation that has been bestowed upon me. More I shall not urge in my own behalf; nor do I assert this as a claim to your generosity, but as a plea for so unprecedented an appeal to it.

In the consideration of the subject of this petition, (if you shall deem it deserving of that notice,) I request that you will not suffer the intended donation of the Nabob of Oude to mix itself with it. Doubts have been suggested to me relative to that donation, which make it an object of my duty to relinquish all pretension to it; and I request your Honourable Court to accept my absolute and unqualified renunciation of it. The sacrifice of a monthly pension, which is to cease with a life already approaching its seventy-second year,



and which depends for its commencement upon a remote and uncertain contingency, will not be imputed to me as an affectation of disinterestedness. In truth I am interested in the privation of it. It has already interfered with a wish, which a very different sentiment prompted me to express in a letter addressed many years ago to your Honourable Court, and which has never quitted its place in my mind, "that I might owe my fortune wholly to your bounty;" and I shall rejoice to be disencumbered of the weight of a foreign obligation. I have the honour to be, &c.

There is nothing in the tone of this letter which can with the smallest truth be said, to derogate from the high and manly character of the writer. It is the appeal, doubtless, of one who is in great pecuniary distress, to parties whom he is conscious of having long and faithfully served, and on whose generosity he feels that he has strong claims, if not in law, at all events in moral equity; but it is nothing more. Let me not, however, withhold either from the Court or from the King's ministers, the credit which is, in like manner, their due. Before Mr. Hastings took courage to make known the necessities of his case, he communicated in the first instance with Mr. Addington, now the venerable and venerated Lord Sidmouth, who, as I need scarcely observe, held office, at this time, as First Lord of the Treasury. He was received by Mr. Addington, as he always had been, not merely with kindness, but with the consideration due to his merits; and both by him, and by Lord





Castlereagh, then President of the Board of Control, the best assurances of support were given. Thus fortified, and relying something on the good offices of those among his personal friends who were either in the Direction themselves, or had interest with the Directors, Mr. Hastings presented his petition. It was at once, and in the best possible temper, considered, and after some delay a resolution passed, granting him, for the remainder of the appointed term, the full amount of his annuity. Nor did the liberality of the Court end there: though they were prevented, I believe, by the interference of the Board of Control, from supplying out of their own treasury the sum requisite for the redemption of the mortgage on Daylesford, they relieved Mr. Hastings from all serious anxiety on that head, by antedating the annuity one whole year. From that day forth, Mr. Hastings, though never wealthy, was, at least for a season, delivered from the dread which had so much disturbed him heretofore. His means were, with economy, rendered equal to his wants; and economy, to a well regulated mind like his, presents no repulsive features, so long as it may be practised without absolutely trenching on the common courtesies and kindnesses of life.

It was at this stage in Mr. Hastings's career that an event befel, of which, because it is highly honourable to both parties, I feel myself called



upon to take notice. Mr. Addington, now Lord Sidmouth, was then, as I have already stated, at the head of the King's Government. Against Mr. Addington, however, intrigues had been long carried on, which about the period of Mr. Hastings's second application to the East India Company attained their height; and he felt that it would not conduce either to the welfare of the country or to his own personal honour, were he, in defiance of an alienated House of Commons, to retain his place in the King's councils. Mr. Addington, accordingly, determined to resign; very much to the mortification of his royal master, and in decided opposition to the wishes of a large and influential portion of the community. Among those who deprecated the threatened resignation, Mr. Hastings was one, and though no farther connected with the minister, than that he had uniformly received at his hands marks of the most distinguished respect, he resolved to try the effect of a personal remonstrance, and to urge at least the suspension of the measure. With this view he waited upon Mr. Addington at his official apartments in Downing Street, and was immediately admitted to an audience. "I knew," said Lord Sidmouth, to whom I am indebted for this anecdote, "that Hastings was no common man, and even when he began to speak to me on a subject so delicate, I encouraged him to go on. After concluding his





address, he was about to withdraw, but I would not permit it. I begged of him to keep his seat, that I might lay before him a candid statement of the situation in which I found myself, and then, continued I, you shall be the judge, whether or not I can, with propriety, remain in office. Hastings heard me with great attention, and when I ceased to speak, rose up and said, 'Sir, I came here determined, if possible, to convince you that you ought not to resign. You have satisfied me that the view which I took of the case was erroneous. I am now as thoroughly persuaded as you can be, that there is but one course open to you, consistent with your honour and your duty,—you must resign.' He then left me; and I do not hesitate to confess that I was better satisfied with myself, as well as with the decision at which I had arrived, after I found that the latter carried with it the approval of a man so competent in every respect to try the question, as Warren Hastings."

It might offend the good taste of the pure-minded and venerable statesman, to whom I am indebted for this anecdote, were I to describe the effect which, when orally delivered, it produced on myself. Let me therefore turn the reader's attention, at once, to Mr. Hastings's Diary, where I find the occurrence carefully noted down, with such observations on the conduct and bearing of the prime minister, as testify to the respect and



esteem in which he was held by the journalist. Moreover, as Mr. Hastings appears to have carefully considered the line of argument which he was about to adopt, it may not be amiss if I transcribe his appeal at length. The entry runs thus:—

“On the 5th May, 1804, I waited on Mr. Addington by appointment, and spoke to him, after a short preface, as follows:—

“I have heard with sorrow, in which I can safely declare that no thought of my own interests has any share, that you are on the point of relinquishing your office. An unimportant individual, such as I am, whom no man fears to offend by the disclosure of his political opinions, and to whom no one can have an inducement to pay an interested court, may possess more authentic means than either yourself, or your personal friends, of knowing the sentiments of the people respecting your character, and the character and effect of your administration. Believe me, Sir, the voice of the House of Commons is not the voice of the people. This is very generally in your favour, and every day increases the number of your adherents. During the course of the last week I have scarce seen a man or woman (for all feel an interest in the present scene) that did not execrate the confederacy that has been formed against you; that did not express himself disgusted with the effrontery of so unnatural a combination of discordant interests, connexions, and opinions, and indignant at the savage attack, made at such a time, on the feelings, the peace, the health, and perhaps the life of the King.

“The people see and know that an ample, sufficient, and well distributed provision has been made for their defence against the threatened invasion; they see resources called forth, for which no one gave this coun-





try credit; they are pleased with the economy of the public expenditure; they have proclaimed a spirit of zeal and unanimity, which they certainly neither showed nor felt during the last war, nor during the late administration; they have not been intimidated by the power of arbitrary arrests and endless imprisonments; and even your enemies admit your integrity, while they profligately sneer at it. These are the characters of your administration, and in what is it deficient? I borrow the language of others, when I answer,—in oratory, that is, in that waste of words and time, which is the invariable substitute for useful matter and progressive action. Yet they see you prompt in reply, candid in explanation, and your mind stored with all the knowledge that can qualify you to discharge the arduous duties of your station.

