

THE
LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
CHARLES, LORD METCALFE;

LATE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, GOVERNOR OF JAMAICA,
AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA;

FROM
UNPUBLISHED LETTERS AND JOURNALS
PRESERVED BY HIMSELF, HIS FAMILY, AND HIS FRIENDS.

BY
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AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN."

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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MDCCLIV.

DEDICATION.

TO

WILLIAM BUTTERWORTH BAYLEY,

ONE OF THE EARLIEST AND THE LATEST, ONE OF THE MOST LOVED
AND MOST RESPECTED

OF

CHARLES METCALFE'S FRIENDS,

THESE VOLUMES

ARE

AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

THE biography of a statesman to whose care "the three greatest dependencies of the British Crown were successively entrusted," calls for no introduction to explain or to justify the circumstance of its publication. But something may be said, in this place, respecting the materials upon which the present Memoir is based, and the considerations which have influenced the manner of its construction.

When in the autumn of 1846 Lord Metcalfe was mercifully removed from what had long been to him a world of suffering, there was found in his will a special clause, giving and bequeathing to one of his trustees "all his papers, as well those in his own possession as in the hands of his agents, Messrs. Cockerell and Company, consisting principally of private correspondence," to be disposed of by the said trustee under instructions from the testator, and failing such instructions at his own discretion. Lord Metcalfe died, leaving no instructions regarding the papers. They, therefore, became absolutely the property of the trustee, who, after taking counsel with some of the nearest and dearest friends of the deceased, did me the honor to request that I

would take charge of the papers, with the object of founding upon them a Memoir of the life of Lord Metcalfe.

The collection was one of considerable bulk. It comprised several large boxes, containing an immense mass of private letters addressed to Charles Metcalfe, from the time when he was a boy at Eton almost to the very day of his death. Here and there I found a few drafts or copies of letters written by Metcalfe himself, mixed up with those of which he had been the recipient. There were, also, one or two collections of Metcalfe's letters, written in a strain of unreserved confidence and familiarity to intimate private friends, who had died in India, and whose executors had seemingly returned the correspondence to the writer. In addition to these there were some early journals and common-place books—written at Eton, on the voyage to India, or during the first years of the writer's residence in that country; copies of all his letters written whilst on his Mission to Lahore in 1808; of all, or nearly all, his minutes written when a member of the Supreme Government of India; and of his confidential letters and despatches written subsequently from Jamaica and Canada. Nor must I omit to state that there was one large box entirely filled with public addresses of congratulation or condolence—of welcome or farewell—voted to him in the three great dependencies of which he was sometime the head.

After the first hasty examination of these papers, I had little doubt that they had been preserved for

the purpose to which I was about to devote them. Nothing fortifies and encourages a biographer so much as such an assurance as this. Metcalfe had a very early prescience that he was destined to be great. When yet little more than sixteen he wrote, not lightly and jestingly either, of the "fervent biographer," who was to seize upon the traits of character indicated in the self-searching entries in his Common-place Book. But carefully as all these papers had been preserved, and multitudinous as were the records, they were hardly to be regarded as the best, or most legitimate materials of biography. Of the thousands of letters which passed into my hands, there was hardly one which was not of some use, as suggesting an idea, strengthening an impression, contributing something to the full comprehension of a trait of character, or supplying a clue to the elucidation of some incident in Metcalfe's life. Yet the entire collection did not supply complete materials for a biography. Whilst there was a superabundance of letters addressed *to* Lord Metcalfe, there was an obvious want of letters written *by* him. The want, however, was soon supplied. Although some of his most intimate friends and cherished correspondents had either not retained, or had destroyed upon leaving India all the letters they had received from him, or had been deprived of them by some of those moving accidents by flood and field which are the constituents of a stirring Indian career, others had carefully preserved the letters of their friend, and, in some instances, these memorials had survived the recipients of them.

In a little time, either my own inquiries, or those of influential friends who entered heartily into the undertaking, and were eager to contribute all they could to its success, elicited from different quarters all that I desired. There was one collection of early letters preserved by the late Mr. John Walter Sherer, of the Civil Service, one of Metcalfe's earliest friends, which as illustrating a most interesting epoch of his career, the records of which were by no means plentiful, I have found of the greatest service. Some family letters in the possession of Lord Monson—Metcalfe's first cousin—which were freely placed at my disposal, afforded additional materials, for which I am most grateful; whilst others, illustrative of what may be called the mid-career of the writer, were forwarded to me a very little time before his death, by Sir Richard Jenkins, one of the most distinguished of Metcalfe's diplomatic cotemporaries. Of letters relating to a later period, after Metcalfe had become famous, it may be supposed that there was no lack. It is the want of authentic records of early life that is commonly the biographer's great stumbling-block.

