

EXPLANATORY REPORT,

&c. &c. &c.

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SKETCH
OF
MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LIFE, TRAVELS,
AND
LECTURES ON THE ORIENTAL WORLD.

AN entire year having now elapsed, since the measures, of which these sheets are intended to comprise the history, were first put into operation, it is thought desirable to shew what has been done, by unremitted perseverance, in even that brief period: as nothing is more encouraging to the exertions of the future, than a retrospective glance at the success which has attended the exertions of the past. On my first landing in England from India, in the Summer of 1823, after an absence of upwards of ten years, I made a hurried Tour through the principal districts of England and Scotland, chiefly for the purpose of ascertaining how far any disposition existed in the community to take an interest in the fate of India—considered as a part of the British empire, and as such having a strong claim on patriotic attention. During the whole of this Tour, which occupied about four months, I found everywhere, even in the best circles, the most extraordinary want of information respecting our Eastern possessions. Scarcely one person in a hundred appeared to know more of India than that it was a country at a great distance, where the climate was very hot, the people very savage, and fortunes easily made by those who escaped the cholera morbus, or the liver; but, this very absence of all accurate or detailed information on the subject, was perhaps one reason why every communication that I had an opportunity of making to others respecting any part of the Asiatic world was listened to with avidity, and with such an evident delight, as to convince me, that when the proper time arrived, I could render no better service to my country, or to mankind, than by making a second Tour throughout the kingdom, for the purpose of explaining verbally, to as many auditors as could be collected, whatever I deemed worthy of their attention in that part of the East with which I was best acquainted. I naturally concluded, that if 20 persons would suspend conversation at a dinner table, for the purpose of listening with great silence and earnestness to a description of some scene, or a narrative of some event of which I had been a witness in India, there could be no good reason why 200 might not be equally ready to listen with the same attention to similar communications elsewhere. I accordingly formed the resolution of waiting until the near approach of the Parliamentary Discussions on the East India Company's Charter should give an additional excitement to public curiosity, and then putting my plan of this Personal Tour into execution.

I returned to London, established THE ORIENTAL HERALD, a Monthly Journal, devoted especially to the progressive development of the state of Asia generally, and of India in particular; continued it through five years of uninterrupted publication, from 1824 to the beginning of 1829; and availed myself besides of every opportunity that presented itself, by petitions to parliament—by appeals to the Privy Council—by proceedings in Courts of Justice—by the establishment of Political and Literary Journals—and by every means that my imagination could devise, to excite discussion and spread information respecting India through every open channel, and in every accessible spot. During this period, not less than 6000*l.* sterling, (partly from my own funds,

the whole of the remnant of my Indian property being devoted to that purpose, and partly from the sums contributed by others to assist the cause,) were expended or sunk, in furtherance of this uniform and unaltered design, of awakening the people of England to a sense of the importance of our Indian possessions, and the benefits that would accrue to both countries by a better system of intercourse between them. And if to this be added the unintermitted and laborious application of every faculty, every thought, and every moment of my time, through good report and through evil report, by day and by night, in sickness and in trouble, as well as in vigorous health and comparative tranquillity—when persecuted by enemies—sneered at by false friends—and discouraged by the anxious fears and apprehensions of real ones—I believe I may truly say, that whether as regards the application of money or of labour, no cause was ever more resolutely, or more undeviatingly, adhered to, through every opposing circumstance, than this has been by me.

The time at length approached when I had determined to put my plan of the Tour into effect; and after making such arrangements as my temporary absence from London required, for I contemplated only occasional visits to the country at first, I made public the following announcement of my intention.

‘Mr. Buckingham, having long since stated his intention of visiting personally, and in succession, all the principal towns of England, preparatory to the approaching expiration of the East India Company’s Charter, intends commencing immediately with Liverpool, where he will be early in January, for the purpose of arranging with the principal Merchants of that great Commercial port, the best mode of inducing the Mercantile and Manufacturing Interests of the kingdom, generally, to oppose, by all legal and constitutional means within their power, the further renewal of the East India Company’s exclusive Monopoly, the discussions on which will now soon commence in Parliament. Mr. Buckingham has already announced his intention to give a Series of Lectures, during his stay in Liverpool, on the Geography, Antiquities, Productions, Population, Commerce, Resources, Government, Religion, Manners, and Customs of the Eastern World, more especially of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Persia, and India; the entire profits of which he proposes to devote to the commencement of a Public Fund, for promoting such measures as may be thought best calculated to remedy those evils, which, both in England and in India, are inseparable from the arbitrary power and exclusive privileges now vested in that Chartered Monopoly.’

To satisfy, in as brief a compass as I could, the many enquiries which I knew would be made, as to my qualifications, motives, and the events that had led to my possession of the requisite knowledge for the task, I drew up also the following

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

WHEN an individual invites the attention of the public to the facts and arguments by which he may attempt to support his views on any great public question, it is not unreasonable that those to whom his appeal is made, should ask for some proof of his claims to their attention, and demand the exhibition of his credentials before they consent to honour him with their confidence; and being myself quite as desirous of granting, as others can be of asking, such reasonable concessions, I proceed to give a Sketch of the most material grounds on which I consider my claims to general confidence to be established. It will of necessity be very brief, and merely an outline—for the history of forty years is not easy to be condensed into a few pages;—but when I add, that I shall be always ready to afford to any one who may deem it worth his inquiry, the more detailed information he may seek, by a personal interview and verbal conference, I hope I shall sufficiently acquit myself of my duty by the union of these two modes of communication.

At the very early age of nine years, I embraced, with the most enthusiastic ardour, the maritime profession; and embarked in one of his Majesty’s Packets for a foreign station. Before I completed my tenth year, I was captured, and, as a prisoner of war, passed several months in confinement at Corunna: and before I completed my eleventh year, I had been marched, with the rest of the officers and crew of the ship

in which I sailed, a distance of many hundred miles bare-foot through Spain and Portugal, from Corunna, through St. Iago di Compostella, Vigo, Oporto, Coimbra, and Santarem to Lisbon.

Subsequent to this, I visited other countries in the same profession; and obtained a maritime command at the early age of twenty-one. In this capacity I performed several voyages to the West Indies, the two Americas, and the Mediterranean Sea, including Gibraltar, Malta, the Greek Islands, and Smyrna in the Levant: in which, uniting as I did, the occupation of Seaman and Merchant, and conducting not merely the navigation but the commerce of the voyage, I had abundant opportunities of becoming acquainted with all the facts and circumstances bearing in any degree upon either; of which I very sedulously availed myself: and to show the manner in which this information was used, I need only refer to the early pages of *THE ORIENTAL HERALD*, where, in a series of papers, entitled ‘Unpublished Manuscripts of a Traveller in the East,’* will be found a very copious detail of my principal Voyages in the Mediterranean: and a Report on the Commerce of Smyrna, including a detailed history of all its peculiarities, with a minute description of its Exports, Imports, Duties, &c. &c., which may fairly challenge comparison with any similar paper, for fullness, clearness, and fidelity.†

In the year 1813, having formed the intention of resigning my command, and settling at Malta, as a general merchant, I sailed from London with that view. The attractions of Malta as a place of settlement for that purpose, consisted in its being the great central magazine or dépôt, from which the continent of Europe, then under a rigorous blockade against all British manufactures, by the decrees of Napoleon Buona parte, was supplied with every description of merchandise, both in English goods and colonial produce; and also in its being the great prize-port, into which all captured vessels were brought for adjudication and sale, by decrees of the Vice-Admiralty Court, of which Malta was the chief station.

Uniting as I did, in my own person, a thorough knowledge of all mercantile matters, connected either with Colonial produce or British manufactures; being equally well acquainted with the value of ships and marine stores; and speaking familiarly the several languages of which Malta was the seat, namely, Arabic, Greek, French and Italian;—there was every prospect before me of a successful mercantile career, by a settlement in that island, at that particular period.

On arriving off the port of Valetta, however, it was found that the plague, which had not been known there for upwards of a century, raged with such violence as to induce the Governor to prohibit the landing of any individuals, and indeed to prevent any personal communication with the shore. The cargoes destined for this dépôt were accordingly landed in magazines near the sea, and the ships proceeded to other ports; the one in which I was embarked going on to Smyrna.

I remained there a sufficient period to be a considerable loser by the calamitous events that occurred at Malta, in consequence of the long-continued and devastating pestilence which afflicted that island; and at length proceeded to look around that country for fresh sources of enterprise. The cordial reception given to me by the British residents there, soon obtained me the notice and attention of the Egyptian Pasha, Mohammed Ali, the present ruler of that interesting country. He was at this period just beginning to perceive the advantage of encouraging the settlement, in Egypt, of persons of skill and capital, from every quarter of the globe, for the purpose of improving the resources of his dominion; and, extending his views also to external commerce, I had the pleasure of passing many successive evenings with him in his Divan, after all his public officers, excepting only his confidential Secretary, were dismissed, and there, with a set of Arrowsmith’s charts, which I exhibited to him, explaining the relative positions and productions of various countries—the winds, seasons, monsoons, currents, rocks, shoals, &c., as well as the theory and practice of navigation and hydrography;—all of which afforded him such delight, that we often sat together until near the dawn of the following morning; and I at length succeeded in having transcribed, upon a duplicate set of Arrowsmith’s charts traced by my own hand for the purpose, all the information of importance, written in the Arabic language and character.

* See ‘*Oriental Herald*,’ vol. vi. p. 15. 243. 456; vol. vii. p. 46. 497; vol. viii. p. 471; vol. ix. p. 53. 268. 509; vol. x. p. 72. 294. 473; vol. xi. p. 91. 331. 545.
† See ‘*Oriental Herald*,’ vol. x. p. 72. 473.

One of the undertakings which I subsequently proposed to accomplish for him, was the re-opening of the ancient canal which formerly connected the Red Sea with the Mediterranean; * and another was the transporting across the Desert of the Isthmus, before the canal should be opened, two beautiful American brigs then lying in the harbour of Alexandria, which he was anxious to get into the Red Sea, but feared the East India Company would prevent his sending them round the Cape of Good Hope. † But at this period, the war against the Wahabees occupied almost the exclusive attention of all parties in Egypt, and ultimately compelled the Pasha himself to repair to the seat of hostilities in Arabia; while those to whom he confided the government of the country in his absence, were far less able than himself to appreciate the value of such works as these.

From Alexandria I proceeded to Cairo; and from thence ascended the Nile into Nubia, beyond the Cataracts, being prevented from penetrating farther in consequence of an almost total blindness, occasioned by a long and severe ophthalmia, one of the plagues that still afflict Egypt. On my descent I halted at Keneh, and crossed the Desert to Kosseir, on the shores of the Red Sea. In the course of this journey, I encountered, nearly in the middle of the Desert, a party of the mutinous soldiery of the Egyptian army, returning in a state of revolt from Kosseir, by whom I was stripped, plundered, and left entirely naked on the barren waste, at a distance of sixty miles, at least, from any habitation or supply of food or water. The narrative of this disastrous journey would alone make a volume, if extended to all its details: I must here content myself with saying, however, that by perseverance I succeeded in reaching Kosseir, though under circumstances of the most painful and distressing nature: and that, to add to my sufferings, I was obliged to retrace all my steps, and return again to Keneh on the Nile, from the impossibility of prosecuting my route farther in that direction. ‡

I descended the Nile to Cairo, from thence traversed the Isthmus of Suez, explored all the surrounding country, and visited every part of Lower Egypt and the Delta, habited as an Egyptian, speaking the language, and mixing freely with the people of the country.

It was at this period that a proposition was made to me by the English merchants then resident in Egypt, to undertake, on their account, a voyage to India by way of the Red Sea: first, to survey its hydrography, till that period most inaccurately known, and thus to judge of the practicability of its coasting navigation by English ships; and next, to ascertain how far the merchants of India—but those at Bombay more especially—might feel disposed to renew the commercial intercourse which formerly existed between India and Egypt, for the supply of all the higher parts of the Mediterranean.

I readily acceded to this proposition, and set out for Suez accordingly, profiting by the departure of a large caravan then conveying the pilgrims of Africa, collected at Cairo, to the great Temple at Mecca; and bearing also the Harem of Mohammed Ali Pasha, consisting of fifty or sixty of the most beautiful women of Asia, to his camp in the Holy Land. § The voyage was continued, under most disastrous circumstances, to Jeddah, from thence to Mocha, and ultimately to India.

The merchants of Bombay being, however, unwilling to resume the commerce with Egypt, except under securities which it was hardly probable they could obtain, I considered my mission at an end; and, after communicating the result to the proper quarter, my attention was turned to some maritime or mercantile occupation in India itself.

* For a collected view of all the best information on this subject, see 'The Oriental Herald,' vol. v. p. 1.

† These are both adverted to in the Preface to the 'Travels in Palestine,' the first of my published works.

‡ The idea having been first started in 'The Athenæum' of producing a volume, similar to the Annuals, for the benefit of the distressed foreign refugees in England, to which the leading literary men of England should be invited to contribute their assistance gratuitously, I selected, from my unpublished manuscripts, an account of this Desert Journey, written a few days after its termination, and devoted it to this purpose. I subsequently obtained the consent of that excellent man, and accomplished statesman and scholar, Sir James Mackintosh, to charge himself with the Editorship of this proposed volume, and have, therefore, great pleasure in thus drawing public attention to its object, in the benevolence of which every feeling heart must concur. (This duty afterwards devolved upon Mr. Thomas Campbell, the poet; but the publication has since, from some unforeseen obstacle, been unhappily frustrated.)

§ An account of this Journey across the Isthmus, was furnished, from my unpublished manuscripts, at the request of Mr. Pringle, the able editor of 'The Friendship's Offering,' for 1827, for the pages of that beautiful and interesting Annual, where it will be found.

This was soon obtained; for I had scarcely been a week on shore, before I was appointed to the command of a fine new frigate, just launched for the Imaum of Muscat, an independent Arab prince, who had commissioned her for a voyage to China. I was invested with the command, and was actually engaged in rigging and fitting her out, when, not less to my regret than surprise, I received a letter from the Government of Bombay, dated May 10, 1815, which is so short that it may be given entire.

'SIR,—I have received the orders of Government to call upon you to give security to proceed to England, in such ship, and at such time as may be appointed by Government, it being understood that you have no license or authority to remain in India. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. H. STEPHENSON, Company's Solicitor.*

To this I replied, by recapitulating all the circumstances under which I reached India: explaining, that when I left England I had no intention of coming thus far; that I neither knew the fact of any license being necessary, to give an Englishman the privilege of visiting any part of the king's dominions; nor even, had I known this fact, should I have applied for it, as I considered Malta the boundary of my voyage. I therefore asked the Governor's indulgence to remain in India, under the special license which he had the power to grant, until the pleasure of the Court of Directors in England should be known; and, in addition to this public demand, the greatest private interest was used to obtain the indulgence required. But the orders of the Directors in England were so peremptory, commanding the instant banishment of any individual, *however useful or honourable his pursuits*, who ventured to set his foot in India without a license, that the Governor dared not depart from them. This indulgence was accordingly refused: but, in an interview which I afterwards had with the Governor, Sir Evan Nepean, he himself said to me, 'My dear sir, what a pity it is that you are not an American—and I think you might very well pass for one—for then you might remain in India, and visit any part of it, without license from England, or even leave from me.' To show also that this my first banishment from India, and deprivation of a very honourable and lucrative command, in the service of an independent prince, which any American, French, or other foreign officer might enter without the power of the English to hinder, was not occasioned by any supposed hostility on my part to the India Company, or by any thing objectionable in my character or views, I shall subjoin the whole of the letter of the Governor of Bombay to his Chief Secretary. This letter was written in reply to the secretary's application on my behalf for permission to return to England by way of Egypt, as I had already been refused permission to go by way of Bengal, which I had wished, as the most expeditious of the two; It is as follows:

'DEAR WARDEN,—I can have no objection to Mr. Buckingham returning to England by the way of Mocha. He came hither, I understand, by that route. But I have an objection to the allowing him to go to Bengal, or to any other part of India, being determined to discourage all attempts which may be made by persons to settle in India without the license of the Company. To the individual himself I have not the slightest degree of objection. On the contrary, he appeared to be a sensible, intelligent man: and I shall by no means be sorry to see him return with the Company's license, believing, as I do, that he would be of use to the mercantile interests, in opening the trade of the Red Sea. Your's, &c. E. NEPEAN.'

