

S E C O N D
R E P O R T

FROM THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

ON

INDIAN TERRITORIES ;

TOGETHER WITH THE

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE,

AND APPENDIX.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
12 May 1853.

Lunæ, 15^o die Novembris, 1852.

Ordered, THAT a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the Operation of the Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 85, for effecting an Arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories till the 30th day of April 1854.

Martis, 16^o die Novembris, 1852.

Committee nominated of—

Mr. Herries.	Mr. Milner Gibson.
Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.	Mr. Mangles.
Lord John Russell.	Sir James Hogg.
Mr. Baring.	Mr. Hume.
Sir Charles Wood.	Mr. Bankes.
Mr. Baillie.	Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Gladstone.	Mr. Robert Hildyard.
Mr. Newdegate.	Mr. James Wilson.
Mr. Labouchere.	Mr. Spooner.
Sir James Graham.	Mr. Keogh.
Mr. Alderman Thompson.	Mr. Macaulay.
Sir William Molesworth.	Lord Stanley.
Sir Robert Harry Inglis.	Mr. Robert Clive.
Viscount Jocelyn.	Mr. Edward Ellice.
Mr. Cobden.	Viscount Palmerston.
Mr. Hardinge.	

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to send for Persons, Papers, and Records.

Ordered, THAT Five be the Quorum of the said Committee.

Veneris, 18^o die Februarii, 1853.

Ordered, THAT Mr. Wilson be discharged from further attendance on the Committee, and that Lord John Russell, Sir Charles Wood, Sir George Grey, Sir Thomas Maddock, Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. John Elliot, and Mr. Löwe be added thereto.

Martis, 22^o die Februarii, 1853.

Ordered, THAT Mr. Chichester Fortescue be discharged from further attendance on the Committee, and that Mr. John Fitzgerald be added thereto.

Jovis, 28^o die Aprilis, 1853.

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to Report the Minutes of Evidence taken before them, from time to time, to The House.

Lunæ, 2^o die Maii, 1853.

Ordered, THAT the Report of the Select Committee on Indian Territories of last Session, and copy of the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the same subject (communicated 1st December) be referred to the Committee.

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SECOND REPORT.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to inquire into the Operation of the Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 85, for effecting an Arrangement with the EAST INDIA COMPANY, and for the better Government of Her Majesty's INDIAN TERRITORIES till the 30th day of April 1854, and to whom several Petitions, and the Report of the Committee on Indian Territories of last Session, and also the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords on the same subject, were referred, and who were empowered to Report the MINUTES OF EVIDENCE taken before them, from time to time, to The House :

HAVE made further progress in the Matters to them referred, and have agreed to make a Second Report of the Minutes of Evidence taken before them.

12 *May* 1853.

LIST OF WITNESSES.

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MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

Jovis, 5^o die Maii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.
 Sir George Grey.
 Mr. Cobden.
 Mr. Ellice.
 Sir James W. Hogg.
 Mr. Hume.
 Mr. Vernon Smith.
 Mr. Spooner.
 Sir Charles Wood.

Mr. Lowe.
 Mr. Hardinge.
 Mr. Labouchere.
 Sir T. H. Maddock.
 Mr. J. Fitzgerald.
 Mr. Mangles.
 Mr. R. H. Clive.
 Mr. Elliot.
 Mr. Hildyard.

THOMAS BARING, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.