“This remonstrance may be too late; Certainly not if his Majesty’s consent has not yet been decidedly given to your resignation. His opposition to it will justify you to all the world in retracing whatever steps you have taken, and in maintaining the post which he has assigned you. Nay I know that it will be expected,—because you were called to this great trust by His Majesty’s own selection; you are the minister of his choice and peculiar confidence.

“This, Sir, is the crisis which will determine the credit, importance, and all the colour of your future life. If you persevere and succeed, you will rise in the public estimation, and in your own. If you fail, you will be but where you would have been by your own self dismissal, and you will retire compelled by necessity, and with the conscious rectitude of not having deserted your country, nor deceived the confidence of your sovereign.”

Mr. Hastings then goes on to describe in detail,



what I have already recorded in substance, and adds :—

“ At the close (of the conference) he requested, as a favour, that I would put down in writing what I had said. He gave me pens, ink, &c., and left me. I wrote the above, omitting the parenthetical sentence in the first and second lines.

“ I think it proper to add, that I began my address, by desiring him not to judge of what I should take the liberty to say to him by my present humble rank in life (to which he replied with great courtesy), but hear me patiently without interruption, and permit me to depart without a reply. He heard me most attentively, and in silence. I left the writing, sealed, on his desk, and the following note enclosed with it.

“ Sir,—As you have been pleased to stamp a degree of importance on what I took the great freedom to represent to you, by desiring me to leave it in writing, it may be necessary, though certainly implied, while I have the honour of presenting to you the transcript of it, to say, that it is with the full permission to apply it to whatever use you may think proper, though I know of none but one, which respects myself only ; that it may remain a memorial of the zeal, attachment, and reverence with which I have the honour to be, more than ever, your most devoted humble servant.”

Having concluded these affairs, Mr. Hastings returned to the quiet of his home at Daylesford, and the society of the friends whom he there admitted to his intimacy. His correspondence, likewise, resumes, for a while, its strictly private nature ; and if here and there I discover in it traces of aspirations after a more busy career, these are invari-





ably inscribed in colours which mark the total absence, on his part, of hope that the wheel of his fortune would ever again make such a revolution as might lead to the accomplishment of his wishes. I subjoin the following letters as specimens of the sort of feeling which I have endeavoured to describe, as at this time exercising some influence over him. They are both excellent in themselves, and every way characteristic of the writer.

To Sir JOHN D'OYLEY.

Daylesford House, 5th February, 1805.

My dear Sir John,—A letter from me is only a pledge of my affectionate remembrance; for I am so completely shut out from the world, and the knowledge of all that passes in it, that I am not able so much as to tell you what has been the cause of the late change which has been decreed in the government of India; whether Lord Wellesley has solicited his recall, or is to relinquish his office by compulsion. It has been sudden, and I believe occasioned much surprise. It has been reported to me, but I have forgot my authority, that Lord Castlereagh and the present Earl of Buckinghamshire were candidates for the succession, but that Mr. Pitt, to prevent the disagreements to which such a competition might give occasion, fixed his choice at once on Lord Cornwallis, without any solicitation from his Lordship, but rather soliciting his acceptance of the appointment. I have a great respect for Marquis Wellesley, and a high opinion of his talents; and I am sorry for the loss which you and Charles will sustain by his departure; but you are not unknown to Lord Cornwallis, and, from the coldness which is imputed to his character, I infer that he is not



so partial to his immediate dependents as to be insensible to the merits, or useful qualities of others. Other news you will hear from better informed correspondents, and the public papers, which contain much more than I read. Among the late changes in the administration, there is only one that I take an interest in, and that is Mr. Addington's acceptance of the dignity of President of the Council. I am persuaded, that in this departure from his avowed purpose, he has yielded to the personal instances of the King, and to the necessity of adding strength, which his popularity would give, to the new administration. He is a good man, and I am almost sorry to make my eulogium of him suspicious by acknowledging personal obligations to him. Yet I think even these are proofs of the goodness of his motives; for what interest could prompt him to serve one so utterly incapable of making any return?

I wrote a short letter to you, and sent it to take its chance of an overland despatch, a few weeks after your departure; and on the 29th of October last I closed a long letter to you, comprising the history in detail of my own affairs. From an official timidity, and that indecision which seems peculiar to the Direction, and which I can well account for by their dependence on a superior authority, their resolution to allow the full sum of my annuity, though passed on the 25th of July, was not notified to me till the 21st of December; and the first payments to which it entitled me, were not made till the 29th of that month. Yet what has been done has been done with so much kindness and goodwill, that I am perfectly satisfied, and as contented as a man can be that is in debt almost to the extent of his whole property.

On the 14th of August I received a fresh cause of rejoicing, in the dismissal of Nubkishen's bill, which was decreed by the Master of the Rolls, to whom the





Chancellor (during the course of the process one of my advocates in the cause) relinquished the decision.

I returned on the 29th of July to Daylesford, after an absence of more than seven months, and brought back with me a cold of as long a standing, which I continued to nurse, and to increase it, till I was weary both of the cold and the nursing, and have since lost the former by neglect. My deafness in part remains, and I have felt the cold of the present winter more sensibly than I ever felt that of any which I have spent in England.

TO MR. THOMPSON.

Daylesford House, 3rd May, 1805.

My very dear Friend,—I feel the kindness of your self reproaches; but how much severer are those which they have awakened in my breast! for, I believe, few men live who have this sin so largely to answer for, and none that atone for it more by their regrets and repentance.

Your reflections on the detection of Lord Melville's corruptions are just. I should not have passed so severe a judgment on them when the public was first in possession of them as I do now, when I see them not only countenanced, but defended by the first servant of the kingdom, and an attempt made by the same man and his dependents to blacken the character of Lord St. Vincent, one of the first, if not the first, naval commander of this, or of any other country and age, in his zeal for his avowed friend. It may and will lower the character of Mr. Pitt; but it will not affect his stability. For this he has the effectual support both of his friends and of his most decided enemies. In this business I see many things that disgust and alarm me; but two which afflict me. You have mentioned one; the other I shall leave to your conjectures. I could



talk to you for three hours upon this subject, and not exhaust it. I cannot expend my thoughts in writing; nor do I feel an inclination for it. Why, for instance, should I tell the father of eight children, that as our taxes multiply, as the value of money daily declines, and the public debt, and the increasing necessities of war multiply the bounties in the disposal of the minister, every family in England must in time, and not a distant one, be reduced to an absolute dependence on him, or at least to a choice between their duty to provide a subsistence for their children, and an adherence to their integrity?