I was accordingly, without the least fault alleged against me, but even with these eulogies bestowed on my character and my views, punished with the deprivation of an honourable command, the loss of a certain fortune from this lucrative service, (which my licensed successor actually realised, to the extent of three lacs of rupees, or 30,000*l.* sterling, in three years,) and subjected to transportation, as if my very touch were sufficient to contaminate a land—which we Englishmen call our own, as being won with the blood and treasure of our countrymen, and under the protection of our national flag—while foreigners alone are free in it, and every Englishman is virtually a slave! †

I returned to Egypt in company with Dr. Benjamin Babington, ‡ by a second voy-

* Brother of the Banker, Rowland Stephenson, whose frauds and escape have lately excited so much attention; but, unlike this brother, a most upright and honourable man.

† The whole of the official correspondence relating to these transactions will be found at length, in the Appendix to the First Volume of 'The Oriental Herald,' p. 3 to 5.

‡ See his evidence as to this voyage in 'The Oriental Herald,' vol. xi. p. 405.

age through the Red Sea, in which I collected ample materials for a new hydrographical chart of all its coasts; and communicated the result of my expedition to the British merchants at Alexandria. It was then resolved to obtain from Mohammed Ali the securities which the Indian merchants desired; and accordingly, a Commercial Treaty was entered into, between the Pasha, the British Consul, and myself, each of whom pledged himself to certain engagements, calculated to afford reciprocal protection and profit.*

As this was considered to clothe me with a new character, and invest me with new powers, it was agreed that I should proceed again to India, as the ambassador or envoy of Mohammed Ali, the viceroy of Egypt: being made the bearer of letters and commissions from him to the Government of India, as well as of this tripartite treaty to its merchants. I accordingly left Alexandria in the close of the year 1815, for the coast of Syria,† landed at Bairout, proceeded by Tyre, Sidon, Acre, and Jaffa, to Jerusalem;—was compelled, by various circumstances, but more especially the disturbed state of the country, to traverse nearly the whole of Palestine, and the countries east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, the Hauran, and the Decapolis;—reached Damascus;—passed several weeks in the agreeable and hospitable society of Lady Hester Stanhope;—visited Baalbeck, Lebanon, Tripoly, Antioch, the Orontes, and Aleppo.‡ From thence I proceeded into Mesopotamia; crossed the Euphrates at Bir; visited Orfah, near Haran, the Ur of the Chaldees, the birth-place of Abraham the Patriarch, and Edessa of the Greeks; journeyed to Diarbekr, or the Black City, in the heart of Asia Minor; from thence to Mardin on the mountains; and by the Great Desert of Sinjar to Moosul on the Tigris; inspected the Ruins of Nineveh, Arbela, Ctesiphon, and Seleucia;—made extensive researches on the Ruins of Babylon, identified the Hanging Gardens, and the Palace, and discovered a portion of the ancient Wall; ascended to the summit of the Tower of Babel, now still erect in the Plain of Shinaar, and at length reposed in the celebrated City of Bagdad, on the banks of the Tigris.§

After a short stay here I proceeded into Persia, crossing the chain of Mount Zagros, and going by Kermanshah to Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana; Ispahan, the most magnificent of all the Oriental cities; the ruins of Persepolis; and by Shiraz and Shapoor to Bushire. At this port I embarked in an East India Company's ship of war, bound on an expedition against the Wahabees, the Arab pirates of the Persian Gulph; visited their port at Ras-el-Khyma; went on shore with the Commodore of the squadron, and acted as his Arabian interpreter; assisted afterwards in the bombardment of the town; and finally reached Bombay at the end of 1816, having been nearly twelve months in performing this long and perilous journey.||

That such a succession of voyages and travels should be full of danger, as well as

* The original Arabic version of this treaty is in the possession of Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., M.P., and the French version of it will be found in 'The Oriental Herald,' vol. iv. p. 505.

† It is here that my published Travels first commence, in the volume entitled 'Travels in Palestine, through the countries of Bashan and Gilead,' beginning at Alexandria, and ending at Nazareth. It is dedicated to the Marquis of Hastings, and comprises 553 quarto pages, with a Portrait and 28 engravings, exclusive of Inscriptions, Plans, and Maps. The Preface to this contains a detailed account of my track.

‡ This concludes the second volume, entitled 'Travels among the Arab Tribes, inhabiting the Countries East of Syria and Palestine.' It is dedicated to Dr. Babington, and comprises 679 quarto pages, and 28 Engravings, exclusive of Inscriptions and Map. In the Appendix to this Volume is contained all the documents and correspondence relating to the controversy with 'The Quarterly Review,' the Indian Government, Mr. Gifford, Mr. Murray, and the elder and younger Mr. Banks.

§ This concludes the third Volume, entitled 'Travels in Mesopotamia,' which is dedicated to the Right Honourable Lady Hester Stanhope, and comprises 578 pages, and 27 Engravings, besides the Plans and Views of the Ruins of Babylon, and the Map. It may be mentioned here, that this work having been read by Mr. James Keeling, an extensive manufacturer of porcelain at the Hanley Potteries in Staffordshire, he was so pleased with the scriptural illustrations it contained, and with the Engravings with which the Work was embellished, that he formed the design of making a beautiful Dinner Service, to be ornamented by the Views in Mesopotamia, which he brought to great perfection, and presented me with the first set sent from his manufactory. The Appendix to this volume contains the issue of the trial of Mr. Banks; a verbatim report of which will be found in 'The Oriental Herald,' vol. xi. p. 375.

|| This terminates the fourth Volume, entitled 'Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia,' which is dedicated to Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., M.P., comprises 545 pages, and is illustrated with an Equestrian Portrait in the costume of the East, 26 Engravings, and a Map. The Preface to this explains the circumstances under which this Volume went through the Press; and which are probably without a parallel in the whole history of literary labours.

incident, may be easily imagined: but I purposely abstain from a recital of them, which would lead, indeed, to a volume of itself. It may be sufficient to say, that storms, plagues, shipwreck, battle, imprisonment, hunger, thirst, sickness, nakedness, and want, had been my frequent portion; and that there was scarcely any form under which human misery could present itself, in which I had not encountered it: or scarcely any pomp, pleasure, honour, or distinction, which mortal could enjoy, that I had not witnessed, and occasionally shared in; having in all this weary pilgrimage, invariably found the name of AN ENGLISHMAN, wherever it was safe to assume it, a passport and a claim to every favour and protection that the public authorities of other nations could afford, till I reached what I had hitherto regarded as a part of my own country—INDIA; where I found this proud name the badge and symbol of every thing that was debased and enslaved—an Englishman alone being there subject to banishment and ruin, without trial, without a hearing, without even a reason assigned, merely because he is an Englishman; while foreigners of every other country are entitled to the protection of the laws, and cannot be touched but through the medium of a Court and a Jury,—a privilege of which all Englishmen are deprived!

The issue of my second mission to Bombay was not more successful in bringing about the wished-for trade between India and Egypt, than the former; and having by this time, through the intervention of my friend and fellow-traveller from India, Dr. Babington, who left me in Egypt, and proceeded to England, obtained the Company's license to remain in their territories. (which was sent out to me in Bombay,) I resumed the command of the Imaum of Muscat's frigate, from which I was before displaced; his Mohammedan agent having been indignant at what even he considered the tyranny of the Indian government, and pledged himself to reinstate me in the command, if I ever returned to India to accept it. But the three lucrative voyages to China, which I was to have performed, had in the mean time been accomplished by another, and his fortune made. The ship was now destined for the Persian Gulf, whither I sailed in her; and after visiting Muscat and Bussorah, I returned with a successful result, to Bombay.†

From hence I proceeded down the coast of Malabar, touching at Tellicherry, Calicut, Mahee, and Cochín; Colombo and Point de Galle, in Ceylon; up the coast of Coromandel, touching at Covelong, Madras, Vizagapatam, and Bimlipatam; and at length reached Calcutta in June, 1818.

Here I found that orders had reached from the Imaum of Muscat, to whom the frigate under my command belonged, directing her to proceed to the coast of Zanzibar, in Africa, to give convoy to several of his vessels there engaged in procuring slaves, as well as to convey some of these unhappy beings in my own,—a service in which, had the prospect of fortune been ten times as brilliant as it was, my abhorrence of slavery would not permit me to engage; and accordingly rather than acquire riches from such a source, I resigned the command, and with it all the prospects of competency and ease which it had hitherto promised me.

At this period I became acquainted with Mr. John Palmer, of Calcutta, who is designated, with great justice, the Prince of Merchants in the East, who holds the same rank in India as the Barings in England, and whom no man ever knew without loving as well as revering. He it was who first suggested the idea of my having talents for literary and political life, for which I ought to relinquish that of the sea; and this impression receiving considerable strength from the very flattering attention paid me by the Marquis of Hastings, the late Lord Bishop of Calcutta, and indeed all the men distinguished for their rank or learning in India, I yielded to the general solicitation, and consented to undertake the editorship of a public journal in Calcutta, to be conducted on the liberal principles which then characterised the brilliant administration of the Marquis of Hastings, and with which every feeling of my heart was in perfect accordance. The materials for this journal were purchased for 30,000 rupees, or 3,000*l.* sterling. It was issued; obtained almost instantaneous popularity; and, within three years after its first establishment, I brought it to produce a net profit of about 8,000*l.* sterling per annum. During the whole of this period, it supported, with a degree of zeal which was sometimes interpreted as adulation, the measures and

† A short extract from the description of Muscat, composed on this voyage, will be found in Mr. Pringle's elegant Annual, the 'Friendship's Offering,' for the present year, 1829; the full account is incorporated in the 'Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia,' and the account of Bussorah which is given at length in the same volume, will be found also in 'The Oriental Herald' for January, 1829, vol. xx. p. 36.

policy of the existing government, which was that of Lord Hastings, who, contrary to the views of his more narrow-minded colleagues, the civil servants of the East India Company, had removed the Censorship from the Press; was disposed to elevate the condition of the Natives; to permit the settlement of English gentlemen of capital and character in the interior; and in every other manner to promote the interests both of his own country, and of that over which he ruled. The support of this noble and enlightened policy of Lord Hastings, the representative of his Majesty and the British Legislature in India,—and the fact of my having sold one-fourth of my Paper for 10,000*l.* sterling, in 100 shares of 100*l.* each, which were purchased by the principal merchants, and civil and military officers in the Company's service in India, and which, therefore, was the highest mark of honour any public writer could receive,—was the very cause of all the hatred felt against myself, and hostility to 'The Calcutta Journal,' which I conducted, by the more bigoted adherents of the Company's system, then forming his council. Accordingly, there arose perpetual efforts, on the part of the latter, to obtain my arbitrary banishment from India, for supporting the views professed and entertained by the head of the government himself; but he, like a true English nobleman, always referred them to the *law*, as the protecting power of the ruler and the subject; and declared, that while Providence continued him at the head of affairs, he would never suffer any one to deprive a British subject of that shield which was purposely created to protect him from the exercise of arbitrary power.

During the whole of Lord Hastings's government, therefore, which lasted for ten years, no arbitrary banishment of any Englishman, for opinions expressed through the press, ever took place. The law was there, as it is in England, sufficient to repress the empire more tranquil, never more prosperous, even according to the testimony of his enemies; for he was the first Governor-General India had ever seen, who left the Himalaya to Ceylon, with ten millions sterling of surplus revenue in the treasury, the people comparatively happy, the public debt in a state of liquidation, and content and prosperity marking every branch of the public service. During all this long and eventful period, in which the law had been resorted to by the enemies of his pacific administration, no single conviction for libel, or any other offence, had ever been recorded against me; though I had obtained convictions against my calumniators, (for no man ever opposed bad measures without being calumniated by those whose unjust gains were endangered,) and was even obliged to meet my opponents in the field;* yet, no sooner had the Marquis of Hastings quitted India—which his health obliged him to do, before his permanent successor, Lord Amherst, arrived—than his temporary *locum tenens*, Mr. John Adam,—who, being one of the oldest of the East India Company's servants, and the last that held the office of Censor of the Press, abolished by Lord Hastings, was the most deeply imbued with all its despotic principles of rule—determined to seize the first possible moment of banishing me from the country, and doing for himself what he had before often urged the Marquis of Hastings to do in vain. I had already heard, and indeed was enabled to prove, his declaration, made before Lord Hastings left India, that if he ever obtained the seat of power for a day, his first act should be to banish me; and I exercised a proportionate degree of caution; so much so, that my enemies, whose great object it was to goad me into indiscretion, taunted me with the line from Shakspeare,

'High-reaching Buckingham grows circumspect';

and provided also a very easy remedy for the Government, by exclaiming, in the language of the same poet,

'Off with his head!—So much for Buckingham.'

Accordingly, the time of Mr. Adam's temporary governorship fast drawing to a close, and the impression being, that if he did not hasten to do his deed of destruction, the dagger would pass away from his grasp, the occasion was seized to do it instantly, and this was the feeble pretence on which it was attempted to be justified.

* See a detailed account of the Government of India.

* See a detailed account of the meeting with one of the public servants of the Indian Government, here alluded to, in 'The Oriental Herald,' vol. I. p. 61.

quently connected himself with a second paper, called 'The John Bull,' set up by the functionaries of the Indian Government for the avowed purpose of defaming me : and in which a series of libels on my private character appeared, for which I obtained judgment against it, even in an Indian Court of Justice, with large damages : the Judge on the bench declaring, at the time of passing sentence, that 'the libels were so atrocious, as scarcely to be thought of without horror.*' To show upon what principles this Journal was conducted, it will be sufficient to quote a single passage of the writer of the calumnies directed against my private character, which his Letters in that Journal, under the signature of 'A Friend to Mr. Bankes,' contained. In this he openly avows, that, being unable to overturn, by reason, my arguments, (in favour of free trade, free settlement, and free publication,) and finding that my sentiments derived great weight from the excellence of my moral character, he thought it fair to *destroy* that character, in order to weaken the opinions which reposed on it ! The passage is so atrocious, that no one would believe it without its being produced. It is as follows :

“The phenomenon of a Journalist venting his sentiments without the aid of a censor, is but new in India; and it was manifest that, in this country, such a man might prove the instrument of incalculable evil. In looking around me, I beheld the evils that might be feared actually occurring. I saw them insinuating themselves into the very strongholds of our power, and possibly paving the way for an event, which the enemies of our power have hitherto attempted in vain. Entertaining these views, the conductor of such a Press became, in *my eyes*, a PUBLIC ENEMY; and resting his power, *as he did*, as well on his CHARACTER as his PRINCIPLES, his reputation became a fair and a legitimate object of attack, and its overthrow a subject of honest triumph to every lover of his country!!”†

I will not weaken the force of so unprincipled and demoniacal a doctrine as this, by a single word of comment.

It was almost immediately after this that Dr. Bryce was rewarded by Mr. Adam with an appointment to an office of considerable emolument, but the duties of which were the most unsuitable to a clergyman that could be imagined, and such as required very close attention, although the same individual had on a previous occasion given up the unpaid Secretaryship to a Bible Society on the plea of wanting time to perform its duties! The appointment was even announced by the local Government, in an Extraordinary Gazette, as if it were a triumph or a victory; and certainly, the unusual nature both of the fact and its mode of announcement created considerable sensation, of mirth in some, and of sorrow and alarm in others. Being rather actuated by the former than by the latter class of feelings, I was disposed to view it, and to treat it, in a playful light; and as this was the article for which I was a *second* time banished without trial from India, (the reader will remember the first from Bombay,) and as, from our rooted notions of justice, the bare fact of any man having been banished from any country, leads all who hear it to *infer* that the individual really *deserved* his punishment, or it would not have been inflicted, it is very important that it should be given entire. It is rather long, but it will dispel the fears of many; and show them that from the portion of my writings in India for which I was made to suffer the loss of 100,000*l.* in prospect, banishment as a felon, and the deprivation of an actual income from the labours of my own pen, of 8,000*l.* sterling a-year,—there was, at least, no probability of the empire being overturned, which is the only danger that could justify such severe and arbitrary punishment. The following is the article in question :—

‘ Appendix Extraordinary to the last Government Gazette.

‘ During the evening of Thursday, about the period at which the inhabitants of this good City of Palaces are accustomed to sit down to dinner, an Appendix to the Government Gazette of the morning was issued in a separate form, and coming in the shape of a Gazette Extraordinary, was eagerly seized, even at that inconvenient hour, in the hope of its containing some intelligence of great public importance. Some, in whose bosoms this hope had been most strongly excited, may, perhaps, have felt disappointment; others, we know, drew from it a fund of amusement which lasted them all the remainder of the evening.

* The Reverend Gentleman, named below, who we perceive by the Index of that useful publication, the Annual Directory, is a Doctor of Divinity, and Moderator of

* See this trial and sentence in 'The Oriental Herald,' vol. i. pp. 15, 348, 352.

