

best, an incentive to the careful study of every circumstance affecting each patient. For it is only by that study, indefatigable and personal, that advance is possible to us or to our profession.

More steadfastly than ever our profession labours for the prevention of disease. That resolves in questions of eugenics, education in the widest sense, and a determined, informed study of all morbid phenomena.

TWO FORGOTTEN MEDICAL WORTHIES.

By ANDREW CASSELS BROWN, M.D., *Rock Ferry.*

THERE are not, I take it, many medical men familiar with Sir William Banks' charming address, to which he gave the title of "Physic and Letters," who are likely to forget the delightful closing passage, in which he describes a visit to one of his oldest and kindest medical friends, who had retired, some few years before, with a modest but sufficient competence. "After a while," says Sir William, "I went with him to have a chat and a cigar in his study. I knew him always as a reader, and so I was not surprised to find "Joseph Andrews" lying on the table, nor to hear him say that he was just going through Fielding again, and that the oftener he read him the more he enjoyed him. We talked about friends and old times and practice, and many things beside, but we got back eventually to reading, and his last words were—'Not for a thousand a year would I lose my love of reading.'"

In the toil and toils of a modern medical practice this love of reading is, of a surety, one of the best methods by which the jaded doctor—harassed, it may be, by a difficult case, saddened by a sordid tale of poverty or wretchedness and worse, that ever, like an evil dream, attends upon his thoughts, or puzzled by the ingratitude or wilful misunderstanding of a patient—may, as by magic, cast care and trouble to the winds, and, forgetting all in the study of his favourite author, take heart and courage once again for the work that lies before him. There is not a man but will bear me out when I say that many such a happy result has been obtained by a couple of hours at the fireside in the company of Fielding or Thackeray or Scott, of Stevenson or Kipling or Flora Annie Steel. But great and of deservedly high rank in fiction as have been the men and women, whom the genius of their creators has enabled us to know and love and hate, to me they cannot compare in absorbing interest with those whose fate it has been to play a part, be it ever so humble, in the actual making of history. Biography, therefore, has for long held pride of place in my affections, and I have ranged at will, but always with the utmost pleasure and profit, from

Boswell's immortal "Life of Samuel Johnson" to Thornton's able account of Sir Robert Sandeman, the intrepid Scotsman by whose unaided efforts the whole of Beluchistan was annexed to our Indian Empire. And it is amazing to realise the number of first-class men whose lives have been devoted to the service of that fascinating Eastern peninsula. It was, indeed, while reading the life of one of the greatest—perhaps the very greatest—of them, that I came across the sentence which has led to the writing of this paper. For it is one of the advantages of a course of biographical reading, that the casual mention of an interesting name irresistibly impels the reader on a tour of discovery, which never slackens until, if I may use a sporting term, he has run his quarry to earth. So an appreciative allusion in Malleon's "Life of Warren Hastings" to the disinterested patriotism of two old East Indian surgeons, named respectively Gabriel Boughton and William Hamilton, induced me to investigate such details of their lives as have been handed down to the present day. That the result of my investigations has not been wholly without success, I hope to demonstrate satisfactorily in the following pages.

In order to thoroughly understand their careers, it will be necessary to devote a few lines to an account of the condition of India prior to the first settlement of the English, and also to the early history of the English themselves. From 1556 to 1605, under the tolerant rule of the most celebrated of the Great Moghuls, the Emperor Akbar, the natives of Hindustan, the Punjab, and Cabul enjoyed a comparatively peaceful time. Not that the Moghul dominion under Akbar and his two immediate successors, the Emperors Jehangir and Shah Jehan, — the sovereign, by the way, who caused his name and titles to be engraved upon the Koh-i-Noor,—was ever anything else than an absolute and irresponsible despotism. But each Padishah that I have mentioned was intelligent enough to confer upon his subjects the priceless boon of liberty of conscience, and the Empire only began to disintegrate when Aurungzebe, who reigned from 1658 to 1707, reversed the wise policy of his ancestors, and, by persecuting his Hindu subjects with a bigotry which was all the more intolerant in that he himself was never a sincere believer in Mohammed, thus paved the way for the future conquests of the Honourable East India Company. It was during the reign of Jehangir that the English first obtained a footing in India. They were enabled, in spite of the determined opposition of the Portuguese—to whom the Pope had given the sovereignty of the East a hundred years before—to establish a factory at Surat, a town some two hundred miles north of Bombay, in the year 1613. From this place they were enabled to trade with a profit which can only be described as prodigious. In 1639 a strip of land, six miles long and one mile broad, was

