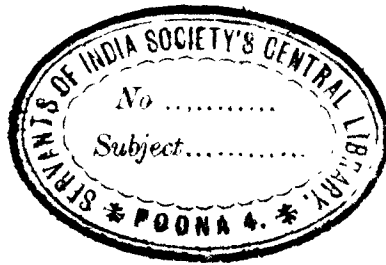


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THE

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

CHARLES, LORD METCALFE.

THE
LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
CHARLES, LORD METCALFE,

BY
JOHN WILLIAM KAYE,

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF SIR JOHN MALCOLM," "HISTORY OF THE
WAR IN AFGHANISTAN," ETC

A NEW AND REVISED EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES:
VOL. II.



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APPENDIX TO VOL. II.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR. GOODALL.

[HAVING introduced in the first chapter of this volume a letter to Sir Charles Metcalfe from his old preceptor Dr. Goodall, I cannot resist the temptation to give a few more brief passages from the venerable Provost's letters to his young friend. It seems that the Hyderabad Resident had been indulging his characteristic kindness and liberality by sending home, from time to time, not only handsome Indian shawls and scarfs for Mrs. Goodall, but many valuable contributions to the Provost's cabinet of curiosities. Many of the letters preserved by the recipient were indited in acknowledgment of these gifts. They are written in a pleasant, playful strain of assumed pedantry and bombast; the genial nature of the man breaking out in every sentence. Doubtless, it was not the least of Metcalfe's compensations, among the many trials of his official life, to receive these kindly greetings from *Alma Mater*, and to know that he imparted the same happiness that he received. "Of all the rewards that crown tuition," wrote the old Eton tutor to the Hyderabad Resident, "that which your partial affection has from time to time bestowed on me, by reverting to days that are long since past, though evidently not swallowed up in the gulf of oblivion, is, beyond all comparison, most grateful to the feelings." I am afraid that gratitude towards the trainers of our youth is a plant of no common growth. We remember their manual dexterity long after anything else. But that it was not so with Metcalfe, how pleasantly such an acknowledgment as this bears witness. The passage is as characteristic of the recipient as of the writer of the letter.]

"Mrs. Goodall has, I know, written to thank you for your most magnificent present, which I can assure you I found not the least difficulty in persuading her to accept. Turkeys and chine—hares and pheasants—Stilton and Cottenham cheeses, hide your diminished heads, nor dare to vie with the princely magnificence

of an Oriental donor! My dear Metcalfe, you must never hope to be able to return to England with lacks and lacks unless you check your generous spirit, and practice a little wholesome skill in the science of arithmetic. Suppose that the genius of old Hexter was embodied in the form of a Pundit, and proposed for your consideration the following problem:—‘If, from a moderate sum, you take away a great deal, proportionally speaking, how many years longer will elapse before you can accumulate the required product?’ Work this by a and $b \div c - d \div 4$, and state the probable result. Were illuminated Persian MSS. as easily picked up at Dihlee* (I bow with due submission to my orthography-mender), or Ispahan (spelt *archaicé*, for the want of instruction), as stray Horaces and stray Pœte Græci’s in the playing-fields or at the steps near the shirking walls, I would say, ‘Welcome, thou ornament to my study, though I do not understand you, I can, at least, do as children do, and admire the pictures;’ but if you will go on practising the rule of subtraction, instead of adding and multiplying—how shall I finish my sentence? I will only say, that you give too munificent proof that the *ærugo* and *cura peculii* has not cankered your mind. I shall, however, feel it to be my duty not to attempt to read your precious testimony of your kind regard, till I can have you at my elbow. Remember it was you who first put me out of conceit with Oriental literature, in the first acceptable though flattering letter which you sent me from your novercal country. For that India is only viewed by you as a step-dame (which Horne Tooke, a better grammarian than citizen, will tell you is a corruption of *stead—or sted—dame*), is tolerably evident from the whole tenor and complexion of your letters.”

[In the same letter the worthy doctor writes pleasantly of the conchological distemper that had broken out upon him, and beseeches the Nabob to send him a few shells from the Oriental world:]

“At fifty-six a man may be indulged with a hobby; and what nag do you imagine that I have mounted? Oriental literature I have disclaimed; Nimrod’s propensities are not mine. To the black-lettered Bibliomaniacs I own no fellowship. My limbs are not supple enough to become an active Lepidopterist. I adorn my garden and my green-house in moderation; but my rage is an

* Metcalfe always spelt the name of the imperial city “Dihlee.” I am afraid that I have not retained his orthography, even in his own letters, but have barbarised it into “Delhi.”

accumulation of certain modifications of calcareous matter, generally known by the name of shells. Now, should you in your travels chance to light upon any of the testaceous gentry who inhabit the waters of the eastern rivers, and can, without expence or difficulty, put by a few of them, in a small wafer-box, marking their habitats, if you can ascertain them, let them travel with your baggage on your return, and put them into my hands at the Lodge. This do, and I will say I cordially thank you."

[This letter was written when Charles Metcalfe was at Delhi. He was at Hyderabad when the following reached him. It alludes to the Eton dinners which he had given a year before in Calcutta, and shows that he had made a conscription of the desired "testaceous gentry:"]