It will be seen that I have had no such difficulty to surmount. The records of Metcalfe's early life, some may think, have, in these pages, been unduly amplified. But, rightly or wrongly, what I have done, I have done advisedly—systematically. What is for the most part a necessity often comes in time to be accepted as a rule. But I have not been able to persuade myself that because, in a large number of biographical works, three-fourths of the space is

assigned to the few closing years of a distinguished career—to the record of circumstances illustrative of a great man's made reputation—that this is necessarily the way in which biography ought to be written. Doubtless, however, it is often the way in which it must be written, or not at all. I am inclined to think that the narrative of the steps by which a man has risen to greatness is neither less interesting, nor less instructive, than an account of his achievements after the ladder of public life has been ascended, and he stands on an eminence of popularity before the world;—in a word, that the History of Promise is not less valuable than the History of Performance. The History of a great man's public performances are often part and parcel of the History of the country which he has served. They belong rather, indeed, to the Historian than the Biographer; and though Ignorance may misunderstand, or Party-spirit may misrepresent them, there is little chance of their being overlooked. Not always is that, which is historically the most important, biographically the most interesting. It is the function of the Biographer to supply what is beyond the scope of the Historian. When he reaches that stage of his inquiries at which the history of the individual becomes the history of the country, it would seem to be less his duty to expand than to contract the narrative. At all events, it is not his business to confine his efforts mainly to the illustration of those events which would be known to the public without his assistance.

If I have erred in devoting too much space to the earlier career of Charles Metcalfe, I have done so at

least with design and intention. The first volume embraces the first thirty-five years of his life, including the first twenty years of his official career. In the second volume are contained the annals of the last quarter of a century of his life. It so happened that the last twelve years of his Indian career embraced a season of remarkable historical uneventfulness—a state of quiescence very much the result of those measures which he had advocated with so much energy and ability when in a more subordinate official position. It is well known that Sir Charles Metcalfe liberated the Indian Press. It is well known that he differed from his Council, in Canada, on the question of “Responsible Government.” But it is not known how large a share he had in the authorship of those great measures for the consolidation of our Indian Empire, which shed so much lustre on the administration of Lord Hastings, which have preserved the whole continent in peace, and prepared the country for those internal improvements which could take root only in an undisturbed soil and under a quiet sky. During the first twenty years of Metcalfe’s Indian career it was his fortune to live in stirring times; and, although in a comparatively subordinate position, the character of his mind and the impress of his opinions were stamped largely upon them. During the whole of the administration of Lord William Bentinck, and the earlier years of Lord Auckland’s reign, when Sir Charles Metcalfe occupied a prominent station in the Indian Government, India was lapped in repose. With one or two remarkable exceptions, it

may be said that the history of his public life during that period of his career is to be found in his Council minutes. A collection of these minutes would form one of the most valuable works on the subject of Indian administration that could be given to the public—but it is hardly within the scope of legitimate biography to insert them in these volumes.

At the same time I am not unconscious it may be said that, in some parts of this work, I have myself suffered the biographical to merge into the historical—and such a stricture would not be without justice, so far at least as regards the fact. But here, again, if I have erred, I have erred designedly, and after mature consideration. I am sorry to say that Indian and Colonial biography cannot be tried by the same test as that which is applied to memoirs of English soldiers and statesmen. In the latter case, the biographer may fairly assume the possession by the reader of a certain knowledge of the leading events of English history, to which reference is made in the course of his work. There is no necessity that he should halt to explain who was Napoleon Bonaparte or Daniel O'Connell; or what was the Catholic-Emancipation or the Parliamentary-Reform Bill. But I am afraid that it is necessary to explain who were Dowlut Rao Scindiah and Jeswunt Rao Holkar—what was the position of the King of Delhi after the first Mahratta war—and what the constitution of the Agra Government after the passing of the Charter-Act of 1834. I have had all along an uneasy consciousness, that whilst there are many readers for whom such explanations are

wholly unnecessary, there are others for whom I must explain these things, or leave the narrative of Metcalfe's connexion with them in a state of total obscurity. It is better to err on the side of fullness and perspicuity. I have endeavored to supply just the necessary amount of general information and no more; and as I have drawn the historical portion of the work mainly from original and exclusive sources, I am not without a hope that even the instructed reader will find something in these passages not altogether unworthy of his attention. There are difficulties peculiar to Indian biography. No man will rejoice more than myself when they are removed.

Whenever I have had the opportunity, I have allowed Charles Metcalfe to tell his own story. When the choice has lain before me of using his words or my own, I have always employed the former. I might have made the narrative briefer, but it would have been less authentic. As it is, I feel that I have omitted much illustrative matter, to me of very great interest; and it is not impossible that some readers might wish that certain points of his career had been more minutely elaborated. This, however, more or less, will always be the case. In the present instance, the reproach of such insufficiency is hardly to be escaped, for nothing has been more apparent to me since I commenced this biography, than that there is a remarkable difference of opinion regarding what were the most important epochs of Charles Metcalfe's life. I have seldom found any two men to agree upon the subject. In like manner,

some will think that I have devoted too much space to the Statesman, others, too much to the Man. I have endeavored from first to last to bear in mind that Charles Metcalfe was both. I am not without a hope that those who knew him, as intimately in the one relation as the other, will be the most ready to acknowledge the fidelity of the entire portrait.

My obligations are numerous to those who have spontaneously aided me with valuable materials, or with counsel scarcely less valuable; nor less to others who, in eminent public or private stations, have responded promptly and courteously to applications made to them for permission to make use of correspondence in my possession, in which they have personally or officially had any original or acquired property. If I were to follow only my own inclination, I would make individual acknowledgments of all my obligations, but such expressions of thankfulness it is often more pleasant to utter than to receive; and, perhaps, the most acceptable manifestation of gratitude for the assistance of all kinds that has been rendered to me, will be found in the earnestness with which I have endeavored to turn it to account in the pages of this Biography.

