

MEMOIRS

OF

4  
Pam 7

WARREN HASTINGS,

LATE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BRITISH  
INDIA,

*One of His Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council,*

*LLD. and F.R.S.*

—  
Including his Correspondence with Sir John Shore, after-  
wards Lord Teignmouth.

=====  
CALCUTTA:

PRINTED FOR THE PUBLISHER, No. 39, BOITACONNAH 2D  
LANE, CIRCULAR ROAD.

—  
1836.

SE 11 3

**MEMOIRS**

OF

4

**WARREN HASTINGS,**

LATE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BRITISH  
INDIA,

*One of His Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council,*

*LLD. and F.R.S.*

—  
Including his Correspondence with Sir John Shore, after-  
wards Lord Teignmouth.

—  
**CALCUTTA:**

PRINTED FOR THE PUBLISHER, No. 39, BOITACONNAH 2D  
LANE, CIRCULAR ROAD.

**MEMOIRS**  
OF  
**WARREN HASTINGS,**  
LATE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BRITISH  
INDIA.

---

The Right Honorable Warren Hastings, late Governor General of British India, one of His Majesty's most honorable privy council, L.L.D. and F.R.S., traced his descent from a very ancient and respectable family at Daylesford, in the county of Worcester, where his remote ancestors had for many ages held a considerable landed estate. This estate had been alienated in 1715, continued out of the family for two generations, and was re-purchased by Mr. Hastings in 1789. He was born in the year 1733. His father, who was a clergyman and enjoyed a benefice at Churchill, a village near Daylesford, in Worcestershire, seems neither to have inherited affluence, nor to have amassed a fortune; and, dying while Warren was of tender years, left him unprovided for.

The care of his education devolved on an uncle, Mr. Howard Hastings, who sent him to Westminster School. At

this seminary he exhibited marks of superior genius, and won the friendly regard of Dr. Nichols, the head master. His great proficiency in literature did credit as well to the preceptor as the pupil; and when he left Westminster, he was esteemed one of the best scholars of that foundation. He was removed to Oxford at sixteen, but had scarcely become a resident there, when the death of his uncle consigned him to other guardians. Dr. Nichols generously offered to furnish money to complete his education at the university; but Mr. Creswick, an India director, and executor to his uncle, proposed to send him to Bengal with a writer's appointment.

Young Warren availed himself of Mr. Creswick's patronage, and sailing from England in the winter of 1749, arrived at Calcutta in the ensuing summer. His course of education for public business, answering to the preparatory interval consumed in studying one of the learned professions, may be dated from this period. Mr. Hastings says of himself, in his defence during the impeachment, "With the year 1750, I entered the service of the East India Company; and from that service I have derived all my official habits, all the knowledge which I possess, and all the principles which were to regulate my conduct in it." This early initiation into habits of business may have its advantages in a few rare instances, i. e. when the youth has already a manly intellect; when the value of every redeemable opportunity for improvement is perceived by native sagacity, and the premature separation from compulsory studies is compensated by voluntary application. Mr. Hastings was first attached to one of the factories in Bengal. In affairs which depended on in-

dustry, he was indefatigable; where genius could shorten the way to a successful conclusion, he shewed acuteness and invention. After the daily requisitions of office were satisfied, he had some hours which he might either waste or improve. In these he gave himself assiduously to the study of the Persian and Hindustance languages, and to the cultivation of those attainments which increased his qualification for the Company's service. At the same time he began to observe the relations of the native powers with the eye of a statesman. His application was crowned with such rapid advances in commercial and political knowledge, that he was selected by the residency to attempt the establishing of a factory in the interior parts of Bengal, where no European had hitherto penetrated; and though the design was then defeated by the sudden intervention of a turbulent period, he conciliated the esteem of the natives among whom he had resided.

In 1756, Surajah Dowlah having made himself master of Calcutta, issued orders for the seizing of all the English in Bengal, and Mr. Hastings was one of those who were carried prisoners to Moorshedabad, that tyrant's capital. Even at that court he had already inspired with personal respect, men who had the power to protect him. He was treated with humanity, received many distinguishing attentions, and was permitted to reside at the Dutch factory of Calcapore.

When Colonel Clive re-took Calcutta, Mr. Hastings served as a volunteer in his army. Surajah Dowlah, who had aimed at the expulsion of the English, exhibited a striking instance of the mutability of human affairs. His defeat at Plassey by Colonel Clive was followed by his dethronement, and

the substitution of Meer Jaffier. This revolution took place in 1757, and made it expedient to have a resident at the court of the Nabob. Colonel Clive shewed that discernment of men which marked his character, by selecting Mr. Hastings to act as the Honorable Company's minister. As his zeal and fidelity in previous duties led to this appointment, his able conduct as resident recommended him to a still higher office; and in 1761 he became a member of the council at Calcutta. At the council board he distinguished himself by the elegant composition of the minutes which he delivered, according to the custom of the service, on the subjects for deliberation; and he was held in high consideration by his colleagues for the soundness of his judgment.

In 1765, Mr. Hastings returned to England in H. M's Ship the Medway, with his friend Mr. Vansittart, at that time Governor of Bengal. The fortune with which he had retired, after a service of upwards of fourteen years, was originally moderate: and an unexpected diminution made his income very small. He had brought with him only a part of his acquisitions; and by some casualty the remittance of the remainder failed. To repair this deficiency, he exerted his interest for a re-appointment in India; and it is a curious fact, that the same individual who afterwards became all powerful with the Company, could not at that time obtain permission to return. Mr. Hastings now lived in England, cultivating literature and enjoying the society of men of genius; among whom were the great Lord Mansfield and Dr. Samuel Johnson. Three letters to him from the Doctor have been preserved by Mr. Boswell; who,

speaking of the condescension with which Mr. Hastings communicated to him these letters, delineates the following short sketch of his character: "Warren Hastings, whose regard reflects dignity even upon Johnson; a man the extent of whose abilities was equal to that of his power; and who, by those who are fortunate enough to know him in private life, is admired for his literature and taste, and beloved for the candour, moderation, and mildness of his character. Were I capable of paying a suitable tribute of admiration to him, I should certainly not withhold it a moment, when it is not possible that I should be suspected of being an interested flatterer. But how weak would be my voice after that of millions whom he governed!"

In 1766, the year after his return, he had, in concert with Dr. Johnson, formed a plan for instituting a professorship of the Persian language at Oxford with a view of undertaking the office; but a surprising revolution was preparing in his fortunes. In the winter of the same year, Mr. Hastings being examined at the bar of the House of Commons during an inquiry in the affairs of the Company, attracted general notice by his prompt, masterly, and intelligent expositions. In consequence of this unsought display, his talents were soon after called into action. The Court of Directors were desirous to have a person of eminent ability to succeed to the presidency of Madras; he was accordingly appointed second in council at that settlement, with a provision that he was to succeed Mr. Dupre, their then Governor. Mr. Hastings was recommended to this appointment by some of the very men whose opinions in politics the tenor

of his own uniformly opposed; a circumstance which we can only attribute to a disinterested choice on one side, and singular merit on the other. He continued at that station until February 1772, when his great talents were required in Bengal. Owing to mismanagement abroad, and the want of adaptation to circumstances not anticipated in orders sent from home, the affairs of Calcutta and its dependencies had become much embarrassed, and reduced to an alarming state of distress. The Court of Directors thought no person so capable of retrieving them as Mr. Hastings. They accordingly sent a dispatch to Madras, enjoining him to proceed immediately to Bengal, to assume the administration at a fixed day to which they had limited the stay of the present Governor, Mr. Cartier.

1772  
Mr. Hastings succeeded to this arduous charge in April 1782. He found the funds of that settlement loaded with a debt of near three millions sterling, bearing a heavy rate of interest; but in less than two years he had discharged that debt, and had replenished the treasury with a sum in species to the same amount.

Unfortunately for the interests of the British nation in India, the gentlemen who were joined with Mr. Hastings in the council, Mr. Barwell excepted, entertained habitual prejudices against his system of administration, with a corresponding attachment to their own views. Hence they commenced an opposition to his plans; and three votes gave them the ascendancy, until the death of Col. Monson which happened in Nov. 1776, when the equal division of members gave the Governor General the casting vote. General Clavering died in August 1777. Mr. Wheeler had been appoint-

ed early in that year to succeed Col. Monson; he commonly voted with Mr. Francis. The force of talent in the council being no longer almost neutralized by pertinacious obstruction, the first effect was, that the fruits of the measures originating with Mr. Hastings were more decisive and apparent: the second was, that the leading men of England reposed in his talents a higher confidence; and the legislature, who had twice before continued his appointment for short, and as it were probationary terms, extended it to ten years.

In 1774 Parliament changed the whole system of governing British India and managing the political affairs of the Company at home; and appointed a supreme council at Calcutta, which was to control all the other settlements. Under the new arrangement, the legislature appointed Mr. Hastings the first Governor General for a term of five years. In 1778 he was continued for one year more; in 1779 again for one year more; in 1781 for ten years; and in 1784 his appointment was confirmed by the act of Parliament that formed the present government of India.

The purport of his commission given by the court was, "that the Directors of the East India Company appointed Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor General of all their possessions in India, and invested him with the whole government, civil and military."

From 1765, when England acquired the sovereignty of Bengal, it had been the custom to entrust the departments of the revenue and of judicial proceeding to native ministers. Under that system of collection, the annual revenues were a million below the sum they were calculated to produce. Mr.

Hastings effected a great revolution. He changed the whole face of the interior administration in the departments of finance and judicature. The year preceding the total annual resources of the Bengal government were £3,132,319. He effected it in 1785, when its annual resources were £5,213,815 in English money, being an interest of more than £2,000,000, a year. These revenues had in 1795 increased to £5,000,000, from the successful operation of a system adopted by Mr. Hastings; a system for which he was impeached.

The following branches of resource were created by Mr. Hastings, and have produced, in the year 1785:—

Post-office collection.....	£ 14,340	0s.
Oude subsidy.....	535,665	10
Benares revenue.....	433,341	10
Salt.....	964,971	12
Opium.....	182,263	10
	<hr/>	
	£2,130,582	2
	<hr/>	

His arrangements for Oude and its dependencies furnished matter for sixteen articles of impeachment; and the result of those arrangements is simply this: that between 1773 and 1794 the Company had actually received £16,000,000 sterling into its treasury more than it would have done if Mr. Hastings had not concluded that engagement with Surajah Dowlah in 1773, which is known by the name of the treaty of Benares.

Such have been the consequences of Mr. Hastings having disobeyed orders; for he was charged with disobedience of

orders, in marching a brigade beyond the bounds of Surajah Dowlah's dominions.

From 1765, when Lord Clive acquired the Dewannee, to 1772, when Mr. Hastings came to the government, nearly a third of our military force was either in Oude or Corah, and paid by the extraction of specie from Bengal. But from 1772, a third of our army was paid by the sovereign of Oude, independent of the very large sums in specie brought from Oude into Bengal, in consequence of the Rohilla war, and the sale of Corah and Allahabad.

Had no British troops been in Oude when Surajah Dowlah died in 1775, Benares never would have been acquired: on the contrary, the probability is, that Oude and Benares would have been overrun by the Rohillas, and other northern invaders, had not their power been destroyed by the war of the preceding year; in a word, if the ultimate connection which has subsisted between Bengal and Oude for twenty-two years had been found, as it was alleged to be, disgraceful to the nation and disadvantageous to the Company, Mr. Hastings would have been, as he ought to be, responsible for the whole.

He had scarcely time to breathe from these operations when war broke out with France; and the English territories in India were at once pressed by a great armament from Europe, and by the immense field forces of two of the native powers. In the midst of these difficulties, some reflections of the Governor General upon the wayward conduct of Mr. Francis produced a duel, in which the latter was wounded. Mr. Francis retired from the council soon after this incident;

and quitted India for England on the 9th December 1780.

When the subject of paying the expences of the Defence to the Impeachment was before the Court of Proprietors, it was observed by Mr. Lushington, that India was not acquired nor preserved, nor can it in times of danger be maintained, by a cold discharge of official duty. Hence it is that there are so many men who are fit for the second place at a council board who are not fit for the first. It is the same in the military service. Some individuals rise to distinction by bravely executing orders, and when they at length reach the high responsibility of acting without orders, disappoint the world and their country. They would have been thought great men had they never been commanders-in chief. Meanwhile their previous actions were honorable to themselves and useful to their country; for in the military service all the tactics of opposition are directed upon the enemy. Constant opposition, in the bosom of administration, eludes the test of capacity for service; it may arise from contentment and not from ambition; minnows, by swimming against the stream, remain where they are.

In the midst of so many adverse circumstances, the Company's affairs improved in aspect. Their relations with neutral states were strengthened, and the friendship of the vacillating Nizam regained. The native princes who had sought their expulsion were reduced, or won to their alliance; and, among the conquest made by the Company's forces, British India had some restitutions to offer to France towards the adjustment of peace for England. Mr. Hastings had the merit of maintaining the splendour of the national character

in all its military operations, and of having insured the blessings of peace, security, and abundance, to the subjects of the Bengal dominion. By the wisdom of his councils and the vigour of his measures, he sustained the old, and acquired new resources for conducting a varied and multiplied war with France, with Hyder Ali, and the Mahrattas, and was emphatically called by the minister of that day the Saviour of India.

