

tion: the Local Government appears to have been shamed into doing something about the year 1821, in consequence of the extraordinary progress made by the Christian missionaries, and other pious and benevolent individuals. A few years earlier, the Government not only did not encourage useful education, but even made efforts to put it down. The Serampore missionaries, whose labours have been since acknowledged to have proved so useful and so safe, were obliged, in order to escape banishment, to fly for protection to a foreign settlement, where they still continue to flourish. The British Government even went the length of demanding the surrender of their persons; but the Foreign Governor had the sense, humanity, and firmness, to decline compliance.

* The Indian Government, while it seemed to have proscribed European education, had from an early period given a certain encouragement to Asiatic literature. There has, for example, been long a Mohammedan and a Hindoo college at Calcutta, in which the Arabic and Sanscrit languages are taught, together with what is most absurdly termed Philosophy. The laws of the Mohammedans, the most intolerant bigots of all Asia, are administered in our courts of justice. Persian, the language of the bigots in question, understood neither by the people nor by their rulers—equally foreign to both parties—is preferred to English, as the language of the courts of law, of the public accounts, and of diplomacy. The Mohammedans, like all other conquerors of ancient or modern times, imposed their own laws and their own language on the conquered people. To establish our power, we pursue the very opposite course. One might almost suppose that the real intention of such patronage to dead and foreign barbarous dialects, to the exclusion of our own language, was to keep all parties, not only in utter ignorance of each other, but in ignorance of every thing which an uncivilised might learn from a civilised people—of all that might tend to improve the character or happiness of our subjects. By such a course of conduct, we make a mystery of Government—we convert it into a craft. Shall we not in this particular appear, to impartial observers, as behaving more like the wily priesthood of some ugly superstition, which wraps its dogmas in a recondite language, the better to secure its power and pretensions, than the enlightened conquerors of a great country? Let us bring the matter a little nearer to our doors, that the folly and absurdity of our proceedings may appear in their just colours. Suppose the Russians were to have wrested Greece from the Turks, and annexed it to their own dominions, would they not be considered absolute children, if they adopted the barbarous dialect of the Turks in their courts of law, their fiscal administration, and their diplomacy, to the exclusion of the Russian or the modern Greek language? This is exactly the policy we have pursued. The cases are precisely parallel.

‡ No assertion is more frequent with the advocates of restriction,

than that the Hindoos are a people unchangeable in their manners and opinions, and having a strong repugnance to all that is foreign—to every thing like change, necessarily including every thing like improvement. The late Sir Thomas Munro expressed this opinion in the most unqualified manner in his evidence at the bar of the House of Commons in 1813. Nothing can be more natural than that such an opinion should be entertained by a few solitary Europeans, living amongst millions of Hindoos, or of any other people whatever. All advance in civilisation is slow and almost imperceptible; and no wonder that an isolated observer, however great his natural acuteness, seeing the Hindoos subjected to no material cause of change, should be ready to pronounce their manners and character immutable. Sir Thomas Munro's observation applied to twelve millions of Indians, among whom there were, exclusive of civil and military servants, certainly not a hundred free settlers. As long as we take the utmost pains to exclude all causes of change and improvement, no doubt there will be neither change nor improvement. Admit these causes, and the Hindoos are neither unalterable nor unimprovable. Every where they improved the government, the laws, the arts, and even the literature of the country. We are compelled at length, however reluctantly, to abandon our extravagant and fanciful notions of ancient Hindoo civilisation, and to come to the rational conclusion, that the Hindoos were always inferior to their conquerors: these conquerors effected all, in improving them, that was within the scope of their ability; but still, as they were not a very powerful or a very civilised people themselves, they are far indeed from having effected what it is in our power to accomplish.