Jevanjee Pestonjee, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

3897. *Chairman.*] IS there anything you wish to add to the evidence which you gave to the Committee on a former day?—I wish to add something to my answer to the question upon the former day, “Is not the civil fund created by deduction from the salaries of civil servants?” My reply was in the affirmative; I was aware that such a fund existed, but I was not prepared to say that it received the support of the East India Company. Since that, I have found from the Blue Book, under the head of “Charges,” an aggregate amount of 2,164,737 rupees as a donation to the Service Fund; I likewise find in the “Bengal Annual Guide” for 1841 a statement of the Civil Annuity Fund, wherein, under the head of “Receipts,” an item of 332,161 rupees is credited as the Honourable Court’s donation for the year 1839-40, which appears equal to the amount subscribed by the service to that fund; another donation of 25,000 rupees was granted to the Widows’ Fund. While that branch of the service is thus provided for, the widows and children of the native servants are, as I have already mentioned, without any provision, although a fund for that purpose was established under the special patronage of the late Mr. Francis Warden, of the civil service, and subscribed to by the natives, which was abolished by Government in 1832; consequently many families of the native service are in a state of destitution. And in order to convince you of the truth of my statement, I beg to be permitted to give you an instance of a severe hardship which, when heard, the heart of every human being will, I trust, not fail to sympathise with me for the unfortunate widow and family of a very respectable, intelligent, zealous, and trustworthy public officer, who expended 20 of the best years of his life in the Government service; I allude to the case of the late Bazonjee Pallonjee, cotwal or city magistrate of Surat, who died between two and three years ago; the deceased had received testimonials from every gentleman of the service under whom he acted, which were the only legacies he could bequeath to his widow and children. I would quote a few words of the opinion of Mr. Bellasis, under whom the last period of his career was ended, of the character of the deceased. He states, “During my Indian experience I have never met with any native functionary in whom I would have reposed so much confidence as I would in Bazonjee Pallonjee, and I never found my confidence misplaced;”

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his words may be depended upon." He continues: "By his death the State lost the service of a valuable and efficient public officer." I now beg your attention to the case of his poor widow and family, of whom two are infants; she represented her destitute case through the magistrate to the Bombay Government, who recommended her to be admitted to the Pension Fund, to which she and her children were entitled, because her husband subscribed to the Warden's Official Fund up to the time of its abolition; Government sanctioned it, but it was afterwards discovered that that sanction was made against the authority of the Court of Directors, and the order for the pension was unfortunately cancelled; but in consideration of the long service and the high character which the deceased bore, an offer of 50*l.* was made to the widow as a gratuity, equal in amount to about 10 weeks' salary of the deceased. If the pension were allowed, she would have been entitled to an annuity of 4*s.* per week, and the two infants, during their minority, about 3*s.* 6*d.* each. This miserable sum even was refused, and the family are now in such a deplorable state that their case calls for immediate relief and sympathy. Under such circumstances of discouragement, the higher classes of natives are unwilling to enter the Government service.

3898. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Are the Acts which you have alluded to Acts of the Bombay Presidency?—Of the Bombay Presidency. With respect to the expenses of litigation in the courts, I have another grievance to mention to the Committee. Parties engaged in civil suits are obliged to undergo heavy expenses for stamped papers. The revenue derived under this head to the Government is to a very large amount; every plaint in the original suit, and petitions to both courts of appeal, are required to be written upon stamped paper, of certain value, from 1 to 2,000 rupees, according to a certain scale, regulated by the amount of the suits; besides all supplementary sheets annexed to the plaints or petitions of appeal, all pleadings, exhibits, durkhast, powers of attorney, and all papers or documents, in any way relating to the suit, are not admitted in the court unless they are upon stamped paper, of the value varying from four annas to four rupees. It will be found on reference to the scale of charges in a suit, where the claim is from 25 to 6,000 rupees, the cost of only a single sheet in the first instance, exclusive of all other stamps required to continue the proceedings, is from 4 to 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., which, when the case is carried for appeal to the Sudder Court, increases to from 10 to 32 per cent.

3899. *Chairman.*] If that stamp tax were taken off, would not it involve the necessity of some other tax being imposed?—Yes, I think so, but in suits to a small amount of value, people are subject to from 20 to 25 per cent. upon a single paper, and that is a great hardship; I think that that at least should be abolished.

3900. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] If you were to abolish that tax, do you think it would be practicable to introduce a system of making the losing party in a suit, pay a certain sum, whether it were the plaintiff or defendant to the suit?—It might answer the purpose, and probably would prevent the people going into court.

3901. It would prevent them going into court on false and frivolous grounds?—Yes, probably.

3902. *Mr. Fitzgerald.*] Do you mean that a sum of money should be paid by the losing party to the Government?—To the revenue; I think if a different tax could be substituted it would be desirable.