Never was there a man eminent in public life whose conduct has been more rigidly enquired into, or more freely commented upon; and no character has come out more bright from a fierce crucible. If he was powerfully attacked, he was ably defended, and the warmth of his friends and the candour of the public, at least kept pace with the malice of his detractors, and the exertions of the more honorable assailants, who were misled by gross misrepresentations. In 1776, the weight of government was exerted against him, and the influence of his Majesty's ministers personally exercised at the India House to effect his recall; but a majority of the Proprietors defeated the attempt, and fixed him in Bengal. On May 28, 1782, the House of Commons voted, on the motion of Mr. Dundas (then Lord Advocate, afterwards Secretary of State, ultimately Lord Melville,) that it was the duty of the Court of Directors to displace Mr. Hastings from his government. This happened during the Rockingham administration; but it is an important point to remark, that Mr. Fox, Mr. Dundas, and the other gentlemen who spoke in support of this resolution for Mr. Hastings's removal acknowledged that his abilities were of the most splendid kind.

and his integrity unquestionable. The resolution was in these terms :

“ That Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor General of Bengal, and William Hornby, Esq. President of the Council of Bombay, having in sundry instances acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous expenses on the East India Company, it is the duty of the Directors of the said Company to pursue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the said Governor General and President from their respective offices, to recal them to Great Britain.”

In consequence of this vote, the Court of Directors again took into consideration the state of their affairs, and on the 22d of October determined, by a majority of thirteen to ten, that Mr. Hastings should be recalled. The propriety of this measure was most ably and fully discussed by the Proprietors on the 24th and 31st of the same month, when it was determined by ballot that Mr. Hastings should remain in his station : the numbers for his continuance being four hundred and twenty-eight against seventy-five. In consequence of this resolution, the next day the vote of recal was rescinded by the Court of Directors. In the month of June 1785, Mr. Hastings returned from India to England, having been at the head of the Government of Bengal more than thirteen years.

On the 20th of June 1785, the day Mr. Hastings arrived in England, Mr. Burke gave notice of his intention to move an impeachment of him in the ensuing session. On the 4th of April 1786, he exhibited twenty articles, to which he afterwards added two more; but it was not until 1787, April 10,

that the impeachment was voted ; it was then carried without a division. The twenty-two articles occupy an octavo volume of four hundred and sixty closely printed pages. The following are their substance ; they charge the last Governor General :

1. With great injustice, cruelty, and treachery against the faith of nations, in hiring British soldiers for the purpose of extirpating the innocent and helpless people who inhabited the Rohilla country.

2. With using the authority delegated to him through the East India Company, for treating the King Shah Allum, Emperor of Indostan, or otherwise the Great Mogul, with the greatest cruelty, in bereaving him of considerable territory, and with-holding forcibly the tribute of twenty-six lacs of rupees, which the Company engaged to pay as an annual tribute or compensation for their holding, in his name, the Dewanee of the rich and valuable provinces of Bengal, and Behar, and Orissa.

3. With various instances of extortion, and other deeds of mal-administration against the Rajah of Benares. The article consisted of three different parts, in each of which Mr. Hastings was charged with the most wanton oppressions and cruelties. Mr. Burke annexed to this article papers concerning the rights of the Rajah, his expulsion, and the sundry revolutions which have been effected by the British influence under the control of the late Governor General, in that zemindary.

4. With the numerous and insupportable hardships to which the royal family of Oude had been reduced in con-

sequence of their connection with the Supreme Council:

5. With having no less than six revolutions, brought the fertile and beautiful provinces of Furruckabad to a state of the most deplorable ruin.

6. With impoverishing and depopulating the whole country of Oude, and rendering that country, which was once a garden, an uninhabited desert.

7. With a wanton, and unjust, and pernicious exercise of his powers, and the great situation of trust which he occupied in India, in overturning the ancient establishment of the country, and extending an undue influence, by conniving at extravagant contracts and appointing inordinate salaries.

8. With receiving money against the orders of the Company, the act of Parliament, and his own sacred engagements; and applying that money to purposes totally improper and unauthorised.

9. With having resigned by proxy, for the obvious purpose of retaining his situation, and denying the deed in person, in direct opposition to all those powers under which he acted.

10. Accuses him of treachery to Muzoffer Jung, who had been placed under his guardianship.

11. Charges him with enormous extravagance and bribery in various contracts, with a view to enrich his dependants and favorites.

These are the principal; the other eleven are chiefly connected with, and dependent upon the foregoing.

A Committee was appointed to manage the prosecution, in the name of the Commons: —

Edmund Burke, Esq.; Right Hon. C. J. Fox; R. B. Sheridan, Esq.; Right Hon. T. Pelham; Right Hon. W. Windham; Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart.; Charles Grey, Esq.; Wm. Adam, Esq.; Sir John Anstruther; M. A. Taylor, Esq.; Lord Viscount Maitland; Dudley Long, Esq.; General J. Burgoyne; Hon'ble George A. North; Hon. Andrew St. John; Hon. A. Fitzherbert; Colonel Fitzpatrick; John Courtenay, Esq.; A. Rogers, Esq.; and Sir James Erskine.

Mr. Francis was originally included in the list of managers, but this uncandid and tortuous proposition was rejected by a great majority of the House. Twice afterwards it was renewed, and negatived.

On the 13th of February 1788, the trial commenced in Westminster Hall; and seven years afterwards, on the 23d of April 1795, judgment was pronounced by the Lords on the charges, most of them severally, and Mr. Hastings was acquitted of them all. Twenty-nine was the greatest number of Peers who voted on this occasion. On the first article of the impeachment, twenty-three voted not guilty, and six guilty. In two of the articles the vote of not guilty was unanimous. The Lord Chancellor pronounced the judgment:—

“Warren Hastings, Esq. I am to acquaint you that you are acquitted of the articles of impeachment, &c. exhibited against you by the House of Commons, for high crimes and misdemeanors, and all things contained therein, and you are discharged, paying your fees.”

The unpreccedented duration of the trial was an enormous evil, both as it bore upon the public and Mr. Hastings; but it

was disproportionately grievous to the latter. The expences to the public, of this trial, amounted to more than £100,000; and Mr. Hastings's law expences to £71,000. In consideration of the weight of this fine for acquittal, and of his services, the East India Company contributed £42,000 towards the payment of his law expences, and voted him an annual pension of £4,000 for twenty-eight years and a half; they afterwards lent him £50,000 without interest. When £16,000 of this loan had been repaid, they relinquished the remainder. In May 1814, the term of his annuity having expired, they voted a renewal of it for his life. His bust is placed in the library of the India House.

Were a *life* of Hastings and a *life* of Burke to devolve on the same pen,—what a dilemma! Eulogy is sometimes the surviving fragrance of mature virtue in the subject of it; sometimes the late and unset fruit of a determination in the biographer to draw an exalted character. It were no feeble test of the truth of eulogy to take the antagonist's character in the very article of adverse bearing, at the point of conflict, in the attitude of grappling to depress and ruin, and try whether it demands our praise as the disinterested act of a public man, or whether, taking lower ground, the part filled by the accuser challenges vindication, admits apology, or is open to rebuke. The trial of Warren Hastings may now be read as the trial of the mover of the impeachment. With a full conviction that the balance sheet of the account between Mr. Burke and the country,—stating his talents, his services, and the sum of his merits on one side, and the payments on the part of the public in rewards and plaudits on the other, leaves

a deficit in the last column which the public can only make up in posthumous praise. We cannot think his conduct as one of the managers of the impeachment would be placed on the credit side of the ledger, by twenty-three impartial men, skilled in the arithmetic of merit, out of twenty-nine. Admit that the fugitive inundations of private detractors afforded colourable ground for instituting the public enquiry; what can justify the speeches? Perhaps it were too much to expect that forensic addresses shall, before they are delivered be devised by truth till their tone be subdued to the scale of evidence: but still the ardent invoker of judicial indignation ought to incur some responsibility; and if his confident strain of invective cannot be supported, the evidence which his unremitting vigilance, after tedious preparations to criminate, at length adduces, as much as he gains in reputation for eloquence by exciting a transient tumult in the passions of his contemporaries, so much ought he to lose by deductions from his equity, or candour, or judgment, in the estimate of prosperity. How pregnant the censure! how barren the proof!

The country is at this day reaping advantages from the talents and services of Mr. Hastings. His mind, active and comprehensive, rose with elastic force under every pressure; his abilities shone forth with the greatest splendour in times of difficulty. In 1778, at a crisis of danger and alarm, he pursued those measures in the midst of impending calamities which were successful in averting them. In a distant hemisphere, and among nations governed by other religions, customs, and laws, he maintained the British dominion in India, by means exactly of the same kind with those that acquired them, and

by which alone it was possible to maintain them. It has been observed, on the subject of legislation, that what is metaphysically true may be in that very proportion be politically false; and that in all cases respect should be had to times and circumstances. We do not acquiesce in the premises of the aphorism; it is perfectly gratuitous to say, that any thing is metaphysically true which, when compared with principle gained by experience in polity as practical truths, produces the idea of repugnance, and not agreement. In circumstances for which neither the history of Europe affords parallels, nor her public law corresponding provisions, Mr. Hastings weathered the storm in India by attending to the variation of the compass. Without violating the usages and laws of Asia, he combined and directed a large military force for the preservation of our Asiatic settlements.

The confederacy of Europe with revolted America; the irruption of Hyder Ali into the Carnatic; the sudden departure of Sir Thos. Rumbold from Madras; the supineness and embecility of his immediate successors; the defeat of the British army under Sir Hector Munro; the excision of Col. Baillie's detachment;—all these circumstances of improvidence, disgrace, and disaster, induced a temporary panic, which had unnerved the hearts and unstrung the arms of the dependent authorities and subordinate officers. The first in mind, as in station, to whom every eye was now turned, did not disappoint the sanguine expectations of his countrymen. From the centre of Calcutta, an energy was diffused throughout the whole of the British settlements in Hindustan. The Governor General displayed a dignity and elevation of

mind that transported him above personal apprehensions, and absorbed every private care in the intense application of public spirit to support the interests of the Company and the nation. Notwithstanding the obstruction he had to encounter, he conducted the wars to a prosperous and glorious result. Such is Mr. Hastings; whom neither innocence, nor virtue, nor talents, nor complete and brilliant success, was able to save from a prosecution not more surprising in its origin than anomalous in its conduct; which when we reflect on the spirit that dictated, perplexed, and protracted it, may be called, in the emphatic language of the sacred Scripture, "a fiery trial." Never was integrity so completely triumphant over such a combination of learning, ability, and political power.

The public mind, by the obtrusion of never-ceasing assertion, aided by all the powers of oratory, had been stunned into an apprehension that the late Governor General might not be found so free, as the jealous lovers of the British character could wish, from all ground and all shadow of reproach. Year passed after year, and a degree of suspicion was followed by a greater degree of indifference to the matter at issue.

At last men began to wonder, that where accusation was so loud, proof should be so feeble: and public opinion, which had been the slowest to give credit to his accusers, formed the first presage of his acquittal.

Meanwhile the object of remorseless hostility manifested during the protracted trial an enduring patience, a dignified deportment, and an undisturbed temper.

The source of temporary affliction has augmented the

number of memorials by which the name of Hastings will be transmitted with honor to other countries and to future ages by incorporating his life and actions with the juridical as well as the political history of his country. The charges brought against the saviour of British India are not now to be considered as misfortunes, but as difficulties that proved his virtues, and elicited ennobling testimonies of his greatness; to use the words of Sir William Jones, "they rendered his character *not bright but more conspicuously bright.*"

Except a short recess from 1765 to 1767, Mr Hastings was thirty-three years in the service of the East-India-Company, eleven of which he was Governor-General of Bengal. One of his collateral measures has been annulled, the communication which was established between Europe and India by way of Suez. The trade from Bengal to the Red Sea promised to be highly advantageous, and could never have affected the Company's sales in England. A contrary opinion however prevailed and English vessels were no longer permitted to navigate to Suez. The communication was open long enough to convey the Company's orders for the attack of Pondicherry, an event of high importance.

Among other objects which distinguished the government of Mr. Hastings, was his deputing the ingenious Mr. George Bogle to the court of the Grand Lama in Thibet, who received him with the utmost kindness and hospitality; and a great supply of curious information was elicited respecting the country of Thibet: an account of which was published in the "Philosophical Transactions," by the late John Stuart, Esq. F.R.S. member of the Supreme Council at Bengal.

Mr. Hastings was an admirer and an encourager of the fine arts; he had found leisure to cultivate some of the useful arts which depend on liberal science, and was esteemed as an engineer and an architect. He was gifted with no ordinary portion of poetical talent, as may be seen by the imitation of the sixteenth ode of the second book of Horace, written on board the *Harrington*, in his voyage to England in 1785, and addressed to John Shore, Esq. afterwards Lord Teignmouth.

Among his literary productions are: Narrative of the Insurrection at Benarss, 4to. 1782; Review of the State of Bengal during the last three months of his Residence, 8vo. 1786; Memoirs relative to the State of India, 8vo. 1786; Answer to the articles exhibited by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled, 8vo. 1788; Speech in the High Court of Justice in Westminster Hall, 8vo. 1791; Essay on the Means of Guarding Dwelling-houses by their construction against Accidents by Fire, 1815. Anonymous. Published in the Pamphleteer, No. X, May 1815, vol. 5, p. 399.