"*Cloisters, Windsor, Feb. 21, 1821.*—Not woo 'coy Mathesis? What! did no curved sylph, no triangular gnome, whisper or bellow on the banks of the Gunga, that Lefevre, an Etonian, was the senior wrangler of his year? Were I not on the hill (not quite so high as Himalaya,) and consequently not able to examine my Etonian notices, which I have left in the valley, I could probably add three or four names, at least, enrolled among the wranglers of the last two or three years. You must, therefore, at the next anniversary (*the καὶ ἑορτή*) make the *amende honorable* by drinking the health of two Etonians, whose mathematical pre-eminence is recorded in the tripos of their respective years, Herschel and Lefevre. You need not mention that Herschel left us in the lower school. I was quite delighted at your patriotic establishment, and did I know the day of celebration, I would at least be with you in spirit, when *Floreat Etona* is 'hipped' with three times three. The report of your filial attachment to our common mother gladdened the heart of a septuagenary at one of our public days, who, with tears in his eyes, though not without a little Oriental amplification, declared that thirty years ago, at a similar meeting, the same pious words were echoed with such appalling reverberations, that all the crocodiles in the neighbourhood, smitten with terror, plunged themselves into the sacred stream. Should it so happen that the old fellow's health, of whom you speak, should ever again be drunk in your alcoves, have the goodness to express his grateful acknowledgment of their kind partiality to the assembled Etonians of the day, from the *venerable* Leycester (by-the-bye, are you sure that he is ycleped George? if he be the 'Scagger' I wot of he bore another me of yore) to the youngest 'sage' of the company. I need na

not say with what pleasure we shall enrol in our catalogue any books with which the affectionate remembrance of our Indian colonists may enrich us. Your kind brother has already furnished us with the first steps of knowledge to enable us to become apprentices to mandarins, or what not, by presenting us with all that is published of the Chinese dictionary. It will, moreover, give me additional pleasure to renew my acquaintance with a pupil who gave such fair promise of future attainments as Trant did so many years ago. Mrs. Goodall begs me to say, that though she has long since made over her collection of seals to some of my nieces, she has stored in her choicest cabinet of curiosities the two seals which you have so kindly transmitted to her, and that she most heartily thanks the administrator of the empire, the ruler of the country, the attached Lord C. T. M., the hero, the glory of war, adding that, though your godfather, the King of Dihlee (poor simple soul as I am, to think that I could spell the word), may have given a little flourish of Oriental hyperbole, there is, as she learns from authentic sources, a considerable portion of fundamental truth. She desired me further to say, that aware as she is of the difficulty of procuring the seals to which you refer, [‘especially as she has dismounted from her ancient hobby,’ these words I am answerable for] she is most unwilling to trespass either on your time or kindness on that head.

“You will already have concluded that your kind conchological present never reached me. Whether they returned to their native ocean, were purloined by a Triton in their passage, or, which is more probable, were intercepted at the Custom House, is a problem which I will not attempt to solve. At all events, I must tender you my most hearty thanks for the trouble (and not only the trouble) of collecting for me what I doubt not would have proved some of the choicest gems of my cabinet. A similar disappointment has befallen me with respect to a few shells which your brother forwarded to me from Canton. When I had the pleasure of seeing him at Eton, he imagined that they were recoverable, but has, I believe, since discovered that they elude all search. I am not without hopes that we shall shortly have the pleasure of seeing him again at Eton (his former was a mere flying visit), as I have reason to think that he will in the course of next month redeem his pledge. The last account I received of his health was much more favourable; and, indeed, when I met him in town, about two months since, he had in great measure recovered his looks. May the Almighty grant that he may be perfectly convalescent before he leaves his native shores!

I will not give my consent for his departure till his physicians say he may go in perfect confidence of not suffering by his voyage, or future residence at Canton.

"Next week I close my sixty-first year, in a better state of health than from the sedentary life I have led I could possibly expect, and, thanks be to God, I have hitherto felt only the gradual approaches of old age. I can read from morning to night with untired eyes; I can enjoy the society of my friends, young as well as old, and, on particular occasions, can walk fifteen or sixteen miles, provided I am by the sea-side—*e. g.*, I walked last June from Worthing to Little Hampton and back again between breakfast and dinner, with no other bad consequence than the entire loss of the skin of my face, which peeled off in due time. I do not read quite so much Greek as formerly, but I have lately attempted to learn Hebrew and Spanish. My progress in the former language is slow. My master, though a good grammarian, has not the best method of teaching. I at first suspected the scholar to be in fault, but I must only plead parcel guilty, as I understand that my fellow-scholars agree with me in the opinion which I have formed of my instructor, for whom I have a great respect. If you wish to know in what part of the school I am, know by these presents, that I am in the second form in Hebrew, and in the fourth in Spanish.' Apropos of my master, he was travelling to town in the Windsor and Eton stage, when a talkative solicitor of the neighbourhood having entered rather warmly into some discussion with him, wished him to reconsider something he had advanced, and concluded his speech by adjuring him to do so, as he was an Englishman and a Christian. 'Sir,' says his antagonist, with the most perfect phlegm, 'I am an Italian Jew.'"

[The next letter, written in the same year, from the "Lodge, Eton Cloisters," acknowledges the receipt of the desired pabulum for the Provost's hobby-horse, but only after the wonted desecrations of the Custom-house.]

"I must now beg your Excellency to accept Mrs. Goodall's and my grateful acknowledgments for your voluminous and magnificent present, which contained many very beautiful and interesting specimens, the greater part of which arrived safe and entire; but the carelessness of the good people of the Custom-house had repacked the more fragile bivalves with such total disregard of the danger to which their new position exposed them, that they were shattered into fragments. Only one of the

mactræ, a beautiful totally white bivalve, escaped uninjured. Even the nautili, which are not of so frail a nature, were curtailed of their fair proportions by the clumsiness of the repackers. The proportion, however, of the damaged shells was not more than that of one to eleven; the rest arrived in undiminished beauty. Above four parts of the whole were recent shells, and, indeed, almost all of the more scarce species. Some of the more common kinds had parted with their inhabitants before they were collected; but fortunately my cabinet was already provided with these sorts. One species, which is particularly liable to injury, and is considered as a more scarce shell, escaped mischief altogether: it is cyleped 'Helix Hamostoma.' Your bounty has multiplied my unique specimen into five. Mrs. Goodall means to dress up one case from your present entirely, and to baptise it by the appellative 'Metcalfean.' And now, scold you I must not, for it would be hypocrisy to say that I was not delighted with the totality of your munificence; but I cannot refrain from observing that had I entertained the most distant idea of the enormous expense to which my request would have exposed you, I should never have made it. My petition was for pieces of brass, and you have enacted Jupiter Pluvius and showered down gold on me. I begged for a few inhabitants of your rivers, and you have transmitted me, in profusion, the spoils of the ocean. . . .