3903. Would not you consider the sum so to be paid by the losing party, in the light of a tax on the administration of justice?—It would be; but I think if supernumerary offices and sinecures were abolished there would be no necessity for the substitution of any other taxes whatever.

3904. You would not approve of a tax on the administration of justice?—No.

3905. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Such a tax you consider would limit litigation?—Yes.

3906. *Chairman.*] Have you anything further to add to your former evidence?—On turning to the Acts of the Legislative Council, I have already pointed out to the Committee what grievance the natives suffer by the operation of the Act 21, of 1850. I now respectfully beg to refer to Act 15, of 1844. It was hurried into a law in order, as it was stated in its preamble, to equalise the average price of salt in the presidency of Fort St. George and Bombay. The excise duty was suddenly increased from eight annas to one rupee, equal to 100 per cent. more than

than what was already imposed in 1838. The people were unable to bear the burden of the increased tax on one of the necessaries of life, and became so dissatisfied that, in the city of Surat, they marked their sense of their oppression by closing their shops, which put an entire stop to business; and for some days the inhabitants were in tumult. Under these circumstances, the Government was obliged to suspend the operations of that Act, and in the following year it was repealed by Act 9, and the duty was partially reduced to 12 annas per maund, which was still burdensome. The right and interest of landed proprietors in the Bombay Presidency have been seriously affected by the operations of the Act 31, of 1850, which prohibits the construction of works for the manufacture of salt on their estate; they are thus subjected to loss, and deprived of the means of making their waste lands productive. With respect to the Legislative Council, I would respectfully suggest, that it should be formed upon a different principle altogether. When any Act is required to be passed into a law, it always originates with the Government of that Presidency to which it relates, consequently it is apparent that the Legislative Council of India is not the initiative power for framing any law which does not relate to the sister Presidencies. It would be most advantageous to the people if a legislative body were constituted at each of the Presidencies, consisting of the Governor and his Council, the chief justice of Her Majesty's Supreme Court, the senior judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and three respectable native gentlemen, selected and appointed by the Government. They should be empowered to meet periodically to form laws and regulations, and discuss the same with open doors, to hear the public by their counsel in case they have any objection to the passing of such laws, and after mature deliberation they should submit such draft, if approved by the majority of the members, to the Supreme Legislative Council of India for their approval, which Council should consist of the Governor-general of India and his Council, the chief justice of Her Majesty's Supreme Court, the chief justice of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and three respectable native gentlemen, appointed by the Government. That Council should also discuss and deliberate upon all matters with open doors, and they should have the power of confirming or repealing any law, in the same manner that the Upper House of Parliament has in this country. If the Governor-general may dissent from the opinion of the majority of the Council, he should be empowered upon his own responsibility to suspend any Act till reference be made to the governing authority in this country for their final decision.

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3907. Mr. *Hume*.] Have you any knowledge of the Hindoo law of adoption, and in what way the right of adoption, when disputed, is settled by the Company's courts?—I have seen many instances in which the law has been administered according to the different books of Hindoo law. If I remember rightly, in failure of regular issue, the party adopts the son of his next of kin, that is, of his brother in the first instance; if the brother has no children, then he adopts the child of his cousin, or next relation.

3908. In what way has that been carried out; has it been generally carried out by the Government, or do you know of instances to the contrary?—I think it is generally carried out; in some instances it has not been so; I believe the present Prince of the Gwalior State is an adopted son; Holkar is an adopted son also.

3909. Do you know any instances in which adoption has been refused?—It was refused in the case of the Rajah of Mandvee, and in the Sattara case.

3910. Among what class of native chiefs?—In Sattara, the prince was independent. The Rajah of Mandvee was dependent.

3911. Can you state what opinion has been formed upon the refusal in the case of Sattara?—Adoption is one of the Hindoo laws, and I think it was unjust that the adopted son of that prince was not recognised.

3912. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] You stated on the last occasion, that an Act had been passed by the Legislative Council, which is known in India by the name of the Missionary Act; that is, Act 21, of 1850; you say that that gave a great deal of offence to the natives on account of their rights having been taken away by the operation of that Act; you added, that you believed it violated a principle of their religion to an extent which you described; are you aware whether those natives who complained of the passing of that Act and of its operation, ever urged that it was in direct opposition to an Act of Parliament?—I believe they have mentioned that in their petition.