purchased, on the eastern coast, by a certain Mr. Day from the Rajah of Chandragheri. This was the first Indian territory actually owned by the English, and on a small island opposite the strip of land was built the town of Madras. In 1661 Bombay was handed over to the English as part of the dowry of the Portuguese Princess who married Charles II. In 1674 the island was visited by a certain Dr. John Fryer, a Cambridge physician of some repute, and a Fellow of the Royal Society, who left a record of his experiences, which is, of necessity, of much interest to medical men. Though not strictly appertaining to my subject, I beg leave to give one or two extracts from his book. "But for all this gallantry," he says, alluding to the residents at Bombay, "I reckon they walk but in charnel-houses, the climate being extremely unhealthy. I impute it to the situation, which causes an infecundity in the earth, and a putridness in the air, what being produced seldom coming to maturity, whereby what is eaten is undigested; whence follows fluxes, drowsy, scurvy, barbers (which is an enervating the whole body, being neither able to use hands or feet), gout, stone, malignant and putrid fevers, which are endemical diseases." "In five hundred, one hundred survive not; of that one hundred, one quarter get not estates; of those that do, it has not been recorded above one in ten years has seen his country." Though the English gained possession thus easily of both Madras and Bombay, they experienced a far greater difficulty in forcing an entry into the rich province of Bengal. In 1631 the Emperor Shah Jehan ordered his General, Kasim Khan, to expel the Portuguese from Hugli, which they had occupied since 1537. This was done after a siege of three months, and with a loss to the Portuguese of more than 2000 men. Seven years later, he appointed his second son, Shah Shuja, to be Viceroy of Bengal. This prince, whose marriage festivities cost his father the stupendous sum of 88 lacs of rupees, changed the capital of the province from Gaur to Rajmahal in 1639.

It is now that Gabriel Boughton comes upon the scene. The only mention of him that I have been able to trace previous to this date, is an allusion to him in the narrative of Sir Thomas Roe, who, in 1615, had been sent by James I. as ambassador to the Emperor Jehangir, and who remained at the Great Moghul's court for three years. For many years after this we hear no more of him, but in 1636-37 we find him at Surat in medical charge of the Company's ship "Hopewell." It is not, perhaps, an unreasonable conjecture to say that, in all probability, he had acted, during the interval, as one of the Company's ship surgeons, but had had no particular opportunity of distinguishing himself. From this date onwards, however, his deeds become a matter of history, and I propose to give an extract from Stewart's "History of Bengal" concerning the generosity of his behaviour towards

“the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies,” which will go far to justify one-half, at least, of the statement of a correspondent of mine when he says, “It is plain that Boughton and Hamilton were two of the most valuable predecessors of Clive and Hastings.”

“In the year of the Hegira 1046 (A.D. 1636–37) a daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan, having been dreadfully burnt by her clothes catching fire, an express was sent to Surat, through the recommendation of the Vizier Assad Khan, to desire the assistance of a European surgeon.” (Assad Khan was probably identical with the minister Asaph Chan, who is often mentioned by Sir Thomas Roe, and who no doubt became acquainted with Boughton in his capacity of surgeon to the Embassy.) “For this service the Council at Surat nominated Mr. Gabriel Boughton, surgeon of the ship ‘Hopewell,’ who immediately proceeded to the Emperor’s camp, then in the Deccan, and had the good fortune to cure the young Princess of the effects of her accident. Mr. Boughton, in consequence, became a great favourite at Court, and having been desired to name his reward, he, with that liberality which characterises Britons, sought not for any private emolument, but solicited that his nation might have liberty to trade free of all duties to Bengal, and to establish factories in that country.” (Malleison gives the weight of his support to this by the statement that Boughton, who knew at the time of his mission that his countrymen were actually debating whether they should not abandon the small port of Pipli,—the only one they had the Imperial authority to use for trading purposes in Bengal,—recognised that an opportunity had come to him such as might never recur to place the trading affairs of the Company on a substantial and permanent basis.) To return to Stewart: “His request was complied with, and he was furnished with the means of travelling across the country to Bengal. Upon his arrival in that province he proceeded to Piplee, and in A.D. 1638–39 an English ship happening to arrive in that port, he, in virtue of the Emperor’s firman and the privileges granted to him, negotiated the whole of the concerns of that vessel without the payment of any duties. In the following year, the Prince Shuja having taken possession of the government, Mr. Boughton proceeded to Rajmahal to pay his respects to His Royal Highness; he was most graciously received, and one of the ladies of the Haram being then indisposed with a complaint in her side, the English surgeon was again employed, and had the good fortune to accelerate her recovery. Owing to this event, Mr. Boughton was held in high estimation at the Court of Rajmahal, and by his influence with the Prince was enabled to carry into effect the order of the Emperor, which might otherwise have been cavilled at, or by some underhand method rendered nugatory.” (In a rare book, called “The English in Western India,” by Philip Anderson, in the possession of my