On the occasion of describing, the foundation of the Asiatic Society with the application of the members for the patronage of the Governor General and Council, and the offer of the honorary title of the President to Mr. Hastings— which he declined in favour of Sir William Jones the founder, —Lord Teignmouth gives the following sketch of his title to that distinction:

“ Mr. Hastings entered into the service of the East India Company with all the advantages of a regular classical education, and with a mind strongly impressed with the

pleasure of literature. The common dialects of Bengal, after his arrival in that country, soon became familiar to him; and at a period when the use and importance of the Persian language were scarcely suspected, and when the want of that grammatical and philological assistance, which has facilitated the labours of succeeding students, rendered the attainment of it a task of peculiar difficulty, he acquired a proficiency in it. His success not only contributed to make known the advantages of the acquisition, but proved an inducement to others to follow his example, and the general knowledge of the Persian language, which has been since attained by the servants of the East India Company, has conspired to produce political effects of the greatest national importance, by promoting and accelerating the improvement which have taken place in the system of internal administration in Bengal.

If Mr. Hastings cannot claim the merit of having himself explored the mine of Sanscrit literature, he is eminently entitled to the praise of having invited and liberally encouraged the researches of others. But he has a claim to commendations of a higher nature; for a conduct no less favourable to the cause of literature than to the advancement of the British influence in India, by removing that reserve and distrust in the professors of the Braminical faith, which had taught them to view with suspicion all attempts to investigate their code, and to apprehend the infringement of its ordinances, in our political rule. The importance of this success will be readily acknowledged by those, whose observation qualifies them to form a due estimate of it; and to those who

have not had the advantages of local experience, the communication of my own may not be unsatisfactory.

The spirit of the Mohammedan religion is adverse to every appearance of idolatry, and the conquest of Hindustan by the Mussulmans was prosecuted with the zeal of a religious crusade. This rage of proselytism was united with the ambition of dominion; and the subversion of the Hindu superstition was always considered a religious obligation, the discharge of which might indeed be suspended by political considerations, but could never be renounced; and, notwithstanding occasional marks of toleration in some of the emperors of Hindustan, or their viceroys, their Hindu subjects were ever beheld by them in the contemptuous light of infidels and idolaters. They were, of course, naturally disposed to apprehend the effects of a similar bigotry and intolerance in their European governors, so widely discriminated from themselves in manners, language, and religion. The Bramins, too (who had the feelings common to the bulk of the people.) deemed themselves precluded by laws, in their opinion of sacred and eternal obligation, from any developement of their secret doctrines to a race of people, who could only be ranked in the lowest of the four classes of mankind, and to whom, with little exception, their secrecy and reserve had hitherto proved impenetrable. To surmount those obstacles, to subdue the jealousy and prejudices of the Bramins, and to diminish the apprehensions of the people at large, required a conduct regulated by the most liberal and equitable principles, and the influence of personal intercourse and conciliation. The compilation of a code of laws by Pundits, convened by the

invitation of Mr. Hastings; the Persian version of it, made under their immediate inspection; and the translation of the *Bagvhat Geeta*, a work containing all the grand mysteries of the Braminical faith, are incontrovertible proofs of the success of his efforts to inspire confidence in minds where distrust was habitual; while a variety of useful publications, undertaken at his suggestion, demonstrate the beneficial effects of his patronage and encouragement of oriental literature."

He also established the *Madrissa*, a college for educating Mussulman natives in the knowledge of the Hindoo law.

Mr. Hastings carried home from India a quantity of precious jewels, which the revolutions in this country threw into his hands; these were principally presented to Her late Majesty; and there is to be seen at this day in Buckingham House the throne of the Bengal Sovereign, almost covered with diamonds. These offerings inspired the belief that the Governor General himself was possessed of inexhaustible wealth—a belief which subsequent events shewed to be unfounded.

When the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1816 was under discussion in the House of Commons, a desire to make his knowledge and experience in India affairs useful to the country, induced him to come forward as a voluntary witness. When he retired, the House spontaneously rose, as if by this mark of respect to atone for the injury which their predecessors had committed!

The following incidents, belonging to his private life are

extracted from his Letter to Sir Stephen Lushington, Bart. Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors in 1795, in answer to an inquiry into the amount of his fortune :

“ I came to England in the year 1785, and lived in a hired ready furnished house, first in St. James’s Place, and next in Wimpole Street, until the year 1790, when Mrs. Hastings purchased the house in Park Lane as I have before mentioned.

I purchased a small estate in Old Windsor, called Beaumont Lodge, 1786, and re-sold it in 1786, for the exact sum that I had given and expended upon it:

In 1781, I purchased the principal part of the estate of Daylesford, and about two years since the remainder; it was an object that I had long wished to possess; it was the house in which I had passed much of my infancy; and I feel for it an affection of which an alien could not be susceptible, because I see in it attractions which that stage of life imprinted on my mind, and my memory still retains. It had been the property of my family during many centuries, and had not been more than seventy-five years out of their possession.”

Mr. Hastings married a widow lady, with some family, but has left no children to succeed him. During the latter years of his life he was much attached to horticultural amusements. He died at his seat, Daylesford House, Worcestershire, on the 22d August 1818, in the 86th year of his age, beloved and venerated.

In private life, Mr. Hastings was one of the most amiable of human beings. He was the most tender and affectionate husband; he was the kindest master; he was the sincerest friend. He had a “tear for pity, and a hand open as day

for melting charity ;” his generosity was unbounded in desire, and he did not always calculate on his means of indulging it. He had that true magnanimity which elevated him above all selfish considerations or personal resentments ; to those who had been his most implacable enemies, he was ever ready to be reconciled, and to forgive. In his domestic intercourse, he was the most endearing partner, and in his social hours, the most pleasing companion, instructive, affable, cheerful, and complacent ; “his nature was full of the milk of human kindness ;” without a tincture of gall in its composition. All who knew him loved him, and they who knew him most, loved him best.

---

To a biographer nothing can be more gratifying than to be able to illustrate general assertions regarding the subject of his Memoir, by proofs drawn from the purest and most unexceptionable sources, namely, the familiar correspondence and the domestic history of the person of whom he writes ; and this also must be equally satisfactory to the reader.

We have given in one of our previous Numbers, already alluded to, some of the earliest Letters of Warren Hastings, to one of the most tried, the most intimate, and the most beloved of his numerous friends ; and we are encouraged, by the general satisfaction with which we believe these to have been generally received, to follow up the tack, with others of a later period, selecting from among the mass of Letters put into our possession, only such as tend in any way to illustrate his history, his character, his mode of life, with such of his public opinions or private feelings, as may be occasionally elicited.

In resuming our extracts from the correspondence of this amiable man, we find, in order of the dates which we have strictly followed, a piece of great humour presented to him by his friend, for examination and revisal; and as the piece itself is curious, and the observations made on it by Warren Hastings are valuable, we cannot do better than give them both.

The object of the first is apparently to expose the abuses of the Orphan Institution at Dublin, in a strain of grave irony, which we think is admirably done, and is as follows:—

“During the late Embassy to China, the Emperor shewed a strong desire to inform himself of many points relative to the laws and institutions of Europe, and of these kingdoms in particular, and for this purpose held frequent conferences with our Ambassador. In one of those familiar conversations which this desire gave rise to, the Emperor lamented, with much apparent concern, the stigma which he understood had been passed upon his government by foreigners, in consequence of a practice to which it was driven by an excess of population to give its sanction, namely: that of parents exposing their supernumerary children to perish; at the same time observing that, although the government bore all the disgrace of it, yet it had been found very inadequate to the purpose, and the grand object for which it was allowed, to wit: the reduction of the people, within the ability of the country to support them, had been in a great measure defeated by the strength of those sentiments of natural affection, which induced parents to burthen themselves with more children than they knew how to maintain, rather than

to consign them to destruction ; an evil of so serious a nature, that unless some speedy and effectual remedy could be found, the greatest and most alarming mischiefs were to be apprehended.

He added, that in a conversation he once held with a Jesuit upon this subject, it has been said to him to adopt a plan, recommended in the beginning of the present century to the people of Ireland by one of the eminent of their own Bonzes, when that nation were under circumstances of similar distress, and forming the principle of converting the disease into a remedy by consigning the supernumerary children to increase the food of the people at large ; that he had maturely weighed the proposal, but from the extreme sensibility of his subjects, had been under the necessity of relinquishing a plan, which to him had appeared completely unobjectionable, and calculated to have effectually removed an evil, which was annually on the increase : something however must be done, and he wished to know whether, upon the failure of the plan alluded to, any other, and what, had been substituted in Ireland.

The Ambassador, thus called upon, observed that it was with the highest satisfaction he could point out to his Imperial Majesty a mode which, to the eternal honor of his native country, had been there adopted, and found, upon the experience of many years, to answer most completely the end proposed, and at the same time to place the projectors and patrons of it among the most distinguished champions of humanity. This was the establishment of an hospital for the reception and disposal of foundling children, which,

under wise regulations, and by means of the superintendency of the first people in the kingdom, ( whose attention was constantly directed to the enforcement of the duties of the various officers of every denomination who were attached to it with liberal salaries ) had brought about, at the trifling expence of £16,000 per annum, an annual reduction of 1900 beings, who must otherwise have remained a burthen upon the state. That if his Imperial Majesty would calculate the vast diminution this must have produced in a certain given number of years, and effected by an establishment upon so contracted a scale as that of the capital of Ireland, he would at once perceive the immense benefit to be derived from a similar establishment in each of the cities and considerable towns of his extensive empire.

The Emperor asked what became of them ? That, replied his Excellency, was more than he knew ; possibly the diminution had been produced by the mode to which his Imperial Majesty had himself alluded in the early part of his conversation, but of this there had appeared no proof or vestige upon record, which he conceived to be an argument highly in favour of the plan : since if this was really the way in which the foundlings disappeared, they were still conducive to two great and essential purposes of the institution, by administering a wholesome nutriment to a part of the people, and effecting a further saving for the benefit of the rest of so much as those beings, if allowed to fulfil the natural term of life, would themselves have consumed ; at the same time its concealment precluded the objection to it, arising from the prejudices of the barbarous and unenlightened mul-

titude, who, in that country, as well as in China, could tranquilly bear the butchery of thousands of these children, and felt horror at the very idea of converting them to food; to such inconsistencies was the human heart subject in all climates and under all the modifications of society, unless where the discoveries of philosophy had corrected the crude propensities of uncultivated nature. 'The Emperor, who, from the mildness and humanity of his disposition, has justly acquired the glorious title of 'father of his people,' expressed great pleasure at the suggestion, and requested of the Ambassador to draw up the plan for him with all its regulations; but he, not conceiving himself at that time sufficiently informed of all the minutiae of it, gave his Majesty a promise to transmit to him upon his return to Europe the complete plan and history of the institution from its commencement.

To this delay the Emperor was unwillingly obliged to submit; and the Ambassador, on his return, having made application to the Irish administration to enable him to perform his promise. they, with a degree of liberality which does them infinite honor, cheerfully agreed to communicate to the extensive Empire of China the blessings which had been the result of their laborious consultations for the benefit of their own people during a course of many years; and a committee was last year appointed, in consequence, to draw up the particulars in proper form, which was accordingly done, and a report on the subject presented to the House of Commons; but the great and consequential business, in which the members were at that period engaged, (it being the height of the season of gaiety and fashion in the metro-

polis) calling off their attention from so comparatively trivial a matter, it was of necessity postponed to the ensuing sessions, in the course of which it is hoped the members of the senate may be able to afford time from their more important occupations to put the finishing hand to so benevolent a plan, and to counteract the evil and traitorous designs, which there are strong grounds to impute to the Right Honourable Sir John Blaquiere and his committee, who, under the flimsy pretext of humanity, but evidently actuated by motives of envy and malevolence towards the administration, betraying the trusts reposed in them, formed the report upon the principles which, if admitted, would subvert the plan altogether, and not only add to the distresses of their own country the additional burthen of providing food for the infants proposed to be saved, but also deprive Ireland of the credit, and the Empire of China of the advantages of the institution as hitherto conducted.

Fortunately, however, their views have been timely detected; and every man who possesses a grain of philanthropy or patriotism may wish, for the sake of example and for the honour of public justice, to see them subjected to that punishment, which such glaring dereliction of their public duty would have ensured to them in better times than the present.

The following extract of evidence taken on oath, though incomplete, will serve to point out the great utility of the institution, and which, with further particulars of a similar nature, may be found in the report before alluded to :

*Extract*—Between the 25th of March and 13th of April

1797, (being nineteen days) 116 children were admitted, of which 112 died in that period. On an average of the six last years, there have been admitted annually 2100, of which upwards of 1900 have died each year. In the same period of six years ending the 24th of June last, 5216 children were sent into the infant infirmary, of these 3 only were ever brought out alive.

In the same period, no medicine of any kind was administered in the nursery or infant infirmary, except from a bottle called the *composing* bottle, which was administered by the nurses indiscriminately to all alike. The physicians never visited that side where those infant children lay. The surgeon only twice, and at the most three times, a week, prescribing only in surgical cases, and the apothecary sometimes not once a year, though residing in the hospital, all enjoying salaries for a constant attendance.