Mr. Powney is very good. He has represented me as he wished me to be. I have regained as much of my hearing as belongs to my time of life; but I have not had much cause to boast of my health during this last winter, the cold of which I have felt more than that of any other; but my occasional visits to town after long absences ought to make me thankful that I am as I am; for I see many who are younger than myself much further advanced in their journey, and bearing heavier loads of age and infirmity than I do. Mrs. Hastings, whose health is of much more consequence to me than my own, was remarkably well, stout, and of course in great spirits, during all the last year, and till within about six weeks past. She is yet but an invalid, and I am sure that she does not deserve it; for she is temperance itself, and her exercises such as are most likely to give and to confirm health. In a month's period of my absence from home she has made such improvements in our garden, our lawn, our shrubberies, and even in the farm, as I could not have accomplished in six, if I had even had taste and judgment to design them. I hope you will afford me the pleasure, some time or other, of showing them to you in detail. You ought to be partial in your judgment of them; for, ex-





cepting myself, you have not a warmer friend out of your own family than she is.

I have not been fortunate in my stud. My old Arabian died of old age on the 23rd of January. His son, Prince, one of the best horses I ever had, has been long affected with an unknown complaint in his near fore foot, which caused him to fall with me one day in a half-speed gallop down hill; and that I might not trust him again, he has now an incurable cough. My grey mare, Ann, has disappointed me two years successively, and she is lame. So I seldom ride now, but about my own grounds, and that commonly on one of Mrs. Hastings's ponies.

Colonel and Mrs. Imhoff were so kind and considerate as to give me their company in my return from town, though they could only stay with us just a week. They left us both in perfect health, and were evidently the better for even so short an enjoyment of our pure atmosphere, good hours, and quiet. They, too, are among those whom you ought to believe love you on the credit of your own sentiments for them. This I take to be the meaning of one of Solomon's proverbs, which Bishop Louth in his Lectures professes not to understand. As I have begun a new sheet without matter left to occupy it, I will give you my version of the text. I have forgot the chapter:—

Seek you another's thoughts to trace?  
Your own with calm reflection scan.  
As in the pool face answers face,  
So doth the heart of man to man.

Mrs. Hastings charges me to assure you and Mrs. Thompson of her truly affectionate regards and fervent wishes for both, and for your beloved children, and to her assurances and wishes I beg leave to add mine. I am ever, my dear Thompson, your affectionate.

Remember me kindly to your friend, Harry Van-



sittart. I am glad that he is so laudably employed, and am not sure that I regret his having totally quitted Oxford, if he has quitted it. I shall tell you in my next what I have—that is, what I shall have—done in the affairs of Mr. Warre.

So passed the time, both with Mr. Hastings and the nation at large, till the death of Mr. Pitt broke down the Tory Cabinet; and the Whigs, calling to their aid the large and influential section of the Grenvilleites, forced themselves into the Councils of their Sovereign. Mr. Hastings had never taken any decided part in the questions which kept the Whigs and Tories asunder. His leaning certainly was to the side of what would nowadays be termed liberal views in politics; that is to say, he was friendly to the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities, and he lamented the precipitancy with which Europe had combined to force upon the French nation a government to which they had declared their abhorrence. But he was neither a leveller in reference to the constitution of his own country, nor yet an advocate for peace with France upon other than the most honourable terms. Mr. Hastings seems indeed to have been what the Whigs once were, and what they professed still to be in 1806; and having received marks of attention from several of the most distinguished leaders, among whom the Prince of Wales was at that time willing to





be numbered, he conceived that the moment was favourable for making one more effort to emerge from obscurity. He accordingly wrote to Colonel McMahon on the 13th of March, requesting an audience of his royal master whenever it might suit the Prince's convenience to see him; and he received an answer by his messenger, appointing two o'clock on the following day for the interview. At the hour specified, Mr. Hastings repaired to Carlton-house. He was received with all the urbanity and kindness which gave their peculiar charm to the manners of George IV.; and at his Royal Highness's desire proceeded at once to unfold his business. For the account of what followed I shall again use the freedom of referring to Mr. Hastings's Diary. The following is the entry which I find there under the head 14th of March, 1806.

After describing the manner of his reception, and his own expressions of gratitude, the writer gives the substance of a short speech, as spoken by himself, to this effect.

"Since the great changes which have taken place in the administration of this country, I have purposely forbore to obtrude myself on your Royal Highness's notice, fearing to appear importunate and mistrustful of your Royal Highness's remembrance of me. But it has been suggested to me, that this caution, if extended too far, would render me liable to the imputation of disrespect, by marking a seeming indifference



to your Royal Highness's intentions towards me. Under this influence, but not quite satisfied that I have done right in yielding to it, I have ventured to solicit the honour of presenting myself to your Royal Highness, but claiming nothing, and expecting nothing, till your Royal Highness, in your own time, shall do me the honour to make me the subject of your direct and effectual consideration.

"To the Prince's question," continues the Diary, "what were the specific objects that I looked to, I answered my first object has been employment, (i. e. as explained by his Royal Highness himself,) either the Board of Control or the Government of India, but of this I now relinquished all thoughts, perhaps I ought not to have entertained them. My next view was to obtain a reparation from the House of Commons for the injuries which I had sustained from their impeachment of me. Though acquitted, I yet stand branded on their records as a traitor to my country and false to my trust: (this point I left unconcluded.) The third point principally regards the expectations which your Royal Highness has yourself excited in the breast of the person in the world, whose wishes I have ever preferred to my own. Though the best, the most amiable of women, (the Prince said, courteously, 'she is so,') she is still a woman, and would prefer her participation in a title to any benefit that could be bestowed upon me, (these last were not the words, I have forgotten them.) The Prince cordially assenting, but (I thought) not as a thing to be done, but to be tried, said, I must employ Lord Grenville and Lord Moira to effect it; and on my expressing a wish to owe the execution of it to Lord Moira, after some farther discussion, he desired me to go immediately to his Lordship, and tell him that he desired me. The Prince took my hand and professed his regard for me with





so much fervour, that I could not help exclaiming impulsively, ' Sir, I know not how it is, but I have never yet parted from your Royal Highness, without added sentiments of gratitude and attachment.' "

I do not know how far it may be necessary for me to explain, that, from a very early stage in the impeachment, the Prince of Wales, and indeed the royal princes in general, ranged themselves warmly on the side of the accused. This personal friendship for Mr. Hastings never afterwards wore itself out; yet in the case of the Prince of Wales, at least, it certainly brought forth no substantial fruits. On the present occasion, for example, whatever his Royal Highness's wishes may have been, he did not succeed in accomplishing those of his illustrious suitor. On the contrary, the fears of some, and the old grudges of others among those who had succeeded Mr. Pitt and his friends in the Cabinet, effectually barred the avenue either to honours or employment, against Mr. Hastings; and to Lord Moira, his attached and zealous friend, was committed the ungracious task of making Mr. Hastings acquainted with the results of the negociation. They met at the Earl's residence by appointment on the 29th, against which date I find in the Diary already quoted the following entry.