relative, Mr. J. A. Cassels, Stewart's account is corroborated in almost every detail. Anderson, however, states that the patent for trading duty free throughout the Moghul's dominions was given by Shah Jehan to Boughton for his own use. The "generous surgeon," by which name he was always known, did not forget his employers, but advanced the Company's interests by contriving that his privileges should be extended to them.) To conclude from Stewart: "In the year 1640-41 the same ship returned from England, and brought out a Mr. Bridgeman and some other persons for the purpose of establishing factories in Bengal. Mr. Boughton, having represented the circumstances to the Prince, was ordered to send for Mr. Bridgeman; that gentleman, in consequence, went to Rajmahal, was introduced to the Prince, and obtained an order to establish, in addition to that at Piply, factories at Ballasore and Hoogley. Some time after this event Mr. Boughton died, but the Prince still continued his liberality to the English." Malleson says up till 1657, when he and all his household were brutally murdered by the King of Arakan, to whose court he had fled for refuge after his unsuccessful attempt to wrest the dominions of his deceased father Shah Jehan from the usurpation of his younger brother Aurungzebe.

In this age of accurate and scientific investigation, it is not to be expected that Stewart's account of Gabriel Boughton has been allowed to go unchallenged, and I find in an appendix to the "Diary of William Hedges" (who was Agent-Governor of Bengal from 1681 to 1683), which was edited for the Hakluyt Society by Col. Sir Henry Yule, the following criticism:—"This extract from Stewart furnishes the earliest version that I have been able to find of this story in its completeness, and it has become the staple of the popular historians, but I cannot trace it to any accessible authority. The extract certainly makes some confusion of authentic dates and circumstances, but apart from that confusion, and though we shall see that Gabriel Boughton was a real person who acquired the favour of Shah Jehan and members of his family, I know not where to find the particulars referring to the fire accident, or to the patriotic direction concerning the Great Moghul's remuneration. Major Stewart was a conscientious and diligent writer, but it was not the fashion of his day to give any amplitude of reference, and his are not clear. It is possible that the native authorities used by him would give the foundation of the story." Colonel Yule produces evidence from the records of the India Office, and in this he is supported by Wheeler and Birdwood, both accurate historians, that a firman granting the Company permission to trade in Bengal without any other restriction than that their ships were to resort only to Piply, was issued by the Great Moghul, and despatched to Surat bearing the date of 2nd February 1634. He also shows that the Company had factors stationed in Bengal as early as 1633, and quotes a