In six years, ending the 24th of June 1796, there were admitted 12,786 children, of these died in the infant side of the house, in the same period, ..... 7807

Ditto ditto, in the country, ..... 1997

Unaccounted for, in the same period, 2847

—————12,651

Balance... .. 135

The following is the hasty Letter from Mr. Hastings, addressed to his Friend immediately after reading it: —

*Daylesford House, December 25, 1797.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I had the pleasure to receive your Letter from Dublin

this morning, and the mortification to read the Shipton postmark on its cover, apprizing me how near the line of your route must have brought you to Daylesford, at a period when the minced pies, and the season peculiarly devoted to hospitality, would have made your company there, which is always welcome, most welcome. I have executed the task which you assigned me, by hazarding a few trivial corrections of your manuscript, and by the presumptuous addition of one long paragraph, which you may adopt or commit to the flames, as you think best. The leading thought is well and delicately kept up throughout the whole production with a neatness and simplicity of style, and a gravity which would have done credit to Swift himself. Yet I am not quite sure that your subject is so well suited to irony; as that of his *modest proposal*; since *his* aim was only to expose the unnatural treatment of Ireland, by her sister-kingdom, by a large proportion of it. Your's relates to a case of inhumanity, that cannot admit of exaggeration, and is of itself so horrid, as scarcely to bear to be treated with ridicule. I can scarce bring myself to believe; though on your authority, that such unheard of atrocities should have been committed in a civilised country (Is Ireland civilized?) with impunity, whether the perpetrators of them have been legally convicted, or not: It may however, be proper to assail a practice so infamous; by every species of argument; and a better than your's, in this species of it, cannot be better devised, or better executed.

I am pressed for time, and do not think I can add more than would repay the loss of a day in the publication, if it

is to be published. It is not my fault that you did not finish the book at Oxford. Debrett, tho' urged to send it, and tho' he promised it by the 23rd, has not yet sent it. Our Christmas compliments attend you and your's. Our best wishes ever.

Your affectionate,

W. H.

The first portion of the next Letter refers to some anecdote of Mr. Hastings being addressed by a stranger, on the subject most probably of his public conduct, and of his reply to him.

The latter portion of the same Epistle is particularly interesting, from its containing the thoughts of the writer on female education.

*Daylesford House, February 15, 1793.*

MY DEAR FRIEND,

You can have no conception of the astonishment into which I was thrown by the contents of your letter, which I had got quite through, without an idea of the subject to which it alluded. At last I recollected, that I did receive a letter of the kind which you mention, but from whom I know not; and what I had answered it to a man I knew not without adverting to any thing but the contents and the name, which I read Lamaster. The letter, though I considered it improper from an absolute stranger, was well written, and affected me; and therefore I answered it, which is what I scarce ever do in such cases. If he has received my answer, he had no right to it, for it is directed to D. La-

master, not to him. However I have given him that right by telling him how to enquire for it, if he has not got it. I am vexed at the blunder, and have written to him an apology for it. Yet it is very odd, that I have read over the letter again this morning, and it still appears as if written by a man who was utterly a stranger to me. I am sorry, however, that he did write it, because I cannot gratify the expectation which prompted it, as I do not think I could bring myself to apply to the Archbishop of York for a living even for my nephew who is in orders, and wants one. I find, on a re-perusal of your letter, that he received mine. Pray ask him again for a sight of it. You will see, by the name to which it is directed, and its contents, that your conclusion respecting their adviser was without foundation. Besides, had I supposed the advice to have come from you, rest assured, my dear Sir John, that I should not have imputed blame to you for it in a letter to him, had I thought it blameable.

I am greatly delighted with your plan of superintending the education of your daughters. I had it once or twice in my mind to recommend it to you ; but I was not sure on the propriety of it, and therefore deferred rather than relinquished the design. I do not think myself qualified to give you a list of books suitable to the instruction of young ladies of their age, and I doubt whether such a collection, though it has been often called for, and though it is so essentially necessary, and even promised (if I recollect right) either in the Guardian, or some other of Addison's periodical writings, has ever yet been formed. I will, however, mention such

as I at present recollect, and think more immediately necessary.

For History—Rollin; Vertot's Revolutions; Dr. Gillies's History of Greece; Fergusson's History of the Roman Republic; Russel's ancient and modern History, (an excellent work, tho' written in the finical form of letters, and abridged); Hume's History of England, and Volney's History of France.

For Poetry—Milton; Pope; Prior (to be read with your own selection); Parnell; Gay's Fables; Goldsmith; Gray; and (how came I to forget him?) above all, Shakspeare.

For Ethics—Addison's Spectators, Guardians, and Tatlers, with the exclusion of all the papers written in them by others; Rambler; Adventurer, Aunt Kitty's Theology. Pray do not forget that and Paley's Philosophy.

For style and elegance of Composition—Melmoth's Works; Mrs. Montague's Observations on Voltaire's Censures of Shakspeare; and Madame Sevigne's Letters. If others occur to me I will communicate them.

I would recommend that when they read, it should be aloud, and to you, and that you should read at least as much to them as they to you, both to give them a good tone and accustom them to attention. I do not think a looking glass a bad assistant in this part of discipline, as a pleasing, but unaffected countenance, adds infinitely to a graceful elocution; and young people fall naturally into the habit of contracting their brows, and setting their features to a form of constraint, when they read;—but enough of this. Your

own better judgment will add to these crude surmises, and correct them, for they need it.

Your affectionate,

WARREN HASTINGS.

---

The following Letter contains some remarks on the corps raised for the defence of Great Britain, at the time when its population were called forth to arm themselves against a threatened invasion :

*Daylesford House, July 5, 1789.*

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I envy you the means of employing yourself so creditably at this time. I am unhappily precluded from offering my services in the like manner by my mongrel situation, being a man of Worcestershire at the distance of many miles from my own country, and unknown besides to any gentleman in it. I conclude that in the penal articles of your code, you will make the members of your corps the court of judicature for the trial of all offenders in it, and the principle of honor that of all its punishments ; that no man is admitted into the corps, but with the approbation of the rest ; and that the dismissal of any be also their act. Yet I doubt whether the tie of honour alone will be sufficient to cement your association : and if a more legal obligation is added I should be apprehensive of its effect, if it originated in a proposal, from yourself. Forgive me for saying so much on a subject of which I know so little. If your men are skilful in their exercise, their pride will attach them to the corps, and aug-

ment the disgrace of those who abandon it. Did I tell you that I sent a plan for securing the grain and other articles of provision lying near the coasts, from an invading enemy, to Mr. Dundas? I received a courteous acknowledgment of it; but though no enemy has appeared, and probably will not, still I wish that, or some other, might be permanently adopted. Mine indeed was not for permanent use, but might be made so.

I greatly disapprove of the act for sending the militia corps out of the kingdom; because one of the conditions of its institution was in terms, "that neither the whole, nor any part of it shall *on any account* be carried, or ordered to go out of Great Britain." All exceptions whatever are here precluded; and the attempt to elude it, by confining the act to voluntary offers, is only the substitution of trick for avowed authority, and makes the violation more unworthy of Government; for a body of men cannot join in a voluntary offer, though they may individually.

If you persevere in your plan of domestic discipline, so far as to devote an hour and a half, or even one hour of every day to it, and never omit it, even that time so bestowed by you will contribute more to your daughter's instruction, than whole mornings spent by them in lessons with alien preceptors. In my catalogue of books, which at your instance I ventured to recommend, I omitted one I heartily desire to add to it; it is Gisborne on the Duties of Woman. That is not the literal title, but is sufficient to point out the book; though you probably have it.

I began my letter on a large sheet, hoping to comprize all that I had to say within it; but I am grown unutterably

indolent, and as I do not often write, trust you will forgive this enlargement of it.

Adieu, my dear friend,

Your's ever most affectionately,

WARREN HASTINGS.

The next has some passages in continuation of the former, and a few observations on other public topics of great interest at that particular period.

*Daylesford House, August 10, 1793.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I am much pleased with your military regulations, and particularly with your medal, the motto of which, whatever it be, I hope will be in English.

I have no copy of the plan which I sent to Mr. Dundas; but as that was for a temporary occasion only, I have thought of trying to form a better, and to adapt it to permanent use. It may not be immediately wanted; but I am convinced that some provision of the kind will be necessary at some period not very distant.

I am happy to find that the troubles in Ireland have been so speedily and effectually quelled; and not a little pleased that Lord C —— has been the instrument of this unexpected return of peace. I am persuaded that the same conciliatory means, employed by the same agent, would have proved as successful in preventing, as it has been in defeating, the rebellion. It has however produced one useful discovery, that the French are less formidable than we thought them, by not having been able to support the division which they excited. If they had, nothing short of a

miracle could have prevented the loss of that kingdom.

I still persevere in believing that Egypt is Buonaparte's object, and no other, except India as a remote consequence.

The following is descriptive of some of his private habits, and his own opinion of them. The latter part of the same Letter contains some excellent and acute remarks on some of the political events of the times:

*Daylesford House, Oct. 2, 1798.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

It is strange that some bad influence in the atmosphere seems to prevail over all the kingdom, and to produce exactly the same complaints. My sister at Ewell, and Mrs. E. Leigh at Cheltenham, have been both affected by it in the same manner, the latter dangerously. It is also been general in London. Mrs. Hastings and myself preserve ourselves from this, and all other causes that can disturb the human frame, by a constant exposure to our pure and salubrious air, to which these miasmata, as the physicians call them have not yet extended, and by early hours of repose and rising. I am sorry to add for myself, that I derive so much benefit from trifles and the most shameful waste of time, that my attachment to both is become a fixed habit of my life. In the prosecution of these indulgences, however, I have made some useful improvements in my farm, and one of ornament in my garden, which has surpassed even my own expectations.

We are in some alarm for our friend at Weymouth; as the two flank companies of the battalion regiment have

offered their services to go to Ireland; and I fear lest the rest of the corps may be piqued to do the same. Charles in that case will go. I would not: for though a soldier in all ordinary cases is, and ought to go where he is ordered; yet where he has a right of choice, he ought to be satisfied that the cause for which he is to fight is a good one. I hope he will think so. If the French land again, and become formidable, it will be a good cause. I do not expect it; but rather believe, that they were repeating their attempts, merely as feints, to draw off all our strength from Great Britain, and make their serious efforts there. While I write, this event becomes less probable, by the destruction of a large part of their marine by the astonishing success of Sir Horatio Nelson, on whom (to borrow an Asiatic phrase) be the blessing of God. This great event may defeat Buonaparte's enterprize; and it may, by precluding him from all hopes of safety but in victory, render him victorious. If he has engaged in so vast an undertaking without providing for every emergency, and particularly the want of provisions, he is not the man that he has been represented. With such a force as he carried with him, it was impossible for him to fail, but by gross misconduct. Look at the map, and you will see the absurdity of the recent reports of his discomfiture. The event itself may be true, but certainly not in the way that it is said to have happened. It was impossible for him to retreat to Damietta across two great branches of the Nile, and an inundated country; or to be poisoned by the wells, where the river itself offered such an abundant supply of the purest water in the world. Neither can the whole country, with its

deserts to assist it, furnish 20,000 Arabs, or a fourth part of that number. I yet adhere to my belief that the Turkish Ministry are privy and consenting to his attempt.

Adieu, my dear Friend, your's ever,

WARREN HASTINGS.

---

The following is a beautiful example of great feeling, expressed with more force in its simplicity than any studied elegance of diction could have produced; such a man must have been a warm and faithful friend:

*Daylesford House, January 1, 1799.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

You have made two hearts, which are sincerely devoted to you and your Lady, most happy, as far as our sentiment detached from the other effects of human contingencies will allow, by the very good account which your last letter contains of your child. Your own constant attention to him during this winter will, I trust, preserve him from any other effects which may be apprehended from its severity; but, at the close of it, it may be worth your while to form some plan for his treatment during the milder season of the year, and yet more for that of the succeeding winter. Upon this subject no man can be so competent to give you the best advice as Dr. Denman, to whose judgment, I believe, you consider yourself indebted for his surviving his first entrance into life.

Your sentiments respecting me, though very different from what I feel of myself and the affection which you ex-

press for me and my dear Mrs. Hastings, though I wanted no recent assurance of it, I read with much pleasure. Let me too assure you, though alike needless, of our warm attachment to you and our beloved friend, Lady D——, and our interest in the happiness of your children. I have a pleasure in conforming to the fashion of the day, in repeating those wishes and prayers which are ever in both our hearts, that many, many, happy years may attend both you and them.

*February, 1.*

In looking over my papers for your letter of the 27th of December, I found with it the foregoing beginning of an answer to it, which I myself cannot account for having left unfinished. It will prove that you may be in my remembrance, even when appearances seem to indicate the contrary, and as I warmly felt the wishes and sentiments which it expresses, I send it as I found it. I recollect that I was going to recur to the first subject of it by suggesting the expediency of your consulting Dr. Denman or Mr. Berkley, concerning your first intention of carrying your son to Lisbon. It might prove of benefit also to Lady D——. You will have ample time both for enquiry and preparation: but I do not think the autumn the proper season for making the voyage. I would at least have start of the equinox.

I hope your visit to Dublin will not deprive us of the pleasure which you destined us, since you may easily bring Daylesford into the line of your route on your return; and we shall then be in high beauty.

I have read a description of the Parkinean electricity, and

an enumeration of cures performed by it, and sincerely hope it may prove effectual with Lady ——. After having seen Partington's experiment on a dead frog, and heard his relation of the head of a dead horse which, though remarkable for his quiet temper while living, nearly bit off his groom's fingers on the co-operative application of two pieces of zinc and silver, I can credit at least the possibility of this new magnetism producing the effects ascribed to it.

Adieu, my dear Friend, your's ever,

WARREN HASTINGS.