"And so you will no longer preside at the Bachelor's ball in your full court dress, nor celebrate our *Alma Mater* at the next Calcutta anniversary. Etonians must be *rare aves* at Hyderabad, which place, however, if it has any taste, most surely *Golconda libentius audit*. Many, many thanks to you for your kind offer. At present I know no Hyderabadian or Golcondist whom I am desirous to recommend to your protection; but should I hereafter avail myself of your permission, be assured that I will not abuse it by recommending any one of whom I cannot confidently say, *Scribe tui gregis hunc, et fortem crede bonum*. May you experience in your new situation all the pleasure and advantages which you have pictured in your imagination! May you proceed in your career with gentle gales, and under a serene sky, in the full enjoyment of the friendship of that circle which you have selected!"

[In a graver strain is the following, written at a somewhat later period, in reply to one of Metcalfe's letters from Hyderabad, expatiating on the benefits which he hoped would result from his superintendence of the administration of the Nizam's territories.]

“The picture which you draw of your situation and of the means of doing so much and so essential good, is delightful. The passions, prejudices, and interests of writers distort to such a degree the character of the people of the East, that it is a matter of the greatest difficulty to reduce one’s opinion of the inhabitants of different districts to any one general standard; or, perhaps, I should speak more correctly were I to say, to form a just opinion of any. What has always appeared to me to be the greatest obstacle to the happiness of the subjects of native princes is the danger of their considering too gentle a government as indicative of fear on the part of their rulers, and consequently if, as seems to be the case, they are of a restless and unquiet spirit, there is further danger of their being influenced by some master-mover of their worst passions to attempt some rash scheme, which would be more likely to subvert than to secure their happiness. I have heard it again and again asserted that they must be driven, for they will not be led; but I have often thought that though this may be almost strictly true with respect to their native rulers, still, under that universally admitted opinion of European superiority and the acknowledged inefficacy of resistance to European power, there can be no reason to doubt that the vigilant protection of the resident authorities, armed as they are with the means of enforcing obedience to their regulations, may, where there is a due mixture of gentleness and severity, counteract the evil designs of the turbulent, and, to a great degree at least, improve the general situation of the whole population. . . .

“It has been the result of all my reflection on the much-agitated question of the probability of introducing Christianity among the Hindoos, that the only practicable mode of conversion is the gradual weaning them from their absurd notions by opening to them every possible source of rational information; and that this most desirable end can only be effected by mildness and gentle persuasion, strengthened by that most powerful of all influences—the influence of example, the pure lives of those who labour for their conversion. But I am travelling out beyond the record; I am addressing the redresser of political evils, not the missionary. All I meant to say is, that I am fully convinced that your successful labours must promote, in a great degree, the more important concern of religious improvement,—gradually, perhaps, but not therefore less certainly. With the increase of the Nizam’s revenue, the increase of his subjects’ worldly happiness, I will hope that the chances of extending the great, the glorious work of the propagation of the Gospel will, to say the least, be greatly

facilitated; and whatever future annalists may record or not record, I trust that among the nations on whom you shower such important blessings,

“*Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.*”

It is delightful to have such honourable motives for self-gratulation, and you cannot draw on a surer bank for happiness than from the consciousness of not only meaning, but doing well. Yet, alas! human nature is on the whole everywhere so far the same, that the great mass of mankind are self-interested and ungrateful. In the midst of those whom you labour to benefit with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your strength, you will find a plentiful crop of these abominable tares, and you will perhaps have to regret that the hopes of your harvest are ultimately destroyed. But, *Dii, meliora piis!* May you continue to prosecute your useful and patriotic efforts without experiencing any of those drawbacks which a croaking prophet of evil may needlessly call up to the imagination.”

[There was, indeed, “a plentiful crop of these abominable tares,” and they were growing up in rank luxuriance when Metcalfe received this beautiful letter, and recognised in his imminent soul the truth of these prophetic utterances of his old preceptor.]

THE FALL OF BHURTPORE.

(Page 45.)

LORD AMHERST TO SIR CHARLES METCALFE.

Calcutta, January 29, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—At two o'clock this morning the Bhurtpore letters were put into my hands, and it was with peculiar satisfaction that amongst them I acknowledged one in your handwriting.

Nothing, indeed, can have been more complete than your success; nor am I aware that there is anything wanting to give to the capture of Bhurtpore a pre-eminent place amongst the political and military events in the history of India.

That in undertaking this great achievement I was principally influenced by your advice, I shall readily acknowledge. You would have shared the disgrace of failure, and must, therefore, be admitted to the honours of the triumph.

That the policy which dictated the measure was sound I

doubt not we shall have abundant proof; but this leads me to observe to you, that even without the transcendent lustre of Bhurtpore I have for some time past been cheered by a brighter prospect than I had before enjoyed in looking towards the Upper Provinces.

Interspersed with your despatches relating to Doorjun Saul, we have received from you several adverting to other powers within your political jurisdiction and control, especially Jycpore, which have given me full reason to think that the influence of your judgment alone, without the aid of a powerful army, would have placed our relations with neighbouring states on a more secure and advantageous footing than it has yet been my lot to witness.

It has been a source, I assure you, of no little pride and satisfaction to me to find that the pencil observations which I have usually made in the margin of the despatches of your subordinate agents have universally, I may say, been in unison with your own sentiments, as expressed in the copies of your replies.

You have closed your letter to me with a little deviation, and one which I see proceeds from your heart, from the usual terminating phrase. I will follow your example, and will tell you that I remain, with gratitude for your past services, and with the fullest confidence in those which are to come,

My dear Sir Charles,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

AMHERST.