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3913. Are you aware whether the Legislature of India has any power to pass an Act which is in direct violation of any such Act of Parliament?—Not any, and it is I believe mentioned in the last charter that, in framing any law, due regard shall be had to the religion and customs of the country; but this Act was against that particular authority.

3914. You have expressed an opinion that the Legislative Council of India should consist of certain functionaries, and that to those functionaries should be added a certain number of native gentlemen selected by the Government; do you not consider that it would be especially necessary to have such assistance from native gentlemen, when laws are under consideration which directly affect the religion, and the customs, and the interests of the natives, both the gentlemen and the common people of India?—It is quite desirable that they should have a voice in the Legislative Council, and that they should also point out to the authorities in what respect the law militates against their religion and their feelings.

3915. Do the natives of India, as far as you are aware, consider it a special grievance that laws of this description affecting them and their interests, and religion, should be passed merely by a body of Englishmen, without any advice or co-operation on their part?—They consider that it is a violation of the constitution which the British Government established when they conquered the country.

3916. *Mr. Hume.*] In the same answer to which allusion has now been made, you state that the proceedings of the Legislative Council do not give satisfaction to the people of India, because the Acts are passed with closed doors?—Yes.

3917. Are the Committee to understand, that if the legislative proceedings affecting the natives were carried on with open doors, and the parties could be heard in support of their own particular privileges, that would give satisfaction to the natives of India?—I mean that all Acts passed by the Legislative Council of India should be first considered in conference with some of the natives, whether affecting their religion or their property, or the revenue; because where they are paying the revenue, I think they should be consulted as to how the revenue should be expended.

3918. Are the Committee to understand that the natives keep in mind the declaration of the British Parliament, and the declaration of the Company, that they would secure to the natives the continuance of their customs and usages according to the respective laws?—Yes, they consider that the promise which the British Government made to them has been violated by themselves.

3919. If a law or an order is made and published to alter the law of adoption, either as regards Hindoos or Mahomedans, do you consider the natives ought to be heard, or ought to have an opportunity of defending their own practices in some public manner?—Decidedly.

3920. If any such Act is passed with closed doors, it is against such practice that you complain?—I complain of the closing of the doors; and also that when they petition against any grievances the petition is not attended to.

3921. Do you mean to say that petitions have been presented and not attended to?—Yes.

3922. Can you refer to any particular instances of that neglect?—The Act 21, of 1850, is one instance; and I think they petitioned about the salt duty also.

3923. Have they ever presented any petitions in respect of any usages which they have been prevented from following?—Yes, they have.

3924. Do you remember in what cases?—With respect to the violation of their rights and religion.

3925. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Has the Government ever passed any law to alter the Hindoo law of adoption?—Act 21, of 1850, was one which particularly affected the natives.

3926. It did not affect the ordinary law of adoption?—No.

3927. That Act merely enabled a man who was an outcast Hindoo to succeed to property which could be legally enjoyed only by a pure Hindoo; was not that so?—Yes.

3928. *Mr. Mangles.*] You stated that the Rajah of Sattara was an independent prince; are you aware of the terms of the treaty or engagement under which he was placed on the throne?—I think I am.

3929. You have seen it?—Yes, many years ago.

3930. Are

3930. Are you aware that by that engagement he is bound not to act in any matter against the advice, or without the advice, of the British Resident at his court?—Yes, there is a particular stipulation on that subject.

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3931. Does that look like the position of an independent prince; should you call that man independent who is bound to act in no case without the advice of another?—I spoke of the communications which the prince required to be carried on with any other State, that he should in that case act by the advice of the Company's Government.

3932. Did not it refer to the internal arrangements of his own territories also?—No, I think not.

3933. Was not he bound to correspond with nobody except through the British Government?—I do not remember that.

3934. *Mr. Elliot.*] Do you approve of the abolition of suttees?—Yes.