† 'Oriental Herald,' vol. iv. p. 511.

the Kirk Session, and who, by the favour of the higher powers, now combines the office of parson and clerk in the same person, has no doubt been selected for the arduous duties of his new place from the purest motives, and the strictest possible attention to the public interests. Such a clerk as is here required, to inspect and reject whatever articles may appear objectionable to him, should be a competent judge of the several articles of pasteboard, sealing-wax, ink-stands, sand, lead, gum, pounce, tape, and leather; and one would imagine that nothing short of a regular apprenticeship at Stationers'-hall would qualify a candidate for such a situation. All this information, however, the Reverend Gentleman, no doubt, possesses in a more eminent degree than any other person who could be found to do the duties of such an office; and though at first sight such information may seem to be incompatible with a theological education, yet we know that India abounds with instances of that kind of genius which fits a man in a moment for any post to which he may be appointed.

'In Scotland, we believe, the duties of a Presbyterian Minister are divided between preaching on the Sabbath, and on the days of the week visiting the sick, comforting the weak-hearted, conferring with the bold, and encouraging the timid, in the several duties of their religion. Some shallow persons might conceive that if a Presbyterian Clergyman were to do his duty in India, he might also find abundant occupation throughout the year, in the zealous and faithful discharge of those pious duties which ought more especially to engage his devout attention. But they must be persons of very little reflection, indeed, who entertain such an idea. We have seen the Presbyterian flock of Calcutta take very good care of themselves for many months without a pastor at all: and even when the shepherd was among them, he had abundant time to edit a controversial newspaper, (long since defunct,) and to take a part in all the meetings, festivities, addresses, and flatteries, that were current at that time. He has continued to display this eminently active, if not holy disposition, up to the present period; and, according to the maxim, 'to him that hath much (to do) still more shall be given, and from him that hath nothing, even the little that he hath shall be taken away,' this Reverend Doctor, who has so often evinced the universality of his genius and talents, whether within the pale of Divinity or without it, is perhaps the very best person that could be selected, all things considered, to take care of the foolscap, pasteboard, wax, sand, gum, lead, leather, and tape, of the Honourable East India Company of Merchants, and to examine and pronounce on the quality of each, so as to see that no drafts are given on their Treasury for gum that won't stick, tape short of measure, or inkstands of base metal.

'Whether the late discussions that have agitated both the wise and the foolish of this happy country from the Burrumpooter to the Indus, and from Cape Comorin to the confines of Tartary, have had an influence in hastening the consummation so devoutly wished, we cannot presume to determine. We do not profess to know any thing of the Occult Sciences: and being equally ignorant of all secret influences, whether of the planets of heaven or the satellites of earth, we must content ourselves, as faithful chroniclers of the age, with including in our records, the important document issued under the circumstances we have described.'

(Here followed a Table of the articles of Stationery required, and the quantities of each; at the end of which was the following paragraph, as it stood in the Government Gazette, published by authority.)

"'Conditions:—1st. The quality of the Stationery to be equal to the musters now open for inspection at the Stationery office.—2d. The articles required for the expenditure of every month to be delivered on or before the 28th day of the month which precedes it, and paid for by an order on the general treasury for the amount delivered.—3d. The proposals of contract to be accompanied by a written document signed by a respectable person, acknowledging himself (if the terms are accepted) to be responsible for the performance of the contractor's engagement, and engaging, in the event of deficient deliveries, to make good the value of these, together with a penalty of 50 per cent. on the amount of them.—4th. The Clerk to the Committee of Stationery to be at liberty to reject any part of the Stationery which may appear objectionable to him.

By order of the Committee of Stationery,

"'Stationery Office, Feb. 4, 1823. JAMES BRYCE, Clerk Com. Sty.'"

This, then, was my crime! and my punishment was more severe than the law inflicts even upon felons; for their property is not always confiscated, nor are they ever denied the right of a trial; while I, and the wife of my bosom, who had just joined me in

India, after a separation of ten long years, from the period of my leaving her in England on my first voyage to Malta, were turned out of house and home, at a moment's warning; a princely fortune destroyed; an abode of happiness changed into one of mourning; and the brand of infamy, as a banished man, placed upon my forehead, for the finger of scorn to point at, and for every man to infer, from the mere fact itself, that I was a fire-brand, dangerous to the peace of the country, and therefore ejected from it by violence!

Whether my offence was of a nature to deserve this treatment, let the reader judge. But what will be his indignation when he learns that although, when we reached England,—(finding our children embarked, and almost in the act of sailing to join us in India, so sudden was the decree, that there was not even time to countermand our orders for their coming out to what they innocently deemed a shelter and a home,)—the India Company and the Board of Control had both concurred in the impropriety of the appointment I had so gently satirized, and had even ordered it to be instantly annulled; yet, when I applied, on this ground, for leave to return, I was refused, by both, this reasonable permission. The doctrine maintained at the India House, was, that their servants abroad, even if occasionally wrong, *must* be supported; and the doctrine at the Board of Control was, that as it was not a question of patronage, the India Company must be supported *also*. Of all this, then, I was the victim: and even when I asked, a few months afterwards, on hearing of proceedings against my property in India, too atrocious to be believed, and too long to be detailed, for leave merely to go to India for a few weeks to wind up my affairs, pay my debts, receive those due to me, and then quit the country for ever, these unfeeling tyrants (can any man designate the authors of such cruelty by any more appropriate term?) refused me even this: so that the total wreck of all I left behind, amounting to at least 40,000*l.*, was added to the accumulation of debts on various proceedings taken in my absence, purposely to increase my embarrassments, amounting to upwards of 10,000*l.* more; thus plunging an innocent and amiable family into almost irretrievable misery, for, at most, the indiscretion of a father, who ventured to call in question the propriety of that which the highest authorities of the country no sooner heard of, than they denounced and overturned!!

My return to India, where all my friends and hopes of fortune lay, being thus rendered impossible, I determined to use the information which Providence had thrown in my way, to benefit, as far as my humble powers would admit, my fellow-countrymen here, as well as my fellow-men and fellow-subjects in the East. I have accordingly employed the last five years of my life in conducting *THE ORIENTAL HERALD*, which has been almost exclusively devoted to Eastern affairs:—in establishing *THE SPHYNX*, a European Political Journal, to which I applied a legacy of 5,000 rupees, sent me from India by an individual whom I had never either seen or heard from before, but who left it in an individual whom I had never either seen or heard from before, and as a mark his will as a tribute of respect to my public character and principles, and as a mark of gratitude for the benefit which he believed my writings to have produced in India;* of gratitude for the benefit which he believed my writings to have produced in India;—and in following up the successful career of this, by *THE ATHENÆUM*, a Journal devoted chiefly to Literature, Science, and the Arts. In addition to these, which have all been crowned with marked approbation and success, I have also published four quarto volumes of *Travels in the East*, each of which has been received with favour by the literary world; and have succeeded in bringing to a satisfactory issue, my legal proceedings against Mr. Henry Banks, the late Member for Corfe Castle, and setting myself right, I hope, with all the reading and reflecting part of the world.

The time is now come, therefore, when I have resolved on following up my writings by the personal Tour which I had always purposed, and which, indeed, I stated my intention of undertaking some years ago, in order to communicate to others that local knowledge of which my peculiar duties and pursuits have given me possession: and to rouse the public attention to the benefits which must result to this country, as well as to every part of the Eastern World, by extending the commercial intercourse between them. I enter on this task under the most favourable auspices, and, as far as zeal and determined perseverance can effect, I hope, by the blessing of God, to bring it to as auspicious a close. If there are those who think that in so doing I am actuated by vindictive feelings towards the East India Company, I cannot wonder at their receiving such an impression; for, if ever man had cause for vengeance against them, that man

* See the details of this in the first Number of '*The Sphinx*,' for July, 1827; and in '*The Oriental Herald*,' vol. xiv. p. 391. 394.

is myself. But I confess (let those doubt who may) that I would not willingly hurt a hair of the head of any man living, not even of my greatest enemy: and as for the East India Company, it is composed of 4,000 or 5,000 individuals, including old men, old women, and young children, and has within it as much of merit and innocence as any other body of superannuated stockholders,—for the great mass of them are nothing more:—while some of the warmest and steadiest friends I ever had the happiness to possess, are members of that body, or holders of its stock; but who, though members, deprecate, as severely as I can do, the conduct which I have faithfully described.

It is not against any man or any men that my labours are directed, but against the system, which is unproductive of good even to those who uphold it, and fraught with all manner of evil to those who are not of that number. To this system I was as determined an enemy on the first day of my setting foot in India as I am now: and this I never concealed. I could not have been influenced by vindictive motives before I received any injury from the India Company, yet the views I maintain now, were those which I maintained then; no change whatever has taken place in my sentiments on those subjects, except that the longer I have lived, the more I have seen; and the more extensive and more accurate my information has become during the last ten years that I have been engaged almost exclusively in increasing my stock of knowledge from every accessible source, the more firmly have I been convinced of the truth of my position, that Free Trade to India, China, and the Oriental World in general, would be productive of incalculable benefit to all the countries engaged in it, and of danger or injury to none.

I have now, then—though I fear most imperfectly—endeavoured to show, that when I address my countrymen on the subject of shipping and commerce, I have some claim to their attention, as a seaman and a merchant; that when I describe to them the antiquities and productions of other seas and countries, I speak of tracts that I have traversed, and objects that I have seen; and that, even on questions of policy and government, as relates to the Eastern World at least, I am not altogether unworthy of being heard, after supporting the liberal policy, and enjoying, as I had the happiness to enjoy, the good opinion of the greatest and best Governor-General India ever saw, after conducting, for five years, with the greatest success, a public Journal in India, supported and patronised by the most celebrated of the civil and military servants of the Government itself; and editing, for the same period, a public Journal in England, *THE ORIENTAL HERALD*, which is still eagerly sought after in every part of that country, and well known and esteemed among the statesmen and legislators of this.

If these credentials are deemed satisfactory, I shall rejoice at having been prompted to produce them; and I ask only the fair and candid interpretation of whatever apparent confidence they may seem to evince. For myself, I feel that I have a claim to be heard; and having that feeling, it is but consistent with the acknowledged frankness of my earliest profession, which still influences my nature, that I should freely say so, whatever imputations of weakness, or of undue confidence may follow such a declaration. My sense of public duty is as clear as it is strong: it dictates I shall therefore continue firmly to follow; but the issue is with a Higher Power—whose blessing I implore.

4, Brunswick Place,
Regent's Park, London.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Places in which all the Courses of these Lectures have been delivered in the Country, and East India Associations formed.

Liverpool.	Edinburgh.	Greenock.	Stockton.
Manchester.	Aberdeen.	Dumfries.	Darlington.
Birmingham.	Dundee.	Carlisle.	Newcastle.
Bristol.	Paisley.	Scarborough.	Sunderland.
Leeds.	Glasgow.	Whitby.	Shields.

Institutions and Public Places at which all the Courses of these Lectures have been delivered in London.

London Institution, Finsbury Circus.	The King's Concert Rooms, Haymarket.
City Institution, Aldersgate Street.	Argyll Rooms, Regent Street.
Mechanic's Institution, Chancery Lane.	City of London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street.
Western Institution, Leicester Square.	Crown and Anchor, Strand.
City Concert Rooms, Finsbury Circus.	British Coffee House, Charing Cross.
Freemason's Hall, Lincoln's Inn Fields.	Old London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street.

And at Almack's Rooms, King Street, St. James's Square.

REPORT OF THE SPEECH

Delivered at the Eleventh Anniversary of the Whitby Auxiliary Bible Society, on Friday, the 18th Sept., 1829.

In rising to second the motion which has been so ably and eloquently introduced to your notice by the accomplished speaker who has just concluded his address, I may venture to say that I participate as largely as any individual member of this crowded assembly in the general satisfaction which the object and conduct of this meeting are so well calculated to afford. I might, perhaps, under ordinary circumstances, have contented myself with merely expressing this satisfaction, and permitting the motion to pass at once to the vote; but, having been so pointedly alluded to by the several speakers who have preceded me, and invited by name to give some details respecting the countries I have traversed in the East, I should be wanting in respect to those who have so honoured me, and in justice to the cause itself, were I to remain entirely silent on this occasion. I fear, however, that what I have to offer will be infinitely less agreeable than what has been already presented to you, for, hitherto you have been chiefly flattered with the pleasing representations of the great good which your united efforts have actually achieved: while it must be my less grateful province to point out to you how much yet remains to be accomplished, and thereby, if possible, to stimulate you to new sacrifices and to renewed exertions. The greater number of those whom I have now the pleasure to address must, of course, be aware that the immediate object of my visit to Whitby is of a specific and peculiar nature; it being my wish to call the attention of its inhabitants, as ship-owners and merchants more particularly, to the importance of improving our political and commercial relations with the East: but, though this is the main purpose of my visit here, yet so important do I hold the object which has brought you together in the same place, that I pledge myself to forget, for a moment, the predominant feeling of my own mind, and to confine myself, in what I shall now say, to the strict limits of our present purpose, by shewing you the condition of the Eastern World generally, with reference to its religious wants and the best means of supplying them, and the state of India more especially, with reference to its degrading superstitions, and the wide field which that country offers for the exercise of your benevolence and zeal.

Before I enter upon this topic, however, allow me, in support of the views maintained by those who have already addressed you, to supply a very striking example, which seems to have escaped them, from our own history, of the wonderful and beneficial change produced by the circulation of the Scriptures in countries where they before existed, but only as a sealed book: because, from what has been, may very fairly be inferred what may again be the result of such a step. The period to which I allude is that of our great, and as it is often most appropriately called, glorious Reformation. The principal feature of that great work was to break down the spiritual dominion then exercised by the Pope, and to place the Scriptures in the hands of all classes, in a language intelligible to all, with perfect freedom, not merely of perusal, but of interpretation or acceptance of its contents. And what was the issue? Why, that men becoming possessed of what was hitherto sealed up from their inspection, exercised their diligence in examining, and their judgment in interpreting it for themselves; so that the dominion of the priesthood was destroyed, and religion became what it ought every where to be, a free and unfettered communion between the soul and its Creator. Take, thus, the picture of England, Holland, Germany, and other northern countries then under Papal sway, and lay it beside a picture of the same countries since they have been emancipated from the priestly yoke, and see the amazing difference: in the one case, bigotry and ignorance were the greatest characteristics of the age; in the other, liberality and intelligence have happily succeeded: and to this no single event has, perhaps, more powerfully contributed than that which placed the Scriptures in every man's hands, with full liberty to judge for himself of all that they contained. In short, in comparing, even at the present moment, the several countries of the earth that are nominally under what are called Christian Governments, you will find that where the Bible is still withheld from the inspection of the people at large, and where even the

few who are permitted to read it are obliged to shape their faith according to the dictates of their spiritual teachers, as is especially the case in Spain and Portugal, bigotry and ignorance still prevail; while in those countries in which the Scriptures are most freely circulated, and where religious liberty is most extensively enjoyed, as is the case in England and America, there the very opposite picture is presented, and there freedom, intelligence, morality, and happiness, are the fruits which it produces. But let me pass to the condition of that portion of the globe which I have been more especially called upon to describe.

The first of the Eastern countries which it was my lot to visit, as a traveller, was Egypt; and it was, of course, impossible for me to tread the banks of the Nile, from among the bulrushes of which Moses was taken up by the daughter of Pharaoh,—to traverse the land of Goshen, or cross the Red Sea to the Desert of Wandering,—to behold the stupendous monuments, in the erection of which, it is at least probable, that the enslaved and captive Israelites were employed—and not to feel an additional interest in every thing connected with its scriptural history, or to be indifferent to the state and condition of the people among whom those Scriptures were still held in esteem. The government of that country, as you are aware, is in the hands of Mohammedans, by whom Christianity is rejected, and its professors subjected to disabilities and oppressions. Accordingly, the circulation of the Scriptures is extremely limited in Egypt. Nevertheless, inasmuch as there are still a number of professing Christians, of the several sects denominated as Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Nestorians, Maronites, &c., having religious establishments and places of worship in Egypt, the introduction of the Scriptures among them might not be a work of difficulty, and from them it might the more readily pass into the hands of those who would be otherwise inaccessible; while in consequence of the degraded and corrupt state of the Christians themselves, it may be said that the Scriptures, if presented in a language in which they could be familiarly read, would be likely to effect as great a change among them as among those who profess not their faith; for scarcely any thing can be conceived more remote from the simple purity of Christianity, than the rites, ceremonies, and dogmas designated by that name in the East.