The interest which you manifest in the safety of my son is not lost either upon Lady Amherst or myself.—A.

THE CIVIL DUTIES OF THE DELHI RESIDENCY.

(Page 46.)

TO SIR C. T. METCALFE, BART.,

Resident and Commissioner at Delhi, and Agent to the Governor-General for the States of Rajpootana.

Council Chamber, September 1, 1825.

SIR,—With reference to the communication made to you from the Political Department under date the 20th of May

last, I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council to transmit to you for your information the subjoined copy of a Resolution this day passed by Government, on the subject of the Revenue Management of the Western Provinces and of the territory of Delhi.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

HOLT MACKENZIE,

Secretary to the Government.

RESOLUTION.

1. With reference to the Resolution * passed in the Political Department relative to the future management of the Delhi territory, his Lordship in Council is pleased to pass the following Resolutions in regard to the Board of Revenue for the Western Provinces.

2. The authority of that Board within the Delhi territory will cease from the date on which Sir Charles Metcalfe may assume charge of his office. The sphere of their jurisdiction, embracing the collectorships and sub-collectorships noted in the margin, † it appears to be obviously desirable that their head-quarters should be fixed at some central place within that jurisdiction. The Governor-General in Council is disposed to think that Bareilly would be the most appropriate station. But before coming to any final resolution, his Lordship in Council is desirous of receiving a communication from the Board of their sentiments on the subject.

3. When the Board is relieved from the charge of the Delhi territory, three members will, apparently, be amply sufficient for the due conduct of the public business; although to the senior member will still belong the same political duties as were attached to that officer before the extension of the Board's authority to Delhi; and although the revision of the detailed settlements now in progress must obviously throw upon the Board an extent of labour far exceeding what was necessary for

* Dated May 20, 1825.

† Agra, Bareilly, Etawah—collectorship and sub-collectorship; Furruckabad, Moradabad—northern and southern divisions, Meerut, Shahjehanpore, Seharanpore, Ally Ghur, Boolundshahur, &c., &c., &c.—sub-collectorship; Pillibheet, ditto; Sapoora, ditto; Mozuffernuggur, ditto; Saidabad, Kumaon—commissionership.

the administration of much more extensive provinces under the former system. Mr. Ewer's appointment as officiating member of the Board will consequently cease on Sir Charles Metcalfe's assuming charge of the affairs of the Delhi territory.

4. The Governor-General in Council is pleased to appoint Mr. C. Elliott senior member of the Board, which will still retain the denomination of Board of Revenue for the Western Provinces. In that capacity (including the political duties annexed to it) Mr. Elliott will draw from the present date a salary of 5,000 rupees per mensem; and referring to the extent and responsibility of the political duties which Mr. Elliott has had to discharge, as acting agent to the Governor-General at Delhi, which have much exceeded what was contemplated when the transfer of Delhi to the Board was ordered; with advertence likewise to the saving which has accumulated since the offices of senior member of the Western Board and agent to the Governor-General at Delhi were vacated in April last, his Lordship in Council resolves that Mr. Elliott be authorised to draw the difference between the above salary of 5,000 rupees per mensem and the amount of monthly allowances (fixed and temporary) actually received by him for the period during which he has officiated as senior member of the Board and Agent to the Governor-General at Delhi.

5. The Board will, of course, consider and report what modification of their establishment may be necessary or expedient under the arrangement now ordered.

6. With respect to the revenue affairs of Delhi, it appears to be unnecessary to pass any immediate orders. The appointment of Sir Charles Metcalfe will not apparently render necessary any change of system. And if that gentleman shall deem it requisite to seek the aid of any new establishment to enable him to exercise an efficient control over the district officers, the point will, of course, be further considered in communication with him. His Lordship in Council cannot, however, omit this opportunity of again calling for detailed statements of the Mehals, comprising the several divisions of the Delhi districts, exhibiting the amount of juma assessed on each, the period of settlement, the nature of the management, the names and

characters of the Malgoozars, with such other particulars as have usually been supplied by the settlement accounts of the regulation provinces, as far as there may be materials for stating them. The above statements should be accompanied with general reports for each division, explanatory of the mode in which the settlement may have been made, the character, institutions, and circumstances of the people, and the general statistics of the country.

(A true copy.)

HOLT MACKENZIE,
Secretary to the Government.

THE LIBERATION OF THE INDIAN PRESS.

(Page 148-149.)

[Having in the chapter devoted to this subject given only a portion of Metcalfe's Manifesto of the 20th of June, 1835, I am induced, by a consideration of the importance of the document, to give it entire in this place.]

GENTLEMEN,—On the part of my colleagues in the Government, as well as on my own, I sincerely thank you for this testimony of your approbation of our proceedings, and for the obliging manner in which it is expressed; but highly as I prize your esteem, I will not underrate the character of this address, by regarding it as designed principally to convey a compliment. You have adopted this mode of giving authentic expression to public opinion on a great question, in which the happiness of all India, it may be said of all the world, is concerned.

I rejoice to meet you on this ground, and to join my humble voice to yours in favour of that measure, which will, I trust, in due course, be consummated.

I need not to you defend a proposed law which you cordially approve; but there may be some who are not satisfied that it is either necessary or safe. I will, therefore, avail myself of this opportunity to state, as briefly as possible, the reasons by which it appears to me to be justified and recommended.

To all who doubt the expediency of the liberty of the press, I would say that they have to show that it must necessarily cause imminent peril to the public safety, such as would not exist

without it, and cannot be averted by statutory laws; for otherwise there can be no doubt that freedom of public discussion, which is nothing more than the freedom of speaking aloud, is a right belonging to the people, which no government has a right to withhold.