London, August, 1854.

ERRATA IN VOL. I.

Page 249, 8 lines from the bottom, *for* "President," *read* "Resident."

Page 319, line 1, *for* "Mr. Cassamajor," *read* "Mr. Cassamajor."

Page 351, 4 lines from the bottom, *for* "Gardiner," *read* "Gardner."

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APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

[THE following lines were written in 1833 by Sir Charles Metcalfe, then a member of Council, to a very dear friend, whom he had long endeavored, in plain prose, to wean from an unhappy attachment. Though they belong in order of date to the second volume, I insert them here with reference to a passage in the first chapter of the work, the only chapter as it is in which there is any reference to Charles Metcalfe as a poet. It is principally, however, as an illustration of the earnestness of his friendship, the deep interest which he took in the moral well-being of all to whom he was attached, that I have inserted the poem.]

FROM AN ATTACHED FRIEND.

If anxious friendship's counsel could avail
To save thee from the snares of guilty love,
How fondly would I labor to prevail,
How earnest pray for aid from Him above,
Who in a voice of thunder has ordain'd
"Man, thou shalt not commit adultery;
Thy neighbour's wife by thee shall be unstain'd;
From thy foul covetousness shall be free."
Surely, dear friend, thou wouldst not deem it light
To trample God's Commandment in the dust?
To sell thy soul to vicious appetite,
And forfeit Heaven by unbridled lust?
And though God's mercy may all sins forgive,
When deep remorse has purified the heart,
Still in forbidden sinfulness to live,
And tempt God's wrath, is not the wise man's part.

Think even of the earthly ills which wait
 On the dark paths of the adult'rous way :
 Think of a bloody and untimely fate,
 Thyself a lifeless corpse in shameful fray ;

Or else a murderer, reeking from the death
 Of him whose marriage-couch thou hast defil'd ;
 Gasping in hangman's noose thy latest breath,
 A dangling carcase, hiss'd at and revil'd ;

Or if such thoughts have not the pow'r to move,
 Because such horrors may uncommon be,
 Think of the surer pains of lawless love,
 Disgrace and self-reproach and misery.

Think of the wretched woman's blasted name,
 Her irretrievable and headlong fall ;
 Think of her children's everlasting shame,
 Whose curses on thee will thy heart appal.

Wilt thou towards the outcast wanton yearn,
 And cherish her and share her sorry lot ?
 Or wilt thou, satiate with possession, spurn,
 And loathing leave her desolate to rot ?

Thinkst thou the husband and the world to cheat,
 Detection baffled, and the crime conceal'd
 By artifices, treach'ry, and deceit,
 If to such practices thy soul can yield ?

Oh, trust not to a Hope so mean and vain ;
 As sure as fate detection guilt will find ;
 Nor e'en concealment can remorse restrain,
 Nor God's all-seeing eye of lightning blind.

Think that a mother's spirit hovers near,
 Charg'd to attend thy steps in woe or joy,
 And shield thy progress in this world's career,
 The guardian angel of her darling boy.

Do not the deed that her pure soul must scare,
 And drive her sainted spirit far away,
 Leaving thee destitute of Heaven's care,
 Thenceforth to Satan's wiles a helpless prey.

But if it be, as fain I would it were,
 That crime is not the object of thy game,
 Surely 'tis madness punishment to bear,
 If in thy conscience thou art free from blame.

If thou hast not adult'ry's guilty joys,
 Why court the adult'rer's blazing infamy ?
 Why seek a name that fair repute destroys ?
 Why seem the man of sin thou wouldst not be ?

Why run a course that must the good offend,
 And make them shun thee as a pois'nous bane—
 A course thy warmest friends cannot defend,
 Such as for life thy charàcter will stain ?

I ask thee not to give up woman's smiles,
 Enjoy'd in innocence and open day ;
 They cheer man's heart, and, free from wanton wiles,
 Improve his nature, and his cares allay.

But by-way meetings, roamings in the dark,
 Clandestine intercourse that shuns the light,
 These are the things that evil purpose mark,
 And man's and woman's reputation blight.

Throw not thyself into temptation's net,
 For man is weak, the tempter's power strong ;
 And woman is the surest bait that yet
 Satan has used to lure mankind to wrong.

Is life insipid without woman's love ?
 Then make some free and honest heart thine own :
 The truest joys of woman's love to prove
 Let Hymen's wreath a pure affection crown.

Then give thyself to love without restraint,
 But seek not love where, if it should be won,
 It must with sinfulness the woman taint,
 And make thee author of the mischief done.

'Tis not alone in foul and filthy act
 That there is sinfulness ; too oft we find
 A body unpolluted and intact
 Bearing a guilty and polluted mind.

The feelings, warp'd from their own proper course
 Of duteous love, and sent abroad to roam,
 Must fill the heart with sin, and prove the source
 Of endless mis'ry in a hapless home.