letter written by one John Poule, left in charge at Balasore, to Mr. Cartwright, chief agent in Bengal, which is dated July 1633. In 1640, according to Wheeler, the English obtained further privileges in Bengal, which he attributes to the services rendered by Dr. Boughton, and certainly in that year they established an agency at Bussorah, and factories at Hugli and Carwar. In 1646 the Viceroy of Bengal, our old friend Shan Shuja, made further concessions and placed the factories at Balasore and Hugli on the most favourable footing. The question, therefore, comes to be, What share did Boughton really take in the obtaining of the ever-increasing privileges bestowed upon his masters in Bengal? We will let Colonel Yule answer by further quotations taken from his own book. He first of all says that there is authority for the fire incident given in Dow's "History of Hindustan" (which is he remarks, a loose and glossed translation from Mussalman writers). In it, the statement is made that the cure was effected by one Anit-Alla, the most famous physician of his age, who was summoned express from Lahore. It is particularly to be noted that this extract is under the marginal date 1643. Colonel Yule next quotes a letter which was written by the President and Council at Surat to the London Directors on the 3rd January 1644, from which I extract the following: "Assalaut Chaune,"—not very different this name from "Assad Khan" or "Asaph Chan" in the days when spelling was decidedly phonetic,—"a very great vmbra, gracious with the King and our very good freind (*sic*), haueing long importuned us to supply him with a chirurgeon; wee Consideringe how advantageous itt may be vnto you, and haueing a fitt oportunity, one Gabriel Boughten, late Chirurgeon of the 'Hopewell,' being thereunto very well qualified and being willinge to stay, wee have thought fitting to design him to that purpose," and other words to the effect that all at the Court, which was then at Agra, were so well pleased with him that the King had honoured two of the Company's servants on their return to Surat with presents of jewelled vests and daggers, and the grant of firmans. Malleon, referring to Bruce's "Annals of the East India Company,"—Bruce having had access to all the official papers,—agrees with Colonel Yule as to the date of Boughton's mission to Agra being 1644. There can be no doubt, then, that whether Boughton cured the Princess or not, the two events occurred at practically the same time, and the next extract given by Yule, from the records of the India Office, shows definitely that the surgeon had been transferred to Bengal and was apparently using his influence there to serve his countrymen.

Boughton is subsequently mentioned in a letter of instruction for Mr. Bridgeman, the chief, and the other factors at Balasore and Hukely. "You know how necessary," runs the document, "it will bee for the better carrying on the trade of these parts to have the Prince's firman, and that Mr. Gabriel Boughton, Chirurgeon to

the Prince, promises concerning the same. To putt matters out of doubt it is necessary that you forthwith . . . proceed to Rajmahal . . . where being come, consult with Mr. Boughton about the busines, who hath the whole contents of the Dutches last firman, and together endeavour (if possible) that (according to Mr. Boughton's promise) the Company may have such a firman granted, as may outstrip the Dutch in point of Priviledge and freedome, that so they may not have cause any longer to boast of theirs. You know what I have written to Mr. Boughton about it, who (without doubt) will bee very faithfull in the busines, and strive that the same may be procured, with as little charge as may be to the Company . . . according to his owne advice in his last to me." This letter leaves no doubt as to the important position occupied by Boughton at Shah Shuja's Court, and the next extract shows the Masulipatam agency testifying its sense of his favours past and to come by inditing the following letter to Mr. Bridgeman: "Alsoe you may take notice of 3 Guze¹ of Scarlett and 16 yards of Gould and Silver lace in Wm. Beuis his coustody the which demand of him and present as a piscash from us to Mr. Gabriel Boughton, whoe being the Prince's servant, wilbe doubtless a great help unto you to gain his firmaund . . ." Colonel Yule points out that the use of the word peshcash is singular in relation to an ex-employee, but it was doubtless offered to Boughton in his capacity of servant to the Prince. The last mention of Boughton in the records, though it has its ludicrous side, has yet seemed to me strangely pathetic. It occurs in 1657, when he has been dead for some time and his widow remarried to a Mr. William Pitts. This man, who had evidently got himself deeply into the hands of the usurers, was petitioning the Company, on the strength of Boughton's benefactions in former times, to pay his debts. Thus we read in a letter from the Court of Directors to Fort St. George: "Our ffactors in the Bay are much troubled by one William Pitts, who married the Relict of Gabr. Boughton, who having taken up monies at Interest of the Moores, they very much press the payment thereof out of our Estate, but wee hope you have so manadged the businesse and given such advice to our ffactors that hath armed them with such arguments as to enable them to withstand and to oppose such unjust and unreasonable demands."

After a careful examination of those authentic documents, we must be forced, I think, to the following conclusions:—

That Boughton was sent from Surat to Agra, and not to the Deccan, neither in 1636 nor in 1639, but probably in 1643, as the letter written to the Directors, under date of 3rd January 1644, which refers to his expedition, distinctly states that his visit had been a most successful venture.

That the accident to the Princess probably occurred in

¹ A Persian measure.

1643, and that, while there exists no certain evidence regarding Boughton's professional assistance on the occasion, it is quite within the bounds of probability that he was consulted and was enabled to effect a cure. Certainly no one denies that he was high in the favour both of her father and her brother, and this fact in itself of necessity adds weight to the truth of the popular tradition, that it was entirely through Boughton's influence with Shah Shuja that the Company obtained their most valuable trading privileges in the province of Bengal in 1645-46.