3935. Do you also approve of the abolition of infanticide?—I do; it was not the Hindoo law; it was merely a usage.

3936. Do you suppose that if any Hindoos had sat in the Legislative Council to enact laws, for the purpose of abolishing those customs, that abolition would have had their concurrence?—I am not aware.

3937. Do you think that any Hindoos sitting in the Legislative Council would have given their consent to the passing of the law for the abolition of suttees?—They might have done so; those who had a knowledge of Hindoo law might have concurred.

3938. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Are you aware whether any Hindoo sovereigns have prohibited the practice of suttee in their own dominions, of their own free will?—Almost all of them have prohibited it.

3939. *Mr. Mangles.*] Are you aware whether a much larger body of Hindoos did not petition against the law abolishing suttees than they have against any other bill?—They did petition, but they did it in ignorance of their own law and religion.

3940. Did they not send home an agent and pay that agent to agitate the matter here?—That I am not aware of.

3941. *Mr. Elliot.*] When you say that native princes have abolished the practice of suttee in their own dominions of their own free will, are you not aware that that has been done entirely by the interference of the English Government?—By the English Government, and I believe with the concurrence and the advice of some of the natives too.

3942. Are not you aware that in fact the abolition of suttee among the native states has taken place entirely at the instance, and by the exercise of the mild authority which the Resident possesses in the native courts?—I admit that; but it was with the advice and concurrence of many respectable natives, who assisted the Government to pursue that course.

3943. *Mr. Hume.*] Are the Committee to understand that the suttee was not agreeable to the Hindoo law, and that many natives of consequence and rank joined the British Government in putting an end to it?—Yes.

3944. *Mr. Hardinge.*] When you say that the petitions were not attended to, do you mean that the English Government gave no answer whatever to the petitions?—The law was passed notwithstanding.

3945. You said that generally speaking the petitions were not attended to, do you mean that no notice was taken of them and no answer given, nor any reasons assigned for the passing of the law?—Some answers might have been given, still the measure was passed.

3946. *Mr. Hume.*] Are the Committee to understand that their remonstrances against the change were not attended to?—That was my meaning.

3947. You have stated to the Committee to-day, that before the change of any important usage or custom takes place, the natives, you think, ought to be heard, and public notice of it given?—Yes.

3948. *Sir C. Wood.*] Are you at all aware if the Members of the Council at Calcutta, where the legislation takes place, do communicate in any way with the intelligent natives upon subjects of legislation?—I am living in Bombay, and I am not aware of what takes place at Calcutta.

3949. *Mr. Labouchere.*] Have you resided in Calcutta for any length of time?—For a few months.

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3950. 'On one occasion or more than one occasion?—On only one occasion.

3951. Mr. *Hume.*] Do you say of your own knowledge that remonstrances against changes affecting the natives have been made in Bombay, and that no attention has been paid to them?—In many instances.

3952. Can you mention any particular occasion?—I am not prepared to specify any now.

Frederick James Halliday, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

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3953. *Chairman.*] HAVE you had under your consideration the present constitution of the Indian Government at home?—Yes, I have not been able to avoid considering the subject.

3954. With regard to the different existing authorities, do you approve of the present mode of electing the Directors by the Court of Proprietors?—I must speak upon a subject of that sort entirely from an Indian point of view, and with the bias upon the subject which I believe generally prevails amongst men of my profession in India, and with great necessary ignorance as to the state of things in this country, and the possibility of any alterations which might not occur to my uninstructed mind; but speaking in that way I must say that it does not occur to me that the present mode of selecting the Directors of the East India Company is a very good one. It seems to men in India generally not to furnish a guarantee for the best possible persons being selected, and to oppose certain obstacles in the way of an entry into the court, such as expense, and a long, tedious, and sometimes unpleasant canvass, which seem to have a tendency occasionally to deter fit men from presenting themselves for election.