'The great majority of British sojourners in India are in the Bengal provinces, and a vast majority of these within the comparatively narrow limits of the town of Calcutta: the whole number of such sojourners does not exceed three thousand persons, of which we compute that about two-thirds are inhabitants of Calcutta; the remaining third, dispersed and powerless, is scattered over the nearly 600,000 square miles beyond its limits. It is, therefore, in the European towns alone, and especially in Calcutta, that there exists any thing like an efficient cause for change and improvement; and, considering the smallness of the means, change and improvement have, since the era of the free trade, the short compass of thirteen years, been great and remarkable.

'A few striking examples may be given. The Native inhabitants of Calcutta having been last year admitted to sit as petty jurymen in criminal cases, an official list of qualified persons was duly published: the qualification, in respect to education, was such a knowledge of the English language as should enable the party to follow the Judge in his charge, and, in point of property, an estate of the value of 500*l.* sterling, or payment of a house-rent of 5*l.*

per annum. Persons possessing an estate of the value of 20,000*l.* were exempted from serving on common juries. The lists, admitted to be imperfect, showed eighty-four qualified Indians, of whom no less than fifty-seven were men possessing an estate of 20,000*l.* or upwards.

*From this statement several most interesting and important deductions may be drawn. Not many years ago, even a miserable smattering of the English language was confined to a few profligate persons, whose interests brought them into immediate connection with Europeans for no good purposes. We have here persons representing property worth, at the lowest possible estimate, 1,140,000*l.*, possessing not only a knowledge of the English language, but sufficient European education to enable them to comprehend the charge of a British judge to a jury. Of the whole number of persons competent to serve on juries, more than sixty-seven in a hundred are of this wealthy class, showing pretty clearly that it is the higher, and not the lower, or even middling orders, that are most disposed to receive European education. In the list of Native jurors there is not to be found a single Mohammedan name, either of Hindoostan, Persia, or Arabia; the whole is composed of the alleged *unchangeable* Hindoos. Further, the great majority of these wealthy persons are Brahmins, and all of them men of high caste. The different reception which the Jury Bill received at the commercial settlement of Calcutta, where there is much intercourse with Europeans, and at the uncommercial settlement of Madras, where there is very little, ought not to be passed over. The Natives of Madras held meetings, and declared that it was repugnant to their habits, institutions, religious prejudices, and inclinations, to sit on juries. One might almost suppose, that the advocates of restriction in Europe had been reading them a lesson. The Natives of Calcutta received the boon with satisfaction, and set about preparing petitions to Parliament, praying to be admitted to the privilege of sitting on grand, as well as petty, juries!

*The number of schools instituted at Calcutta and its vicinity, for the instruction of Natives in English education, during the last few years, is extraordinary. In the town there are twenty private religious or benevolent institutions engaged, directly or indirectly, in the promotion of European education. In some of these, Natives of the highest rank and greatest wealth have associated themselves with Europeans. Five years ago, there were, in Calcutta or its neighbourhood, forty-three private schools, for the instruction of the Indians in English. As to disinclination to European learning, this is wholly out of the question. On the contrary, both the interests and the practical good sense of the Natives lead them to give it a decided preference, notwithstanding some foolish attempts made to restrain them, by diverting their principal attention to the barren field of their own language, literature, and philosophy!

Even the Hindoo religion seems to be giving way before the light of reason, and it is well it should; for, independent of its spiritual consequences, the influence which this degrading superstition exercises over civil society is pernicious and demoralising, far beyond that of any other known form of worship.

Bad Administration of the Provinces.