" I expressed my regret and compunction at the part which I had been imperceptibly led to take in



my conversations with his Lordship and the Prince of Wales on the 14th."—"When his Royal Highness drew from me the exposition of the specific point which I wished to obtain, I thought only of receiving it from his unparticipated bounty. Neither had I any other conception during my subsequent conversation with your Lordship. I was indeed a little startled, and ought to have been awakened to a sense of the danger into which I was precipitating myself, by an allusion of your Lordship. You expressed a doubt whether some of the members of the Cabinet would be brought to give their assent to any public act in my favour, which might imply a condemnation of their former behaviour towards me. It is evident that, as the concurrence offered is necessary, they cannot yield it, even to his Royal Highness's injunctions, without a sacrifice of their sentiments respecting me, nor, in short, without conferring a favour on me, though yielding only to the request of his Royal Highness. Notwithstanding this obvious conclusion, I still recurred to my former deception, and thought no more of these persons than as the instruments of his Royal Highness's purpose, not of mine. But I now see my error. My Lord, I never will receive a favour without an acknowledgment, much less will I accept a favour from men who have done me great personal wrongs, though the act so construed should be the result of their submission to a different consideration.

"I beg, my Lord, that the affair may go no farther. I am content to go down to the grave with the plain name of Warren Hastings, and should be made miserable by a title obtained by such means as should sink me in my own estimation." (This is the substance, and nearly, though not quite literal, of what I said.) His Lordship replied, that he perfectly conceived my feelings, but begged that I would not give up the





point, but confide in him: and he promised that he would take care that nothing should pass that could reflect the smallest discredit on me, or wound my feelings, either in the way which I had mentioned, or in any other."

"In the conversation, Lord Moira interrupted me and said, he did not know that these gentlemen retained their prejudices against me. He had only supposed it as an effect of the human passions; they might cheerfully give their assent, which would be an indication that they no longer considered me in the light they had formerly done. I answered, this made no difference; I should still, in the case supposed, accept an obligation from men who had grossly wronged me; and added, in allusion to something more said by his Lordship, which I have forgotten, that the atonement ought to precede my acceptance of any thing like a favour from them, if in any case it could be justified. I expressed, at parting, my gratitude to him for the sincerity of which he had given me credit, after the manner in which I had expressed my objection to acknowledgments made, in which my heart did not participate."

Such were the results of the first and last attempt which Mr. Hastings ever made to introduce himself into public life, after he had withdrawn from the great field of his labours in India, and resumed his place among the untitled gentlemen of England. I offer no insult to his memory when I venture to assume, that they both mortified and disappointed him; because no man, conscious of the powers which he possessed, has ever yet been excluded from the means of exercising them.



without experiencing mortification. Yet I cannot discover, either in his diary or in his correspondence, one sentence, or the clause of a sentence, which the most fastidious may with propriety interpret as expressive of disgust. On the contrary, the same cheerful and contented spirit which pervades the selection from his letters introduced into a former chapter, breathes through every line which his hand appears to have subsequently traced; indeed his very difficulties in money matters—and they came again—wrung from him no complaint, even while they compelled him to become once more a suitor for the bounty of the Company. I have nothing, therefore, to record of Mr. Hastings throughout the space of seven years, except that he spent his days in a dignified retirement, and found happiness himself in dispensing happiness throughout the circle which enjoyed the high privilege of being admitted to a share of his confidence and his esteem.

I subjoin a very few of the private letters which were written by Mr. Hastings between the years 1805 and 1813, rather as specimens of the bent of his well-regulated mind, than as containing any important or solid information. They seem to me very satisfactory.





To Sir JOHN D'O'LELY.

London, 1st February, 1806.

My dear Friend,—I have before me your letters of the 13th to the 16th of May; one of the 14th May by an overland despatch, of the 3d to the 9th of August, of the 6th to the 13th of October, and of the 22d to the 24th of October, 1805. The two last, with one from my dear Charles, came in the Medusa packet.

You have gratified me beyond my powers of expression, and my sense of it as an obligation is equal, by the very luminous and circumstantial detail which you have given me of the state of your family, your own situation and prospects, and the series of political events which had passed before your notice. All these I have read with an interest which has imprinted them deeply, but with very different characters, on my mind. What relates personally to yourself is the only portion of this communication from which I have derived any degree of satisfaction. From the rest, combining it with the miserable politics of this country, and the selfishness on which they are all grounded, I anticipate the most disastrous consequences. May God in his great mercy avert them!

If I answer your letters in detail, I may lose the opportunity and leisure afforded me to write on subjects of a more interesting nature.

In the first place I have the pleasure to tell you, that I have at length seen your son John. I was agreeably surprised to find him, though thin, in health; and though not advanced in instruction, improved in intelligence. The first I ascribe to Mrs. Grant; the second to nature: for I do not think that justice has been done him. It ought, however, to be a consolation to you, that, if he has lost two years of his life, if in that period his constitution has been neglected (I do not say that it was; upon this point Mrs. Grant and Sir



Walter Farquhar will probably give you their opinions, and they are better authorities), and his mind has stood still, there is a radical firmness in both, which will soon retrieve the past. He is gentle, pliant to authority (and that of Mrs. Grant is well adapted to an ingenuous mind), good tempered, and intelligent. Of the retentiveness of his memory he gave me the following proof. I asked him, if he had forgot the verses which I had given him to get by heart at Daylesford. "O no," said he, "I can repeat them." Being pressed by Mrs. Grant to repeat them, I objected, that it was not fair to take him by surprise. In truth, if I had expected the answer which he had given me, I should not have asked the question, at least not before a third person. But he immediately replied with so much confidence, that I acquiesced, and he recited the whole without a moment of recollection, or the slightest hesitation. To any one but yourself, this detail would appear frivolous. You will draw good conclusions from it. I communicated to Mr. and Mrs. Grant the right of control which you have given me, and the first use that I made of it was to advise them not to send the little fellow any more to the school where he has profited so little. There is a preparatory school intended for youths destined for the college at Hartford, but I cannot learn on what authority that title is given to it, for it is neither endowed, nor acknowledged by the Court of Directors; neither is it yet (if my information is correct) completely established. But Mrs. Grant has heard of a small seminary at Pentonville, near Islington, the master of which is a young man, about thirty years of age, who confines his instruction to twelve scholars, who live with him as his children, and eat at the same table with him and his wife, and on the same fare. Young Cockrell, the son of Pepys Cockrell, from whom I have this relation, passed through his hands





in his way to Westminster school. He was ten years of age when he went to Mr. Lendon, and was ignorant of the first rudiments of education. He remained with him three years, was then transferred to Westminster, and was thought qualified, after a due examination, for the upper fifth form, into which he was placed. This is an instance of rapid tuition, exceeding anything that I ever heard of; for if he had been entered at first in the petty form, which is the lowest, and risen through all the regular gradations, he would not have attained the fifth in less than six years and a half. Here I shall close this subject, as I hope to tell you before I close my letter, either that your friends have made their final election of this school, or a better. I forgot to mention that in answer to my inquiries, which were very particular, concerning the mistress of the school, for Mr. Lendon is a married man, Mr. Cockrell said, she was very kind and attentive to all her husband's pupils.