The young son of Mr Hastings' friend appears to have had very delicate health in his infancy, and the following Letter was apparently a reply to a proposition of his being put under Mr. Hastings' care. It is delightful to witness the struggle to which it gave rise between duty and inclination in Mr. Hastings' mind, and the solicitude that he evinces to soothe his friend under a denial, which really displays more friendship than consent ;

*Daylesford House, March 17, 1799.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

While I feel with gratitude the proof which you and your dear Lady give of your confidence in the tender attention which Mrs. Hastings would pay to your beloved child, I am compelled, though with the most painful reluctance, to oppose to your proposal the extreme delicacy and instability of her health ; which would render the responsibility of so precious a charge too great for her to support it. From what she has very recently suffered only by participating in

the affliction of Mrs. Imhoff for the loss of her sister, I am morally certain, that if your son, while under her protection, was to fall sick, the consequences would be as dangerous, if not more so, to her, than to him.

Do not, my dear Sir John, think me deficient in those sentiments of friendship which I have long professed for you and which my heart tells me are, and ever were, most sincere, if I express any thing like an objection to your leaving your little child with us, except on one only condition, which I on my part will fulfil with as much pleasure as I would do any office either of kindness or self-gratification. Bring your dear boy with you; we both long to see him: and entrust him to my care, to conduct him either back to Newlands, or to any other place where you would wish to consign him. To me it would be an excursion of amusement, perhaps of health; and I can manage to make it answer other purposes in my return. Do not therefore vary your plan for any thing that I have said, but make the little fellow of your party; and I will thank you for your acceptance of that subsequent variation which I have proposed.

Mrs. Hastings charges me with her affectionate regards, with mine, both to yourself and Lady.

I fear you will hardly read this; I have written it with great difficulty and pain, my hand being in a crippled state. I shall direct this letter for the cross post; but it will go, as yours same, by the direct.

Your's affectionate,

W. H.

Mr. Hastings still retained a remembrance of his Persian reading, and in this sentence, at the close of a long Letter, makes the most happy use of it, in illustrating what he appears always to have admired highly, the warm and unsophisticated feelings of youth and nature.

*Daylesford House, April 4, 1799.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

\* \* \* \* \*

I said, I should write a short letter; but I cannot help lengthening it by an anecdote of your son, that an united Irishman may read with an abatement of his ferocity, and even a loyalist profit by the distinction conveyed in it. Mrs. H. asked him, if he was not glad that he was going home.—He half answered yes: but recollecting himself, added: “Yes I am glad that I am going home, because I shall see my sisters; but I am sorry to leave you.”

This sentiment was evidently borrowed from the following lines which he learnt in his pre-existent state, and remembers in this. [*The Persian lines are omitted here.*]

Your affectionate,

W. H.

We could not select a better proof than the following, of the attachment of Mr. Hastings to his rural pursuits, nor of his attention to the theory of them as well as the practice.

*Daylesford House, June 10, 1799.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Mr. Cooke has sent me the implements which you were

so good as to bespeak for me; and I shall set the chaff-cutter to work before I close this letter. I have already tried it—yesterday,—God forgive me!—I do not think that the simple examination of a thing which may be converted to the general benefit of all the society around me can be termed doing any manner of work in the sense of the commandment. But I am just come from working it with lucerne, and oat-straw as a substratum, and have distributed the produce among my best horses. Sir Charles and my new-broke colt ate it greedily. Mrs. H's horse only rejects it, and my gray mare seems only not to dislike it. I suppose the crudeness of the plant is unpleasant to them from want of use. The instrument does not draw the lucerne alone, but works well with straw neatly laid at the bottom. If I am right in my recollection, Mr. Close gave his horses and cattle green and dry chaff mixed; and if his riding horse obtained his sleek coat by such provender, with (I conclude) a little addition of oats, there cannot be a better diet.

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

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

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

resolved however to get back the cost of my machines by the use of them.

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

From the frequent instances of oat growing out of horses' dung, and the disorders to which elephants are liable from eating the leaves and succulent stems of plantain trees uncut, it is evident, that it is only the soluble part of vegetable substances on which the powers of digestion can act, the hard husk of the entire oat preserving the seed from undergoing any change in the passage, and the fibres of all grasses undergoing but little, especially the stems of lucerne and green—near the roots, the greatest portion of straw, and much even of hay. These of course often retain their original substance, and are connected together, like ropes, through all the intestines. How far this may disturb what is called the peristaltic motion, or in what other way they may be affected by the prolongation of the same undissolved matter through vessels formed for different processes of digestion, I am not anatomist enough to conjecture: but I am confident of the cause, however it may produce its effect. In the instances of elephants, the effect is visible.

Hence it appears that, in all cases, where cattle have fibrous food provided for them, of whatever kind, it ought to be prepared for the stomach by being first cut into small portions. I have read that hogs will thrive in a field of clover, but die, if it is given to them as it is cut from the field. This (if true) must be owing to the cause above assigned.

I wish you would suggest this to Mr. Close; you need not show him what I have written.

Your's ever most truly,

W. H.

This short Letter expresses what were the feelings of gratitude which the just remunerations of the Court of Directors inspired him with; and shows from his consequent determinations that ambition had no influence in the direction of his views, but that his highest aim was the possession of a competent provision in perfect retirement.

*Daylesford House, July 12, 1799.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I lose not a moment to acquaint you with the fortunate issue of my application to the Court of Directors; of which I have just received the first authentic information from the Chairman, Sir Stephen Lushington, in these words: "I have the pleasure to tell you that the Report is confirmed." A copy of the report to which he alludes, I had received on Wednesday last, from our friend Toone, to whom Mr. Inglis had given it for that purpose; but I could not tell from his letter, whether it had then obtained the sanction of the Court or not. I will send you a copy of it, because you will receive more satisfaction from that than from any abridgment that I could give you of the substance of it. I am sure it will please you. Nothing could be handsomer than their acknowledgment of the justness of my request, as applied to "the spirit and real intent" of their original reso-

lution, nor more precise or explicit than the words of the recommendation.

You will observe a mistake in the words of my petition, which imply that a balance would remain due to them at the close of the term. I do not know how I came to make it, but they have corrected it, and even added a little to what I asked for, in the difference between the interest computed on the half yearly payments, instead of reckoning it from the close of each year. I do not know that this will be much; but it shows that what they did, they did with a liberal mind.

I am now easy, and I will add to the bounty of the Directors a determined resolution to reduce my course of yearly expenditure to the sum of my income. It will be a difficult work, but I will accomplish it; and, I thank God, I have almost completed my farm and my house establishments which have been very heavy charges upon me. I have one building now nearly done, and a road, which I will divide, between this and the next two years; and I have nothing else to cause me to exceed a fixed and well regulated establishment; to say nothing of my immense gains by my scientific process of husbandry.

Your ever affectionate,

W. H.

The abolition of the Slave Trade was a measure into which the philanthropic mind of Mr. Hastings entered warmly, notwithstanding his suspected love of tyranny, a vice the most remote from his composition. The closing remarks of his estimation of the character of Buonaparte, at the time of the Egyptian campaign, are curious, as well as the follow-

ing sentiments expressed in the next Letter in his congratulations on the success of the British arms.

*Daylesford House, July 28, 1799.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

If you have not lost, and can easily lay your hands on the scheme which I gave you some years ago, for a gradual abolition of the Slave Trade in the West Indies, I shall be much obliged to you for it. I shall receive it in time, for the use which I wish to make of it, when you come to Daylesford, if I may indulge the hope of that pleasure this year.

Never, my dear friend, predict evil, since its tendency is to wish for its accomplishment. In spite of all my better sentiments, and my attempts to rejoice at Buonaparte's defeat, I cannot help being sorry for it, because I have been so confident of his success, unless we had set on foot an armament to counteract him. I gave him credit for steadiness, and consistency, for the talents of a Statesman and the virtues of a Legislator. It never entered into my suspicions that he would leave his imperfect establishment in Egypt, for the variety of conquests which, if obtained, could have afforded him no solid advantage. What a glorious opportunity would this diversion have yielded to us, had we thought it worth our while to have set on foot an expedition against him!

Your's ever,

W. H.

---

*Daylesford House, September 4, 1799.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I heartily congratulate you on our late miraculous suc

cesses. I am not fond of assigning human events to the interposition of Providence; but in all that has passed in the course of this year I see so little of resemblance or analogy to the ordinary course of the great movements which govern this world, that I should feel it ungrateful to ascribe them to any other source. If our former disasters had been purposely inflicted as warnings, and our triumphs bestowed to excite our gratitude and amendment, and furnish our more wicked enemies, they could not more effectually have completed that design.

Your's ever,

W. H.

---

*London, April 1, 1800.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

We have been in town almost a complete fortnight, which we have passed in the most dissipated manner; that is to say, we have resigned ourselves wholly to our ancient friends and acquaintance, and console ourselves with the reflexion that a life, which would be sin in others, is with us a moral duty. It is certainly a pleasing one, and the more so as Mrs. Hastings has been so far from suffering by it in her health, that I think she is better than I have known her for some years, and every body says so.

I know nothing of public affairs more than you do. I begin to feel impatient for the Union, though I profess myself too ill informed to judge of its probable effects; but as it is to take place, I wish it to take place soon. God grant

that it may be productive of peace and order in that country, and strengthen the bonds of both !

The Prince of Wales has shewn me fresh marks of his kindness, and made me his guest the day before yesterday.

Adieu, my dear Friend, your's ever,

W. H.

This is the only Letter of Mrs. Hastings that we have met with in the series, and to judge by it, of her feelings towards her husband and his friends, she must have been as amiable and as warm-hearted as himself.

*Bath, March 9, 1803.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have had the satisfaction to receive your kind letter of the 1st, on the 5th, with one enclosed from your excellent son. I perused them both with great delight, and with mingled sensations ; both were strong proofs of that warm attachment and friendship which you have invariably shown to my beloved husband and myself. How gratifying are these marks of friendship to minds that can feel as they ought those rare qualities !

I was truly rejoiced to hear that my dear god-son was perfectly well ; may the Almighty ever keep him so, is my most ardent wish.—I have the comfort to assure you that our dear Mr. Hastings is, I praise God, quite well—we came to this place yesterday, not sick ; but to visit a sick and dear friend, Mrs. Sands.—We shall be off again on Friday morning for our dear Daylesford.

We feel, if possible, every day more and more attached to that sweet spot, and it becomes really painful to us both to

leave it even for a few days—what creatures of habit we are—I only fear that we shall become unsociable: I mean to the *grand monde*—our friends will ever meet with a hearty welcome and a warm reception under our roof, from the Master and Mistress.

I have kept Charles's letter, being fearful of its falling into other hands than our own; but if you think that there is no danger of its being lost, I will return it to you—though it came safe by the post, yet that is no security for its going safe back.

I cannot quit the subject of this letter without remarking the manliness of sentiment, the good sense, and easy style, which appears both in this and in the letters which Mr. Hastings has received from him.—Indeed he is an amiable young man, and you have cause to be proud of him, and happy to have such a son.

Adieu, my dear Sir John—my beloved Mr. Hastings charges me with his affectionate regards and wishes, and I pray you to believe me, at all times,

Your sincere Friend,

M. H.

---

The two following Letters of Mr. Hastings relate also to domestic matters, and they present the same picture of retired virtue and regard for all that could endear social life, as his previous letters, on whatever subject they are professedly written, so constantly betray.

*Daylesford House, March 22, 1803.*

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Little folks as we are, our actions and intentions are

sometimes known beyond the circle of our friends and acquaintance; possibly therefore you may have heard that we had it in contemplation to make a stout excursion to the continent; but a little journey to Bath presented so many inconveniences to Mrs. Hastings' delicate frame, and his Majesty's late message suggested so many more in so much more extensive an undertaking, that we had given up all thoughts of it long before your letter was written, and are immoveably fixed to Daylesford for some months at least to come. London we never think of, nor have I at present a conception of any thing that can draw us from home, in any future period of our lives.

I am, my dearest Friend, your's ever most truly,

W. H.

---

*Daylesford House, July 23, 1803.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Mrs. Hastings, with her mother, arrived at Daylesford last Tuesday night, at 11 o'clock, after a journey of seventeen days, and having borne the heat of the hottest day that we have had of this hot weather, and an east wind blowing their own dust after them the whole way. Yet they suffered little in their healths, and are now (I thank God!) both well; Mrs. Chapusettin is seventy-seven years of age, and does not look younger; but her strength and activity are astonishing, and her cheerfulness beyond all example, though it is put to a severe trial: not a soul but her daughter being able to exchange a word with her.

We expect Colonel and Mrs. Imhoff next week. When all the agitation of these novel events has subsided in-

to a degree of calm, you may expect to see us for a moment at Cheltenham.

Your's ever

W. H.

The last Letter, with which we shall close for the present the correspondence of this great and amiable man, was written to his friend, who had now removed to India, (an interval of five years appearing between the dates) and is written on small thin note paper, for transmission by an overland dispatch.

It furnishes, too, a convenient period at which to rest, as it gives an abstract of his fortune and his affairs up to the period from which he dates. There still remain, however, in our possession, some Letters of great interest, extending to the close of the year 1813, and subsequent to the Marquis of Hastings' rule, which we shall take an early opportunity of adding to complete this valuable series.

*Daylesford House, September 18, 1804.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Through my own laziness, and the uncertainty of the Company's dispatches, I have missed the last packets, and am too early by two months (as I am told) for the next; but shall take my chance of getting a conveyance for this letter by an overland dispatch, concluding that the very late advices by land, and their importance, will speedily require one. You will have the news of the decision of the ballot to greet you on your arrival, and complete your joy on that event.