We cannot do better than take leave of the "generous surgeon" in the warm-hearted but somewhat grandiose and sentimental words of Messrs. Miles and Dodwell, who wrote an article upon "Surgeons in India" in the *Calcutta Review* some fifty or sixty years ago. "We wish we could add," say they, "that Boughton received the full reward of his generosity, in living to see his masters' power firmly grounded in Bengal, as the foundation of the mightiest colony that the world has ever known, and in dying under his father's roof-tree, with tall sons and fair daughters around his bed. This, however, was not to be: he died in India not long after the opening of the ports. Do the ruins of Rajmahal still enshrine that honourable dust, or have the waves of the invading river swept it down to that ocean which was the only fitting sepulchre for so large and pure a heart?" These gentlemen hazard the conjecture that Boughton was of good lineage, and suggest that the baronetcy conferred by Charles I. upon one of his name in 1641 was in recognition of his merits. I am courteously informed by Sir William Rouse Boughton, the present representative of the family, that the title was conferred for loyalty shown to the King, and that the name of Gabriel Boughton does not appear in any pedigree in his possession.

From 1657 to 1715 the history of the English in Bengal reflects in no uncertain manner the disturbed state of the times. Their peace of mind and success in trade depended very largely upon the caprice of the reigning Nabob, and in the latter year it was determined, on account of the oppressive treatment meted out to them by the then Subahdar of the province, Murshid Kuli Khan, to despatch an Embassy to the Court of the Emperor Farrukh-Siyar, then at Delhi, together with gifts to the value of £30,000 sterling, in order to obtain confirmation of the Company's old firmans and immunities. A certain Mr. John Surman was in charge of the expedition, and he was accompanied by Mr. Edward Stephenson, an able factor in the Company's service, by Khoja Serhaud, the principal native merchant in Calcutta, who acted as interpreter, and by Mr. William Hamilton, who attended in the capacity of surgeon. It will be seen that Hamilton, by an act of patriotism, perfectly similar to that of Boughton, became the second medical man in whose power it lay to materially advance the interests of his nation.

In the *Calcutta Review* for April 1903 the late Dr. C. R. Wilson published an exhaustive and able article on the "Personal History of Dr. William Hamilton, Benefactor of Calcutta," from which I propose to cull a few extracts dealing with his life previous to his appointment as surgeon to the Embassy. Hamilton was a cadet of the noble family of Hamilton of Dalzell, and was born at his father's farm of Boogs or Bogs, in the parish of Bothwell, Lanarkshire, some twenty years or so before the close of the seventeenth century. Nothing is known of his boyhood, but it is conjectured that he entered the University of Glasgow, and that it is his name which appears among the signatures to a protest drawn up in 1696 denouncing conspiracies against the life of William III. He, having fallen in love with his cousin Anna, the daughter of Robert Hamilton of Wishaw, joined the Company's service in 1709, no doubt as many a young man had done before him, in order to gain a speedy competence with which to return home and marry. He was appointed surgeon to the frigate "Sherborne," Captain Cornwall, a 250-ton boat carrying twenty-two guns. Cornwall was honest, energetic, and persevering, but possessed no tact, no self-control, and no ability. He had had a somewhat chequered career both in the Royal Navy and the Company's service, and, having missed promotion in both, was naturally a disappointed man. The "Sherborne" left England some time in February 1710, and, with the crew on the verge of mutiny owing to the captain's harsh treatment, grounded on a shoal off the island of Ceylon on 1st September. While the captain was away in search of aid, most of the crew deserted the ship, and on meeting him on his return with some Dutch sloops he had induced to come to his aid, were only persuaded to go back to duty on receiving their papers of discharge. The ship finally reached Calcutta on the 16th October. At this port an inquiry was held, matters were temporarily patched up, and the "Sherborne" was ordered to Madras. Here it was found that out of her full complement of fifty men, there were only nineteen on duty—a significant enough commentary upon the state of matters aboard. On the 3rd March 1711, however, the ship sailed for Cuddalore with reinforcements for the English, who were at that time engaged in hostilities with the Rajah of Jingi.