Lend not thyself to perpetrate such ill,
 And trust not to the vain, delusive thought,
 That if thou dost not do it, others will,
 And therefore that the ill is small, or nought.

Whatever others do, do thou the right,
 Steadfast in virtue's straight and open way :
 Though others do the deeds that need the night,
 Do thou the deeds that shine in brightest day.

Nature has given thee her choicest grace,
 The power to gain good-will, and captivate
 The hearts of fellow runners in life's race :
 The rest must on thy own behaviour wait.

To fasten prepossession by the tie
 Of strong esteem and confident respect,
 Must be the fruit of virtuous energy
 And a firm mind with probity erect.

Gen'rous and brave thou art, and kind and good :
 Then let not levity deform the work
 Which Nature framed in her most lib'ral mood :
 Let not the serpent in the roses lurk.

Pardon the boldness with which counsel flows
 From one who loves thee with a parent's zeal,
 Whose heart with fondness clings to thee, and glows
 With warm and anxious interest for thy weal.

Who would that thou shouldst ever honor'd be ;
 From every spot, from every blemish clear'd ;
 The pride and boast of all attach'd to thee ;
 In youth applauded, and in age rever'd.

Lo ! age is coming, youth will quickly flee,
 With all its pleasant gracefulness and joy :
 May'st thou look back on it with conscience free
 From the debasement of guilt's foul alloy.

Man's joys, love, learning, genius, glory, power,
 Are trifles all compared with rectitude,
 Which cheers the soul in life's departing hour,
 And wafts it to Divine beatitude.

If, by the aid of unpretending rhyme,
 I lead thee to reflect that woe and shame
 Will follow pleasure that allures to crime
 Or to discredit, I shall gain my aim.

If I have wearied by my prosing strain—
 In word or thought if my poor lines offend,
 Thy kind heart tells me thou wilt not complain
 Of fullest freedom from a faithful friend.

C. T. M.

II.—(Page 139.)

LORD HOWE'S BOYS.

[I have promised at page 139 some further information relative to the origin and institution of the society of "Howe Boys" in Calcutta; but, from the few surviving members of it, I have been able to gain little more than the bare assurance of the fact of its existence. Such suggestions as I have elicited are too vague and uncertain and irreconcilable, not only with each other but with ascertained fact, to encourage me to put the stamp of history upon them. After the lapse of half a century, this, in the absence of written memorials, was too likely to be the case. I believe that the term "Lord Howe's Boys" is well understood in the navy, and that it indicates the possession of manly attributes of all kinds.]

A.—(Page 197.)

MISSION TO HOLKAR'S CAMP.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON. LORD LAKE,
&c. &c. &c.

Camp, three miles N.W. from Umritsur, January 10, 1806.

MY LORD,—I have the honor to report the proceedings of the Mission to the camp of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, which your Lordship was pleased to commit to my charge.

Having encamped on the night of the 8th instant at Loodhiana, we yesterday morning marched, accompanied by the Wakeel Balaram Seth, to the vicinity of Holkar's camp. Deewan Gunput Rao, Bukhya Hooshaba, and Gholam Khan, with a large retinue, were sent to meet the Mission, and conducted us to the place appointed for our encampment. A salute of fifty guns and repeated discharges of small arms announced our arrival, and a general rejoicing took place throughout the Mahratta army. I am informed that although Holkar had circulated the intelligence of the establishment of amity with the British Government, his followers had not given credit to it, and considered the report to be an expedient adopted with the intention of easing their minds from the state of depression and despair into which they had been

cast by repeated defeat, distress, and disaster. The arrival of a friendly mission from your Lordship confirmed the rumor of peace, and caused most manifest and universal joy.

It was my wish, in conformity to your Lordship's commands, to visit the chief yesterday, but the importance which was attached by the Durbar to the occasion, and the arrangements for the ceremony, produced a delay. The Brahmins having consulted, declared this day to be propitious.

Gunput Rao and Ghimna Bhao having been sent this morning to conduct us, I proceeded, accompanied by Mr. Macaulay and the officers of the escort, to make the visit.

The procession moved slowly on in order to give time for the arrival of the moment which had been decided to be the most auspicious for the interview. Holkar was attended by all the chiefs and officers of his army, and nothing was omitted which could tend to make the reception of the Mission most formal and honorable.

After the usual salutations, I delivered your Lordship's letter and compliments on the establishment of peace. Both were received by Holkar with particular respect. When I expressed, on the part of your Lordship, a hope that the friendship which was happily founded would be strengthened and improved, the chief and his principal officers exclaimed with one accord, and with evident pleasure, that by the blessing of God it would increase daily. A conversation ensued, which lasted for some time, on the present happy state of affairs, in the course of which Holkar and his Ministers made many professions of sincerity, and expressed the highest satisfaction. On my part, I met their professions with the declaration of perfect belief, and was reciprocal in expressions of happiness. I was highly gratified to observe the extraordinary joy which was visible in the countenance and conduct of the chiefs and the whole Durbar.