The countries that I next visited, and which may be well associated together on this occasion as one, namely, Palestine and Mesopotamia, possessed a still stronger Scriptural interest than even Egypt; for, while gazing on the walls and towers of Jerusalem,—crossing the brook Kedron by the Pool of Siloam,—treading the Mount of Olives, and entering Bethany and Bethpage, Bethlehem and Nazareth,—who could be indifferent to the Sacred Volume that recorded all the events of which these spots were the scenes and witnesses?—If I bathed myself in the waters of the Jordan, or lingered on the shores of the Dead Sea,—if I hung with delight on the glorious prospects from Lebanon, or reposed among the bowers of Damascus,—in short, whatever path my footsteps traced, whether it led me through the ruins of Tyre and Sidon, of the fields and vallies of remoter solitudes, every rock and every eminence, every brook and every rivulet, had its own especial history, and roused up a thousand Scriptural associations. Yet here, too, as in Egypt, the government is in the hands of Mohammedans; and though there are not wanting professing Christians in considerable number and variety, both as residents and as pilgrims, yet the Scriptures are so little known and understood among them, and so little vigilance is exercised by those whose duty it is to be always active in the cause, that they correspond exactly with the description given by the prophet, when he speaks of the “shepherds that sleep” while the fold is in danger, and the “watchmen who slumber” while the citadel is invaded.

In Mesopotamia, the darkness is even greater still. At Ur of the Chaldees, the birth-place of Abraham, and over all the country beyond the great river Euphrates, Christianity is less and less to be found, even in name, and still more remote from its original purity in character; so much so, that there is one sect who consider themselves to be in some degree Christians, as they profess to follow a gospel of St. John; but their claim to that appellation may be judged from the fact of their actually paying divine honours to Satan, and quoting a passage of this gospel in their defence. The awful ruins of Nineveh and Babylon stand upon the banks of their respective streams, the Tigris and Euphrates, in all the silent gloom of utter desolation; and traversing their vast remains with the Scriptural descriptions of their grandeur fresh in my recol-

lection, it was impossible not to feel all the sadness which characterised the captive Israelites of old, when, instead of singing the songs of Zion as in happier days—they hung their harps upon the willows, and sat themselves down by the waters of Babylon and wept.

In passing from thence into Persia, there was not much improvement, although there a ray of hope had begun to illumine the general darkness. In every part of that country, the European character is so highly respected, that almost any measure coming from Europeans, and Englishmen especially, would be sure to meet with less resistance than in any other part of the Mohammedan world. While Persia is, therefore, quite as destitute as all the other countries of Asia, in a moral and religious sense, it appears to me that it offers a less obstructed channel for the introduction of a great change in this particular respect, than any other of the surrounding states. I may add to this general assertion a fact which came under my own personal observation, and which tends to shew what might be done in Persia by judicious men and judicious measures. The Rev. Henry Martyn, whose name must be familiar to most of you, and whose character stands high wherever his name is known, was in Persia, just previous to the period of my passing through that country; and at Shiraz, I met with several Mollahs, or teachers of the Mohammedan faith, from whom I learnt that Mr. Martyn's life and conversation had produced the most surprising effect in softening the usual hostility between Mohammedans and Christians; that the most learned Muftis had conversed freely with him, on points of faith and doctrine, and that they had come to the conclusion, that there were not such insuperable barriers between them as they had at first conceived. Such a step as this is most important, because from the moment that those who are in error can be brought to listen patiently to the truth, hopes may be entertained of its final triumph; for, as Milton has beautifully observed, “though all the winds of doctrine were let loose upon the earth, so truth be among them, we need not fear. Let her and falsehood grapple: who ever knew her put to the worst, in a free and open encounter?”

From Persia I proceeded to India, and there I remained as a resident for several years. It might be expected that in a country so long under our dominion as that has been, the same backwardness with respect to the spread of truth and sound religion would not have been observed; but I regret to say that while in India the reign of superstition is more widely spread, and more terrible in its degrading effects, than in any of the countries I have yet mentioned; the obstacles thrown in the way of those who are impatient to substitute a better order of things, are quite as great as in either of them. Let me mention only one or two of the revolting practices which their superstition engendered, and still upholds, and you will then see what a vast field a hundred millions of beings, so immersed in darkness, must afford for British benevolence and Christian reformation.

The most popularly known of these Indian rites, is that of the burning of Hindoo widows on the funeral piles of their husbands. To such a frightful extent is this carried, that, in the course of ten years, according to a parliamentary report made on this subject, nearly seven thousand Indian widows were burnt alive! Even if the practice were undoubtedly enjoined by their sacred books, and were always performed voluntarily, there is something in it so revolting to humanity, that it ought not to be perpetuated; but it rests upon very doubtful authority even in their own writings, one of the most learned of their Brahmins having written several works to show, that the practice is at least but optional, and of comparatively recent date; and in by far the greater number of cases, it is not voluntary, the parties being drugged with opiates, deluded by priests, and terrified by threats, into compliance. In addition to this they are frequently bound down with cords and ligatures to the funeral pile, so that their escape would be impossible, however much they might desire it; and in those few instances in which the parties have been left unbound, and have leaped off the pile as soon as the flames began to envelop their slender frames, they have been most inhumanly seized by the fanatic by-standers, and flung back again into the flames, with their scorched and mangled limbs dropping off from their bodies, thus expiring amidst the most horrid and protracted tortures that the human imagination can conceive! And all this under the sanction, by the authority, and with the countenance and protection, of a Government calling itself Christian!—that of the East India Company.

What appears to me to add greatly to the horror of this diabolical sacrifice, is the consideration that it puts out of existence those who are the most worthy to live; as, whatever there may be of voluntary submission to this rite on the part of those who are its victims, must spring from one of these motives: either first, the devotional motive, or a willingness to offer up life, and all that can endear it, rather than forfeit the hope of future happiness, or incur the displeasure of the Supreme Being,—which though their faith be grounded in error, they may most sincerely believe, and act upon in the way they think most conducive to that end; or secondly, the domestic motive, an extreme attachment to the object of their affections, and an unwillingness to survive him, who was not merely their husband and protector, but their best and only friend; or, thirdly, the social motive, or an abhorrence of living in a society without a full participation in its honours and enjoyments, and an unwillingness to have their lives prolonged, if they could only live as outcasts, repudiated by their relatives and families, and despised even by strangers as well as friends. These appear to me to be the only conceivable motives of such a submission to suffering on the part of the unfortunate, but still amiable and interesting, widows of the East. And yet, surely, these are motives which do them honour, and which prove what excellent materials must exist in a society capable of producing such instances of self-devotion, for the construction of a better and happier community. For who is there among us that does not honour, with the highest distinction, the female penitent and devotee, who, rather than do that which should forfeit her the hope of heaven, would sacrifice her life, and all that she held at her disposal? Who is there among us that does not equally honour with our sympathy and our admiration, the young and affectionate widow, whose sorrow at the death of her husband and lord so surpasses all ordinary bounds, as to evince itself in paroxysms of grief that drive the unhappy victim sometimes to the verge of insanity, and leave her in such a state as will permit her to see nothing but perpetual gloom in the prospect of the future, so that if the sublime faith of Christianity had not taught her that self-destruction was a crime against the awful majesty of the Creator, she would be as much disposed as the Indian widow to sink at once into the grave that seems about to close upon the remains of all that the earth held dear in her estimation? Who, I may also ask, can there be among us, that does not equally honour the female, be she virgin, wife, or widow, whose strongest feeling, next to devotion, is her love of an unsullied reputation, who could not bear the thought of sustaining existence otherwise than honourably, and who would rather die a thousand deaths, than live to have the finger of scorn pointed at her as one who had outlived her untainted name? And shall all these be deemed *virtues* in Britain, and *vices* in Hindoostan? It is impossible. The motive is in both cases equally honourable; and the mis-direction of that motive in the case of the Indian widows, appears to me only to strengthen their claims on our sympathy and commiseration, as where so good a soil exists, the seed cannot be sown in vain.

The other abominable rite of which I shall now speak (for I confine myself to the two prominent ones, although there are a hundred that might be detailed), is the pilgrimage to Juggernaut. This is the name of an idol which is worshipped at a place called Pooree, on the sea-coast of Orissa, between Madras and Bengal, and to whose shrine pilgrimages are made from different parts of India. The lives annually sacrificed to this monstrous idol surpass all credibility; but it may be sufficient to say, that the approach to the temple is indicated, for fifty miles on all sides round, by the mangled and decaying carcases of those who have perished as his victims. Will it be believed that the East India Company, not content with remaining merely indifferent spectators of all these atrocities, which, of itself, would, I think, be sufficient to warrant their condemnation—absolutely make these horrid and revolting rites a source of pecuniary profit to themselves? Nay, more; not only do they receive all the revenues arising from fees and tribute paid to the idol, themselves defraying the costs of his maintenance, providing him with meat and drink and clothing, and keeping up a brothel, or establishment of courtezans and prostitutes, for the service of the priests! paying, therefore, the wages of sin and death, and placing the surplus among the unholy and polluted gains which swell their common treasury; but they go farther still, and, in order to augment these gains, they have organized a body of pilgrim-hunters, under the name of Pundas and Purharses, whose especial business it is to go abroad all over the country, and traverse it in every direction, in search of pilgrims,

for the purpose of bringing them in companies to Juggernaut. Lest the ordinary motive of superstition should be insufficient to induce these wretched emissaries to perform their tasks with proper zeal, the East India Company have superadded the motive of what, in this instance, may be truly called “base lucre;” for these pilgrim-hunters are actually paid, at a fixed rate per head, for every fresh victim they can bring! They accordingly extend their excursions for hundreds of miles from the bloody and revolting scene; and wherever they find a man who has a sufficient sum of money in his possession, the hard earnings, perhaps, of years of industry and frugality, they seize on him as their victim, persuade him to leave his wife and family, and go on a pilgrimage to Juggernaut. He quits his home, with the promise, perhaps, of a speedy return; but, alas! the hour for his recrossing the threshold of his cottage never arrives. He is led, by these delusive guides, to the idol and his car. In the expense of his journey, in fees to the India Company, and in the premium, or head-money, paid to his decoyers, every farthing will be exhausted. He enters the temple, and joins in the horrid din of its filthy and brutal uproar, comes out of it naked and penniless, and, before three days are passed over his head, perishes for want, in the very precincts of the temple, where thousands are annually expended in the grossest sensualities! and the whole plain, for fifty miles round in every direction, is literally whitened with the bones of the victims thus offered up as sacrifices to this most monstrous of all superstitions, or, should I not rather say, to its chief supporters and abettors—the bigotry and fanaticism of the Brahmins, and the heartlessness and avariciousness of the East India Company?

These things are so extraordinary, as well as so revolting, that I should have almost hesitated to put my own reputation for veracity in jeopardy, by even alluding to them at all, were I not speaking under the sanction of the highest and most unquestionable authorities. In a very copious and excellent Report of a Speech made at the East India House, only a year or two ago, by a Proprietor of East India Stock, Mr. Poynder; in a very valuable little volume, entitled “India’s Cries to British Humanity,” written by Mr. Peggs, an inhabitant of Coventry, who resided some time in India: in a still more recent work, entitled “Reflections on the Present State of British India,” published by Hurst and Chance, of London, in the present year, 1829; and in the various Parliamentary Papers that have been, from time to time, produced on this subject, all these facts are stated in detail, on the authority of men in the service of the East India Company itself, and in such a way as to render its accuracy and authenticity beyond all doubt.

And shall the Christians and philanthropists of Britain remain silent and inactive under such a state of things as this? It would be so deep a reproach to them to suppose it, that I will not, even for a moment, entertain the bare supposition. That to the existing government of India, with all its repeated professions of a readiness to assist in the spread of Christianity in the East, have no such wish really at heart, I could adduce a thousand proofs; but their supporting and profiting by such a superstition as this that I have just described, will, no doubt, be deemed sufficient. Let me add to this the fact, that the largest establishment of Missionaries now in India, those at Serampore, were obliged to plant themselves in this foreign settlement, (for it belongs to the Danes,) rather than in Calcutta, or any other spot under the dominion of the English; because, in the foreign settlement they were allowed perfect toleration, and the enjoyment of a free press; whereas, in the English settlement they could only be tolerated from day to day, with the liability to be transported at a moment’s warning, without trial or hearing of any kind whatever, and for any reason or no reason, as the Government need not condescend to give any to those whom they banish; besides being subject to a rigid censorship or control over the press, which gives to the India Company’s servants the same monopoly of religion as their masters enjoy of political power and trade; which, therefore, enables them to compel every writer to shape his opinions and expressions according to the Government standard of orthodoxy, (not allowing even Mohammed to be called a false prophet, though any Mohammedan in India may preach in any mosque of the country that Christ and his apostles were impostors): and which, if Christians should be sufficiently imbued with their Divine Master’s spirit, to love truth better than falsehood, and to speak plainly and honestly, whether those in authority liked such qualities or not, gives to those invested with rule in that country, power to suppress any publication they dislike; first

interrupting the public good it may be doing, and then inflicting ruin by the destruction of all the property of those who may be instrumental in doing it. The last law passed on that subject in India, the work of Mr. John Adam, during his brief and temporary rule of a few weeks only, but never yet repealed, gives the Government the power to prohibit, not merely the printing and publishing, but also the selling, distributing, or even lending for perusal, any book or paper whatever, whether printed in England or elsewhere, to which the Governor-General, in any fit of caprice or ill-humour, may happen to take a dislike!

This, Sirs, is the actual state of things in India at the present moment: and the monstrous and absurd pretence upon which it is attempted to be defended is, that if knowledge be spread among the natives of India, they will be alarmed at our intended interference with their superstitions, and this will lead them to rebel and expel us from the country. In such an assembly as this, I need hardly waste a moment in combatting so monstrous and untenable a position. We all know that increased knowledge produces increasing benefits; and as to the danger to be apprehended from any reasonable, persuasive, and legislative measures, to interfere with the superstitions of the natives, I need only refer you to the publications I have already named, to show you that in every case in which this has yet been done (and they are numerous) the change has been effected without a murmur; and that, according to the testimony and opinions of the best informed among the civil and military servants of the East India Company, whose evidence has been given on the subject, the two revolting practices that I have already described to you, the burning of human beings alive, and the sacrifice of victims at the shrine of Juggernaut, might be as easily abolished by a mere decree embodying the wish of the Government, as was the destruction of female infants in Guzerat, and the throwing children into the Ganges at Saugor.

But I will not detain you longer than to express my hope that the earnest attention with which you have listened to these details, may be an indication of that zeal with which you will follow up such measures as seem best to you for amending the existing state of things. In the circulation of the Scriptures where the people most need them, you are actuated by a desire to increase the temporal, and secure the eternal happiness of those to whom it is presented. In my humble, but not altogether different sphere, I am anxious to attain the same great ends, by other though not opposite means. In seeking to arouse the dormant spirit of this great and wealthy nation to a due sense of the importance of destroying the present, and substituting a better system of commercial and political government for India, I have really no personal motives whatever. I am neither a merchant, a ship-owner, nor a manufacturer; and as to pecuniary benefit, I know of none that I could derive from the adoption of my views respecting India to-morrow. But, as a philanthropist merely, without reference to any particular system of speculative belief, it is impossible not to feel an interest in the fate of a hundred millions of human beings, be they in what quarter of the globe they may. As a patriot, that interest becomes greatly increased by the consideration that these hundred millions are under British dominion. And, as a Christian, the interest rises still higher, by contrasting the advanced condition of those countries in which Christianity is most pure, with those in which it is still encumbered and disfigured with the grossest corruptions; and, therefore, I desire strongly to see the simple yet sublime precepts of the Gospel supplanting the degrading and demoralizing superstitions of Idolatry, in every portion of the habitable globe. I believe good political institutions and free commercial intercourse to be among the best pioneers in the cause of morality and true religion. Where the former are established, justice will hold her seat, and tranquillity and contentment be found; where the latter is permitted, knowledge will flow from a thousand different directions, and through a thousand different channels, and true, and holy, can retain their place in general estimation; and, believing that both your labours and mine will each, in their respective spheres, conduce, under the blessing of God, to this great end, I rejoice at the occasion which has now presented itself for our acting together in so holy a cause.

The close of this Speech was followed with loud and long-continued cheers from all parts of the assembly.—*York Herald.*

Plan, Object, and Improved Arrangement of Mr. Buckingham's Lectures on the Eastern World.