Whatever part Hamilton may have played in connection with the miserable disputes between the captain and the crew, he stuck to the ship and his duty until she arrived at Cuddalore. Here, however, his patience seems to have given way, for, representing that the Government had given him permission to go to Madras, and producing a letter from his kinsman, Captain Hamilton, in confirmation of the statement, he deserted the ship on the 3rd May 1711, and made his way to Madras in a native boat. (I may be pardoned for mentioning, at this point, that the

said Captain Hamilton gives the following graphic, if somewhat ironical account in his narrative of the hospital at Calcutta about 1720. "The Company," says he, "has a pretty good hospital at Calcutta, where many go in to undergo the penance of physick, but few come out to give account of its operation!") On his arrival at Madras, Dr. Hamilton was haled before the Council, who had heard of his defection from Captain Cornwall, and ordered to rejoin his ship. This he did not do, but continued his flight to Calcutta. "In the ledger of the 'Sherborne,'" says Dr. Wilson, "the account of William Hamilton, chyrurgion, is closed with the scornful word 'run.' And his life's reckoning might well have closed with the same shameful entry, were it not that the Divine Accountant is more long-suffering than man. Hamilton lived to rue bitterly the false step he had taken, for in leaving his ship he left for ever home and country, father and kindred, and all that might have been, had he returned to marry his Anna and make his name as a great doctor in the land of his birth (he is, I should have mentioned, everywhere alluded to as a man of great ability). Yet he lived to wipe out the memory of his false step by actions which brought lasting benefit to his nation." In December 1711 he was appointed Second Surgeon to the Agency at Calcutta, and on the 5th January 1714 he was ordered to accompany the Surman Embassy to Delhi. He was given 300 rupees to furnish himself with clothes, and probably started for Patna in April. So many delays occurred here, the Embassy did not get away until the 6th April 1715, and then took three months to perform a journey (each man in a jolting palanquin "slightly plated with silver") which, nowadays, takes but a few hours by train. The history of the Embassy is faithfully related by John Surman in his Diary, and it is a record which shows the folly of the Council at Calcutta in having chosen such young and inexperienced ambassadors. They invariably seem to have bribed the wrong courtiers, who promised them everything and performed nothing, or to have failed to grasp the proper official procedure by which to gain audience of the Emperor. Indeed, it seems to me, reading between the lines, that had it not been for William Hamilton the business could never have been brought to a successful termination. That able practitioner very soon made a name for himself at Delhi, and that in spite of the jealousy and active opposition of the Emperor's French physician, Mons. Martin, and the many native doctors. His first important patient was the Lord High Steward, who was suffering from consumption, or, as some said, from the Divine retribution. He had sworn an oath upon the Koran, but having broken it, his right hand began to wither. Hamilton took up his abode with him on the 25th July, but soon pronounced the case hopeless. He attended Farrukh-Siyar himself a little later on, and speedily cured him of some swellings in the groin. On

the 30th September we are told that the Lord High Steward "having gratified Hamilton, dismissed him, and took other doctors!" How little have times changed! On 3rd October Hamilton had an interview with the Empress Mother on the subject of His Majesty's health. He was then suffering from a violent pain, which it was thought might turn to fistula. This time Hamilton took seven weeks to effect a cure, and in the meantime ran no little risk of assassination at the hands of the infuriated populace, who had been told—no doubt the rumour was spread by the envious Mons. Martin and his native confrères—that the King had died under Hamilton's hands. On 20th November, however, "all the plasters having been removed," Farrukh-Siyar washed himself and received the congratulations of the whole Court, and, a week afterwards, publicly presented Hamilton with "a vest, a culgi set with precious stones, two diamond rings, an elephant, horse, gold buttons set in jewels for coat, waistcoat, and breeches, 5000 rupees, and models of all his surgical instruments in pure gold." The King likewise begged him "to demand something that was the most at his heart, for that there was nothing that he would refuse him"; whereupon Hamilton, following Boughton's example, prayed him to grant the requests of the Embassy. This the Emperor gave his promise to do, and did, after a very considerable delay, due partly to the inexperience of the Ambassadors, and partly to the festivities attending His Majesty's marriage with the daughter of a Rajput Prince, who, I forgot to mention, had already arrived at Delhi in readiness for the ceremony some months before! The firman granted confirmed all the original privileges of the Company, permitted the President to issue passports exempting goods from search throughout Bengal, allowed the use of the mint at Murshedabad, and permitted the Company to buy thirty-eight additional villages near Calcutta. But I must hasten to the end of my paper. On the 12th May 1716, Hamilton once again saw the Emperor, but found nothing wrong with him. In September he saw the Grand Vazir once or twice, and in April 1717 he attended that dignitary's uncle's wife. On the 28th May the Ambassadors, having had the great seal of state affixed to the firmans, were graciously permitted to take leave of the Emperor in public audience. One by one they filed past Farrukh-Siyar, who sat upon the famous Peacock Throne, surrounded by a glittering throng of native nobles—a veritable vision of all the glorious pageantry of the East, and as each man was invested with a dress of honour he made obeisance to the Great Moghul. Hamilton, who brought up the rear, had just made his bow when a dramatic event occurred. A command from the Throne bade him resume his place; the vest which had been bestowed upon him was but an evidence of royal favour, and gave no