I afterwards proceeded to observe, that your Lordship marched yesterday from the banks of the Beeah towards the Honorable Company's territories, and inquired when it was the intention of Holkar to march; and on the appearance of some hesitation, I added, that your Lordship had been led by the declaration of the wakeels to expect that he would march immediately, and quit the country of the Sikhs; and remarked, that his performance of the promises of his agents would lead to the establishment of perfect confidence in your Lordship's mind, and would afford the most satisfactory proof to your

Lordship, to the Honorable the Governor-General, and to all Hindostan, of his sincerity in the conclusion of amicable engagements with the British Government. Some conversation followed between Jeswunt Rao Holkar, Bhao Bhasker, and me on this subject, in the course of which Holkar and his Minister assured me they had no desire whatever to remain in the country of the Sikhs; that there should be no occasion to doubt their sincerity, and that the march was only delayed for one or two days, in order that it might be made at a propitious time, and that some necessary arrangements might be completed. I continued to urge the necessity of an immediate return to Hindostan, and Holkar finally promised to move on the 13th.

He then made several requests in behalf of persons who, being in the power of the British Government, have aided Holkar against it, which he desired me to communicate to your Lordship. The details of these I shall hereafter have the honor of representing. I replied, that I would communicate his requests to your Lordship. I added, that your Lordship was anxious to improve the good understanding which now exists, and that doubtless, when time had given strength and security to the friendship—of which the foundations were established—the British Government would be forward to meet all his wishes. I did not consider myself authorised to give any positive encouragements from which Holkar might expect the accomplishment of the particular requests which he mentioned. A subsequent conversation with the Wakeel Balaram has convinced me that the chief introduced the subject at the Durbar for the gratification of the persons interested, but that he is not anxious regarding it; and among others, he states that Meer Khan is not yet satisfied with the portion of country which Holkar has assigned to him.

After some general conversation, and the delivery of presents to me and the other gentlemen of the Mission, we rose to depart. On taking leave, Holkar addressed himself to me, and in a manner marked by an appearance of uncommon earnestness, assured me that he would adhere to the word which he had given, and would render such services to the Honorable Company as should entitle him to its regard and approbation.

Since my return to our camp, Balaram has been sent to me. He has alleged several causes for the delay which has happened

in the march of the Mahratta army. He, however, assures me that the army will march ten kas on the 13th, and that it will make no halt before it reaches the Sutlej. Its route does not seem to be settled.

On a review of the whole behaviour of Jeswunt Rao Holkar towards us, it appears to me to mark strongly his high respect for your Lordship, his just sense of the act of confidence and friendship conferred in a mission of English gentlemen to his camp, and his most sincere happiness at the establishment of amicable relations with the British Government. The gladness which was visible in him and his chiefs was not confined to the Durbar; it was manifest in every part of his camp; and the crowds of his followers which thronged the way on our procession to the visit, and our return, testified, in the most lively manner, unbounded joy.

We shall march to-morrow towards your Lordship's army.

I hope that I may be allowed to express the thankfulness which I feel towards Mr. Macaulay and Lieutenants Short and Laud for their obliging and cordial assistance in the progress of this Mission.

I have the honor to be, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,
C. T. METCALFE.

III.—(Page 472.)

RESIDENCY ALLOWANCES.

[From a Minute by Sir Charles Metcalfe, written in 1830.]

“The allowance to Residents, in common parlance misnamed ‘table allowance,’ was an allowance, not for table alone, but nominally for ‘table, attendants, camp equipage, &c.,’ and in reality for every expense of a domestic nature that was proper for the support of the Resident's station. The expenditure of this allowance was left entirely to the Resident's discretion; but every honorable man knew that if he did not expend it for the purposes for which it was granted—that is, if he made any savings from it for his own gain—he would be guilty of a shameful fraud. When, therefore, I am asked whether I invariably and sacredly expended that allowance every month, I should be greatly ashamed of myself if I could not answer

the question in the affirmative. I expended the whole of the public allowance for the purposes for which it was granted. I might say more, but the sole object of these remarks being to give an unqualified contradiction to an insinuation against me, it is not necessary to pursue the subject."

IV.—(Page 472.)

THE DELHI SYSTEM.

[From a Minute written by Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1830.]

"Completeness of control and unity of authority were remarkable parts of the Delhi system of administration, as distinguished from that which prevailed in other provinces. One European officer in each district, at the time in question, had entire control over the subordinate native officers in every branch of administration. One superior European officer had entire control over all the superintendents of districts; his control extended to every part of their duties. When the authority of a Board was introduced, the only change that took place in the system of local management was the transfer of control from one to several; the district authorities remained as before. . . .

"It is far from accurate to assert that the Delhi territory is governed without laws. It might more correctly be said to be governed by the same laws which prevail in the provinces subject to the Bengal regulations; for, although these have not been bodily introduced, their spirit has guided the administration, generally, of the Delhi territory; there are local rules besides. The existing institutions were first established by Mr. Seton, a disciple of the regulations. There are generally the same laws in civil and criminal judicature as in the other provinces. The practice of the courts is assimilated. Whatever improvements take place in the other provinces, are naturally adopted in the Delhi territory. It has the benefit of every good regulation, with the advantage of not being subject to those which have been found injurious elsewhere, or which might not be locally suitable. The presence of the King and royal family, and of chiefs possessing sovereign power in their separate territories, but residing much at Delhi, as the headquarters of political supremacy in that quarter, as well as of many other chiefs, formerly Surdars of the Mahratta armies,

settled in Jageers, in the Delhi territory, and of numerous diplomatic agents from native states, seems originally to have pointed out the inexpediency of a literal and inconsiderate enforcement of the Bengal regulations; but so much of the spirit and practice of these laws has from the beginning, and from time to time been introduced into the Delhi administration, that probably the addition of what remains would only produce deterioration. Were it not for this apprehension, there would be no great change if the regulations were formally established in the Delhi territory, so modified as not to affect those who ought not to be subjected to their direct operation. . . .