THE near approach of the period fixed by law for the termination of the existing Charter of the East India Company, and the important interests involved in the decision to which the Legislature of the country may come on that occasion, appeared to me to render it of the highest importance, that every city and town in the kingdom should be duly impressed with the share which they really have in the issue of this great question. It was, therefore, with a view to awaken more rapidly and more powerfully, the attention of the country at large to this momentous topic, that, at the beginning of the year 1829, I first undertook a personal tour through the provincial portions of Great Britain, in order to follow up, by *viva voce* appeals to their inhabitants, the impression previously, but still imperfectly made by the books and papers already written on the same subject. The superiority of this method of informing the understandings, and engaging the feelings of mankind, to every other mode, and especially to that of written treatises, is universally admitted; and, although the undertaking has been attended by very considerable sacrifices on my own part, (without making which I could not have left my home and my occupations in order to carry it into effect,) yet when I reflected on the magnitude of the interests involved in the choice, I could not hesitate for a moment, to follow the course I have chosen, from the conviction that by this personal Tour (which the relinquishment of all my most important engagements at home, could alone leave me at liberty to pursue), there is not merely a hope, but a certainty, of the India and China Trades being opened to the country, and a national benefit of millions obtained thereby; while, without such personal efforts, there is at least a strong probability that the existing Monopoly of the India Company would be renewed with very trifling relaxations, and much of the benefit to be reaped from its abolition postponed for perhaps another twenty years.

This opinion may appear to some so vain and groundless, that I may, I hope, be pardoned for stating the reasons which lead me to entertain it. They are these:—Throughout every part of the kingdom, I have found men of all classes from the highest to the lowest, so busily engrossed with the affairs and events by which they are immediately surrounded, that they have neither time nor inclination to attend to that which is remote. The humbler and middle classes of society have enough to do to struggle for subsistence; and the few richer classes are as much engrossed with their peculiar pursuits as their inferiors; and have still less inclination to turn aside to the investigation of any subject not promising immediate individual profit or personal pleasure. The very ignorance that thus prevails on all subjects connected with India, its Government, or Commerce, is an additional reason why all public discussion or private conversation on such topics is carefully avoided. The histories of India and Indian transactions are long and tedious. The Parliamentary Reports and Proceedings connected with India, are too voluminous to be read by the generality of public men, and too expensive to be easily accessible to private individuals. A debate on an Indian question, whether in the Lords or Commons, receives therefore less attention than one on any other subject, and popular writers for the public press are careful not to weary their readers with what they believe to be uncongenial to their tastes.

But, though this reasonable unwillingness on the part of the conductors of the public press to write much about India, and the equally natural indisposition on the part of the people to read much on the same topic, still exist; yet this reluctance does not manifest itself in an equal degree on the part of either, when the same matter is presented to them in another shape. It is for this reason that though it is very difficult to prevail on any individual to give even a

few shillings for a book, yet there is not the same unwillingness to pay an equal sum for the purchase of what he considers more animating and amusing—the oral information obtained at a public Lecture. And, supposing the book to be purchased, its perusal leaves a much fainter impression than hearing the same facts and arguments from the lips of a public speaker. Reading is also a solitary occupation, and the impression left by it dies away for want of sympathetic support, soon after the book is laid aside. But, when an assembly of several hundreds sit together in the same room, and any striking fact or powerful argument is adduced, which make a similar impression on the whole multitude, expressions of astonishment, or indignation, or applause, follow, and, like an electric spark, the feeling is communicated to all. The speaker is animated—the hearers re-echo the enthusiasm—the people become pledged in the sight and hearing of each other, to co-operate in one general cause—and the result is some immediate act, by which they execute, as it were, a common bond of union, to carry their determinations into execution, with spirit and effect.

It is in pursuance of this great object, that the following plan, which admits of progressive development, has, after much consideration, been decided on as best calculated to attain the end in view: namely, to commence with a popular description of the several countries which lie between England and India, and which are those portions of the Oriental World through which any traveller going to India by land would be most likely to pass. For, important and Indian Trade undoubtedly are, these alone would attract but very limited audiences, and especially if commenced abruptly, and without any preceding discourses. But, by the previous delineations of countries and manners, preliminary to, and in some degree connected with, the main object, and in a way that draws increasing audiences of all classes and of both sexes, the sympathies of the community are so gradually awakened, and so powerfully engaged, that, when the last of the Series comes to be delivered, the number of auditors is often five-fold; and their minds are so well prepared for the views to be maintained, that, in every instance that has yet occurred, the result has been the demonstration of unanimous and enthusiastic approbation of them, and the formation of East India Associations in every part of the country that I have yet visited for the purpose.

The result of my personal Tour has been everywhere indeed most gratifying; and the effect produced altogether unexampled. No Lectures, within the memory of any inhabitant, were ever attended by so many influential persons as those forming my Course in the several towns of England and Scotland; in addition to which, the subject of the India Monopoly became by this means the topic of conversation in every party and every family. There was not a single newspaper in the country that did not contain articles exposing its evils; and the public press and public mind of the kingdom were more strongly excited, more durably occupied, and more effectually enlisted against that Monopoly, than by any other means that could be devised, or than by the expenditure of £100,000 in money for that purpose. I can have no scruple in saying—because it is undeniably true—that all the progress made by the question in the past year, and it is very considerable, has arisen from my first visit to Liverpool in January last,—without which, no meeting, or petition, or deputation, would have gone from thence till the following year, if even then; and neither Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, nor Bristol, would have been roused, without the Lectures delivered in each; for at first *all* of them were cold, and were only brought into united and vigorous action by the impression originally made by these personal labours; so that to this also may be attributed the pledges of Ministers given in answer to the numerous Deputies that went to London soon after the delivery of these Lectures in the towns named, in consequence of which the progress of the question was hastened at least a year in date. The arrangement of these Lectures has been now so improved and modified

as to admit of several short Courses, of three Lectures only in each; but each complete in itself, and any portion of them capable of adaptation to the extent, population, and wealth of the inhabitants of the several towns in which they may be delivered, and so as to bring them, therefore, within the means of the middle, as well as of the upper classes, to attend.

The intention is to give any one or more of these Short Courses in every town, making the stay in each to depend entirely on the degree of interest evinced on the first visit; and to admit of an attendance on these being brought within the reach of all the educated classes of the kingdom, especially of the more respectable among the middle ranks of society, the terms have been reduced to HALF-A-CROWN for each separate Admission, (which is only half the original rate of charge), as being better adapted to the means of the great majority of the reading and enquiring portion of society.

This price will be uniformly adhered to in large Assembly Rooms, Music Halls, or other places not admitting separation of ranks; but in the event of the Lectures being delivered in a Theatre, which may sometimes be deemed desirable, the prices of admission to the separate divisions of the House will be exactly those which are established by usage in the town itself.

I can sincerely say that I should rejoice to be in a condition to make this question of expense a matter of no importance to myself. But the world are well aware of the manner in which I have been despoiled of the accumulated fortune which years of labour had been passed in acquiring; and as the East India Company, who might have restored the plunder committed on me by their servants abroad, but who have rejected every appeal made to them for redress, have now a still more powerful motive to wish for my destruction, and to assist in trampling me in the dust, I have only my own energies, and the support of the British Public to rely on, for carrying my object into effect;—and cannot, therefore, if I would, charge myself with all the burthen of its cost.

London, Jan. 1, 1830.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE.

To facilitate, to Families especially, the opportunity of judging for themselves how far the subject of these Lectures is likely to afford them any gratification,—an Introductory Address will be delivered, preparatory to the commencement of the particular Course determined on, to which each purchaser of a Single Ticket (2s. 6d.) will be permitted to introduce a Lady or Young Person *free*.—This privilege will apply to the Introductory Lecture only.

HEADS OF THE ADDRESS.

1. Original Inducements to undertake these extensive Travels in the East.
2. Route pursued from England, Costume, and mode of travelling adopted.
3. General Characteristics of the several Countries traversed in these journies.
4. Impressions created by their splendid Monumental Remains.
5. Contrast of their Present Degradation with their Ancient Glory.
6. Hopes and Resolutions inspired by every successive Country visited.
7. Arrival in India, and confirmation of these Impressions there.
8. Period accomplished for putting these Resolutions into effect.
9. Reasons for believing that Public Good will result from this Undertaking.
10. Precedents for this method of delivering Personal Narrative.
11. Herodotus—Thucydides—Marco Polo—Columbus—Raleigh—Bruce.
12. Recent Institution of Laborde in France for Travelling Education.
13. The Course of Science, Art, and Learning sprung from the East.
14. Opinion of Dr. Johnson as to the Interest of that portion of the Globe.
15. Moral Duty of the Western World to repay the Ancient Debt.
16. Peculiar Fitness of the present moment for such an undertaking.

DESCRIPTION OF EGYPT.

Lecture I.—Geography.

1. Singular Position of Egypt, compared with the rest of Africa.
2. Geographical Boundaries of the Valley—Extent and Ancient Population.
3. The River Nile—its Scriptural and Classical celebrity, and modern interest.
4. Abyssinian and African Sources—the Blue and the White Streams.
5. The Cataracts—the Delta—the Mouths and Deposits of the River.
6. The Inundation of the Nile—its causes, progress, and effects.
7. The Lakes Mæris, Menzaleh, and Mareotis of Antiquity.
8. Ancient Canal, connecting the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.
9. Circumnavigation of Africa in the time of the early Pharaohs.
10. Passage open for the splendid Gallies of the Queen Cleopatra.

Lecture II.—Climate and Productions.

1. General Temperature of Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter.
2. Prevalence of the Etesian Winds—their good and evil effects.
3. Total Absence of Rain, with Scriptural, Classical, and Monumental Proofs.
4. Wheat—Rice—Sugar—Indigo—Flax—Cotton—The Lotus, and the Rose.
5. The Buffalo—Hippopotamus—Jackall—Hyæna, and Domestic Ass.
6. The Flamingo—Ibis—Crane—Pigeon—Sturgeon, and Crocodile.
7. Practice of the Tentyrites, and recent decision of the Baron Cuvier.

Lecture III.—Ancient Cities of Lower Egypt.

1. Alexandria—Extent—Splendour—Streets—Edifices, and Remains
2. Canopus—its wonder-working Baths, and consequent popularity.
3. Sais—its superb Temple of Minerva, and Monolith of Amasis.
4. Tanis—the Scriptural Zoan—and Works of the Children of Israel.
5. Bubastis—its splendid Festivals—Mysteries, and Processions.
6. Heliopolis—the Land of Goshen—Pythagoras, and the Metempsychosis.
7. Memphis—the Royal Pyramids—their structure and destination.
8. The Colossal Sphynx—Catacombs, and Embalmed Cities of the Dead.

Lecture IV.—Splendid Monuments of Upper Egypt.

1. The Lake Mæris—its origin and object—First Holy Alliance of Kings.
2. The Labyrinth—its Pyramids—Chambers—Statues, and Gods.
3. Antinoë and Hermopolis—Contrast of Greek and Egyptian styles.
4. Abydos, the Buried City—Tentyra—its Zodiac and Remains.
5. Koum Ombos—Crocodilopolis—Silsilis, and the Chained River.
6. Esneh—Caverns of Eliethias—and Temple of Apollinopolis Magna.
7. Frontier of Philoë—Coptos—Berenice—and the Oases of Jupiter Ammon.
8. The Hundred-gated Thebes—its Temples—Tombs, and Memnon's vocal Statue.

Lecture V.—Chief Towns and Population.

1. Alexandria—Rosetta—Damietta—Boolac—and Grand Cairo.
2. Mosques—Baths—Bazaars—Squares—Castle—Palace—Mameluke Tombs.
3. Nilometer, or Mekias—its use and abuse for Stock Exchange frauds.
4. Turks—Georgians—Circassians—Abyssinians, and characteristics of each.
5. Greeks—Catholics—Armenians—Nestorians—and Jews.
6. Copts,—and their physiological traces of ancient Egyptian descent.

Lecture VI.—Religion, Manners, Government, and Trade.

1. Mohammedan Worship—Priests—Fasts—Festivals—Hospitals—and Alms.
2. Dress—Horsemanship—Recreations—Exercises—and Rural Retreats.
3. Female Seclusion—Almehs—Betrothlings—Marriages—Visits to the Bath.
4. Music—Singing—Poetry—Passions—and Modern Arabian Tales.
5. The Khalifs—Soldans—Mamelukes—and Military Beys.
6. History and Character of the present Viceroy, Mohammed Ali Pasha.
7. Recent Improvements in the Political State of Egypt—their causes and effects.

DESCRIPTION OF PALESTINE.

Lecture I.—Geography.

1. Extent and Boundaries of Syria and Palestine, West of the Jordan.
2. Sea Coast—Rivers' bounds—and Northern and Southern borders.
3. Lebanon—Hermon—Sion—Olives—Tabor—Carmel—Ebal and Gerizzim.
4. The River Jordan, its sources, course, termination, and character.
5. Arnon—Hieromax—Kishon—Belus—Lycus—Adonis—Eleutherus—Orontes.
6. Plains and vallies of Sharon, Samaria, Esdraelon, Galilee, and Judea.
7. The Sea of Tiberias, or Genessareth—The Lake Asphaltes, or the Sea of Death.

Lecture II.—Provinces, Climate, and Productions.

1. Palestine Proper—Phœnicia—Canaan—Hebron—Edom—and Judea.
2. Syria, its Northern division, and character of its Sea Coast and Interior.
3. Heshbon—Bashan—and Gilead—and the fertile Countries beyond Jordan.
4. The Decapolis—its Ten Cities—and unparalleled splendour as a Roman Colony.
5. The Hauran—the Land of Uz—the country of Job's residence and trials.
6. Varieties of Climate, Heat, Snow, and Dews—Minerals—Iron—Copper—Coal.
7. Vegetable Productions—Grain—Tobacco—Trees—Fruits—and Flowers.
8. The Leopard—the Fox—the Lion—the Dove—the Cuckoo—and Nightingale.

Lecture III.—Ancient Cities on this side Jordan.

1. Gaza—Askalon—Ashdod—Joppa—Cesarea—Accho—Ptolemais.
2. Tyre—Sidon—Sarepta—Berytus—Byblus—Geba—Botrus—and Tripolis.
3. Ximyra—Orthosia—Aradus—Gabal—Laodicea—Seleucia—Dana—Antioch.
4. Capernaum—Tiberias—Cesarea Philippi—Scythopolis—and Jericho.
5. Cana—Nain—Deborah—Endor—Samaria—Sichem—and Neapolis.
6. Arimathea—Antipatris—Bethany—Bethpage—and Bethsaida.
7. Nazareth and its ancient precipice—Bethlehem and its verdant meadows.
8. Jerusalem—the Temple of Solomon—Calvary, and the Tomb of Christ.

Lecture IV.—Ancient Cities beyond Jordan.

1. Sodom and Gomorrah—the means and traces of their destruction.
2. Machærus—Medaba—Amathus—Heshbon—Petra—and Karak Moab.
3. Ammon—Assalt—Adjeloon—their Fortresses and Scriptural Vallies.
4. Geraza—Gadara—Gamala—Dion—Pella—and Cities of the Decapolis.
5. Bozra—Salghud—their Strong Castles, and Ruined Town beyond them.
6. Soeda—Gunnawat—Nedjaraun—Shuhubah—and Ezra in the Hauran.
7. Baalbeck, or Heliopolis—its Phœnician, Greek, and Saracenic uses.
8. Emessa—Hamath—Apamea—and the Cities of the Plain.
9. Tadmor or Palmyra, its splendid Ruins, and the valuable truth they convey.

Lecture V.—Chief Towns of Modern Syria, and Palestine.

1. Jaffa—Acre—Soor—Saida—Bairoot—Jebal—Batrone—Tarabolous.
2. Tartooze—Jebel—Ladikea—Scanderoon or Alexandretta.
3. Ramlah—Tabareeah—Nassara—Beit Lahm—Sanhoor—and Nablous.
4. Antakea—its splendid scenery, and general Turkish character.
5. Aleppo—its European Factories, and effects of their Establishment.
6. Jerusalem—its walls and interior buildings, in their modern condition.
7. Damascus—and the unrivalled beauties of its Earthly Paradise.

Lecture VI.—Population, Religion, and Manners.

1. Turks—Arabs—Druses—Christians—Jews—and Neseereahs.
2. Dress—Manners—relative ranks of the several classes in Society.
3. Condition of Women, and degree of freedom enjoyed by them in the East.
4. Courtships—Marriages—Polygamy—Amusements—the Baths—Cemetries.
5. Singular Costume of Druse Females, and Scriptural Illustrations.
6. Consular Dignity of Levantine European Representatives at Court.
7. Rigid observance of the point of honor in the Levantine Ladies at Aleppo.

ARABIA.

Lecture I.—Geography, Climate, and Productions.