I wish I had known your intention of leaving John subject to my general superintendency. I assure you that I was wholly ignorant of it, and that it was by inquiry only that I learnt the name of the place where he was at school. If ever you intimated that purpose to me, it must have been when I was affected with the infirmity of deafness; for I could not have been inattentive to such a charge.

10th February.—I am just returned from a visit which I have made with Mr. and Mrs. Grant to Mr. Lendon, the result of which was, that we have settled to place your son under his charge, and to carry the boy thither on Friday next, if his equipment can be ready by that day, if not, on Monday; that is, either on the 14th or 17th of this month. We were all pleased with the appearance and conversation of both the man and his wife. He seems about the age I mentioned,



thirty; rather comely in his person, and his manners gentlemanlike. Mrs. Lendon, a pretty, good-humoured, little woman. I will enclose a card which specifies the terms, and other particulars of his school. The first are high. If this, with Johnny's other expenses, should chance to exceed the fund which you have provided for them, you shall be my debtor for the deficiency. Mr. Lendon has as yet only nine boys, which are three less than his complement.

I was mistaken in what I stated to you about the preparatory school. It is established. Its situation is about three or four miles from Hartford, at a place with a name like Halibury. The master's name is Luscombe: he bears a good character, and his wife an excellent one, and his terms are only sixty guineas a year, and fifty for entrance. Though not appointed by the Court of Directors, this school is considered as under their patronage. Against all these advantages we have agreed to prefer a school, which we know to be good, to one only reported to be so; an establishment of twelve boys to one unlimited in number; and a situation so near to Sir Walter Farquhar, Mrs. Grant, and Mrs. Partington, if (which God forbid) he should require either medical advice, or a temporary removal, to one, not perhaps more salubrious, at the distance of thirty miles from the reach of his friends.

While I am writing this, I have received a letter from Mrs. Close, written by her husband's desire, he himself being unable to write, desiring my opinion concerning the destination of your son, in consequence of a letter which he had received from you. In my answer I have detailed all that we have done, and our reasons for it. If he has disappointed the hopes which you had built on his neighbourhood to Twyford, impute it not to him. He has been long and dangerously ill, and too much reduced, I fear, to allow of the hope





of his regaining the activity of body and mind which he once had.

Interesting, and most highly so, as your letters have been to me, I must forbear to make any comments upon them. One observation only will I permit myself to suggest upon the conduct of Lord Cornwallis, and the possibility of its being adopted by his successor, or successors, towards you, in opposition to the principles of the law from which you derive your appointment. I should be sorry that you made any appeal from them to the Court of Directors. From them you would get no redress; and if they were to take up your cause, it could hardly fail to excite enmity to you where you are. Perhaps the best service that could be done for you would be for the Court, in their next re-appointment of an old servant under the Act, to state his rights, and their expectations, as derived from the Act. I will endeavour to secure information of the next instances, and privately to excite the Court to adopt the sentiment in support of their authority, and the authority of the Company. In the mean time, you have sufficiently experienced the mutability of fortune, and the chances of life and death, to guard your mind against despondency. What one man will not do, another may; perhaps from principle; perhaps from favour; and the precedent once established will at least operate as a removal of the fundamental obstacle to your promotion.

It is not yet determined who shall succeed Lord Cornwallis; for as to Sir George Barlow, nobody seems to consider him as holding the Government. I wish they may send out a better man; but I much doubt it, if it is true that Mr. Francis and Lord Minto have been candidates for it, and had powerful friends to support them. The latter has received the actual appointment of President of the Board of Commissioners;



still I think he may renew his pretensions (God knows how founded) to the Government of India. This is not a time to entrust such a stake to such a man, nor to substitute party claims to knowledge and integrity in such a selection. A powerful administration has been formed; but I should doubt of Lord Sidmouth's being permitted to remain a member of it longer than while his influence, name, and interest are wanted to constitute the strength of it. You know how high he stands in my estimation. Of the rest I shall say nothing; for I know nothing of them.

I have recently been gratified by a fresh instance of the partial good-will of the Court of Directors towards me, in an unanimous resolution to suspend the operation of a law, by which all foreigners are disqualified to be admitted into their military service, to enable my excellent friend, Colonel Toone, to give his nomination of a cadetship of cavalry to a nephew of Mrs. Hastings. He is preparing to go out with the first fleet now under despatch. He is nineteen years of age, upwards of six feet high, and is in body and mind all military. I shall request you to present him to your acquaintance as my relation, and for his aunt's sake, a dear one. This is all that I have at present to say on that subject.

I shall close this letter now, that I may be sure of the packet. Give my love to all your dear children. Adieu, my beloved friend. Your ever affectionate.

11th Feb.—P. S. I have totally forgot whether my last letter to you went by the Belle packet. Mrs. Hastings is certain that it did. I remember that I said in it, I would write to Charles by the next packet. If you have received no letter from me with that intimation, that will be an evidence of my having written by that despatch; and I shall expect to receive a mutilated translation of the translation of it in a book of intercepted correspondence.





To the same.

Daylesford House, 30th December, 1806.

My dear Friend,—The letters which I received from you of this year's date are of the 26th of January, by Mr. Farquhar; 29th of January, 5th of February, by a land despatch; 8th of February and 1st of May. I believe I have already acknowledged all but the last. Mine of this year bear the following dates:—20th February, 25th February, 26th March, 29th July, and 1st August, besides three introductory, of Charles Chapuset, young Pfeiffer, and Mr. Whalley.