It also rests with them to show that the communication of knowledge is a curse and not a benefit; and that the essence of good government is to cover the land with darkness; for otherwise it must be admitted to be one of the most imperative duties of a government to confer the incalculable blessings of knowledge on the people; and by what means can this be done more effectually than by the unrestrained liberty of publication, and by the stimulus which it gives to the powers of the mind?

If their argument be, that the spread of knowledge may eventually be fatal to our rule in India, I close with them on that point, and maintain that, whatever may be the consequence, it is our duty to communicate the benefits of knowledge. If India could only be preserved as a part of the British Empire by keeping its inhabitants in a state of ignorance, our domination would be a curse to the country, and ought to cease.

But I see more ground for just apprehension in ignorance itself. I look to the increase of knowledge, with a hope that it may strengthen our empire; that it may remove prejudices, soften asperities, and substitute a rational conviction of the benefits of our Government; that it may unite the people and their rulers in sympathy, and that the differences which separate them may be gradually lessened and ultimately annihilated. Whatever, however, be the will of Almighty Providence respecting the future Government of India, it is clearly our duty, as long as the charge be confided to our hands, to execute the trust to the best of our ability for the good of the people. The promotion of knowledge, of which the liberty of the press is one of the most efficient instruments, is manifestly an essential part of that duty. It cannot be that we are permitted by Divine authority to be here merely to collect the revenues of the country, pay the establishments necessary to keep possession, and get into debt to supply the deficiency. We are, doubtless, here for higher purposes, one of which is to pour the enlightened knowledge and civilization, the arts and sciences of Europe

Nothing surely is more likely to conduce to these ends than the liberty of the press.

Those who object to it are further bound to show that it is not salutary for the Government and its functionaries to have the check of a free press on their conduct ; and that the exercise of arbitrary power over a restricted press is preferable to the control of the laws over a free one ; assumptions which cannot be maintained.

The time was when the freedom of the press was considered as intolerable for any class in India. That has passed away, and many now admit that there is not much harm, and that there may be some good, in granting it to Europeans, but still entertain apprehensions as to its injurious effects if enjoyed by natives. I do not participate in those apprehensions ; but of this I am sure, that to legislate in distrust of our native fellow-subjects, or to legislate differently for them and for Europeans, in matters of right and liberty, would be extremely unwise and unjustifiable policy. The press will always be under the safeguard of laws, and laws can be made where laws are wanting. The existence of a local legislature, which can at any time provide for the safety of the State, should it be endangered, has removed the only formidable bar which before opposed the complete liberty of the press.

In addition to the motives which must have existed, on general principles, for giving the fullest freedom, there were circumstances in the state of the press in India which rendered the measure now proposed almost unavoidable. The press had been practically free for many years, including the whole period of the administration of the late Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck ; and although laws of restriction existed in Bengal which gave awful power to the Government, they had ceased to operate for any practical purpose. They were extremely odious. They gave to the Government arbitrary power, which British subjects in any part of the world detest. No Government could now have carried them into effect without setting universal opinion at defiance. After the liberty given by Lord William Bentinck's forbearance, no Government could have ventured to enforce those laws unless it had been gifted with a most hardy insensibility to ridicule and obloquy. Even supposing them to be good, they were

utterly useless; and as they brought unnecessary odium on the Government, it would have been absurd longer to retain them.

In speaking of those laws, I cannot refrain from adverting to the individual who, having been at the head of the Government when they were passed, bears all the blame of being their author. He was one of the best and purest and most benevolent men that ever lived. In proposing those laws, he must have been actuated, as he always was, by the most upright and conscientious motives. Had he been now alive, and at the head of this Government, he would probably have been among the foremost to propose the abolition of those laws which he formerly thought necessary, but would now have seen to be useless and odious. To what a degree popular feeling prevails against them cannot be more strikingly shown than by the detraction which they have brought on the memory of one who was eminently deserving of all praise, distinguished by great talents and the most important public services, the soul of honour and virtue, admired, beloved, revered by all who knew him, but condemned by the public, who knew him not, solely on account of these laws which they abhor.

In the Bengal and Agra Presidencies the question was, whether those laws should be retained or abolished; laws, be it observed, too unpopular to be executed, which in practice had in every respect become obsolete. In the provinces subordinate to Bombay there was the same question; but that was not the question in other parts of India. The question there was, shall such laws be introduced where they have not been known? Shall odious restrictions be imposed where there is already perfect freedom? Shall despotic power be substituted in the place of law, or of liberty unrestrained even by law? At Madras there was no local law, and there were no means of making any person responsible for what was published. At the Presidency of Bombay there was a law already existing, as free as that now proposed for all India. At Madras and Bombay, to have made any law short of perfect freedom, would have been to impose restrictions which did not before exist. Such a course would surely have been wrong, and was certainly unnecessary. A law was urgently required at Madras, where liberty existed without responsibility. We could not

legislate partially on such a subject; and the result of our deliberations was, that what is now proposed was the safest and the best law that could be devised. It gives perfect liberty; and all its subordinate provisions aim only at proper responsibility. Things could not remain as they were; and any law of restriction would have been sad retrogression in legislation, and totally opposed to the spirit of the age.

You have alluded most justly to the difficulties that beset the forming of a law to restrain all excesses and injuries which may be committed by means of the press. On this point, I fear, legislation is set at defiance. We cannot apparently enjoy the liberty of the press without being exposed to its licentiousness. We must submit to the attendant evil for the sake of the predominant good. Although the boundary between liberty and licentiousness is perceptible enough in practice, it can hardly be defined by law without the danger of encroaching on useful liberty. The laws of England have utterly failed to prevent the licentiousness of the press; and yet, perhaps, could hardly be made more efficient without endangering its freedom. Much, therefore, necessarily depends on the good sense and good taste of those who wield the power which the press confers. The worst enemies of the press are such of its conductors as destroy its influence by prostituting its use for the gratification of base passions. When public measures are fully and freely discussed, and censured or approved, as may be, in a spirit of candour and justice, the influence of the press must be great and beneficial. But when men find themselves the objects of gross personal scurrility, without any reference to public measures or real character and conduct, they may at first feel pain; because sensitive men with benevolent dispositions toward all their fellow-creatures, grieve to perceive that they have rancorous foes busily employed against them, but working in concealment, the cause of whose enmity they know not, and whose wrath they have no power to appease; but they cannot respect the instrument of unjust virulence; they must know that such attacks proceed from personal hatred or wanton malignity, and they must learn to despise calumny which cannot be guarded against by any goodness of measures, or any correctness of conduct. The proper influence of the press is thus destroyed; and ultimately just censure, which would

otherwise be respected and dreaded, is disregarded and discredited, and being confounded with the mass of indiscriminate abuse, loses its due effect.