3955. Are you prepared to suggest any other mode of electing the Directors which would obviate the objections which you have stated?—It is exceedingly difficult for me to speak upon such a subject. I am profoundly conscious of my own inexperience in all matters in this country, and I continually feel that the suggestions which I may make upon a subject of that description are made in ignorance of the working of English institutions, and therefore are probably exceedingly crude and insufficient. I cannot say, myself, that I have been able to imagine any better mode of appointing the Directors, but I have heard other modes spoken of, to which I may perhaps give more or less preference, still with great diffidence of my own capability to judge on such a matter. I have heard it proposed that they should be nominated by the Crown. I have heard it proposed, also, that they should be partly elected as at present, and partly elected by the body of Directors themselves. I have heard it proposed, also, that they should be elected by the holders of East India stock here and in India. Of those methods of appointments or election I confess, on the whole, I am inclined to prefer, with great reserve and diffidence as before, the plan of electing them as at present, for the most part, and as vacancies occur, allowing a portion to be nominated, say one-third or one-fourth, as the case may be, by the Directors themselves. It appears to me that you would then perhaps have greater security, on the whole, for the selection of fit persons than you have at present, and you would at all events open a door for the election into the court of those fit persons who are occasionally found in circumstances which deter them or render it unfit or impossible for them to incur the expense, and delay, and trouble of a canvass.

3956. Would you allow the Court of Directors to have the absolute nomination of that portion which you mention, a quarter or a third, or should it be subject to the approval of the Crown, or the sanction of Parliament?—I should suppose that the sanction of Parliament, in whatever way it was proper to be conveyed, would be the best mode of checking the appointments; it does not appear to me advisable that there should be a veto in the hands of the Crown.

3957. Practically, from your knowledge of India, was it felt in India that the Court of Directors was composed of persons not fully acquainted with the wants and the interests of the country over which they were placed as governors?—There are different opinions prevailing in India among different classes of men. It is perhaps one of the evils of the present system that everybody finds one branch or other of the Government to abuse. Some people attribute every evil to the Court of Directors, and some every evil to the Board of Control; but there is a notion certainly in India that the one is hostile and antagonistic to the other.

other, and that by their mutual antagonism, obstructions and difficulties are thrown in the way of good government. I think among tolerably informed persons in India there is a wish that the two could be made, if compatible with the existing institutions and form of government in England, to act with greater harmony and unanimity as one body instead of two; as one constitution of government instead of two antagonistic bodies.

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3958. Do you mean that more authority should be transferred to the Board of Control, or do you mean that the Court of Directors should have an increase of power?—I think the idea which I have generally found to prevail upon that subject in India is, not that more power should be given to one than to the other, but that they should be brought into actual contact; that instead of transacting their business separately and chiefly by writing, the Minister for the Crown should come personally face to face with the Court of Directors, or whatever body may exercise the present power of the Court of Directors, hear their debates, understand and weigh and appreciate the reasons for and against any measure which may be under discussion, and then decide, as it were, judicially, having by that means been fully instructed by competent persons upon the measure before the Government. Certainly it has appeared to persons who hold a similar opinion to my own in India, that in this manner the Government would acquire greater weight and authority; that the decisions would be more instructed and weighty decisions; and that instead of being occasionally open to the imputation which, right or wrong, is very commonly thrown upon the measures of the Government in England, that they are dictated or suggested by irresponsible persons in one or other of the two offices of the Indian Government in London, they would be looked upon as the result of careful deliberation and full information possessed by the one Government acting in harmony and with the authority also of the Crown.

3959. Are the Committee to understand that you would leave the relative powers of the two bodies as they now are, only requiring that the representative of the Crown in England should confer *vis à vis* with the Court of Directors, and listen to their opinions?—The notion which prevails is, that at present the business is first arranged, say, an answer to a despatch from India, by the chairman and deputy-chairman of the court; that, in the form of a previous communication, the assent, in one way or other, of the President of the Board of Control is obtained to this despatch, with or without alterations, as the case may be; that it is then sent to a committee of the court, who deliberate upon it with the full knowledge that the chairman and deputy-chairman, and the President of the Board of Control, which last functionary has absolute power to dictate the final order, are already committed to a written opinion upon the subject in hand. It then goes before the general court, who have to deliberate upon it, subject, to what may appear to some, the disadvantage that their deliberations, however ably they may be conducted, whatever light they may throw upon the subject, are entirely unknown, except at second-hand, to the President of the Board of Control, who ultimately has to decide upon the matter. It certainly has appeared to many persons in India, under these circumstances, that it would be better, supposing all parties to retain their present powers, that measures of that sort should be first of all digested in a subordinate committee, and then debated in the court, in the presence of the great functionary of the Crown, who has the power ultimately, on his Parliamentary responsibility, of deciding upon the matter, that he would decide with better information, and that the court would deliberate independently with more zeal and more devotion to the subject in hand, and that the result would be a weightier and better Government.