I have blamed myself, for not writing to you more frequently; but I do not mend by self-reproach, and am not sure that it is just; for if any event occurred that interested you, or could be turned to your interest, I should assuredly neither neglect to apprise you of it, nor to avail myself of it. I am sick of looking to India, because I see nothing done for the advancement or preservation of our property in it that I like; nothing, indeed, but what I do not like. I was pleased with the resistance which was made by the Court of Directors to Mr. Fox's persevering attempts to force upon them their appointment of Francis and Lord Lauderdale to the Government of India. Such an effort of public spirit was too great a strain on their natural dependency of character to last, and they yielded to the prescription of a more unfit man than either, without a struggle or murmur, as if they had been contending only for the applause of virtue, without caring for the substance of it, or for the result. I should have thought that his administration of Corsica had made his talents sufficiently known to be dreaded. I feel for you; for his active malignity, which will never forgive the injuries which he has already done me, will too soon discover the concern which I have in your welfare, and do all he can to thwart it. But whatever part he assumes towards you or whatever may be your disappointments



from other, and whatever sources, bear with them; do the best for yourself, console yourself in the good that your family has derived from your restoration to the service, and wait for better days. Neither are men immortal, nor the power of ministers everlasting. Even in the worst result, your patient perseverance will reward you with your own approbation, in the reflection that you have done your duty, and have not merited the evil that has been your portion. If you sink under the contest, and fly back to England, vexation and remorse will embitter the remainder of your days and accelerate the close of them.

I have been disappointed in the hopes which Mr. Farquhar gave me of a visit from Cheltenham as soon as he had completed his prescribed term of drinking the waters. I have written to him since, about five weeks ago, but whether he had then left Cheltenham, or whether he has written to me and his letter has miscarried, I have not heard from him since. So we are yet strangers, but I trust we shall not remain so. I have two strong inducements to make acquaintance with him,—he is your friend, and his character respectable.

I have told you what passed between Sir Francis Baring and myself respecting his son's marriage with your Harriet, and I sent you a copy of his letter to me, in answer to one from me which first announced it to him. I have neither seen him nor heard from him since. I am anxious to hear how they are since situated. With some apprehensions arising from the necessity imposed upon them of a frequent separation, I am yet upon the whole well pleased with your daughter's choice. The blood of the Barings is so intrinsically good, that I will not suppose that there can be one exception to it, and that the degenerate branch should have fallen to your lot.

I again recur to your desperate suggestion of re-





turning to England. For God's sake repel with horror every idea of the kind. Suffer the extremes of sickness and want sooner than submit to so dreadful an alternative. Sickness may be alleviated (I know that the severest may) by abstinence, and the extremity of want by voluntary privations. But solitude, a voluntary banishment from all your children, the disappointment of every hope with which your imagination deluded you into so fatal and irretrievable a resolution, and the inseparable attendant of your latter days—remorse; lastly, to expire without one child, or even friend, to close your eyes, and receive your last injunctions;—what are poverty, sickness, and disappointment to miseries like these, and even those dreaded evils increased by the means so taken to escape from them?

I have taken no steps to amend your situation, or to obtain a redress of your grievances, except in what I have written to Colonel Toone. I could do no good by writing to any one else, not even to Sir Francis; and if you have made any public remonstrance, I fear it will only aggravate the injustice by which you have already suffered. I purpose being in town next month (I am writing in January), and my first object shall be to consult Sir Francis Baring, though I doubt his ability to do you service, unless Lord Minto should find out that Sir Francis can be of service to him, and that he may please him by serving you.

I come now to a subject of a more pleasing nature. Your son John is with us for the holidays. Though not so much advanced for his age, he is improved very far beyond my expectation; is master of his grammar to the syntax, which is a part of his exercise for the holidays, with sixty lines of Ovid's Epistles. These he began two months ago, and recited to me a part of what he had learnt very readily the other morning in



a carriage. He is very fond of reading, and repeated to me, at the time that I have been speaking of, the substance of a combination of long stories from the Arabian Nights' Entertainment, with an accuracy that shows that he reads with a good attention, I should say with an attention exceeding his time of life. Of the solidity of his grammatical knowledge he offered an extraordinary proof the other evening. We were reading in company Walpole's Historical Doubts, and came to a quotation in Latin, which had in it the word "*contingerat*," evidently a blunder; but whether intended for *contingeret*, or *contigerat*, I could not immediately tell. Either would suit the text, but give a different sense to it. Mrs. Hastings playfully appealed to John, who answered at once,—it should be *contigerat*, because the *n* is lost in the perfect tense; and he was right. He is the most easy-tempered boy I ever knew; I will not except even my friend Charles.

Of our political situation you will know as much from the public papers as I can tell you. You may think Napoleon a wonderful man, but do not say so. As we cannot cope with him, it is the fashion to scold at him, and call him opprobrious names. I think we begin to drop the invectives of contempt. He is at present well employed in the subjugation of Poland, that is, in delivering it from its imperial and royal depredators. Surely the hand of God is in his present project. I am pleased with it, because it is a retribution of justice; and I am the more pleased with it, because it employs his strength, and may employ it for a length of time to come, on objects in which his success cannot prove hurtful to us, and at a distance which ensures our safety for a twelvemonth at least to come. I do not yet see any means provided at home to repel the dangers which such a foe may meditate against us. We have means, and they are equal to





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the emergency, but they yet lie, as my impeachment did once, in abeyance.

Mrs. Hastings is well, better, indeed, I thank God, than she has been in many preceding years. We are happy in the society of her son and daughter, who were our companions (did I not tell you so?) in our late visit to our friend David Anderson. Colonel Imhoff has repeatedly solicited employment, but hitherto without success.

I am writing in the beginning of the year. May it prove a fortunate one to you and yours! Adieu, my dearest friend. Mrs. Hastings charges me to assure you of her affectionate remembrance and good wishes. Assure your dear daughters of the same from us both. Yours ever.

TO MR. THOMPSON.

Daylesford House, 15th March, 1808.

My dear Thompson,—I thank you heartily for your very kind letter. I will first give you the information in which you have the principal interest, by telling you that I think Mrs. Hastings much better, and she thinks so too, for the medicines which I brought with me for her use from Dr. Vaughan, to whom she desired me to apply for advice as I was leaving town—a circumstance which proves that she was seriously ill; for I believe you know that she holds the whole science of medicine in too low estimation, except when she feels herself painfully ill. I am, as I have been ever since the last solstice, equably well. Do you know that, when chilled with cold, to enter at once a warm room, and much more to run to the fire, or to eat or drink anything warm and comfortable, are infallible causes of indisposition, and generally of painful and acute disease? I knew it not till I learned it by severe experience, a little before the period from which I have dated my recovered health, and I believe you are



the only friend to whom I have not divulged the discovery. I soon after met with it in the shape of a maxim, in an excellent treatise upon colds, by a Mr. White. I fear, my friend, you will not readily find a purchaser for your estate, even though you could submit to a great loss in the sale of it. I have just read in a letter, that Lord Selkirk has bought a house, furnished, in Portland-place, for 5,000*l*. The depreciation of money affects only the cost of the minute wants of life. Perhaps you might succeed better in offering it for a lease, if you could get a safe and cleanly tenant for it.