I am sorry that I can give you no news, but of myself;

but you feel too warm an interest on that subject, not to make my letter welcome. On the 25th of July, the Court of Directors passed a resolution to cancel the remainder of my debts due to them, and to allow me my full annuity (£4000) to the expiration of the Company's Charter, from the 10th of June 1803, thus granting me one moiety in advance. I have not yet received official notice of it, nor the first payment, as they wait for the opinion of their Counsel, to know whether it will be legally necessary to refer their resolution to a Court of Proprietors for its confirmation. This has been to me a matter of great humiliation; but I have met with so many personal kindnesses in the progress of it, and other indications of the conversion of many old hostilities and prejudices into good-will towards me, that I rejoice, without any mixture of regret, at all the past; of the future I still retain some cause of anxiety.

My good fortune ceased not here. On the 14th of last month, the Master of the Rolls gave judgment on my suit, in Chancery, dismissing Rajah Nubkishon's bill. His decisions are so clear, and his character as a Judge stands so high, that his decree is not likely to be appealed, or (if appealed) to be reversed.

The first affair detained me more than seven months in London. Mrs. H. sickened, and preceded me the latter end of May, and by taking up the occupation of the farm, has regained her health and confirmed it. My partial friends compliment me on mine: but I feel that I have made in this short interval an advance of years towards my dissolution. I can now meet it, come when it will, with a tranquil and al-

most glad mind, by contrasting the state in which I shall leave my dear Mrs. Hastings, with what it would have been had I died a twelvemonth past. We often talk of you and your dear children, and shall impatiently look for the first intelligence of your arrival, and happy meeting with your Charles. May it prove so, in every circumstance of it!

I am sorry to hear that your Government is involved in new hostilities, because I infer from them the concerted revival of the past. It will, however, prevent the abdication of Lord Wellesley, if he seriously intended it; and so far only I shall be almost glad of it, though I had rather a few years of peace had elapsed. Our expectation of an invasion is from time to time awakened; but I am more than ever convinced, that it will not soon take place, if ever, from the growing difficulties which would attend it.

Mrs. Hastings affectionately remembers you, and joins with me in love to your dear son and daughter. Tell Charles I shall answer his affectionate letter by the next regular packet.

Adieu, my Friend—Heaven bless you and yours.

W. H.

P. S.—I forgot to mention that I have formally relinquished my claim to the Nabob's donation, as much to my own satisfaction as that of the Directors, who would have been embarrassed to decide upon the reference of it made to them.

---

After the Memoir and the Correspondence with which we have endeavoured to illustrate the life and character of this extraordinary but injured man, we subjoin a transcript

of the sentiments that very generally prevail in India regarding him. It appeared in the *India Gazette* and is from the pen of an eloquent writer and a man of feeling as well as judgment; and as it is, in our estimation, but an accurate picture of the sentiments which the name of Warren Hastings universally inspires in this country, though few perhaps could so well express them, we could not in justice refrain from repeating them here, more particularly as we could never do so at a more appropriate moment than the present. The writer expresses himself, as follow :

“ It is now many years since I arrived in Bengal, and during that period I have not been an inattentive observer of Indian character.—I have, like others of my countrymen, visited the different scenes of the operation of the councils or commands of Warren Hastings, which formed the principal articles of the charges against him. I have conversed with English and Indian agents and subjects of his power, and I have eagerly and perseveringly sought the memory or tradition of local impressions.—I have availed myself of opportunities to converse with the remnant of those of our countrymen, whose energies had been displayed in effecting the objects, his wisdom or his turpitude enjoined; and also with the veterans of our native army, who traversed India at his command, or were the agents of his will under his administration of Bengal. I encouraged their narratives because knowledge was my pursuit; I listened with conviction, because their earthly affections and prejudices was fast settling into that truth which attends departing life;—and wherever I have turned, and in whatever language has been the ex-

pression, I have never heard the name of Warren Hastings pronounced but with awe, with reverence, and and affection. Among the natives of this country I have heard verified. what is once thought the boastful observation of a boastful man, "that the people of India believed there was some attendant Genius that always guided my designs to their just and successful ends." By his contemporary countrymen I have heard it accepted as significant of every energy of fortitude and wisdom.

Are we to suppose that India would embalm the memory of its spoiler? than his own countrymen would consecrate a profligate ambition whose power had long been prostrate in the dust? Is it our fate at this moment to trace misery and desolation as perpetuating the existence of his administration—to sit on some fallen column of the Capitol meditating on the ruins of empire? Surely we live in the days of enchantment, when the language of men is no longer the agent of the will, if we are still to doubt the voice of India in favor of Warren Hastings; and we ourselves are the victims of illusion which gives to the baseless fabric of a vision the fair exterior of harmonious strength which now surrounds us! and well may we doubt if it be in the order of natural things, when we trace the chaos of convulsive ruin from which the beauteous edifice arose, with domestic faction and external wars opposing the mighty labourer in his work. But if truth has at length dissipated the shade which enveloped all Indian transactions, and exhibits a monument of which the history of the world affords no parallel—an empire of moral ascendancy—let us tread lightly on the ashes of the mighty architect, for the key-stone of the arch in

the memory of tradition of Warren Hastings. His spirit still walks abroad, is still mighty in the land. It obeyed the invocation of a Wellesley; it has cleared the paths of him who now bears his mantle and his name.

Warren Hastings, during his whole political life, had to contend with the most inveterate of enemies.—Among his own immediate masters—in the legislature of his country,—in a just and generous public,—he found this persecuting spirit;—the arch enemy of Hastings was Ignorance. India was scarcely known to our country until his government. Before that period, our only national establishment was our military renown; for our territorial possessions, on either coast, were but fortifications against France, or citadels against Indian states. On the Ganges, Clive, the mighty magician, had borne the standard of England from the walls of Fort William, and, in the regions that he trod it waved on the temple of victory which arose at his command. But the gorgeous fabric was evanescent; it was only existent in the presence or the recollection of the dread enchanter. It was Warren Hastings that gave it a foundation and its strength; and when the illusion of enchantment ceased, and India would have retraced “a Mahratta Ditch,” she found a mighty rampart of Britain’s strength, with Hastings wielding the energies of his country, and wisdom and valor the magic of his arms.

Until this period India was that unknown country which poets speak of. She had no place in British geography, until Hastings had secured kingdoms as provinces of the British empire; and England was unprepared for the

mighty acquisition. Her American possessions had been the growth of ages, and had at this time reared the standard of revolt and independence. Insulted and humiliated by her European foes, the ambition of England was chastised by calamity. Party spirit ran high throughout the country, and mutual menaces and reproaches had engendered a ferocity of character, demanding some victim for its rage. In a country glorious above all others in that freedom which gives the human mind its uncontrolled expansion, a participation in the power to which is confided the guardianship of national independence and of social happiness, is ever the ambition of superior intellect; while the jealous observation of its ministration is the sacred legacy of our fathers, or rather the proud tenure of English liberty. Party spirit is the necessary consequence of such a government; and though it be adduced in testimony of human infirmity, it is not the less a proof of British freedom. In all questions of national interest, therefore there ever must, and will exist these two relations in the state.

At the period of American independence, when weakness would still reclaim what reason and strength combined to resist, and the moment was arrived, when the separation of the colonial empire from the parent state was the condition of its birth, party spirit intemperately marked the feelings of our country, and the loss of our American empire was asserted, according to each man's creed, as the agency of ministerial imbecility or of opposition incitement. While such was the general state and disposition of our country, a planet arose in the East, reflecting its radiance on the dark he-

hemisphere of England: men of both parties watched the illumination, which exposed the gloomy horizon of their own action; and unable to discover its direction by their own system, they pronounced it the extravagance of a meteor's splendour. It was thus the misfortune of Hastings, that while the wisdom of his measures and their splendid results reproached the disastrous fortunes of England, he presented in himself, and the agents of his glory, the anomalous character of a third relation in the state. His actions were neither offensive nor defensive arms in St. Stephen's Chapel, and the cannon which thundered on the continent of India had no reverberation in rejoicings in England; for the wisdom and the victories of Warren Hastings were exclusively his own.

The trial of Warren Hastings was a national act in its true as well as legal sense. Ignorance of India was as general as it was profound; and the disposition to believe his guilt was a natural feeling in people, jealous of power, to commit the reputation of his country when acting for interests in which, it was the popular opinion, there was no national participation. It requires little knowledge of human life to trace our vigilant scrutiny into the conduct of those who benefit by a profession from which we believe ourselves unjustly excluded, and the history of our country evinces, that charity has seldom stood near the judgment seat, when the conduct of Indian agents has been the subject of national inquiry.

In the public voice of England, thus darkly pronouncing on the administration of Warren Hastings, there was

no common language between him and his accusers. He quoted the laws of Mahomed, and they knew no statutes but those of a British Parliament. He asserted immemorial Pagan customs, and they rehearsed the obligations of Christian morality. He proclaimed the despotism of the East, and they blessed the limits of constitutional freedom. Was this a tribunal to pronounce on the actions of Hastings? Judge him by English feelings! when have they a sympathy in the East? Judge him by English laws! how could they follow his untracked career! The laws of England are like all human laws; they are not of intuitive wisdom; they are the wisdom of experience; they judge of what man may do by what man has already done; they impose restraints on human passions by the knowledge of human actions. How could they apply to the administration of Hastings? Had we ever citizens of our country placed before on such a perilous eminence? Is there a chapter in our penal code that defines the guilt of saving an empire? On the trial of Warren Hastings, Monarchs of the East should have been his jurors, and the history of the spirit, the temper, the passions of India should have been placed by the Statute Book of England.

I am not the eulogist of Hastings—nor do I attempt to trace perfection; but in judging him by the standard of his fellow man, I place him in the circle of those illustrious characters, whom the collective wisdom of ages has presented to the admiration of the world. Warren Hastings is to be judged by the complexion of the times in which he acted, and then justly will be understood the mighty energies of that firm intrepid spirit, which unmoved by domestic faction, and

undismayed by foreign hostility, calmly surveyed the abyss on which he stood, and when unable to oppose the raging elements, rose in the whirlwind to direct the storm;—or when indignantly rejecting the intreaties of a chief, in whose states he was a fugitive, with the solitary protection of the obscurity of night—threatening vengeance on his crimes, and subversion of his power, although his own personal guard had been destroyed, and himself dependent for subsistence on the attachment of an Indian—the agent of a foreign state.

In the external policy of Warren Hastings, he was necessarily the creature of circumstances; for, in the distracted scene before him, not to take a part had been self-destruction.

From the death of Aurongzebe, the empire of the Moguls became the divided property of the aspiring chiefs of the continent of India, and, in the conflicts which ensued, the English factories were commonly indebted to their own valour for protection from plunder and oppression. England was a nascent power from the moment she drew her sword; and when she declared herself a state, progressive influence was the principle of her existence, and paramount authority her only safety. The legislative enactments at home against schemes of conquest and ambition in India, were asserted with complacency in England, and obtained the innocent admiration of Europe; but when ignorance demanded their practical application, the self-denying ordinance was justly received in India, as that insane temerity, whose strength, in national expression, was too formidable to be enchained, and which wisdom therefore was contented to elude; for the British power in India was like a Prince of the House of Timur;

whose only security for light, liberty, and life, was in the imperial crown. Sheathing the sword, the metaphorical expression of affluence, of commerce, and tranquillity, has never been permitted to India from the death of Aurengzebe, until the present moment, when the British flag, flying on the rock of Asseergurh, telegraphed the decree of the English Ruler, commanding that the Indian world should be at peace.

If the foreign policy of Hastings excite our admiration of his wisdom and his fortitude, no mind, imbued with the spirit of philosophy and truth, will but reverence the enlarged maxims of his domestic administration. Engraven on the wall of the building at Benares, the holy city of the Hindus, is the name of Warren Hastings, the Repairer of the Temple—in one of the principal streets of the metropolis of British India, the lofty walls, and terraces, the gardens, proclaim the Musselman College, erected and endowed by Warren Hastings. Proceed still further, and History points to the ditch within whose bounds Warren Hastings imprisoned the Laws of England. There surely cannot be a plainer truth than that human laws are only wise in their application to the character of life. Let not our country arrogate the attributes of omnipotence. Let her not believe that, with the assertion of truth, she bestows the faculty to receive it,—the education of our youth, the customs of our fathers, are eternal chains on the mass of mankind; among a people, opinion is stronger than truth; and truth, the spirit and essence of English law, would itself be a curse, not a blessing, on the people of India, if conferred with the excrescences and the barbarisms which still disfigure the beautiful fabric. In

the atrocious attempt to let loose the laws of England on the natives of Hindoostan, Hastings stood forth the redeemer of a people, and the saviour of British India. His wisdom watched the disturbed, the rising elements; his personal influence averted the storm ready to burst on our devoted countrymen; and the greatest, noblest act of his illustrious life, was when he drew a circle with his sword around Calcutta, and said to the Laws of England, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further."

"I gave you Empire, I gave you all," exclaimed his proud, indignant spirit, "and you have rewarded me with a life of impeachment, confiscation, and disgrace."

"The Athenians, so remarkable for their caprice, who never knew the value of their great men till after their death, soon became sensible of their folly, as well as criminality, of putting to death the man who had been the chief ornament of their city, and of the age. To give a proof of the sincerity of their regret, the Athenians for awhile interrupted public business; decreed a general mourning; recalled his exiled friends, and erected a statue to his memory in one of the most frequented parts of the city."—*Cal. Jour.* June 13, 1819.

## CONGRATULATORY LETTERS,

ADDRESSED TO WARREN HASTINGS ESQ.

We have been favoured with a copy of the following Letters, and have much satisfaction in presenting them to the Public.

The news of the acquittal of Mr. Hastings arrived in

Calcutta, by the *Lord Thurlow*, Indiaman, in the month of September 1795, and was received with universal pleasure.