3960. Supposing the names to remain as they are, would you require that the President of the Board of Control should be guided by the ultimate decision of the court?—Not at all; I imagine that the President of the Board of Control must of necessity have in the end, as he has now, the absolute power, subject to his Parliamentary responsibility, to decide as he will. He has that, as I suppose, now; but he exercises that power at considerable disadvantage, as it appears to me, compared with the manner in which he would exercise it if he had an opportunity of hearing what well-informed men, devoting themselves to the subject, had to say or might say upon every matter on which he had to decide.

3961. Would you allow those discussions to be public?—No; it appears to me that it would be altogether inconvenient, and I may say impossible, to have those discussions public. I should have no objection to its being known in any instance,

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as indeed it could not help being known, that the President of the Board of Control had decided contrary to the opinion of the majority; but the actual discussions need not be public. Parliament is, I suppose, the place in which that sort of discussion should take place.

3962. Supposing the President of the Board of Control to decide against the opinion of the majority of the Court of Directors, would it be desirable to establish some record in the office of such a difference of opinion?—I imagine that at present the members of the court have the power of recording written protests or dissents in those cases in which the President of the Board of Control decides against their opinion, even though they be a minority, and therefore I should see no objection to the same course being pursued when the President of the Board of Control decided against the majority.

3963. Are the Committee to understand that your object would be, that the governing authority, the President of the Board of Control, should have opportunities of ascertaining the opinions of individual Directors, and should not rely, as he does now, upon the written opinions of the majority?—Quite so. I suppose that it is not by any means every despatch which represents fully all the reasons for the despatch; besides which, it is right that the minority should be heard as well as the majority; in fact, that the President of the Board of Control should hear both sides before coming to a decision. It appears to me also that he should hear them under the check of the presence of their colleagues in open debate, and not as he may, I suppose, even do now if he thinks fit, by sending for them one by one, and hearing them in private; I should think that that mode of hearing their opinions would not be so advantageous as hearing them in the face and in the presence of the rest of the court.

3964. You said, in your previous evidence, that by the previous communication the opinion of the President of the Board of Control was elicited, and declared before the judgment of the Court of Directors; is there any evil in that?—I said it appeared to me that it must of necessity be so, and that that appeared to me to be a disadvantage. It certainly does appear to me that it must be a disadvantage where the person who is ultimately to decide upon a measure to be debated by a deliberative body, has in any shape expressed a leaning one way or the other, especially if he has gone the length of actually approving of a despatch which must take one side of a given question. That, perhaps, can now scarcely be avoided in a number of cases, and he must to a certain extent commit himself to an opinion which afterwards the majority of the court may occasionally differ from, and it seems to me that the court in their deliberations will be at a disadvantage as well as the President of the Board of Control, in his decisions, by that mode of transacting the business.

3965. Your opinion is that if it were known in India that the President of the Board of Control had the means of ascertaining the opinion of the majority of the Directors, in open discussion, that would give more strength to his authority as conveying the assurance that he was aware of all the arguments for and against a particular measure?—I speak entirely as to the opinion in India, and the view taken of the government in India, not being at all competent to speak of it in reference to affairs in this country; but so speaking, I have no hesitation in saying that the acts of the Government thus constituted would be received in India as of much greater weight and authority than the acts of the Government as it is constituted at present, by natives as well as by Europeans.