English laws and institutions, at least such as are suitable and rational, are equally popular with the Hindoos, notwithstanding the pains taken, at one period, to convince the English public to the contrary, and to make them believe that they were unalterably attached to their own. What but this attachment has peopled the towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay? What but this partiality makes a real property in Calcutta worth twenty years' purchase, when in the provinces it is not worth five? What but this makes a Hindoo contented with an interest of five or six per cent. for his money in Calcutta, when he might receive in the provinces twenty or twenty-four? The Indians, in short, are thoroughly imbued with a just sense of the advantages of being considered British subjects, and of living under the protection of English law. When the Natives living within the pale of the English law, contrast their own prosperity and security with the poverty, disorder, and anarchy of the provinces, how should they feel otherwise? What the state of law and police must be in the provinces, we shall briefly point out. Justice is there administered by one hundred and fifty unprofessional Europeans,—in this number being included Judges as well as Magistrates, assistants as well as chiefs, Judges of appellate as well as of primary jurisdictions. Limiting the jurisdiction of these persons to 500,000 square miles, and to 75,000,000 of inhabitants, it follows that each of the above unprofessional Europeans must administer justice and maintain police over an area of 3,366 square miles, and over half a million of people, ignorant of the locality of five square miles of the area in question, not acquainted with fifty persons out of the 500,000, and having at best but a sorry acquaintance with the language, manners, or usages of any one man amongst so vast a multitude.*

The only suitable and efficient means of improving our conquered subjects—the only means by which one people ever conferred lasting and solid improvement upon another—is a free and unshackled intercourse between the two parties. Will the stability of our dominion be impaired by the improvement of the Hindoos? Poor and ignorant nations are always most liable to delusion, and most subject to insurrection; wealthy and intelligent ones the least so. In proportion, therefore, as the Hindoos become instructed,

* * * * You may rely on it, and I hope the truth may not be learned in a more unpleasant manner, that the present system cannot go on."—SIR EDWARD HYDE EAST, *His Majesty's Chief Justice of Bengal*, in his *Letter to the Earl of Liverpool*.

and are rescued from their present poverty, they will only be the more easy of management. This easy management, of course, supposes the introduction of laws and institutions suitable to, and keeping pace with, their advancement in civilisation. They cannot always be governed as mere helots; nor would a nation of helots be worth the governing: they must be gradually, and as they improve, admitted to a share in their own administration. If this principle be prudently and liberally acted upon, we may maintain our Indian dominion for many centuries. Sooner or later, be our administration good or bad, and soonest unquestionably in the latter case, we must lose it; for a relation which separates the governors from the governed by a navigation of 15,000 miles, (the latter being to the former in the numerical proportion of five to one,) cannot be a very natural or a very useful connection to either party. In the mean while, such of the Hindoos as have partaken of European education are not ambitious—they are a frugal, and rather a mercenary people, with very little disposition to engage in politics. The newspaper of widest circulation in Calcutta, for example, has 728 subscribers, of whom eight only are Natives: perhaps it would be overrating the whole Native readers of English newspapers in Calcutta to reckon them at fifty; and among the 100,000,000 of people beyond its limits, there certainly are not one half this number. The circulation of newspapers in the Indian languages is also extremely limited.

* If the account which we have above given, of the predilection of the Hindoos and other Indians for our language, literature, useful institutions, and knowledge, be just, (and we have full reliance upon its being so,) every Indian who acquires an English education becomes, of necessity, a convert to what may be called our political opinions, and consequently an additional support to our dominion. Should the Natives abandon their own superstitious, (the matter is already in progress,) and adopt our religious opinions, this will be an additional tie. Their conversion, whether civil or religious, must necessarily be gradual, and will be the safer and more efficient for being so; but every convert of either description will be an additional stay to the support of our dominion. Every conquest of this description, which we make in the province of ignorance and dissatisfaction, will be a fresh accession to our own strength.

East and West Indian Commerce.

* We have but a word or two to add on the comparative importance of East and West Indian commerce. Our sugar colonies in the West Indies contain a population of about eight hundred thousand persons, the great majority of whom are slaves, themselves possessing no property, but in reality the property of others. Our possessions in the East Indies contain eighty-three millions of inhabitants, and all that is included under the name of the East Indies, not less than three hundred millions, among whom the slaves are so few in number, and so little distinguished in colour or condition,