1. Peninsular form and Maritime boundaries of its Coasts.
2. Ancient Subdivisions—Arabia Deserta—Arabia Petrea, and Arabia Felix.
3. Modern Subdivisions—The Nedjed—The Hedjaz, and the Yemen.
4. Characteristic Peculiarities of each of these several Provinces.
5. The Red Sea—its Name and Character—Coral Reefs—Tides and Navigation
6. Excessive Heat—Poisonous Winds, and moving Sands of the Desert.
7. The Palm Tree and its Dates—Fruits—Gums, and Mountain Coffee.
8. The Camel—The Dromedary—The Horse—Quails, and Locusts.

Lecture II.—Antiquities and Modern Towns.

1. Ezion Geber—The Port from which Solomon traded to Tarshish and Ophir.
2. The Kaaba of Mecca—The Temple of the Sabaeans, or worshippers of the Stars.
3. Remains of an Egyptian Colony in the rocky defiles of the Stony Arabia.
4. Inscriptions on written Mountains, in the Desert of Wandering.
5. Horeb and Sinai, and the lost Hebrew character of the ancient Scriptures.
6. Leuke Komé—Myos Hormos—Arsinoë, and Berenice.
7. Sea Ports of Suez—Tor—Yambo—Jedda—Hodeida—Loheia—Mocha.
8. Aden—Muscat—Ras-el-Khyma—Tyros—Aradus—Pearl Island of Bahrein.
9. Derrya—Sana—and the Holy Cities of Medina and Mecca—Central Mart.

Lecture III.—Religion, Manners, &c.

1. Soones—Sheehas—Wahabees—Their character and present condition.
2. Unconquerable Independence of the Desert Tribes in their tented encampments.
3. Mode of travelling in squadrons of Horse and Camel Caravans.
4. Occupation of the several Members of a Desert Family in ordinary life.
5. Simplicity of all their habits, usages, and institutions.
6. Erroneous impressions as to their lust of plunder and revenge.
7. Exercise of Hospitality towards strangers, and protection even of enemies.
8. Trait of noble generosity in the conduct of two rival Arab Chiefs.

MESOPOTAMIA.

Lecture I.—Geography, Climate, and Productions.

1. Correspondence of the Greek, Arabic, and Indian Names of the Country.
2. Boundaries of the Land—Euphrates—Tigris—Taurus, and Korneh.
3. Characteristic differences of the two great Rivers named.
4. Seat of the Garden of Eden, or Paradise of our First Parents, Adam and Eve.
5. Plains of Shinar, Calneh, and Accad—and Mountains of Sinjar.
6. Climate—Minerals—Vegetables—The Lion, and the Wild Ass of the Desert.

Lecture II.—Ancient Cities and Monuments.

1. Bithra, and its ancient Fortress, commanding the Passage of the Euphrates.
2. Thapsacus, the Central Pass, crossed by Alexander of Macedon.
3. Ur of the Chaldees, the birth-place of Abraham the Patriarch.
4. Haran, the scene of Jacob's Dream and Servitude for love of Rachel.
5. Amida—Nisibeen—Dara—Arbela—Ctesiphon, and Seleucia.
6. Ruins of Nineveh—Journey of the Prophet Jonah—and Description of the City.
7. Babylon—Account of its Grandeur, from sacred and profane authorities.
8. Remains now existing of the Palace and Hanging Gardens of Semiramis.
9. Existing Ruins of the Tower of Babel, and ascent to its lofty summit.

Lecture III.—Chief Towns, Population, and Manners.

1. Beer—its terraced slopes, and halts of Caravans.
2. Orfah—its luxuriant Gardens—Mosque of the Patriarch, Abraham the Beloved.
3. Diarbekr, or the Black City, and surrounding country.
4. Mardin, a City on the Mountains—Gezireh on the River Tigris.
5. Moosul—and Bagdad—the great capital of the Arabian Khalifs.
6. Turks—Turcomans—Koords—Yezeedis, or Worshipers of Satan.
7. General Political Condition of the Remoter Provinces of the Turkish Empire.

PERSIA.

Lecture I.—Geography, Climate, and Productions.

1. Form and elevation—varied surface, and general character of the country.
2. Mount Zagros, Looristan, and the Pass of Alexander the Great.
3. Alwend and Ararat, the Mountain on which the Ark of Noah rested.
4. Irak—Khorassan—Soosiana—Farsistan, and Mazanderaun.
5. General Climate, and extreme variations of the thermometer in the same day.
6. Illustrations of ancient History continually offered by improved modern knowledge.
7. Copper—Lead—The Turquoise or Firouzi of the East.
8. The Persian or Turcoman Horse—Caravans of Mules, and their destination.
9. Gardens—Fruits—Melons—Grapes—Distilled Spirits, and Wine of Shiraz.

Lecture II.—Antiquities and Principal Cities.

1. Tauk-e-Bostan, or Arch of the Garden, an Oriental Virginia Water.
2. Ecbatana, the Capital of the old Median Empire—Funeral of Hephæstion.
3. Shushan, the Palace—the Scene of the History of Esther and Mordecai.
4. Persepolis, and the destruction of its Temple by Thais and Alexander the Great.
5. Pasargarda—The Tomb of Cyrus—Shapoor, and Sassanian Inscriptions.
6. Tabreez—Teheraun—Kermanshah—Hamadan—Herat—Yezd, and Kerman.
7. Bushire—Kauzeroon—Yezdikhaust—Julfa—and the splendid City of Ispahan.

Lecture III.—Population, Manners, Government, and Trade.

1. Persians—Sheeahs—Armenians—Jews of the Lost Tribes, and Fire Worshipers.
2. Dress—Personal appearance—Beards—Caps—attitudes and general carriage.
3. Rural Parties—Smoking—Drinking Bouts, and Festive Pleasures.
4. Language—Literature—Poetry—Music—Amatory Passions.
5. General Character of the Persians contrasted with other Orientals.
6. Political Position of Persia between Great Britain and her Eastern possessions.
7. Expected Division of the Empire, and facilities for invading India.
8. Ancient Wealth of Persia—Its Satrapies, and Trade by Balsora and Ormuz.

BRITISH INDIA.

Lecture I.—Geography and Productions.

1. Vastness of its Extent and Population—and gigantic scale of its Geography.
2. The Himalaya Mountains—The Ghauts—and the Nilgherries.
3. The Indus—Jumna—Nerbuddah—Kistna—Godavery—Ganges—Burumpooter.
4. The Coasts of Orissa—Coromandel—Guzerat—and Malabar.
5. Provinces—Punjab—Hindoostan—Bengal—Rajasthan—and the Deccan.
6. Climate—Minerals and Gems, the Ancient Productions of the Country.
7. Wheat—Rice—Sugar—Cotton—Indigo—Tobacco—Coffee—Opium—Fruits.
8. Lion—Tiger—Leopard—Dog—Jackall—Rhinceros—Boar—and Elephant.
9. Serpents—Storks—Forests—Celebrated Banian Tree of the Nerbuddah.

Lecture II.—Ancient and Modern Places.

1. Antiquities—Salsette—Elephanta—Ellora—Oojein—Taje Mubal—Dacca.
2. Cities—Delhi—Agra—Lucknow—Benares—Dacca—Poonah—Surat—Hyderabad.
3. Principal Foreign Settlements—Goa—Pondicherry—and Serampore.
4. Chief English Towns or Presidencies—Bombay—Madras—and Calcutta.
5. Varied Population—Proportions and general Character of each Class.

Lecture III.—Present General Condition.

1. Religions—Hindoos—Mohamedans—Christians—Parsees—and Pariahs.
2. Manners—Dress—Food—Languages—Marriages—Nautches—Music.
3. Character—Superstition—Duplicity—Docility—Timidity—Fidelity.
4. Government—Native Rulers—English Stewards—Financial System.
5. Character, Manners, and Habits of the leading English Families in India.

EVILS OF THE EAST INDIA MONOPOLY.

Lecture I.—The India Company.

1. Events that first led to the formation of an English East India Company.
2. Avowed object of the Legislature in granting the original Charter.
3. Means by which the Territorial acquisitions in India have been obtained.
4. Repeated renewals of their Charter at fixed periods, and on what grounds.
5. Limitation of Dividends by Parliament—Its object and effect.
6. Constitution of the East India Company theoretically imperfect.
7. Radical System—Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, & Election by ballot.
8. Announcements of the Directors, and manner of their election.
9. Total absence of all interest in the general welfare of the Country.
10. Patronage the only end, aim, and reward of all their labours.
11. Refined methods of bribery, without violating the letter of the law.
12. Practical consequences of mismanagement—Enormous increase of Debt.
13. Motive for still increasing rather than diminishing the burthen.
14. Absence of all improvement in the condition of the Indian Estate.
15. Wretchedness of the population from excessive taxation.
16. Superstitions of the Natives encouraged, and made a source of gain.

Lecture II.—Commerce with India.

1. Early Attempt of the East India Company to obtain Settlements in China.
2. Trade in Tea, originally insignificant, but now greatly augmented.
3. Profits on this, the sole present source of gain to the India Company.
4. Consequent jealousy against any portion of it being enjoyed by others.
5. Effect of this Monopoly, to inflict a heavy tax on one of the necessities of life.
6. Profits not so great to the Company as to the Free Trader, from Extravagance.
7. Present Stagnation of Trade in England, arising from over-production.
8. Vast population of China, and active and consuming character of the people.
9. Reduction in the price of Tea would lead to increased consumption here.
10. Manufactured goods of every kind and description would be received in payment.
11. Trade now carried on by the Americans from China to the Eastern Archipelago.
12. Merchants, Manufacturers, Shipowners, and all other classes injured by this.
13. Reasons assigned by the India Company in favour of their China Monopoly.
14. Assumed necessity of existence, and claim of large gains to repair losses.
15. Imputed inferiority of character in English seamen to that of Foreigners.
16. Apprehension for the health of his Majesty's subjects, and for the Revenue.
17. Consequences of the Monopoly to degrade the English flag and character.

Lecture III.—Colonization of India.

1. Contrast between the state of America, New South Wales, and India.
2. Reasons why English settlers have produced such opposite effects.
3. Enumeration of the difficulties under which the English in India labour.
4. The arguments used by the East India Company against Colonization.
5. Proofs of benefit from experiments tried, in Tirhoot, Saugor, and Malabar.
6. Pretences on which they defer any interference with Native Superstitions.
7. Life, Character, and Writings of the Bramin, Ram Mohun Roy.
8. Examples of successful interference in abolishing Human Sacrifices in India.
9. Prevalence of a desire among the Natives to possess British Manufactures.
10. Continually increasing Imitation of English Habits by wealthy Hindoos.
11. Limitation to the amount of Exports by the rude condition of articles of Import.
12. Predictions of Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munro, and similar Prophets.
13. Condition of England when forming a Roman Colony, an example for India.
14. Proclamation for the seizure of Englishmen found trading in the interior.
15. Miserable pretence of advances towards a more liberal system.
16. Duty of all classes to unite in opposing the renewal of the Charter.

PROPOSED NEW SYSTEM FOR INDIA.

Lecture I.—Future Government of the Country.

1. Deep Interest of the Public at large in the decision of this Question.
2. Declaration of the Sovereignty of India in the King of Great Britain.
3. Appointment of a Viceroy, with full powers and responsibility.
4. Assistance of a Representative Council, of English and Natives.
5. Declaration of Proprietary Right in the Soil to belong to Individuals only.
6. Sources of future Revenue, in taxes on property, income, or rank.
7. Inconvenience and Injustice of indirect taxes on commodities.
8. Organization of the Indian Army—order of service and promotion.
9. Efficiency of Regiments, and provision for a Staff Corps.
10. Constitution of the Civil Service, to include Revenue and Diplomatic officers.
11. Establishment of a separate Judicial branch of public servants.
12. Defects of the present system of administering Justice.
13. Formation of a perfect Code, suited to all the religions of the world.
14. Introduction of the English Language as the universal public or official tongue.
15. Establishment of Public Schools for the education of all our Indian subjects.
16. Economy and efficiency of Instruction, as a security for loyalty and peace.

Lecture II.—Qualifications of Public Functionaries.

1. The Question of India Patronage as at present exercised, considered.
2. Consequences of transferring it to the Minister or the Crown.
3. Lord Grenville's proposed mode of selecting Candidates for office.
4. Beneficial effect of such a stimulus on England as well as on India.
5. Public Examination of Candidates reported as qualified.
6. Subsequent Education to be pursued by each, from sixteen to twenty.
7. Final Examination at twenty, previous to receiving appointment.
8. Employment of two years in finishing Education, by Travel in Britain.
9. Completion of probation, by a journey of two years on the Continent of Europe.
10. Journey to India, through Turkey, Asia Minor, and Persia, by land.
11. Superior advantages of this mode of preparation over that now in use.
12. Objections as to time and expense of process, answered.
13. Age of arrival and entry on public duties in India, twenty-five.
14. Standard of selection to first appointments,—fitness and merit.
15. Advantages to be given to the husbands of English wives, and why?
16. Subsequent promotion, by gradation in the line of service.
17. No removal from the Service but by verdict of a Jury.
18. Rewards for meritorious conduct, by landed estates in India.

Lecture III.—Beneficial Effects of the New System.

1. Simplification of the Political Government,—consequent intelligibility of its acts.
2. Exercise of Public Opinion on the conduct of public men.
3. Speedy Administration of Justice, in a cheap and an intelligible form.
4. Extended cultivation of immense tracts of land, now lying waste.
5. Improvement of Cotton, Sugar, Silk, and every other article of Indian produce.
6. Discovery of new articles of Commerce, mineral and vegetable.
7. Steam communication on the Rivers, especially in towing.
8. Building of Inns, Dwellings, Bridges, Canals, and other public works.
9. Daily spread of European taste, by the influence of example.
10. Organization of Militias and Magistracies for internal police.
11. Establishment of Scientific Societies, Public Journals, and Schools of Art.
12. Increased wealth of the country, by increase of intelligence.
13. Augmented consumption of every description of English goods.
14. Opening of China, Japan, and the Eastern Archipelago to civilization.
15. Employment for our increasing surplus educated classes of society.
16. Duties of Mother Countries to their Colonial Offspring.

of these islands was sent, for the most part, to India for re-exportation, a direct intercourse between these countries and Europe being hardly established—amounted to no more than 1,527,729*l*. In 1826-27, after the Dutch had resumed the possession of their colonies, and a total revolution in all these circumstances had been long effected, the trade still amounted to 1,686,701*l*. Even the British intercourse with China, in so far as it is free, has been benefited by the indirect influence of the Free Trade. In 1814-15 the total value of the export and import trade between British India and China was but 2,573,940*l*.; in 1826-27 it had risen to 3,764,404*l*. This rise may be contrasted with the stationary, or nearly stationary, condition of the trade of the East India Company with China, the whole amount of which, Indian and European, in 1814-15, was 3,398,944*l*., and in 1827-28 but 3,588,911*l*., although in the last case, and not in the first, the cargoes to the Cape, St. Helena, and the Canadas are included.

But a few detailed particulars of the Indian commerce may be of value, as a matter of illustration. In 1814, the East India Company exported cotton goods of all descriptions, to the official value of 16,252*l*.; in the same year the private traders exported to the value of 74,673*l*. In 1828, the declared value of cotton manufactures exported to India was 2,059,373*l*. of which the Company's proportion was 20,268*l*. In 1814 the number of yards of cotton cloth exported was 812,208, and of cotton twist 8 lb. In 1828 the number of yards of cotton cloth was 44,284,776*l*., and of twist 4,648,225 lb. Of the first, the proportion of the Company was 306,000, and the second 90,040 lb. The result may be shortly summed up. Through the activity and enterprise of the Free Trade, the quantity of cotton piece goods had been increased in fourteen years, in a proportion of more than fifty-fold, and cotton twist, from a trifle in quantity and value not worth naming, had reached the large amount of between four and five millions of pounds weight, and the value of near 400,000*l*. per annum.