“ With respect to the control exercised by Government, as well as with respect to the introduction of laws, the condition of the Delhi territory has been progressive and not stationary. At first, as in other newly acquired countries having peculiarities to deal with and difficulties to overcome, much was entrusted to the local authority. By degrees, the control of Government has become more minute, and the details of management have been more and more approximated to those which prevail elsewhere; whether, in the latter case, with real advantage or disadvantage, it would unnecessarily open a wide field of discussion were I now to inquire. . . .

“ At first, when the revenues were small, not much more than a tenth of what they are now, and when the territory was occupied chiefly by dependent Jageerdars, the administration was exclusively in the hands of the Resident, and the assistants under him had only such power as he chose to entrust to them, subject to such control as he thought it expedient to exercise. The system gave him absolute control, and he was exclusively responsible to Government for the proper management of the territory. The assistants were then necessarily young men, because being only assistants to the Resident, their salaries were too small to tempt older servants to seek the same employment. This may be said to have been the case until 1819, with this difference, that some of the assistants remained long enough to cease to be young; and the allowances of the first, augmented by a commission on Customs, had become considerable, owing to increase in that branch of revenue. In 1819, a new arrangement took place. The territory was divided into districts, a principal assistant was put in charge of each district, and a civil commissioner appointed to superintend them. From this time the situation of the assistants in respect to salary has improved, and it is no longer necessary

to appoint young men. It is now on that footing that officers of the same standing, with those who are usually judges or collectors, would naturally be selected. Their powers are, nevertheless, entirely under the control of the commissioner over them; and if they have any power in any degree independent of such control, it has been produced by the progress made in approximating the Delhi system of management to that which prevails in the provinces subject to the Bengal regulations.

"In contending that the employment of young men is no necessary part of the Delhi system, I wish to guard against the impression that I am opposed to the employment of young men. Under control, they may be employed with advantage in any situation. There is a zeal, an energy, an activity of virtue in young men which often more than compensates for mere age, and even experience, too often accompanied by apathy, lethargy, and inertness, the consequences of disease, caused by a climate, the fiery ordeal of which few constitutions can stand unimpaired for a number of years. In rejecting the services of men when young, in situations in which they can be efficiently controlled, we may lose the best aid that they can ever bring to the public interests. I take it to be an error in the regulation-system of administration, that young men obtain prescribed powers in which they are not sufficiently controlled, and an advantage of what once was the Delhi system that the control is thoroughly absolute and unquestionable."

V.—(Page 472.)

ALLEGED CORRUPTION OF METCALFE'S SERVANTS.

[The following extracts from a minute written by Sir Charles Metcalfe, in November, 1829, contain a narrative of all the circumstances connected with the alleged corruption of his "Coachman," Khoda Buksh, and his "Moonshee," Hufoozodeen, at Delhi. It was alleged that the former, who was *not* Metcalfe's coachman, had made a lakh of rupees by selling the cast horses and old carriages of his master, on the occasion of Metcalfe's departure from Delhi; and that the latter had for many years been enriching himself by taking bribes from the natives—in both cases, under the pretext that some advantage was to be derived by the Resident, and reciprocated in favor of the donor.

To these statements I have appended, taken from the same minute, the case of Peer Alee, the "Khitmudgar," who accompanied him to Hyderabad, and was also said to have made a large fortune by corrupt practices. These histories are on many accounts interesting and suggestive; but I give them here, principally because the circumstances were somewhat notorious at the time, and I should not like it to appear that I considered them subjects to be avoided. In all the three cases Metcalfe's conduct was irreproachable. But he truly said, that he would be a bold man who, after so long a connexion with Native Courts, would venture to say that none of his servants had ever taken bribes. The Moonshce, Hufoozoodeen, is the man of whom mention is made in the earlier chapters of this Memoir.]

THE CASE OF KHODA BUKSH.

"Khoda Buksh Beg was the son of a respectable old soldier, who commanded a body of 100 horse attached to the Residency, and used partly in the police of the country, and partly as the Resident's body-guard. The father being worn out by age, the son, as his lieutenant, was the efficient commandant, and as such was in constant attendance on the Resident. I had known him in that capacity for twelve years, during the last seven of which he was in almost daily attendance on me, and accompanied me in my morning and evening exercise, as well as on all occasions of out-of-door state and ceremony. During the whole of my acquaintance with him I had no reason to think otherwise than well of him, until the circumstances about to be related.