that it would not be a very easy matter for a stranger, on the most careful inquiry, to detect them. Under any thing like equal freedom of intercourse, it would be a bold assertion, to insist that a commercial correspondence with eight hundred thousand persons, had their condition been favourable, instead of being miserable, should ever be equal in value, in usefulness, or in extent, to one with 375, or even 100 times their number. It is very true, that, under an ancient and exploded system, which for folly and mischief on the great scale has no parallel in the commercial history of the world, the trade of a few slave islands of the West Indies was actually of greater extent than the commerce of all the East Indies put together. This is, however, no longer the case; in the year 1814, the official value of the exports to, and the imports from, the British West Indies was 15,644,447*l.*; much of it, however, being a mere transit trade for South American merchandise, originating in a state of war. In the same year the official value of the East India trade was only 7,894,750*l.*, or less than one half. In 1826, the West India trade, export and import, was 11,574,543*l.*, that of the East Indies 13,578,952*l.*, the last now exceeding the first by 2,004,409*l.* This is, however, by no means the whole amount of the difference in favour of the East Indies. East Indian staples are undervalued in the Custom-House returns, and West Indian overvalued. This, according to a very good authority, makes a further difference of full two millions in favour of the East Indies, so that the real excess of its trade beyond that of the West Indies was 4,004,409*l.* It is in the necessary order of things, and in the natural course of human events, to expect that, when the trade of China is thrown open to the nation, and European capital and enterprise are fairly exerted in the improvement of our territorial dominions, the trade of the West will hardly bear the same proportion to that of the East Indies, which the foreign commerce of the Isle of Man does to that of the whole United Kingdom besides. Even in its present state of restraint and depression, the importance of the Indian trade becomes every year more and more obvious, and, unless, to our own injury, we wantonly step forward to arrest its progress, will soon surpass all that was predicted of it in the celebrated prophecy of Adam Smith. According to the returns for 1827, the East Indian trade of Great Britain exceeded that of the whole North of Europe, including Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands, by 991,779*l.* It exceeded the trade of all Germany by 2,767,803*l.* It exceeded the united trade of France, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Turkey, and the Levant, by 697,082*l.* It exceeded the trade of the United States, and of our own colonies in North America, put together, by 707,953*l.* It exceeded the united trades of the foreign West, Brazil, Mexico, Columbia, Peru, Chili, and Buenos-Ayres, by no less than 6,251,463*l.* Finally, it exceeded our commerce with the new States of South America, so much wanted, by considerably more than a five-fold proportion.

GREECE.

* Possunt quia posse videntur.*—VIRG.

LAND of Greece! the hours are bearing
 Life, or worse than death, along;
 Liberty her banner rearing,
 As in days renown'd in song.
 When her voice, her warriors leading,
 Spoke in thunder from your skies,
 Land of Greece! the hours are speeding;
 Sons of Greece! awake! arise!
 Greeks! the trumpet's call hath spoken,
 And the spirit of your land,
 Rising, points to every token
 Of her ancient high command.
 Let each stern heroic leader
 Cast his griefs and fears aside;
 Think of those of old who freed her,
 When the Spartan fought and died.
 For a glory without limit,
 And a matchless fame, is theirs;
 Grief, nor death, nor time can dim it,
 Gleaming through the mist of years.
 Tell the fierce and blood-stain'd stranger,
 From where Nile his waves hath spread,
 They who never reck'd of danger,
 Fear not all the slaves he led.
 Bid his legions, thinn'd and wasted,
 Seek another land to die,
 Where fell death, in regions blasted,
 Loads the gale that's sweeping by.
 Chieftain, though, t' enslave and slaughter,
 On our regions thou hast burst,
 Back across yon heaving water,
 To thine own dark realm accurs'd.
 For the spirit that hath slumber'd,
 Bursting from too long a night,
 Rises, and our land hath number'd
 All her warriors to the fight.
 Slaves of Egypt—hordes of Yemen!
 Less unwilling conquests seek,
 Nor pollute a land of freemen,—
 Land of glory, and the Greek!



PERPUSTAKAAN NASIONAL REPUBLIK INDONESIA