In 1814, the total value of woollens exported to India, including China, was 1,084,435*l*., of which the East India Company exported to the value of 1,064,222*l*., and the Free Trader only to that of 20,213*l*. In 1828, the total exports amounted to 898,757*l*., or had fallen off by 17 per cent. The cause of the phenomenon is of easy explanation. The East India Company maintains a rigid monopoly of the woollen trade in China, the principal market for woollens, and which, even at the reduced consumption now quoted, took off 618,412*l*. worth of the whole quantity exported. The total exports of the article by the East India Company in 1828, amounted, for India and China together, to no more than 622,775*l*., or had fallen off in fourteen years by more than 41 per cent. The exports of the Free Traders to India alone amounted in the same year to the value of 276,821*l*., or had sustained a thirteen-fold increase. In respect to China, however, it must not escape our attention, that that market, which the East India Company appears incompetent to supply with British woollens, and which the British trader is expressly precluded from supplying, is in course of being amply supplied through the subjects of the United States of America, from our own ports. They engaged in this trade, for the first time, in 1818, when the quantity exported was a trifle hardly worth naming. During the three years ending 1826-27, they imported British woollens into Canton, according to the statement laid by the East India Company itself before Parliament during last session, to the value of 1,678,442 dollars, or at the annual rate of 559,480 dollars. A remarkable fact connected with this commerce is, that while in every other article of their trade with China there has, for some years, and for obvious reasons,* been a decline, in this alone there has been a rapid increase. After such statements as these, it would be quite superfluous to insist that the interests of the wool grower, the woollen manufacturer, the shipowner, and the merchant, are all deeply and equally concerned in opening to British enterprise a free commercial intercourse with China.

The facts connected with the exportation of the metals are strikingly conclusive of the advantages which have resulted from the opening of the India Trade. Under the close monopoly, the only metals exported to India and China were iron, copper, tin, and lead. To these the Free Trader has added brass, spelter, and quicksilver. In 1814, the total quantity of metals exported to India was 14,334 tons, and the total value 494,970*l*. Of this, the East India Company exported 9813 tons, value 374,583*l*.; and the Free Trader only 4520 tons, value 120,387*l*. In 1827, the total quantity exported rose to 34,093 tons, and the value to 768,985*l*. Of this quantity, the East India Company exported only 8512, and the Free Trader 25,580 tons.

We shall particularly advert to two of these metals only, viz., copper and spelter, because there are circumstances relating to their exportation too remarkable to be passed over. By the

* The supplying Canada with tea, by the East India Company, to the extent of above two millions of pounds per annum, has reduced the imports of that article, by the United States, from whence the supply was previously drawn, to a similar amount; and the protecting duties in favour of their own shipping, France and the Netherlands, have caused a still greater falling off in the trade of the Americans. The natural influence of these circumstances on their export trade will be readily perceived.

last Charter of the East India Company they were compelled to export, or to allow others to export, British copper to the extent of 1,500 tons a-year. In 1814, the whole quantity of copper exported to India and China was 1,881 tons; of this, the East India Company exported 1,505 tons, and the Free Traders but 376 tons. In 1827, the quantity exported was 2,613 tons, an increase of 38 per cent. The East India Company now exported only 168 tons, or about a ninth part of what they had exported thirteen years before; the Free Trader exported 2,445 tons, or between six and seven-fold more than he had done in the commencement of his trade. The quantity of copper furnished to China by the East India Company, out of the 2,612 tons above-mentioned, (but in which, however, is included brass and manufactures of the two metals,) was 23 tons 14 cwt. The Free Trader, it will be seen from the statement now given, exported of his own free choice, and while excluded from the market of China, now given, beyond the quantity exported by the East India Company under the compulsion of an Act of Parliament; the East India Company, when relieved from complying with the statute, has exported scarcely more than one-ninth part of what it had done under legislative compulsion. The consumption of spelter in India has also been large. About 50,000*l*. worth of spelter, under the name of *tutenague*, used to be imported into India from China, whence it was smuggled. In 214 years, the East India Company did not discover that *tutenague* and spelter were one and the same metal; but the Free Trader soon did, and *tutenague* is now one of the most valuable of our exports to India. It was exported for the first time to India in 1820, when the amount was no more than 21 tons, and the declared value 756*l*. In the six years ending 1828, spelter was exported from this country to the amount of 36,802 tons, and to the value of 745,028*l*.*

After statements so unanswerable as these, it would be a waste of time to insist further upon the eminent success which, in every branch of industry connected with it, has followed the limited opening to the India trade given by the Legislature in 1814, nor is it necessary to point out, that the rates of land rise with the increase of trade. The fact is, indeed, unquestionable; and it is no less clear, that every class of the community is benefited by what ever increases the interchange of commodities. With India, and even with China, we need no reciprocity of treaties; the matter is entirely in our own hands.

There is no assignable limit to the extension of our commerce with the Eastern World, provided that men be left free to pursue their own interest in their own way. No man, especially since the unequivocal and unbiassed testimony of Bishop Heber, now believes the fallacies of those who described the Hindoos as uninfluenced by the motives or divested of the appetites and passions of the rest of our race. The great majority eat meat when they can get it, and, like their neighbours, all delight in a cheap bargain; hence they want English goods, and, to obtain them, will joyfully labour to produce equivalents for exchange. They have sugar, coffee, cotton, raw silk, indigo, and many other commodities which we want; all of which they can produce as cheap as they are produced elsewhere; but with the exception of indigo, the produce of their soil and labour is of inferior quality; and this brings us to the consideration of the benefits to be derived from a free personal intercourse of Englishmen with the natives of our eastern possessions.

The regulation which prevents Englishmen from possessing a property in the soil of India, has been lauded as a magnanimous instance of self-denial; but its impolicy cannot fail to strike those unaccustomed to examine the ties which bind together individuals or nations.

That which was intended to protect the natives of India from the cupidity and ambition of British adventurers, by precluding the alienation of the fee simple of their soil, has, by obstructing the accumulation of capital, and of the diffusion of wealth and of knowledge, and by prohibiting a social intercourse with individuals of a skilful and industrious race, deprived the Hindoos of one of the best means of raising themselves from the miserable condition into which they were thrown by the perpetual wars which preceded the establishment of British rule, and in which they are retained principally by the grinding taxation of the East India Company.

This subject is much misunderstood, and has been grievously misrepresented. The term *colonization*, as applied to the permission to Englishmen to settle in India, is altogether incorrect; for the climate of the most productive parts of the country must for ever prevent the intrusion of the English labourer on its soil, if he were not deterred from the attempt by the low rate of wages, which do not exceed 3*d*. per day. Men of character and enterprise would in general be the only settlers; and such, instead of being the rivals of the Indian peasant, would be customers for his labour, and tend to raise his wages. But the greatest advantage to this country would be that these settlers, along with natives of enterprise and intelligence

* For more minute information on these important subjects, reference may be had to a valuable pamphlet, entitled "Free Trade and Colonization of India."—Ridgway, London. E. and J. Smith, Liverpool.

who followed their example, would become the depositories of its surplus capital, which would thus find that secure and profitable employment in the land and labour of India, which it is the great evil of the present day that it seeks in vain at home.

This is not mere speculative reasoning; it is the result of experience: we will illustrate it by the facts connected with the culture of indigo. About forty-five years ago, the cultivation and manufacture of this plant was entirely in the hands of the natives, and it was so inferior to that of South America, that it was unfit for the European market. About this time circumstances permitted its manufacture to be pursued by Europeans, and the results are, that about four-fifths of the consumption of Europe, Asia, and America are now supplied by good Indian indigo, which is considered about $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. better than that of South America; and it is the only article of the staples of India before referred to, which bears a higher price in the home market than similar articles from other quarters. Of three hundred and nine manufactories of indigo for exportation in Bengal, thirty-seven only are conducted by natives, and even the indigo prepared by them, in imitation of the European process, is still 15 per cent. lower in value than that manufactured by the Europeans. The average yearly quantity of indigo produced in British India is from 8,500,000 lbs. to 9,000,000 lbs., worth from 2,700,000*l.* to 3,300,000*l.* On the average of the four years ending 1828 the total yearly consumption of Great Britain was 2,421,879 lbs., of which one-eleventh only was South American indigo, the whole of the rest being East Indian. These results have been effected by European capital, skill, and industry, in spite of the prohibition to hold lands, or take security on lands,—of a tax equal (on its original estimate) to half the gross produce of the soil imposed upon those who hold it,—of the precarious footing on which Europeans stand who live beyond the protection of the King's Courts,—of the imperfect administration of justice in the interior,—and of the bias of the Government and its agents against all the private enterprises of Englishmen.

Cotton, sugar, and tobacco, are still in the condition in which indigo was before its culture and manufacture were undertaken by Europeans; and with these articles, like causes would produce similar effects. The soil and climate are congenial to their growth, but they languish for want of capital and skill. East India cotton, of the best sort, is inferior in value in the home market to the worst of any other country in which the skill and industry of the European race is exercised. East India sugar bears a lower price, exclusive of duty, in the home market, than any other; yet the cane is indigenous to India, and it is in evidence before a Committee of the House of Lords, that the inferiority of the sugar is solely attributable to want of intelligence and attention in the cultivation, and of skill and machinery in the manufacture, which Europeans can at once supply, but which ages may not suffice to produce in the natives of a country circumstanced as India is, without sufficient capital or good example.

Tobacco illustrates the truth of these remarks more strikingly than either cotton or sugar. The average quality of American tobacco is above 150 per cent., the finest 500 per cent. better than the best Indian tobacco brought to London. This inferiority is not owing to the soil or climate. Tobacco is a hardy plant, of a range in its growth of at least 50 degrees on each side of the equator; capital, skill, and industry are alone wanted to make that of India compete with that of America. Why, then, it may be asked, have not Europeans in India betaken themselves to the production of tobacco, cotton, sugar, &c., as well as of indigo? The answer is, in general terms, because they are few in number, and the cultivation of indigo occupies all the capital they can command, and affords the most favourable investment. The introduction of the coffee-plant into Bengal, in 1823, is another example of the effects produced by the industry and enterprise of Europeans, a few of whom, encouraged by the permission to hold lands on lease for this purpose only, began the cultivation of coffee in the year above-named, and have produced small quantities of excellent quality; but that it should have been scarcely cultivated at all in the East India Company's territories till that period, is a striking instance of the supineness of the Company's rule.

We do not consider this to be the place in which to refute all the objections which are urged against the views we are endeavouring to elucidate; but there is one to which peculiar importance is attached and to which, therefore, we advert, for the purpose of showing how unanswerably it may be refuted.

It is alleged that the possession of lands in India by Englishmen (under permission to purchase) would be extensive, and would prove so galling to the Natives, that it would provoke them to expel us. The Mahometan conquerors of India, who were a small minority, held possessions by a right which violated justice, yet there were few insurrections against their authority, and not one case of successful rebellion in the course of seven centuries; and will a right, which is obtained by the transfer of its equivalent with the free consent of the seller, be more likely to excite hostility? Are the manners of Englishmen less to be endured than those of a fierce, uncivilized race—a race whose members are the professors of a perse-

cuting religious creed? We pay a humane respect to the religious prejudices of the Hindoos; the Moslems cursed them to their face, and the humiliated believer in the nine incarnations of Vishnu answered not again. What, then, was the chief support of the Mahometan power? Their successive emigrations and settlement in India, which, after all, did not bring that people to more than about one-seventh of the whole population; but, as intruders in the occupancy of the soil, they far exceeded in number what centuries can make the English settlers.

Let this question then be answered: is the dominion of the East India Company, which excludes from offices of trust, emolument, and honour, the native possessors of rank and wealth; which monopolizes the trade in necessities of life, and in staple articles of commerce; which bows down to the earth which he tills, by a rigorous exaction of taxes, the wretched cultivator,—the descendant of those who were once the proprietors of the soil?—Is this tyrannous rule, which combines at once the stern, unpitying character of a despot with the avaricious meanness of a usurer,—is this rule, we ask, so attractive in its nature, and so beneficial to those subjected to it, that their obedience and attachment may be securely relied on? Is the patience of the Hindoo, who bears this rule without murmuring, likely to be disturbed by a few hundred strangers scattered amongst the millions of India, and whose pursuits would rather have a beneficial influence in stimulating the energies and raising the moral worth of the Hindoo character? This question must be answered by the people of Great Britain, as citizens of a free state, but, above all, as freemen whom "the truth has made free." We call upon our countrymen to cast from their minds the absurd dogmas, which the advocates of a pernicious policy have so unblushingly proclaimed, and the sophistries which interested men have so insidiously disseminated; we call on them to exercise their own understandings on a matter which involves not less their own individual interests than the welfare of millions of their brethren; to convey to Parliament the firm and temperate expression of their conviction that the misrule of India must cease; that the humiliating exclusion of British merchants, from markets where those of every other nation have free admittance, must be taken off; that the narrow channel to which British commerce with her Eastern possessions has hitherto been confined, must be thrown open, and its stream suffered to flow unimpeded, bringing increased prosperity and happiness, both to the people of Britain and to their fellow-subjects in Hindostan.

By Order of the Committee,

THOMAS LANGTON, Secretary.

REPORT

ON THE FUNDS AND FINANCES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY,

Presented to the Liverpool General Committee on the East India and China Trade.

The Sub-Committee, appointed to inquire into the state of the Funds and Finances of the East India Company, territorial and commercial, with the view to show their bearing on the question of the probability of an immediate opening of the China Trade being obtainable by compromise with the Company, and at what price to the country, have now to report the result of their investigation. They find, from the accounts presented to Parliament by the Court of Directors, and printed by order of the House of Commons,—

I. That the gross Territorial Revenue of India for the year ending 1st of May, 1827, was	£23,383,497
That for the year ending 1st of May, 1814, the last year under the old Charter, it was	17,267,901
That the Revenue therefore had increased, owing to the accessions of territory acquired during these thirteen years	6,115,596
II. That on the 1st of May, 1827, the Register Debt in India, bearing interest amounted to	34,796,835
That a debt, due from the Territorial to the Commercial Branch, had grown up under the new Charter, including interest of	5,260,650
That there is also a debt, entitled the Home Bond Debt, the origin of which has not been investigated, but which the Court of Directors represent to have been incurred for political purposes chiefly bearing interest and amounting to	3,780,475
at the total debt bearing interest was, therefore, on the 1st of May, 1827	43,837,960

That on the 1st of May, 1814, the Register Debt in India, bearing interest, was	26,959,455	
And the Home Bond Debt, at the same time	7,559,098	
		34,518,553
That the Territorial Debt has, therefore, increased, between the 1st of May, 1814, and 1st May, 1827		9,308,107
III. That in eight years out of thirteen, there has been a net surplus revenue, after defraying the ordinary expenses of the Government, and paying the interest on the Register Debt in India, amounting altogether to	10,264,386	
That in five of the thirteen years, the revenue has fallen short of meeting the same charges, and that the deficiencies amount to	4,928,868	
Leaving for the whole period a net surplus of	5,335,518	
IV. That the Company, in these thirteen years, have paid dividends to the Proprietors of East India Stock, to the amount of	8,190,000	
That it has further paid, out of the Commercial profits, in interest on the Home Bond Debt	2,333,162	
And that there have been advanced or set apart from the surplus commercial profits, towards the liquidation of the Indian Territorial Debt, under the fourth head of appropriation of 53 Geo. III. sec. 57, between the 1st of May, 1814, and 1st of May, 1827*	4,755,027	
That thus the net profits of the Company in these thirteen years amount to	15,278,187	
V. That their Commercial Assets in England amounted, on the 1st of May, 1827, to	15,691,915	
And those in India, at the same date, to	2,714,124	
Together		18,406,039
And that the said Assets, with a view to show the probability of their being more or less fully realizable, and in what time, may be arranged under the following heads, viz. :—		
Debt from the public, payable on the expiration of the Charter, stock in the Funds taken at market prices, cash and bills, balances in the hands of the servants of the Company, advances repayable in England, and amount of goods sold, but not yet paid for, in England and India	5,688,073	
Deduct all Debts due by the Company in England and India	2,413,883	
There remain Assets almost immediately realizable	3,274,190	
Debt from Territory to Commerce, on which interest is immediately payable	5,260,650	
Value of goods unsold in England and India, with those on the passage, and in the course of shipment	8,396,602	
Stores in India, ships, India House, and warehouses	1,474,597	
Net Commercial Assets on the 1st of May, 1827		18,406,039

In presenting these statements, we venture to offer a few remarks on the subject, with reference to which they were prepared; but, as the partial measure of opening the China trade to the public (the other privileges of the Company remaining *in statu quo*) would lead into complicated details, we confine our remarks to the more comprehensive, but more simple question of the entire cessation of the Company's privileges; satisfied, if it can be shown, as we think it can, that the Proprietors of East India Stock would sustain no real injury, present or future, by the measure, that it ought not, in any quarter, to experience insuperable obstacles.

In the inquiry, how the interests of the Proprietors would be affected by the non-renewal of their charter, or by the earlier cessation of their exclusive privileges, the first question that arises is—what grounds have they to expect that, in such cases their present rate of dividends will remain to them?