There is certainly some mysterious spell put upon me, for I can no otherwise account for the utter neglect of me even by those who proclaim their belief of my past services and subsequent retention of what talents I formerly possessed. My opinions upon matters that come more within the cognizance of my experience than that of any man living have never been asked, but upon personal occasions, in which it was hazardous to give them. It is now too late to look for a change. Yet such a change may come, with others which are mortally to be deprecated. If it should, you, my friend, should be the first individual, after Charles, that should participate in its influence. This profession is like the courtesy of the dying courtier, "If where I am going I could serve you, Sir."

It is long since we have heard from Jersey; so long, that we were forced to apply to Lady Blunt for information; and from her Ladyship we learn by this day's post, that her last letter from Lady Imhoff, dated the 27th ultimo, reported them both well; Lady Imhoff only recovered from a severe illness, and comfortably lodged in one of the best houses in the island, of which they were then but taking possession.

I should have too much to say if I were to enter





upon political subjects. I have read much, and recommend to you of what I have read, Spence on Commerce, Malthus on Population, Lord Selkirk on Emigration, and Scott Waring's two pamphlets on Indian Missionaries. Malthus's appears to me to be one of the most enlightened publications of this and the last age. You have excited my curiosity to read Baring's pamphlet. The name alone would have proved a sufficient incitement, had I seen it so associated. But, if you can borrow it, read, above all things, Walter Scott's new poem of Marmion—not for political worth.

I had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Thompson and your wonderfully improved and interesting daughter once when I was in town. I strove to see them a second time, but could get no one to announce me, and left my name only on the mantelpiece of the vestibule. I pray you to present, with Mrs. Hastings's, my best regards to both, and accept them cordially transmitted from Mrs. Hastings.

I had forgot my commission and your promise, and had recently formed the resolution of giving up riding during the remainder of my life. But you have revived my inclination for it, and I shall be thankful for the pony which you have provided for me. I rather say, I *am* thankful for it. Let me know what I am indebted to you for it, including in the cost the charge of its conveyance. My horse Prince caught a fever, which terminated in a great swelling in his hind-leg, with a gangrene of so foul and acrimonious a nature, that on the assurance of a surgeon that the bone was tainted by it, and that every day of the poor animal's life would be an accession of misery, I ordered him in pity to be shot. I had the consolation of knowing that he received the stroke of death without either the apprehension or sensation of it. He was the best of all the breed; but they were all defective,



because they were all the progeny of old age. Such will almost always be the effect of such a cause. So affirms Plato in his ideal Commonwealth, and such is the more peremptory doctrine of Sarah Webb in her superintendency of our poultry yard, than whom I know not better authorities.

I think you have a neighbour, of whose knowledge in all affairs of husbandry you have a good opinion. I shall be obliged to you if you will ask him at what proportional rate he would estimate a farm beyond that which was put upon it by a professed surveyor in 1798; and I should like to have your opinion, too, upon it, if you are competent (as I dare say you are) to form one. It is a question of some consequence to me at this time. Yours affectionately.

To Mr. CHARLES D'OYLEY.

Daylesford House, 6th January, 1809.

My dear Charles,—I thank you for the information contained [in your letter of the 9th of February last, of your appointment to the collectorship of Dacca; and I heartily congratulate you upon it. Estimating its emoluments by its public importance, I conclude them to be equal to any that you can expect to attain for many years to come; and it is always prudent to adjust our conduct to our present station, as if it was the permanent provision for life, making the most of it, and rejecting all dependence on future, though more flattering prospects. I understand you have contracted debts. Let the discharge of these be your first concern. Appropriate a monthly saving for this purpose, and resolve, firmly resolve, to confine your monthly disbursements to the residue. By adhering to this rule, you will possess a mind at ease, a clear conscience, and acquire the habits of frugality, which few Indians practise on their return to their country, which they





call home; and almost all wish, for that reason and its consequences, to return to their service, if they could obtain it. This is the second time that I have offered you my advice, the most ungracious of all gifts, and have at the same time prescribed the practice of it. Do not treat it as advice is commonly treated; but reflect that it comes from one who has loved you from your birth, and whom the course of a few years, or more probably a few months, may separate for ever from the only communication you can hold with him in this life. I had not the benefit of such advisers.

Your letter having lain by me some time, I had forgot that you mention in it the emoluments of your office, and estimate them at twenty-eight or thirty thousand rupees a-year, "trusting that you shall be able to lay by sixteen or twenty thousand rupees out of it every year." God bestow upon you the virtue to persevere in this resolution!

I regret that the new regulations of the service, which, in my opinion improvidently, prefer a tedious scholastic discipline in England, to the official completion of education in India, will put it out of your brother's power to visit his father and his family till four years more are past; but his health is good, his manners naturally those of a gentleman, and gentle in the primitive sense of the word, and he improves faster than could have been expected, after two years lost both to the cultivation of his body and mind. It has occurred to me, that John will enter on service at the period destined for the close of the Company's charter, and the commencement of a new political system, in which, I greatly fear, their interests will form an inconsiderable and degraded part. Bear this in mind, and watch the measures and events which may appear to lead to this consummation, that you may avail yourself of the knowledge (if well founded) for the appli-



cation of it to your own prospects ; and reserve it to your own breast.

I can give you no public news which you will not receive from the magazines, if you read them, for you will hardly waste your time in reading newspapers : but I fear I may anticipate what may not come so soon to your knowledge, the total subjugation of Spain by the French ruler before you receive this letter.

Mrs. Hastings sends her love to you, and we both desire you to present our affectionate regards to your amiable lady. Heaven bless and prosper you, my dear Charles. I am ever, most affectionately yours.

To Sir JOHN D'OYLEY.

Daylesford House, 4th October, 1811.

My dear Sir John,—I have received your letter of the 21st of April last, and read with great concern, that you have been, and were likely to continue a sufferer, by what appears to me to be the prevailing vice of your government and time,—the application of the authorities of office to the gratification of private vengeance, and the cover of corruption. As far as I am enabled, by your epitome of your case, to pass a judgment upon it, I entirely approve of your conduct, and most of all of your resolution to appeal, in the last resort, to the Court of Directors. But I hesitate to give an opinion on the concomitant step which you propose, of resigning all employment. If you should be driven to that necessity, I mean of appealing, no one that I know has a better narrative style than you are master of: but while you refer to documents in evidence of facts, you should be careful to confine them to that purpose, and not leave them to be necessary for explanation. Consult brevity by a punctual observance of order and connexion in the construction, but make your appeal complete in itself (though it should be a departure from that rule) by a concise explana-





tion in the context, of every technical term which you may introduce, and of every official rule and practice that you allude to, as if you were writing to a man who had never before read a page upon the concerns of the East India Company. Constitute some active and attached agent, such as I suppose G. Baring to be, if he continues in England, and engage (if you can) some person in the Direction so far to patronize your cause, as to see that you are not injured by the patronage of others unfairly employed to injure you. On good Colonel Toone you cannot long rely. His constitution is so shaken, that, with the additional shock which it has recently received, I fear he has very little left—I will not say of life, but of the active powers of life. I have not heard from him, (indeed your letter announcing his son's death has been in my hands but two days,) and I shall not for some time to come have the heart to write to him : and what use I can make of the materials which you have afforded me I cannot yet devise. All affairs of the Company which are left to the Directors are wholly conducted by the chairman and deputy, and by them with such a spirit of procrastination, that very little is done out of the ordinary routine of current business ; so that an appeal to them is too much like the filing of a Chancery suit ; only that the approaching expiration of their charter may offer some chances of an intermediate amendment ; and for the future, no one I believe knows, not even those by whom the next arrangement will be made, what that arrangement may be. While I live, and possess my faculties, those, in whatever way they can be employed, shall be at your service, and at the service of any one who may be better able to serve you, and shall be accredited by you. But I know not what my means, situation, or local residence may be a year hence, if life is granted to me so long.