I entirely concur with you in the desire which you entertain, that if at any time actual danger to the State should render necessary temporary or local restraints on the liberty of the press, the precautions applied by the Legislature may be only commensurate to the real exigency, and that no restrictions may be made permanent beyond those which are necessary to ensure responsibility; and I trust that all legislation, with a view to protect the community against licentiousness, will be in the true spirit of liberty.

I am sensible of your kindness in the wish which you have expressed that I may remain in my present office long enough to take a part in passing the proposed measure into a law. For two reasons I entertain the same wish. I am naturally desirous of having a share in the completion of a law which will, I trust, conduce to the welfare of India and mankind. I am also anxious to relieve the Governor-General elect from the responsibility of a measure regarding which long experience in India enables me to proceed without hesitation. On the other hand, there is a consideration which will more than reconcile me to the transfer of this duty to the hands of the distinguished nobleman appointed to this office. Fully believing that all the prepossessions of a British statesman, and especially of one who has witnessed the inferiority of countries where the press is enslaved, compared with his own, where it is free, must be in favour of the liberty of the press, I shall rejoice at his having an opportunity of commencing his administration with an act which will at once establish a good understanding and a cordial feeling between the head of the Government and the community over which he is to preside.

C. T. METCALFE.

THE PLAGUE AT PAHLI.

(Page 180.)

"The spread of the plague on the western frontier has excited much alarm even at this Presidency. The *Hurkaru*

says: 'There are in Calcutta many public offices and houses of business, particularly in the Burra Bazar, where communications are almost daily received from the districts where the plague is now raging, and we have not yet heard of any measures adopted to guard against the introduction of the plague in this city by means of such vehicles. Should the disease ever make its appearance in the crowded parts of the native town, no measure would be capable of arresting its progress; removal, separation, and blockade of houses in the Burra Bazar and its neighbourhood, appear to us equally impracticable.' The *Reformer* states that the Hindu community believe the disease to be a visitation from Heaven for the political sins of our Government, and that it will spread in spite of all our precautions. Sir C. Metcalfé has published an able minute on the subject. The first measure he directs is, the establishment of a cordon of posts along the frontiers, which is to prevent the ingress, into the British territories, of any person from the infected or suspected quarter without undergoing a quarantine. The precautions prescribed in carrying this measure into effect, are detailed in the minute, and insisted on with earnestness. Having fully explained the measures he would have the local authorities adopt to prevent the introduction of the pestilence into the interior, he calls the attention of the authorities to the steps which would be necessary in case the disease, notwithstanding the preventive cordon, were to insinuate itself into any of the towns and villages in the interior. Every possible attention to the prejudices of caste is strictly enjoined to the observance of those who are to have the charge of the patients in these establishments; but it is required that no consideration for the rank or the objections of the individuals concerned, be permitted to prevent their separation or removal from relations and houses, on the ground that the safety of the community depends upon these precautions. The local authorities have, however, the option, under cases of necessity, of allowing the inmates of an infected house to continue in it; but then the building is to be strictly blockaded, and guarded as if it were a separate hospital. The difficulties consequent on the requisite separation of near and dear relations from each other, under such direful circumstances, are fully appreciated by Sir Charles; and the only means he can suggest in case of

parties refusing to separate is, that the healthy should accompany the sick to the hospitals, and be subjected to the severe rules in force at those establishments. The houses from which infected persons may be removed are to be purified, with all the articles in them. The greatest care is prescribed in keeping the streets and drains of every town and village clean, and all sorts of filth, rags, &c. found in them, or in the houses of infected persons, are to be burned and the ashes buried; for even ashes have been known to convey this dreadful pest from place to place. In case the disease should spread, the inhabitants are to be confined to their respective houses, and have their food furnished to them under the rules prescribed for the hospitals and the towns and villages in which contagion exists, and they are to be cut off from free intercourse with other places, and kept under a strict blockade. Dresses made of oil-skin and tar, and frequent friction with oil, have been found the best preservatives against contagion, when contact with infected persons cannot possibly be avoided. But the grand means of checking and annihilating the plague, is the prevention of contact with infected persons.

“The *Reformer* suggests native objections to these measures: ‘The more we read of the disease now raging in Rajpootana, the more we become convinced of the impracticability, nay, the injurious tendency of some of the measures prescribed by Sir Charles Metcalfe for checking the evil. The dragging out of children and wives from the houses of wealthy and respectable natives, and incarcerating them in a lazaretto, are measures which, under existing circumstances, instead of producing any good, will be the cause of spreading the contagion more widely: those who ought to be removed will be left at home, and those who should be left at home will be removed to the lazaretto, there to catch the very disease we dread, and thus widen the sphere of devastation. The extortions which would be practised on the healthy as a ransom from the fangs of the quarantine officers, are incalculable. We fear all will, at one time or another, be exposed to extortion by these harpies, commissioned by Government to violate the hitherto unseen zenanas of the respectable people. The quarantine laws of the Levant, where the plague is familiar to all, are in many respects unsuited to this country. We therefore trust the Lieutenant-Governor

will use every precaution to guard against abuses, to which his plans, devised with the best intention, are open."—[*Asiatic Journal.*]

ADDRESS OF THE JAMAICA PLANTERS.