"When I was quitting Delhi in the end of 1818, I found myself encumbered with a large stud, consisting in great part of a breeding stud, with which I had amused myself for several years without disposing of the produce. Having accounts to settle, I was desirous of selling this stud to the best advantage. I consulted Khoda Buksh Beg on the subject, who was accustomed to traffic in horses, and he persuaded me that my stud would sell well. Having no practice in such dealings, and no wish to enter into them, I entrusted the sale entirely to him. It went on, to appearance, prosperously, and most of my horses, but not all, were, as I supposed, sold, when one of my servants informed me that there was no fair sale, but that Khoda Buksh Beg had imposed my horses on several persons, and levied con-

siderable sums of money in my name, without any reference to the price of the horses.

"As soon as I received this intelligence, which I ascertained to be true, I recovered all the horses supposed to have been sold, and repaid the several parties the sums received by me as the purchase-money. I ordered the restoration, by Khoda Buksh Beg, of the sums which he had fraudulently obtained and appropriated. He was brought to trial for defrauding those who had been the sufferers by his imposture, and sentenced to imprisonment, with an order that he should not be released until he had disgorged all that he had levied. The discovery of this villany was so close upon the period fixed for my departure from Delhi, that I had scarcely time to take the requisite measures to repair the mischief perpetrated as far as it was in my power to do so."

CASE OF MOONSHEE HUFOOZOODEEN.

"The next assertion connected with my name is that my Moonshee, Hufoozoodeen, having accompanied me to and from Hyderabad, has retired with a fortune of about four lakhs of rupees. Moonshee Hufoozoodeen neither accompanied me to nor from Hyderabad, nor was he with me there at any time, and if he possesses anything that can be termed a fortune, it is unknown to me, and I am a great dupe, for he is at this moment in my service on an allowance which I give him solely because I believe that he needs it. . . . I shall enter more fully into the history of Hufoozoodeen. His father was the Moonshee with whom I studied in College, and is still living. I read a little with the son (author, also, of a work used in the College for instruction), who was also a College Moonshee after I quitted College. When I was in Lord Lake's army in 1805, I sent for Hufoozoodeen, and entertained him in my service, in which he continued until I was sent on a mission to Lahore in 1808, when he became Moonshee of the Mission, having previously accompanied me, in 1806, on a mission to Holkar's camp, with which I was charged by Lord Lake, and having also performed public duties under me when I was attached, in 1805, in a political capacity, to a separate division of the army commanded by Major-General Dowdeswell. After the termination of the Lahore Mission, Hufoozoodeen was again my private servant until I became Resident at Delhi, in

1811. He was then appointed Head Moonshee at the Residency, and remained in that office until I quitted the Residency in 1818, when he also resigned his situation.

“Up to this period I had never received any complaint against him, and had no reason to suppose him guilty of any improper act whatever. I had never, however, doubted that a man in his situation was liable to strong temptation, and likely to yield to it. My conduct, therefore, towards him had always been regulated by caution, founded on that general distrust; and when I heard, after quitting Delhi, rumors of his having made money there, I was more sorry than surprised.

“The information was vague, and contained nothing positive or tangible. It, however, induced me to discontinue my connexion with him, until the suspicions which it created could be completely removed. I wrote to Mr. Fortescue, who was my successor in the civil administration of the Delhi territory, to request that he would inquire and ascertain what was alleged against the Moonshee; he replied that he could discover nothing specific against him; that he bore a good character; and was entirely acquitted of doing anything that the natives considered improper; but that he was supposed to have made money, some said by trade, others by the receipt of presents. This account did not satisfy me, because, if he had received presents unknown to me, he had acted faithlessly; and I continued to withhold my support, and had no intercourse with him.

“About two years afterwards I again wrote to Mr. Fortescue, who was still at Delhi, with a view to ascertain from him whether a longer residence had furnished him with more distinct information respecting the Moonshee's conduct, and I asked specifically whether, making the case his own, he would discharge a Moonshee of whom he had the same opinions which the result of his inquiries might have led him to entertain of Hufoozoodeen? His answer on that point was, that he should not discharge him. In other respects, it was much the same as before. I had still doubts as to the propriety of employing Hufoozoodeen, and, in fact, never did employ him either at Hyderabad, or during my last Residency at Delhi: but I was not, I confess, without suspicions that I had done him injustice, nor without consequent self-reproach.

“On my last return from Delhi to Calcutta he made his appearance, and seemed to be in reduced and impoverished circumstances. As I had ceased to hold that kind of public

employment in which a native Moonshes would have temptations to take presents; and as my information respecting Hufoozoodeen was, on the whole, creditable to him, I restored him to my private service, after a separation of nine years.

“This is the history of Hufoozoodeen, into which I have been led by a desire to leave nothing untold respecting a man who is said to have made a fortune of four lakhs at a place where the man never was.”

CASE OF PEER ALEE, KHITMUDGAR.