A meeting of the British inhabitants of Calcutta was convened on the 19th Sept. and the following Congratulatory Address was unanimously agreed to, and signed by 326 of the principal British inhabitants in Calcutta.

SIR,—The inhabitants of this settlement, on your departure for Europe, having, in the strongest terms, expressed their sense both of your public administration and private conduct during the long period in which you presided in India, we feel it no less incumbent on us now to offer to you our warmest congratulations on your acquittal of all the charges that were preferred against you in England.

We cannot but admire, Sir, the patience, fortitude, and resignation, with which you have borne a trial unexampled in its length, and a scrutiny into character, motives, and actions, the most strict and minut that ever was instituted. But, upheld by conscious innocence, you have given an example of your reliance on the justice of your cause, which, we doubt not, will carry conviction to the world and posterity, equal to the verdict of the illustrious tribunal before which you have appeared.

An acquittal, under such circumstances, we must consider as honourable in the highest degree to yourself, as well as demonstrative of the impartial justice of our country. It is also peculiarly gratifying to us, as it confirms, and, if it were possible, it would strengthen, those sentiments which we never ceased to entertain of you.

Permit us to add, Sir, our cordial wishes, that your

remaining years may be many, and accompanied by felicity that may compensate for the loss of those benefits and comforts of which you have been so long deprived.

The following congratulatory letters were also transmitted by the several divisions of the Bengal army, and presented to Mr. Hastings by the undersigned officers.

*To Warren Hastings, Esq.*

SIR,—We have been honoured by the selection of our brother officers in India, to be the medium of offering to you their congratulations on the honourable issue of the most extensive and rigorous examination ever instituted into the conduct of one man; and we feel particularly happy, in having this opportunity afforded us of adding our own congratulations to his anticipation of the judgment of posterity, from those who had the nearest means of observing your measures, and of estimating their wisdom by their effects.

We have the honour to be, with the greatest esteem  
and respect, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servts.

(Signed.)            { RICHARD SCOTT, JAMES BURNETT,  
                              JOHN ASHWORTH, JOHN SALMOND.

London, March 30, 1796.

*To Warren Hastings, Esq. late Governor General of Bengal.*

SIR,—Relieved from a long and painful anxiety, respecting the event of your unmerited prosecution and trial, the officers and staff at this station indulge the warmest sentiments

of their hearts, in congratulating you on your honourable acquittal.

Having been ever fully impressed with the highest sense of your merit, they cannot but rejoice that your character, after the severest investigation, has been so amply and so honourably justified.

All Europe must now join with them in acknowledging the wisdom and justice of those measures, which, by conciliating the minds of the native powers, ensured success to those exertions you so happily employed, to the preservation of the British empire in the East, against the united efforts of the most powerful enemies.

Accept, Sir, this heartfelt congratulation, as a small tribute to your merit, and a sincere testimony of the regard and esteem with which they have the honour to subscribe themselves,

Your most faithful and devoted humble Servants,  
(Signed) G. JOHNSON, *Lieut Col.* and 51 officers and staff,  
of the garrison of Chunar Ghur.

Chunar Ghur, Oct. 5, 1795.

---

*To Warren Hastings, E q.*

Sir,—The officers and staff of that part of the Bengal army at present stationed at Futty Ghur, would deem themselves deficient in gratitude for the steady support afforded of their claims, and the warm regard invariably manifested to the honour and prosperity of the army in general, during your administration of the British affairs in India, should they not embrace the earliest opportunity of presenting to you their sincere congratulations upon the honourable

termination of the long and rigorous scrutiny, which has been instituted into your measures and conduct, during a government of thirteen years, and under the constant pressure of multiplied difficulties and dangers.

While they testify their inexpressible satisfaction at the result of an inquiry, which will transmit your name to posterity with deserved and unfading lustre, they cannot but feel a very particular self-gratulation, on finding their own sentiments of your wisdom, zeal, and important public services, confirmed, by the almost unanimous verdict of the most respectable tribunal upon earth and the general voice of the nation.

May you, Sir, long live in the enjoyment of your well-earned fame, and in the perfect possession and farther public exertion of those eminent talents which have acquired such extensive and permanent advantage to your country.

We have the honour to be,

With the greatest esteem and respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble Servants,

(Signed) W. M. POBHAM, Col. and 68 officers and staff.

Futty Ghur, Oct. 3, 1795.

---

*To Warren Hastings, Esq. late Governor General in Bengal.*

Sir,—We, the officers of the division of the Bengal army stationed at Cawnpore, impelled by a grateful remembrance of the many obligations we owe to your late administration, and our ardent admiration of your private character, press

forward to offer you our sincere congratulations on your late honourable acquittal.

During a trial, which, for severity of scrutiny, and intolerable procrastination, is without example in the annals of the world, we have beheld you, Sir; patient and magnanimous, deporting yourself in a manner becoming the saviour of British India. Our solicitude was great, but we had no fear of the issue, though we feelingly lamented the precious years that have been lost to the public, which might otherwise have been employed in the service of the state, at a period as interesting and momentous, as your trial has been afflicting and unprecedented.

May the remainder of your life, Sir, be long and happy; and we hope, that this grateful tribute from a body who have been witnesses of the brilliant act of your dignified and meritorious administration, will descend, with the name of Hastings, to posterity, as a token of the veneration and esteem in which we have ever held your character, and as a proof of the respect with which we are, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble Servants,

(Signed) JOHN FORBES, *Col.* and 106 officers and Staff.

The following address from the officers of the Bengal army, stationed at the presidency of Fort William, and at Barrackpore, was brought over by Major Rattray, of the Bengal artillery, and was presented to Mr. Hastings by that gentleman, Col. Duncan, and Capt. Ashworth.

*To Warren Hastings, Esq.*

Sir,—The officers of the Bengal army, bearing in their

remembrance, the wisdom, moderation, and justice of your administration in India, feel a very heartfelt satisfaction in congratulating you on your late honourable acquittal, by the Peers of Great Britain, from charges brought against you by the House of Commons, and supported by men of the first abilities in the nation.

The energy and severity with which you have been for so many years prosecuted, the magnanimity and fortitude you have shewn during your trial, and in declining to solicit support, even when all the power and abilities of your native country seemed combined against you, place you in a point of view the most envied, the most honourable; for your enemies have raised a monument to your fame, on which the justice of your country hath recorded the integrity of your mind, and the propriety and necessity of your public conduct. May the gratitude of the community you have so long, so ably, and so faithfully served, be as conspicuous as your merits and disinterestedness have been publicly evinced. May your sovereign, by conferring honours upon you, prove the value he has for such a subject, and, by doing so, increase the approbation and attachment of a free and generous people.

With us, and with the natives of this country, your name must ever be revered, and, with Clive's, be handed down with honour, respect, and admiration, to the latest posterity.—We have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servants,

(Signed) CHARLES MORGAN, Col. and 175 officers and staff:

*To Warren Hastings, Esq. late Gov. Gen. in Bengal.*

Sir.—We the officers and staff of the military station of Dinapore, and its dependencies, impressed with heartfelt gratitude for former favours, embrace the earliest opportunity to congratulate you upon the very honourable termination of the most vexatious, tedious, and unmerited prosecution recorded in the annals of history.

Long may you live, Sir, an ornament to that nation which will, at length, unblinded by prejudice, be fully convinced of the ample support and benefit it received from your administration in India; and will, no doubt, do justice to that exertion, ability, and patriotism, which, surmounting every difficulty and obstruction, secured these possessions unimpaired to the mother country, although assaulted by the combined powers of Europe and the East.—We are, Sir, with the utmost esteem and gratitude, your most obedient and most humble servants,

(Signed) H. Baileo, Col. and 108 officers and staff.

*To Warren Hastings, Esq.*

Sir,—The gentlemen of Fort Marlborough beg leave to congratulate you on an event which they have long expected from the justice of their country, and which they proudly record by unanimous commemoration.

They have remarked, Sir, with admiration, the spirited and manly struggle which you so long maintained in support of your personal integrity, and the dignity of a government, the energies of which are, to this moment, felt by India, to the remotest extremes of her vast empire. With the sin-

greatest pleasure they at length contemplate the suffrages of a nation united in the vindication of your honour, and a distinguished place assigned in the annals of the world, to that virtue which hath passed, unhurt, the ordeal of so many years.

To such high acknowledgment of your merits, permit them to add their limited testimony, that your memory will be dear to India; whilst, in the happiness which your wise government diffused around it, in the advancement of the arts you patronized, and the progress of the sciences you cherished, mankind shall continue to trace the enlightened politician, the comprehensive genius, and the polite scholar.

It remains for them to express their sincerest wishes, that every happiness and enjoyment may await the evening of your honourable life, in the bosom of your country; which, after severe approval of your worth, hath at length been amply though slowly just.—They have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble Servants,

(Signed) R. Broff, H. Douglas, P. Braham, B. Hartley, R. S. Graham, F. E. Hoaghan, T. Browne, G. Barclay, J. Macdonald, A. Monteth, R. Best, W. M. Grant, D. McPhee, H. Dunning, C. Holloway, C. Day, R. Biff, T. Sturgeon, T. Cudlipp, J. Powell, J. Campbell, J. Grigson, A. Brennan, W. Parker, D. Gillis, J. N. Sealy, P. W. Peirse, E. Bagley, J. Mully, J. B. Rosindell, G. Hutchinson, J. Furing, C. Campbell, J. Bagley, T. Waters, J. Braham.

*Fort Marlbro', Oct. 20, 1795.*

The first of the preceding congratulatory letters was transmitted by the government of Bengal, to the Court of Directors, and sent to Mr. Hastings by their order, with the following letter from the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman, to which his answer is annexed.

*To Warren Hastings, Esq.*

Sir—We have the commands of the Court of Directors, to transmit to you the address of the inhabitants of Calcutta, on your late honourable acquittal by the House of Lords: we have great pleasure in obeying these commands, which convey so honourable a testimony of the esteem and affection of so very respectable a body of men, who had such opportunities of appreciating your character.

We have the honour to be, with much esteem, Sir,

Your very obedient humble Servants,

(Signed) D. SCOTT, HUGH INGLIS.

East India House, May 4, 1796.

*To David Scott and Hugh Inglis, Esquires.*

GENTLEMEN,

I have received the letter which you have done me the honour to write to me, in obedience to the commands of the Court of Directors, with that which it inclosed, and which was addressed to me by the British Inhabitants of Calcutta; and I request the favour of you to present to that Honourable Court my most grateful thanks for this additional instance of their goodness. To have allowed it to receive its destined passage through the channel of their official proceedings, was, of itself, an indication of their approval of its

contents; but they chose to stamp it with the highest consequence, perhaps, that they could give to it, when they entrusted its transmission to the charge of their Chairman and Deputy; for which I ought to be, and do feel myself, impressed with the deepest sense of obligation. I beg leave, at the same time, to express my particular thanks to you, gentlemen, for the very handsome and dignified terms in which you have been pleased to execute this commission.

My sufferings have been great; but they have been converted into blessings by the consequences which they have drawn down upon me. My acquittal, though by the highest and most respectable tribunal upon earth, I consider but as an exemption from infamy. It was followed by the declaration of the collective body of my late masters, that I merited positive approbation. The Court of Directors added the most honourable and impressive testimony to that judgment. My fellow-countrymen, both civil and military, of that establishment, whose interests were, during a course of many years, committed to my charge, have repeated the same sentiments; and the former have indirectly appealed to that Honourable Court for the confirmation which it had already given of it.

I have yet a further debt of gratitude to acknowledge to the Hon. Court of Directors, for the boon of fifty thousand pounds, which they have generously granted to me, in consequence of my late application, which certainly was not made with such an expectation. As a relief from distress, I received it with a thankful heart: as an implied effect of the same generous acceptance of my services, I feel a grati-

fication from it of a different kind, and scarcely inferior to the former. I request that you will have the goodness to convey my thanks for this last act of their bounty, which I should have before acknowledged, had not a consideration of delicacy restrained me, while any part of the sum destined for my use, by their orders, remained unpaid. I am this instant informed that the last delivery of 25 thousand pounds, was made this morning, making up with the first the complete sum of fifty thousand pounds.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Park Lane, May 6, 1796.

The following answers were written by Mr. Hastings to the Congratulatory Letters.

*To the British Inhabitants of Calcutta.*

Gentlemen,—I have now the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, congratulating me on my acquittal of all the charges preferred against me in England.

I return you my most sincere thanks for this instance of your attention to me, on an occasion so interesting to my credit and peace of mind; and for the confirmation which you have joined to it of your former approbation of my conduct, during the period in which I held the chief administration in Bengal.

The mode which you have chosen to convey to me the testimony of your good-will, claims also my farther thanks. Though independant and complete in itself, yet by commu-

nicating it through the channel of the Court of Directors you have given it the effect of an appeal to their justice. It was transmitted to me by their commands, in a letter signed by their Chairman and Deputy Chairman, expressive, in the most honourable terms, of their accordance with the sentiments which it contained.

To a man, whom a strange fatality involved, through the course of a long official life, in an unremitting struggle for the means of discharging with effect the duties of his station, and guarding his reputation from dishonour, declarations of applause and affection from those who stood by position nearest to the seat, or influence, of that authority in which he so long participated, and whose operations he, in a great measure, directed, are of more worth than any that wealth and honours, united, could yield. Such, I can truly affirm, they are in my estimation of them.