(Page 425.)

To the Right Honourable Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, Bart., G.C.B., &c., &c., &c.

We, the planters, merchants, and others, interested in the colony of Jamaica, are desirous of offering to you the expression of our most sincere and cordial participation in those sentiments of admiration, esteem, affection, and gratitude, with which all classes of our fellow-colonists in Jamaica have acknowledged the benefits which your wise, able, beneficent, and impartial administration of its Government has conferred on them.

The offer of that Government was made to you at a period the most eventful in the history of Jamaica. Her legislation was suspended—her constitutional rights had been invaded—her legislature, her magistracy, and her whole resident proprietary body had been misrepresented and calumniated—the relations which should subsist between the mother country and her colony, and between the different classes of society in that colony, were disturbed and impaired by mutual suspicion and distrust. Your acceptance, at such a crisis, of a trust so arduous and difficult of itself, entitled you to our warmest gratitude and to our highest admiration. It was in itself a pledge of the principles on which that trust would be executed. It was of itself the assurance that you had accepted the Government with the disinterested and noble purpose of rendering an essential service to your country, by restoring to her the confidence and affection of her most valuable colony.

To the accomplishment of this purpose your administration was unceasingly directed. The spirit of conciliation and confidence in which you acted towards the local legislature, the island magistracy, and all classes of the community—the candour with which you appreciated—the fidelity with which, in your communications to her Majesty's Government you represented—the uncompromising honesty with which you vin-

dicated their motives and their acts, and repelled the prejudices, the misrepresentations, and calumnies by which they had been assailed—the constitutional respect which you evinced for the institutions of the colony, and the strict impartiality with which you maintained the just rights of all, secured for your administration their entire confidence and their zealous and active support. Amongst the beneficial effects of your administration were the reconciliation of the colony with the mother country—the restoration of order, and harmony, and good feeling amongst all classes. Legislation resumed—laws passed adapted to the change which had taken place in the social relations of the inhabitants of Jamaica—the cordial and active co-operation of the legislature, notwithstanding the financial difficulties of the colony, in extending at a great cost the means of religious and moral instruction, and in making the most valuable improvements in the judicial system. It is the peculiar and distinguishing character of your administration that it was conducted on those principles which enabled you to accomplish the intentions and views of her Majesty's Government and the British nation, not merely without the opposition, but with the active concurrence of the people whom you governed; and that whilst it secured you their grateful affection, it merited and received the high approbation of your Sovereign.

The influence of those qualities which enabled you to render such important services is not confined to the age or country in which they are exercised. Your administration will furnish the principles on which the Government of Jamaica, and not of Jamaica alone, but of every other colony, must and will ever hereafter be administered. But the people of Jamaica will not only retain a grateful admiration of your Government—they will dwell with affectionate gratitude and esteem on your Christian charity, ever largely exercised in alleviating individual distress—on your kindness and condescension in private life, and on your munificent support of all their religious and charitable institutions, and of every undertaking which could promote the prosperity and happiness of the colony.

We beg to assure you that we shall ever regard with sentiments of the most heartfelt gratitude your administration of the Government of Jamaica—that we shall ever feel the highest esteem and respect for your exalted character, and

that your welfare and happiness will ever continue to be the objects of our affectionate solicitude.

SIR CHARLES METCALFE'S REPLY.

I am deeply sensible of the honour conferred on me by this proceeding. To find my services in Jamaica so highly appreciated by those in this country who are interested in that colony, cannot fail to be a source of exceeding gratification. I have not, however, the presumption to attribute this distinguished reception, with which you have greeted my arrival in England, to any claims on my part. It proceeds from the same generous feeling which has prevailed in Jamaica, and cheered me throughout my residence in that beautiful island. In ascribing beneficial effects to my administration, more credit is given to me than I deserve, and less to our fellow-subjects in the colony than is their due. Charged by her Majesty's Government with a mission of peace and reconciliation, I was received in Jamaica with open arms, and the duties which I had to perform were obvious. My first proceedings were naturally watched with anxiety; but as they indicated goodwill and a fair spirit, I obtained hearty support and co-operation. The views of her Majesty's Government were adopted and carried into effect even at great cost to the island; and the unavoidable losses and vexations caused by the altered state of the relations between employers and labourers were borne with exemplary patience. My task in acting along with the spirit which animated the colony was easy. Internal differences were adjusted either by being left to the natural progress of affairs, during which the respective parties were enabled to apprehend their real interests, or by mild endeavours to promote harmony and discourage dissension. The loyalty, the good sense, and good feeling of the colony, did everything.

I confidently expect that the support which the government of my successor will receive from our brethren in Jamaica will confirm the correctness of my opinion, that to them is chiefly due the credit of any good that my administration may have effected, although all have generously joined in ascribing that result to me. I beg you to accept my warmest thanks for your kindness, on the recollection of which I shall ever dwell with pride and gratitude.

ADDRESS OF THE GORE COUNCILLORS.

(Page 373.)

To his Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Charles Metcalfe, Governor-General of British North America, &c. &c. &c.

May it please your Excellency,—We, the undersigned Warden and Councillors of the Gore District, not in District Council assembled, beg leave to approach your Excellency, in the present exigency of our public affairs, with sentiments of the highest respect and esteem towards your Excellency, and with feelings of the most ardent attachment to her Majesty's person and Government, and with the most lively sense of the important duty we owe to our Sovereign in using every endeavour to perpetuate in bonds of an enduring attachment the union happily existing between this colony and the great empire of which it forms a part.