The first and best of these grounds is, that they themselves are in possession of assets, which, if realized to the extent of their balance sheet (and they are too old merchants not to make a safe estimate) would at once give them the full market value of their stock, or purchase Government Annuities equal in amount to their dividends. But admitting that the assets would not realize within 10 per cent. of their stated value; that, during the process of winding up the concern, two years' dividends would have to be paid out of the assets, and that many old servants would be thrown out of bread by the discontinuance of their commerce, whom it would be necessary to pension off, there would still remain the means of providing

* It is not clear, from the manner in which the accounts are given, whether this sum is *inclusive* or *exclusive* of the interest on the Home Bond Debt; if the former, this sum is the net surplus profit after payment of the dividends in thirteen years, but if the latter, which is here assumed, that surplus will be 7,988,189*l.*, the amount of this and the preceding sum.

the amount of the dividends, or if there were a deficiency, it would, at most, be inconsiderable.

The second ground is, that the Legislature, by the Act of 53 George III., section 58, has secured, during the continuance of the Act, their dividends to the proprietors; enacting, that should the commercial profits in any year prove insufficient, the deficiency shall be made good out of any surplus revenue that may have arisen from the territory in the preceding year; thus conceding the justness of the claim, as far as the Indian revenue of the preceding year suffices to meet it.

The third ground is, that the 57th section of the above recited Act does not allow the dividends to the proprietors to be increased beyond their present rate, whatever the profits of their commerce may be, but directs the surplus of that profit to be applied to the liquidation of the territorial debt. In conformity to this provision, the Company state, that they have so applied 4,755,027*l.*, between the 1st of May, 1814, and 1st of May, 1827.

The Company has had no occasion during this period to avail itself of the recourse to the surplus territorial revenue to eke out the dividends; and the appropriation of so large an amount from its profits, in aid of the territory, appears to give it a claim to reciprocal assistance in case of need.

The first of these grounds is, however, the only one on which the proprietors are entitled to build; the two latter are more plausible than just: the object of the two clauses of the Charter Act of 1813, giving a recourse to the surplus territorial revenue of India of the preceding year to make up the dividends, if the commercial profits should fall short,—and directing all profits, above the amount of the dividends, to be applied in reduction of the territorial debt of India,—is, manifestly, to guard the proprietors, in some measure, against those fluctuations in the rate of their dividends to which they had in former times been always subject,—and to limit that rate to its present scale as a maximum; but in no wise to pledge the Government or the revenues, of either England or India, for the permanency of the rate, or even for the existence of the dividend; for, with all the advantages and protection of the monopoly, abused as we have reason to believe it to be, there were one or more years under the former charter, when, instead of profit, the Company sustained heavy losses, on a balance of their trade; and in five of the first thirteen years of the present charter, the territorial revenues have fallen short of meeting the charges on them. Should these circumstances occur again, and in the same year, (in which supposition there is nothing improbable) the proprietors must either go without dividends, or take them out of their capital stock, unless, indeed, they could induce Parliament to relieve them at the expense of the people of England or of India. As to the claim which the proprietors might rest on the appropriation of part of the profits of their trade in liquidation of the Indian territorial debt, its futility will be apparent, if it be considered that the proprietors can derive no benefit from these profits beyond rent, if their dividends, amounting, in the thirteen years to which this inquiry is limited, to 8,190,000*l.*; their dividends, amounting, in the thirteen years to which this inquiry is limited, to 8,190,000*l.*; and that the surplus of the net profits, 7,088,189*l.*, has been applied in liquidation of principal and interest of the Indian territorial debt. Now, as the people of this country are barely able to provide for the payment of the interest of their own heavy debt, it cannot have been in the contemplation of a wise and paternal Legislature, the guardians of the public purse, that the profits on the East India Company's trade should much exceed the amount of the dividends; and the surplus, if expected to be of more than trivial amount, would have been directed to be applied, it cannot be doubted, in liquidation, not of the territorial debt of India, but of the territorial debt of this country, from the inhabitants of which this surplus has been exacted, in prices of tea unnecessarily exorbitant. The above surplus profit of 7,088,189*l.*, in thirteen years is, however, no measure of the exorbitancy of the Company's tea prices. Their mode of conducting this trade is well known to be wasteful and extravagant in no common degree; and the difference in expense between this management and that of the economical footing on which the Free Trade could import teas, enhances uselessly and unnecessarily, the prices of the article to the British consumer. But we must not stop here: in every other branch of their trade the East India Company have to sustain a competition with the Free Traders of this country, of the Continent of Europe, and of the United States. In contending with the economical management and moderate profits of these, it is no matter of surprise that loss to the Company is the invariable result; but it is serious matter of complaint that these losses have to be covered by a further enhancement of the price of tea.

But though the proprietors have no claim of right to have the permanence and present rate of their dividends guaranteed to them, yet, in the event of their consenting to an immediate surrender of their exclusive privileges, there would most probably be no objection raised in any quarter to giving them in return the security in question; and this point being secured, what difference can it make to them whether the charter should terminate to-morrow or a century hence?

To this it may be replied, that the proprietors have a remote contingent interest in the net surplus revenue of India, one-sixth part of which, by the 69th clause of the before-mentioned Act of 53 Geo. III., shall, from time to time, be allotted to them, for their own use and benefit, the Company having previously, from their joint commercial and territorial surplus revenues, reduced the debt to 13,000,000*l.*; or, in other words, till they have paid off 30,837,960*l.* of debt, and have further paid into the Exchequer a sum* of 12,000,000*l.*, to be termed the Guarantee Fund, in all 42,837,960*l.*

It would be extravagant to expect seriously, that such preliminaries can ever be performed. Every war which has occurred in India for the last thirty years has terminated successfully; every war has brought an accession of territory and an accession of revenue, but also an increase of debt. It would be the height of folly and presumption to calculate on the same unvaried success in war, or on the continuance of peace for such a series of years, as to allow of the supposition that the 42,837,960*l.*, will ever be paid off.

If, therefore, the debt has kept increasing, during a series of successful wars, and increasing territories and revenues, what would ensue, were occasional reverses to be sustained, provinces lost, &c., &c.? Is it not obvious, that with a more chequered result of the contests in which our Indian empire may become engaged, (without anticipating disasters, or the snapping of that thread on which our power in India has been so often said to hang,) the debt can never be materially reduced? Is it not highly probable that the dividends, which on the strength of increasing territories and revenues have been, since 1776, raised from 6 to 7, to 8, and finally, to 10½ per cent., would, most probably, have to retrograde to 8, to 7, to 6 per cent., or still lower?†

This remote contingent interest in the Indian surplus revenue may, indeed, be a fit foundation whereon to raise a few airy castles, or golden day dreams; but it sinks into insignificance when compared with the palpable advantage to the proprietors of having the present rate of their dividends secured to them, undiminished, and in perpetuity. It appears, therefore, to be the most advantageous circumstance that could happen to the proprietors, to be relieved, at once, from all possible consequences of adverse events, political or commercial; and to obtain undoubted security for every advantage they now possess, or in all human probability they ever can possess; and they ought to be sensible that, in such an arrangement, the Legislature would be granting—not what the proprietors have any right to claim, but what they ought to receive with gratitude, as a favour conferred.

In such an arrangement, it is to be hoped, that no one would think of throwing the charge which might be incurred, however unimportant it may be, on this already too heavily burdened nation; it would most justly fall on the territorial revenues of India. India would derive advantages from the change contemplated, which would be cheaply purchased at such an expense.

If these views be correct, what is to prevent the early settlement of this great question, without waiting for the expiration of the charter in 1834?

We have been taught to look at vested interests, however acquired, however injurious to the public, however preposterous, with such respect, that if any actual advantage, however trifling, were likely to result to the proprietor of East India Stock, from working out the dregs of his monopoly, we are well aware that any proposal to interfere with his rights would meet but a cool reception; but, when an immediate surrender of the privileges of the Company would be both advantageous to the proprietors, and afford an early and well-timed alleviation to the present state of distress and suffering in the country, no effort should be spared to procure it. What is the interest that will stand in the way of so desirable a consummation? Will the Directors of the East India Company incur the weight of odium and indignation which will press upon them, if they cling pertinaciously to privileges unproductive of any real advantage to their constituents; but which, surrendered at once, might alleviate the general distress of the present conjuncture, both by an actual impulse to trade and manufactures, and by the reviving influence of a well-grounded hope for the future? If the committee can draw the

* It is only on the payment into the exchequer of this sum of 12,000,000*l.*, that the revenues of this country become liable to the proprietors for the integrity of their dividends.

† The dividends were, in 1722, 8 per cent.; in 1732, 7 per cent.; in 1743, 8 per cent.; in 1755, 8 per cent.; in 1766, 10 per cent.; and in 1767, 12½ per cent. This was in a paroxysm of intoxication on the first territorial acquisition being known; it was on this occasion that Parliament first interfered in the regulation of the dividends: from this period to 1772, the Proprietors, the Directors, and Parliament, were engaged in a continued struggle to raise and to keep down the dividends, which fluctuated between 10 and 12½ per cent., till in 1772, when, from adverse events, it became necessary to reduce them to 6 per cent. They were, in 1776, 7 per cent.; in 1778, 8 per cent.; in 1793, 10½ per cent., at which they have since continued; but can the Proprietors, with these circumstances before their eyes, imagine that their dividends alone shall be exempt for the future from the proverbial mutability of human affairs!

attention of persons in power to the relief, which the measure here advocated would afford to the pressing difficulties of the times, we may entertain strong hopes that they will give it their countenance, and promote its adoption. What opposition is there to encounter, but from the Directors and a few influential proprietors, who may feel alarm for their patronage? The Minister, whose decision of character has been productive of so many important results, would have here an opportunity of performing a great act of justice to his country and mankind, attended with such unquestionable advantages as to leave the interests opposed to it in comparative insignificance; for in place of any hostile feeling in the public, there would not be a voice from one end of the country to the other, (with the exception of a few interested individuals,) but would be raised in approbation of the deed.

By order of the Sub-Committee,

THOMAS LANGTON, SECRETARY.

EAST INDIA AND CHINA TRADE.

At a Meeting of the Committee for Promoting Free Trade to India and China, held this Day, January 18, 1830, J. T. ALSTON, Esq. in the Chair,

It was resolved,

1. That the influence which the chartered rights of this country, has been most long series of years, exercised on the commercial interests of this country, has been most prejudicial, by interdicting the activity, enterprise, and skill of the British merchant from one of the most fertile and populous quarters of the globe. That these extensive and productive regions have thus been almost entirely abandoned to the ostentatious but sluggish operations of an unwieldy body, stimulated by no competition, enabled by its monopoly to exact profits on a trade marked by wasteful and unskilful management, and utterly incompetent, were its means far more extensive, to the thorough cultivation of that inexhaustible field, from which the nation at large has been for so long a time improvidently excluded. That the truth of these positions is proved incontestably by the consequences which have resulted from the partial relaxation of the monopoly in 1813, such an extension of our export trade; in nearly every branch of our manufactures, having thence ensued, accompanied by increased employment for our shipping and seamen, as has not only falsified the predictions of the adherents of the monopoly, but has exceeded the most sanguine anticipations of the advocates of a free and unrestricted trade.

2. That, though our export trade to India has increased in a surprising ratio since the partial removal of these restrictions, the capabilities of both countries indicate the probability of a far greater extension of this trade, when once the difficulty of finding sufficient returns for our exports is overcome. That this difficulty (aggravated by heavy and vexatious internal imposts) arises from the defective state of agriculture and the arts in India; in consequence of which, its products are both far less in quantity than from the extent and natural advantages of the country they might be, and, with the exception of indigo, of inferior quality, and of lower value, than similar articles produced in countries where the improved processes of modern art have been introduced.

3. That the paucity of returns is more severely felt, in consequence of the investments annually made in Indian produce out of the Indian revenue, in order to provide for the payment of territorial debt, of which a considerable amount has been contracted, with the option to the creditor of receiving his principal and interest in England; and also for the reimbursement to the Company, of payments made by it in England for the purposes of the territorial Government of India. That it has rarely been found practicable to make these remittances in bullion; and that the mode generally pursued, is to make and consign these investments, in the Company's ships, on account of the territorial revenue; by which large sums are annually lost, whilst the competition which the private merchant has to sustain with the agents of the Company, raises the price of these commodities, and greatly checks their consumption in this country, and on the continent of Europe.

4. That an effectual remedy for this deficiency of returns may reasonably be expected to ensue from the free settlement in India of men of enterprise and skill, by whose exertions, if encouraged in their pursuits, the articles of cotton, tobacco, coffee, sugar, silk, and many others, would assuredly experience a similar improvement to that which has rewarded the capital and industry devoted to the cultivation of indigo.

5. That the apprehensions of irritating the minds of the natives by the intrusion of strangers in the occupancy of the soil, are shown to be groundless, by the circumstances which have attended the culture of indigo, which has been now manufactured in India for a period

of forty-six years, by Europeans, who have no fewer than 272 establishments for that purpose in Bengal alone; that the managers of each of these establishments are continually engaged in transactions with numbers of the natives; and yet only five cases appear to have occurred of disturbances, serious enough to find a place in the reports of the East India Company to Parliament: and that the district magistrates, to whom inquiries have been addressed, as to the conduct of the Europeans residing in their respective jurisdictions, have borne the most unequivocal testimony to their general good conduct towards the Hindoo inhabitants, unaccompanied by any intimation of dissatisfaction, on the part of the latter, on account of the residence and pursuits of the Europeans amongst them.

6. That the advantages which have resulted to our commerce, manufactures, and shipping, from the opening of the trade with India, place in the strongest light the impolicy of continuing the prohibition against British subjects trading to China. That as in India, the commerce of the Company is shrinking from the competition with the merchants of this country, in whose hands it is rapidly increasing, so in China it is gradually giving way, except in the article of tea, to that of the merchants of France, the Netherlands, and the United States; and that thus we have the mortification of seeing a trade, which might have been preserved for the British nation, to the lasting advantage of all its great interests, passing away into the hands of rival nations; whilst the British flag is restricted from entering the ports of China, and the British merchant alone is precluded from participating in a trade which the Company appears to be no longer able to pursue with advantage, and in some of the branches of which it declines altogether to engage. That this injustice is the more flagrant, as the market from which we are thus excluded is neither subject to the controul nor under the influence of the East India Company.

7. That the monopoly of the trade in tea, however, inflicts the most galling and extensive injury on the British nation. That the legislature has repeatedly sought to secure the people of this country against the cupidity of the East India Company, declaring its intention that Great Britain should be supplied with tea as cheaply as Continental Europe; that, notwithstanding the obvious intentions of Parliament, the Company has long exacted, by the inadequacy of its supplies, prices for their tea, exclusive of duty, nearly double those in the neighbouring ports of Europe. That the supply to this country since the year 1800 has, indeed, increased about seven per cent., but that it has not kept pace with the increase of the population by about thirty per cent. That there is not the slightest reason to doubt, if private merchants were freely admitted to this trade, that not only would the supply of tea be raised to the ratio of 1800, but, from the reduced prices at which it would then be afforded, the consumption would even greatly exceed that ratio; and that though the duty, being *ad valorem*, would be reduced by the fall in prices, the total revenue on this article, as in the similar case of coffee, in 1809, would probably be much augmented; and it should not be overlooked, that such an increase of the consumption of tea as is here contemplated, would occasion, as a natural consequence, the additional annual consumption of from fifty to one hundred thousand hogsheads of sugar.

8. That whilst the attention of this Committee has been thus primarily occupied with the considerations of a commercial character, affecting the question at issue, yet it feels an imperative duty also to express its conviction, that the removal of the restrictions by which the intercourse with India and China is fettered, will tend to bring about, without any of the dangers which have been apprehended, the abolition of the revolting and abominable practices which distinguish the worship of the Hindoo idols; and to open a wider door to the diffusion of all the blessings of that religion, which, above all others, is calculated to promote peace on earth, and good will amongst men.

9. That as the East India Company's charter will expire by law in 1834, provided the Company shall have received three years' notice from the legislature to that effect, to be given after the 10th of April, 1831; and as the Ministry have pledged themselves to institute an inquiry into this momentous question during the approaching session, it is highly expedient, that petitions from the authorities and inhabitants of this town, against the renewal of the Company's charter, be immediately prepared, to be presented to both Houses of Parliament as soon after its meeting as possible; and that the principal cities and towns of the kingdom be invited to adopt a similar course without loss of time. That the Committee should seek to obtain, in the meantime, the co-operation of other associations in procuring information, and in collecting and arranging such evidence as may be necessary to establish the allegations contained in the petitions presented to Parliament, and as may best prove to the legislature the policy and necessity of the measure which the country expects from its wisdom and justice.

By Order of the Committee,

THOMAS LANGTON, Sec.