You, Gentlemen, have many claims of old to my regard. There was a time in which even the authority of my public office derived a considerable support from the influence of good opinions of the manner in which it had been exercised. The knowledge of your sentiments, publicly and authentically expressed on the day of my departure from Calcutta, contributed largely to support my credit with my countrymen at home, when, but for this, and similar aids, it must have sunk under the pressure of accusations heaped upon me without number, and yet unrevoked, in the name of the most revered body upon earth. These are personal benefits which I must ever remember with a grateful heart: nor is the impression made upon it by the prompt and ardent zeal which

you have ever manifested to co-operate with the government itself, in seasons of great exigency, less deeply marked, though blended with an esteem arising from a more disinterested consideration.

When I parted, in the year 1785, from that community to which I had attached myself by an intercourse of many years, and by various relations, my heart sorrowed for the separation, but consoled itself with the hope, which a conscientious reflection of a long, a well-intended, and a successful service, entitled me to indulge, that I might still devote what remained of the active portion of my life to the advancement of your welfare, with that of the state on which it depended. I have been disappointed, and have painfully, though patiently, borne the disappointment. Yet, has it not been wholly unprofitable. The voluminous evidence produced in the course of my long trial, has incidently brought to light many of the virtues of my countrymen and fellow-servants in India, which would otherwise have remained sunk in obscurity: it has, in a great measure, removed the prejudices which had been excited against them, and shewn them deserving of the love and respect of their brethren at home, for the firm regard which they have shewn to their common interests; for the candour and simplicity of their manners, and the gentleness and moderation with which they have generally and most individually, demeaned themselves towards the native inhabitants of the provinces dependent on the British dominion, over whom the ascendant of the national character is scarcely less prevalent than the power with which it is, in many instances, officially associated. Those virtues,

while they tend to promote the duration of that dominion; by binding it on willing minds, reflect, at the same time, a credit on the British name, and give to their possessors a double title to the affection of every man who bears it.

In the many different occupations which I have filled in India, from my early youth, upwards, I have had more opportunities of knowing the general character of my countrymen resident in it, but more particularly in the provinces of Bengal, than almost any other man; and I dare to pronounce, as I would if called upon before the judgment seat of Heaven, that in the sentiment and practice of the two best affections which constitute the bond of society, namely, public spirit and generosity, they are not surpassed, if equalled, by any people on earth. I might appeal to a very recent instance of both, if it were necessary to display to you the exhibition of your own deeds; and God forbid that my countrymen, if ever this writing should come to their knowledge, should want a monitor to remind them of their benefactors, or to awaken in their breasts the sentiments which are due to those who feel for their distresses, and manifested a solicitude, without the possession of it, to relieve them!

To the Almighty Disposer of human events, I humbly and fervently offer up my prayers for your prosperity, for the prosperity of the British empire in India, and for the ease, content, and happiness of the native inhabitants of it, who have a more immediate and indispensable claim to its protection.

I have the honour to be, with the most grateful and  
 indelible attachment, Gentlemen,  
 Your much obliged, most obedient and faithful Servant,  
 (Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

*To Major General Charles Morgan.*

London, June 13, 1796.

Sir,—By one of the ships which sailed for India in the  
 course of the last month, I addressed to you a short letter,  
 acknowledging the receipt of one which I had the honour to  
 receive from yourself, and the other officers of the brigade  
 at the presidency; expressive, in terms the most flattering  
 and honourable to me, of your participation in the joy of  
 my acquittal of the charges preferred against me by the  
 Commons of Great Britain, and your sense both of my  
 public conduct, and regard to the general rights and inter-  
 ests of the service, and of the army in particular. To si-  
 milar addresses from the officers of the military stations of  
 Cawnpore, Futty Ghur, and Chunarghur, I also wrote  
 letters of acknowledgment in the same terms as that which  
 I wrote to you: and addressed them to Col. Forbes, Colo-  
 nel Popham, and Lieutenant Colonel Johnson, the officers  
 commanding those stations respectively; reserving myself  
 for a future reply, with the aid of more leisure, by the sub-  
 sequent dispatches. I could not suffer the first ships to de-  
 part without making some declaration however imperfect of  
 the sense which I felt of these testimonies of the benevo-  
 lence of men, whose professional characters stood so high  
 in my estimation of them, and in their claims upon my re-  
 gard for their past exertions in the service of that adminis-

tration, over which I many years presided. Not could a few words, suggested at the instant, satisfy my mind, which felt itself impressed with more than even the most laboured language could utter. Yet, whatever the heart may conceive, it is only by the common forms of speech that its conceptions can be adequately rendered. Mine has but one mixed sentiment for this occasion; the sentiment of affection and gratitude. This is all that I can express; and this I request you to make known, in whatever mode may be the most regular, to all the officers whose names are subscribed to the letters of congratulation which I have already received, and such others (for such I am assured there are) as may have been since transmitted for the same purpose.

Upon this occasion, I cannot but remember, with augmented satisfaction, the general address which I received from the officers of the army upon the Bengal establishment, some months after my departure from India. That act, after a lapse of more than ten years, which have passed over my head with circumstances the most degrading to me while they lasted, you, Gentlemen, have now authenticated by the repetition of your former assurances, not delivered merely in the form of a deed of common acquiescence, but marked as the positive and distinct sense of every division of the army residing on the same spot, and uniting to form the terms of it. Such a testimony, while it glorifies its subject far beyond the lustre of artificial distinctions, reflects, at the same time, the highest credit (if I may say so much upon a point in which I have so near an interest) on those who have delivered it; and proves, that neither length of

time, nor the influence of causes which have commonly governed the judgment of mankind, have had any power, either to change the opinions which had grown on theirs, from the effect of their own experience and observations, or to lessen the effect of those opinions on their fixed attachments.

Much as I owe for these unexampled demonstrations of the good-will of the gentlemen, to whom, through your channel, I now address myself, yet it is not by this consideration alone that my gratitude or attachment is bounded. I owe much to them for whatever degree of reputation the world may be pleased to allow me. It has been my boast, and though repeatedly proclaimed, even on that ground on which the most laboured efforts were made to blast my good name, it has never been contradicted, that in the course of an administration of thirteen years, and in periods of more than common difficulty, I never joined in the formation of any military operation, which did not ultimately succeed in the complete attainment of its destined, or a better purpose. It might be permitted to me to arrogate some little merit to myself, for having discerned and applied, in the discharge of a great national trust, the ample means which I possessed in the talents, prowess, and enthusiastic ardour, of those whose services I had the power of calling into action. Therefore it was, that the measures which I could call my own were invariably successful.

Among the numerous accusations with which I have been heavily charged, it was one, that I rashly precipitated the Company's interests; and even safety, into situations of

unequal danger. And true it was, that if I had but common instruments to work with, I should have thought as they did who laid that guilt to my charge, because they knew not, that no enterprize was too great for men, who possessing, in common with their brethren of these kingdoms, the virtues of courage and honour, joined to a professional knowledge, wrought by constant practice to perfection; men whose daily habits, even to their amusements, were military, and who regarded every service in which they engaged, as their own.

In our community, it has sometimes happened, as in the best it must, that parties have been formed, which have unhappily divided men's affections, with their opinions, from each other. But no instance has ever yet occurred, in which the interests of their state were threatened with external danger, that did not unite all hearts and hands in the same common cause, and in one determined and confident resolution to maintain it against what power soever might assail it. This observation comprises both branches of the service, the civil equally with the military; and too highly do I estimate the spirit and liberality of the latter, to fear that I may displease them, by ascribing to the former this participation in those qualities which constitute the true basis of public virtue. It is to these energies, and to this bond of union, that Great Britain is indebted for her Indian empire. May the same spirit ever animate every corps, and every department of that service, to the same honourable and prosperous exertions; and may their parent state, more and more know, and knowing, love and cherish those virtues,

from which it has derived so many and great benefits, and on which it depends for their duration and improvement! I have the honour to be, with the most affectionate attachment,

Sir,

Your most obedient and faithful Servant,

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

*To Robert Broff, Esq. Lieutenant-Governor, and the other Gentlemen of Fort-Marlborough.*

London, August 14, 1796.

Gentlemen.— I have the honour to receive your letter, and grieve that the last ships which might have carried out my acknowledgment of it, had it arrived a very few days earlier, are now on their way to India: but I feel myself impressed with too strong a sense of obligation for its contents to lose a day preparing it, however distant the means of its conveyance may be. I shall not attempt to express what no power of words can describe, the sensations of surprize, pleasure, and gratitude, which I felt on the receipt of such a testimony of the approbation and esteem of gentlemen of such consideration, and to every one of whom I am personally unknown: nor were these the only sentiments excited by it; whatever I may be, however deficient in those deserts which might entitle me to so distinguished an honour, yet your motive proceeded from a source of generosity blended with the purest streams of public virtue; such as, I am proud to think, could only flow from the hearts of my own countrymen; at least I have never heard or read of similar instances, in the annals of other nations. I must admire

and venerate such an effect of such a principle, even if I had no interest in its application.

I will not, however, so far undervalue your act, as to disclaim all pretensions to the benefit of it. My own conscience will allow me to lay claim to as much merit as can belong to the best intentions, and those wholly exempt from every selfish view, which could stand in competition with the general interests which I held in trust, though not without a gratification in the present approbation of my own mind, and in the hope of the future applause of my own country, and of the native inhabitants of that over which I presided.

Accept, gentlemen, my most sincere and grateful thanks for this honourable pledge of your regard, and my most fervent wishes for the prosperity of your establishment, and for the happiness of every individual composing it.

I have the honour to be, with the most respectful acknowledgments, Gentlemen,

Your greatly obliged, and most obedient humble Servant,  
(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

*Copy of a letter supposed to have been lost in the Hin-  
chinbrooke, in the year 1785, as it has never been  
answered.*

[The following Letter is extracted from the *Seer Mutaquerin*, or the *History of Hindustan*;—an highly interesting work; originally written in the Persian language, by *GOLAM HUSSEIN*, a native of India; and translated into English by *NOTA-MANUS*, or *MUSTAPHA*, the Author of this Letter, who is a native of Persia. We publish this

Letter in the exact words of the Author, not only as a specimen of the proficiency which an Asiatic has attained in our language, but also as a testimony of the esteem in which Mr. Hastings was held by the native inhabitants of India.]  
*To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esq. late Governor General of the British Dominions in the East Indies.*

Lucknow, 15th Feb. 1785.

Honoured Sir,—It is, to-day, five years since I had the honour to speak to you; nor has it been in my power to see you these two years. Your time is too important, Honourable Sir, to be engrossed, even for a moment, by any thing short of some material business, on my part: But yet I have been enjoying you all this while: I have been enjoying you, Honourable Sir, in that reverential awe, and that high admiration, you have impressed all Hindustan with—in that love of their's which the natives have more than once forcibly expressed for your person, and to which you are the only European that ever had any access: so that whenever, in letters from London, or in public papers, I chanced to observe that the best qualified judges in Europe, had it at last closed with the high opinion entertained of your talents in India, I exulted in that universal approbation, as if Lord Stairs's excellent tracts had reflected some lustre even upon me. Gone are now our joys, Honourable Sir—You are quitting us. This piece of intelligence, to which you seemed to have prepared our minds, has shaken my whole frame, as if it were some sudden unexpected stroke. To no purpose do I search for solace in roving from seat to seat, and from garden to garden: *Post equitem sedet atra Cura*—Nothing

is green for me now in those pleasing spots: they are become so many dreary deserts, nor am I ever sensible of my being gone in or come out, but when I am put in mind of it by my people.

To no purpose is it to repeat to myself, that the English are but so many strangers to me, and that yourself, after all, are but one of those strangers. Soon my heart recoils at the sacrilegious argument; and a recollection, partly pleasing, and partly painful, never fails to inform me internally, that after an intercourse of five and twenty years, those strangers are become my only countrymen; that yourself, Honourable Sir, are my oldest acquaintance amongst those countrymen, and moreover, my partial and munificent patron: and that if, instead of shining in the world as the Chatham of the East, it had been your fate to have moved only in an humble station, you would have been my bosom-friend.

It has been a standing rule hitherto with me, Honourable Sir, never to take a personal leave of my friends. But many are the alterations occasioned in me by your departure; and it is not without a sense of jealousy I see Colonel Martine hurrying down to bid you his last farewell. Twice have I attempted to return to Europe, and twice have I been obliged to come back, after having lost every thing; so that, ten years ago, I had sat myself down with a resolution to listen to the voice of Providence, and to end my days in India; but India is become a dreary waste for me now; and I am now preparing to quit it for the third time, were it but to get rid of that emptiness which every-where surrounds me.

I have known your person, Honourable Sir; these five and twenty years. The life of dispute and contention to which you have been doomed this long while, cannot have altered their original sensibility of your heart. Receive, then, Honourable Sir, an offering worthy of it. This letter—this artless, disorderly letter, has been in many a spot bedewed with the tears of affection, and more than once interrupted by the sob of regret, and the scream of deep felt woe.

May that Providence that has overshadowed you in many an awful occasion, continue to watch over your person in your intended journey! And when, after a long series of years gloriously spent, your last hour shall have come, may you depart with recollection enough to remember, that you have been an ornament to your Nation, a benefactor to your Country, and a resource to an infinity of distressed.

I am,

With an everlasting attachment, Honourable Sir,  
Your ever obliged, respectful Servant,

NOTA-MANUS.



*FINIS.*

NOTICE

*Page 7*  
*5*

OF THE LIFE

OF

THOMAS MOORE.



BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF AN ARTICLE IN  
N<sup>o</sup>. CII. OF THE

“EDINBURGH REVIEW.”

1854.