I have no great opinion either of the views or animus of Lord Minto; but I regret his absence from Calcutta, as it must be productive of all the evils of an inefficient and irresponsible government. The frequent recurrences to this measure have totally deprived the governor in being, whoever he may be, of all his superintendency, and must (as it appears to me) have the effect of converting all the offices into so many independent authorities, besides the opportunities afforded for new interests to establish themselves, or rather a new interest to raise itself by superior talents, and the energies of intrigue. I am not afraid of saying, that no future Governor-general will discharge his duty properly that does not do as I did—inspect the weekly or monthly details of every department, and give his instructions as often to the head of it. This duty he can only perform by being constantly on the spot: it cannot be done by delegation. All the current business stood still while I was at Lucknow in 1784.

Mark, in the course of your present business, every gross violation of justice, and secure and fix the evidences of it. One example from your letter may suffice. You write, that “you were required to communicate the mode by which the money was accumulated, together with the intended appropriation of it.” This was the requisition of a court of inquisition, not of a civil office, nor could a court of justice demand of any man what passed in the heart of another, though it might extract the truth from the corresponding testimonies of men who were privy to the facts relating to it. Such demands can only be construed artifices to ensnare innocence, to throw upon the person on whom they are made, the imputation of an informer, for an act of indispensable obligation. You had no alternative but to appropriate the money to your own use, which





would have been fraudulent, or to carry it to the credit of the Company. The latter act being indispensable, rendered it incumbent upon you at the same time to declare how it came into your possession, and what information concerning it you could legally obtain from others. The Board of Trade, as I suppose it was to them that you were amenable, should have appointed a committee of inquiry, if more was necessary. This, or whatever equivalent mode the rules of government have appointed for such cases, should have been done, and they were guilty of a neglect of duty who did not do it. I do not understand what you write concerning the securities, and the charge intended to be drawn against you, nor by whom, for exacting them; nor can I apply the term of duplicity in any sense of the act, to it. It appears to me to have been not merely correct, but necessary; nor could the neglect of taking securities from the Amla be imputed to you, if (as I take it for granted) they were not of your appointment, nor appointed during your time. I will inquire whether any notice is taken of these transactions; and you may depend upon it, that I will not be wanting in anything that may be necessary to guard your character against any misconstruction or misrepresentation of them.

I have not heard lately from John, nor of him: I am satisfied that he is going on well. I pray to God that you may live to see him. He will be a blessing to you. If he goes out next spring, I shall not want Mr. Partington's assistance in defraying his further expenses, unless they exceed my estimate of them.

Give my love to my dear friend Charles, with that with which I am charged from his godmother; we both unite in affection and every good wish for you and all your family.

I must not omit to inform you of a very interesting



event which has taken place in our family, which is, the marriage of my nephew Woodman to Mrs. Hastings's niece, Miss Louise Chapuset, an amiable young woman, and so great a favourite of us both, that no other cause could have reconciled us to her separation from us.

We are both, for the present, well. Adieu, my dear friend. I am ever, yours with true affection.

TO MRS. HASTINGS.

Brackley, 29th October, 1809.

My beloved wife,—Neither I, when I promised to write to you from this place, nor you, when you exacted my promise, reflected, that Saturday was not a post day, and that a letter written on this day, Sunday, must go first to London, and would arrive at Daylesford, but a few hours before me; for the purpose of giving you, at the expense of double postage, information which I could deliver more amply and satisfactorily, and free of cost, if withheld till I came home. Yet I am bound by my promise; I love to converse with you, in whatever way I can; and my letter will at least answer one good purpose,—it will spare you the pain of doubtful expectation. On Tuesday, the day appointed for my return, I shall return; but as I propose to stop at Banbury for an hour, I shall not reach my beloved home till near five. I shall certainly be there (if it please God) not later than five. Thomas Woodman has done much to the parsonage, in which he has completed two good rooms below, and two above stairs; and the whole will in another year be a comfortable and hospitable mansion. He invited two neighbouring families yesterday to dine with us, decent and evidently good tempered people. One lady recommended herself to me by praising our friend Mrs. Sampson, who is of her acquaintance. He expatiates





largely, and warmly, on the friendly dispositions of his townfolks; from which I infer that they think as kindly of his. The town is a handsome town, and reputed healthy. Old Woodman is as well, and looks as well, as I remember him forty years ago. I too am as well, and look as well, as I did four days ago. The road from Chipping Norton to Banbury is not bad, and from Banbury hither good.

T. Woodman was much delighted with your accumulated bounty, at which I was equally surprised, and had half a mind to be offended. He will thank you, and answer your letter himself, and write for both purposes by me, charging me in the mean time to say much that is handsome for him.

Adieu, my beloved. May the Almighty bless and protect you! This is my morning and nightly prayer, and the wish ever present in my heart.

To Mr. THOMPSON.

Daylesford House, 17th November.

My dear Thompson,—I can scarce tell you why I did not answer your letter when I received it, for I never had less leisure or less inclination to write than now.

I do not know whether Phipps was in my debt or not. If he was, his bond, with every other, for debts contracted in India, was left in Calcutta, and is there still.

I saw Mrs. Phipps when I was in town. She said, she wished *to go to service*, or do any anything for bread—Poor creature! that she had paid all her debts to a farthing, and was literally penniless. When I return to town, and I ought to be there by next Monday, I will exert myself for her. At present, I am sufficiently occupied with cares of my own. In the mean time she is not in actual want, nor, I hope, in fear of it.



If you think fit to administer, and wish me to join you in it, you may. Offer our kindest remembrances to your dear lady, who has at present much the largest share of our good wishes, but can we divide them? I thank you most heartily for your game. It came most opportunely when it was most wanted, and was not to be had but through your bounty. Adieu, my dear friend, your affectionate.