“The Khitmudgar, Peer Alee, alluded to in the marginal extract, accompanied me to Hyderabad. He went with me in the pilot schooner which conveyed me to Masulipatam, and arrived, therefore, long before any of my other servants, who followed by land. I had avoided taking a Moonshes, as before mentioned, in order that there might be no corruption; but the Ministers and others at Hyderabad could not refrain from tampering with a single servant that accompanied the new Resident. In a few months after my arrival, I was informed by one of my assistants that this servant was receiving presents extensively. I requested the same gentleman, the late Mr. R. Wells, to investigate the matter. He did so; and although no specific instance could be established, he satisfied his own mind of the general truth of the imputation. I was sure that his decision was just. I could not make the man disgorge, because nothing was proved, and everything was denied. I discharged him from my service, and sent him out of the Nizam's dominions. Whatever he may have acquired in that way, he has since, I believe, in a great measure, squandered; and he is now living at his home on an allowance from me, which he receives because he was the person who discovered to me the iniquitous proceedings of Khoda Buksh Beg, before noticed.”

VI.—(Page 471.)

[The following is the Address voted by the British Residents of Delhi, to which allusion is made at page 471.]

THE DELHI ADDRESS.

DEAR SIR,—Were we to permit your departure, contemplated by us with deep regret, without expressing the vene-

ration and respect we entertain for your many personal excellences, we should do violence to our own feelings.

On this occasion, well aware as we are of your solicitude to shun the most just and measured commendation, we must entreat your permission to declare our sense of that exalted worth, that candor, and openness of heart which shine in all your words and actions, and which exact the highest esteem of all who have enjoyed the happiness of your society. Closely connected with these traits of character are, that condescension to all subordinate to your authority, which rendered business a pleasure to those who transacted it under your guidance, and that judgment, firmness, and rectitude, which gave satisfaction to all whose affairs were confided to your decision.

Whilst, however, we contemplate with unfeigned regret your approaching departure, we should deem ourselves deficient in sentiments of public spirit did the loss we are about to sustain so entirely engross our thoughts that we should neglect the opportunity, which your removal from this Residency to fill an honorable and important office near the person of the Governor-General of India affords us, of soliciting your favorable acceptance of our sincere congratulation on the distinguished choice of his Excellency. This selection, by so able a judge of character and merit as the Marquis of Hastings, is to us a sure indication of the extent and importance of the services which have been rendered to Government by the exertion of your talents and virtues; and we cannot, we think, utter a wish which evinces in us a stronger desire for the prosperity of our Eastern possessions, than that you may long continue to aid the councils of British India.

To give this address, however, a more private and particular application, and to do which we are forcibly called by a recurrence to the regretted occasion of our meeting, we beg to assure you that no period of time can efface the sentiments of friendship and affectionate attachment imprinted on our minds by the urbanity, kindness, and marked attention to private rights and feelings, which we have invariably experienced at your hands; and that we shall feel, to the latest moments of our existence, the deepest interest in every event which may be connected with your welfare, happiness, and fame.

METCALFE'S REPLY:

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—I am at a loss for language to express in adequate terms my sense of the kindness which has

led you to give expression to the sentiments conveyed in the communication this day received from you. I shall ever remember with lively gratitude the honor which you have thus conferred upon me, nor is the value of this delightful testimony of your regard lessened in my estimation by the consciousness which I feel that I am indebted to it entirely to your indulgent partiality, which has thrown my faults into oblivion, and exalted the little merit to which I may have any pretensions.

The record of your approbation will ever be a source of pride and exultation to me, and furnish during my future life a strong excitement to laudable exertion, from the anxious desire which it must produce that I may not at any time do discredit to the opinion which you have had the goodness to express.

The thanks I owe you are not confined to the present occasion. The obliging attention, cordiality, and friendship, which I have always experienced from you in official as well as social intercourse, have made an indelible impression on me; and though highly sensible of the gracious and condescending favor of the Governor-General in calling me to a situation near his own person, I cannot part without deep regret from a society to which I have so much reason to be warmly attached. I trust, however, that our intercourse is only suspended, and that I may have the pleasure of renewing it with most, if not all of you, in some of the various scenes of life in which we may be respectively summoned to take a part. With most hearty wishes for your prosperity and happiness, and a grateful recollection of all your kindness, I shall ever remain,

My dear Sirs,

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

C. T. METCALFE.

[I cannot do better than append to the above manifestation of the affection with which Metcalfe was regarded by the European inhabitants of Delhi, the following passages from letters which indicate the feelings of the native community.]

Extract from a Private Letter from Major-General Sir David Ochterlony to Mr. Metcalfe, dated the 22nd December, 1818.

“ If you had known how much and how generally your departure would have been mourned, you never could have left Delhi; but your humility never gave you a just idea of your value, and I shall have much to do, much to change in my

habits and temper, and much to perform, before I shall be able to reconcile the palace, the city, or the European society, to the great loss they have sustained. I appreciate their feelings justly, and, if there is in it a spark of envy or jealousy, I hope it will only produce a flame of emulation to imitate your virtues."

From the Same.

"I enclose a Razeer Nameh. Were you to receive one from all whose inclination would prompt it, I should have transmissions from the whole city. You have no idea of the attachment they felt for you. It cannot be doubted when expressed to me, for they do not usually deal in those articles to a present incumbent when speaking of a predecessor."

Extract from a Letter from Mr. Wilder, Ajmere, 5th April, 1819.

"Several people from Delhi have come here since you went away; and it would really do your heart good to hear them speak of the impression of love and respect you have left behind. I never thought before that the natives possessed such feelings; but I do believe that the sorrow they express for your departure is sincere, and that it will never be effaced."

END OF VOL. I.