Knowing the high and honourable reputation your Excellency has sustained as a statesman, and as a wise, liberal, and enlightened Governor in other parts of her Majesty's dominions, we are led to believe that your Excellency has been misled and misinformed, by irresponsible and unconstitutional advisers, in regard to the true state of public opinion upon that great and important constitutional principle of Government involved in the question which led to the resignation of the late Executive Council. We therefore, humbly assure your Excellency, representing as we do various townships in this district, and being intimately acquainted with the views, feelings, and wishes of the several constituencies we have the honour to represent, that public opinion in this district, and we believe, throughout the length and breadth of Canada, will fully sustain the late Executive in the stand they have taken, and the views they have expressed, in relation to colonial administration under the principle of Responsible Government, as emanated and set forth in the resolutions of the Assembly of September, 1841, and practically carried into operation under your Excellency's late lamented predecessors, Lord Sydenham, and Sir Charles Bagot. The late Executive, we believe, has taken their stand on the plainly defined and easily understood principles of the British constitution; and we beg to assure your Excellency that nothing can so much secure and advance the great public interests of this large province, or promote public peace and tranquillity, as well as strengthen the loyalty and attachment of the people to the Crown of Great Britain, as a full participation in

all the rights and privileges of Britons, in a perfect recognition in the administration of our affairs of that principle—the responsibility of the Ministers of the Crown to the representatives of the people.

In the absence from your Excellency of constitutional advisers we submit this address, believing that your Excellency only requires to know the true state of public opinion, and the real feelings of the country, to carry out the gracious declaration of her Majesty of her wish and determination that the government in Canada should be administered according to the well-understood wishes and interests of the people.

SIR CHARLES METCALFE'S REPLY.

To the Warden and Councillors of the Gore District.

I receive, gentlemen, with great satisfaction the assurance of your attachment to her Majesty's person and Government, and of your desire to perpetuate the union happily existing between this colony and the great empire of which it forms a part; and I thank you for your courteous expression of personal regard towards myself.

Before I reply to the substance of your address, I must endeavour to remove some erroneous impressions by which it seems to have been dictated.

You suppose me to have been misled by certain imaginary beings, whom you designate as irresponsible and unconstitutional advisers. I am not aware of their existence.

You offer me your opinions in the absence from me, as you say, of constitutional advisers, whereas I have them in the Executive Council.

You speak of the resolutions of September, 1841, as having been exclusively carried into operation under my lamented predecessors; but in no administration have they been so thoroughly carried into operation as in mine.

The substance of your address relates to the resignation of certain members of the late Executive Council, and to the question of Responsible Government, which you conceive to be involved in this proceeding.

The resignation of those gentlemen proceeded from my refusing to agree to certain stipulations which it was unconstitutional for them to demand, and a compliance with which was impossible on my part, as in my judgment it would have involved a surrender of the patronage of the Crown to them for party purposes, an act

to which I could never agree. In no other respect was the question of Responsible Government involved in their resignation.

With reference to your views of Responsible Government, I cannot tell you how far I concur in them without knowing your meaning, which is not distinctly stated.

If you mean that the Governor is to have no exercise of his own judgment in the administration of the government, and is to be a mere tool in the hands of the Council, then I totally disagree with you. That is a condition to which I can never submit, and which her Majesty's Government, in my opinion, never can sanction.

If you mean that every word and deed of the Governor is to be previously submitted for the advice of the Council, then you propose what, besides being unnecessary and useless, is utterly impossible consistently with the due despatch of business.

If you mean that the patronage of the Crown is to be surrendered for exclusive party purposes to the Council, instead of being distributed to reward merit, to meet just claims, and to promote the efficiency of the public service, then we are again at issue. Such a surrender of the prerogative of the Crown is, in my opinion, incompatible with the existence of a British Colony.

If you mean that the Governor is an irresponsible officer, who can without responsibility adopt the advice of the Council, then you are, I conceive, entirely in error. The undisputed functions of the Governor are such, that he is not only one of the hardest worked servants of the colony, but also has more responsibilities than any other officer in it. He is responsible to the Crown and the Parliament and the people of the mother country for every act that he performs or suffers to be done, whether it originates with himself or is adopted on the advice of others. He could not divest himself of that responsibility by pleading the advice of the Council. He is also virtually responsible to the people of this colony, and practically more so than even to the mother country. Every day proves it; and no resolutions can make it otherwise.

But if, instead of meaning any of the above-stated impossibilities, you mean that the government should be administered according to the well-understood wishes and interests of the people; that the resolutions of September, 1841, should be faithfully adhered to; that it should be competent to the Council to offer advice on all occasions, whether as to patronage or otherwise; and that the Governor should receive it with the attention due to his constitutional advisers, and consult with them in all cases of

adequate importance; that there should be a cordial co-operation and sympathy between him and them; that the Council should be responsible to the Provincial Parliament and the people; and that when the acts of the Governor are such as they do not choose to be responsible for, they should be at liberty to resign; then I entirely agree with you, and see no impracticability in carrying on Responsible Government in a colony on this footing; provided that the respective parties engaged in the undertaking be guided by moderation, honest purpose, common sense, and equitable minds devoid of party spirit.

As you have considerably tendered to me your advice in the supposition that I stood in need of it, I trust that I may, without offence, offer some counsel in return.

You have all the essentials of Responsible Government. Keep it. Cling to it. Do not throw it away by grasping at impossibilities. Do not lose the substance by snatching at a shadow.

You desire to perpetuate your union with the British Empire. Do not imagine that this purpose can be promoted by obstructing her Majesty's Government, in order to reduce its authority to a nullity. You have every privilege freely granted that is compatible with the maintenance of that union. Her Majesty's Government has no inclination to exercise any unnecessary interference in your local affairs; but can never consent to the prostration of the honour and dignity of the Crown; and I cannot be the traitor that would sign the death-warrant of British connection.

Cherish Responsible Government and British connection. Let them work together in harmony and unison in a practicable manner. Let no man put them asunder. But do not pursue a course that must destroy one or the other, or both. This advice is offered with perfect sincerity by a friend whose only interest in the counsel that he gives is an anxious desire to secure the welfare of Canada and the integrity of the British Empire.

THE END.