permission for his departure! One can but dimly realise Hamilton's feelings, but we know that assuredly he did not, as Viola, sit

"like Patience on a monument,
Smiling at grief."

Over and over again he was begged to remain in the service of the Great Moghul, but over and over again he passionately refused. "We are satisfied," says Surman, "that should he be kept by force, his stay would be no longer than the first opportunity to elope. For such a burning desire runs in him after his own country (he had written early in 1716, telling his people and Anna to expect him home soon 'rich and famous') that neither promises nor threats can avail anything." Finally, he importuned Farrukh-Siyar in a touching petition to allow him to go, and, to his great relief, received the following answer on the 6th June: "Since he is privy to my nakedness and perfectly understands his business, I would very willingly have kept him and given him whatsoever he should have asked. But seeing he is satisfied with no terms, I agree to it provided that after he has gone to Europe, procured such medicines as are not to be got here, and seen his wife and children (these, I conclude, must have been trumped up for the occasion!), he return once more and revisit this Court. Let him go." While on the way from Delhi to Calcutta, Hamilton must have felt that his health was giving way, for, on the 27th October, in a boat on the Ganges, he made and signed his will, by which he made generous bequests to his father, his cousin Anna, several friends, and the church in Bengal, and appointed John Surman to be his trustee. He died on the 4th December, shortly after reaching Calcutta, and was buried in the old cemetery by the fort green. It is related that Farrukh-Siyar—who, by the bye, ended his reign tragically enough, being brutally blinded and afterwards murdered some three years later—refused to believe that Hamilton was dead, and sent an officer of high rank to make inquiries. This personage composed the epitaph which is to be seen upon Hamilton's tombstone to this day. The tombstone was removed in 1787, when the foundations of St. John's Church were being laid, and was finally placed, in 1802, in the Mausoleum erected over the graves commemorating the names of Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, and two of his daughters.

The epitaph runs as follows:—

"WILLIAM HAMILTON, Physician in the service of the English Company, who had accompanied the English Ambassador to the Enlightened Presence, and having made his own name famous in four quarters of the earth, by the cure of the Emperor, the Asylum of the World, Mohammed Farrukh-Siyar the Victorious; and, with a thousand difficulties, having obtained permission from the Court, which is the

refuge of the universe, to return to his country; by the Divine decree, on the fourth of December 1717 died in Calcutta, and is buried here."

It is probable that Boughton and Hamilton never received more than £30 per annum for their services to the Company. Messrs. Miles and Dodwell pertinently ask, "If Walpole judged rightly, that every man has his price, we wonder at what rate these two poor gentlemen would have forfeited their integrity."

With this we may take our leave of this record of two worthy lives. We have only to realise to ourselves the unsettled state of the times, no less than the innate barbarity, however thickly veneered it might be by cunning smile or sugared word of the old-time courtiers at the Moghul Court, to understand the daily risks our two heroes ran in the service of monarchs who had assuredly more cause than our own King John to say:

"It is the curse of kings to be attended
By slaves that take their humours for a warrant
To break within the bloody house of life,
And on the winking of authority
To understand a law, to know the meaning
Of dangerous majesty, when perchance it frowns
More upon humour than advised respect."

All honour then to their memories. We, as medical men, may well be proud to belong to that profession which claims as not the least among her noble sons those two able, generous, and patriotic surgeons of the old East Indian Company—Gabriel Boughton and William Hamilton.