3966. Is there any practical objection to the present constitution and functions of the Secret Committee, as regards the Government of India?—As we understand the functions of the Secret Committee in India, they are merely mechanical. The Committee is not called on to give any advice, nor is the President of the Board of Control obliged to consult its members; and, as I understand, it might be considered, perhaps, as an act of presumption if they were to offer any advice upon any matter to a President of the Board of Control who was not disposed to receive it. I still think, with avowed ignorance of what takes place, but speaking merely from what is supposed in India, that so long as considerable ignorance prevailed in India as to the constitution of the Secret Committee, it might answer a certain purpose that despatches should be signed by three members of the Court of Directors, because it kept up the notion that the Court of Directors were still the governing body; but the time has gone by for keeping up that notion, and it is, I think, beginning to be known, and will, year by year, be more generally known, that those three important members of the Court of Directors do, in

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in fact, in signing those despatches, perform what is apt to be considered as a somewhat degrading office; for they certainly are made to sign what they never wrote, as if it was theirs; and it has become notorious, or is supposed necessarily to follow, that in a number of cases they sign what they actually disapprove of. The prevalence of such a notion in India, with regard to an important function in an important department of the three most important members of the Court of Directors, cannot fail to lower those members, and through them the Court, and through them the Government, in the eyes of the natives of India. The truth in these matters will become more and more known every day. These appear to me to be the objections to the present system. As to the remedy, I see no reason why, supposing the former suggestion to meet with any degree of favour, the same principle should not be carried out with reference to the Secret Committee; that is, that the Secret Committee should not only be enabled, but obliged, to give their opinions, and in that case, I think, they should be written opinions, upon every matter coming before them, and that the President of the Board of Control should decide upon his responsibility, either with or against the opinion of the Committee, but in his own name, and that the despatch should go out avowedly as the despatch of the President of the Board of Control, by and with the advice of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors.

3967. You would not increase the powers of the Secret Committee, you would only give them the power of representing their opinions to the Minister?—That is all which ever occurred to me.

3968. I understand you to say that you would leave the final and responsible decision to the President of the Board of Control?—Yes, I should; whether he decides in conformity with or against the opinion of the committee.

3969. Would you require that the Secret Committee should sign the despatch, or should the despatch bear only the signature of the President of the Board of Control?—As to the person who signs, I am not so conversant with the forms adopted here as to be able to say, but I should wish that the Government should be avowedly carried on in the name of the Crown, and that whatever form of signature or method of sending out the despatch were adopted, that principle should be carried out; I think it would very much increase the weight and authority of the Government in India. With the great body of the uninstructed natives, for a long while past, the idea has prevailed that the Government of India is farmed out to a company, and though in years past they were puzzled to understand what the Company meant, I think they now generally fancy that it is a company of merchants; and though I have nothing whatever to allege against the general Government heretofore, since I have known it as so constituted, it is quite certain that this idea has a tendency to lower, or at all events, to give inadequate notions of the Indian Government, seeing that the idea of farming the Government in any country must be a low notion, and it is a notion which the natives of India, from old traditions, and old historical recollections of the connexions of farmers with matters of Government administration in that country, cannot entertain compatibly with exalted ideas of the Government under which they live. Besides, the fact is coming out day by day, and as you enlighten the natives it must come out, that after all the Government is effectually that of the Crown, and I am not aware of any reasons, looking at it in an Indian point of view, why what is the fact should not be stated and publicly made known.

3970. Do you think there is any practical loss of power to the Government of India by its being carried on in the name of the Company?—I think there is; one sees every day in India, among the natives, a disposition, erroneous, and prejudiced, and ignorant it may be, but still undoubtedly prevailing, to exalt anything which belongs to the Crown over anything that belongs to the Company; in the army, officers are proud of being in the Queen's army; I think that a disposition may be traced among the officers of the Indian army to desire that they should be considered or placed upon the same footing with the Queen's officers generally; so in other things, the Queen's judges and all officers belonging to the Crown are looked on in a higher light than officers belonging to the Company.

3971. Do you think that that feeling which you have mentioned, that the Government was farmed out to the Company, would be removed if the Government were carried on in the name of the Sovereign of this country, but powers were delegated at certain periods as regards the machinery of the Government to a body constituted like the Company?—I confess that, according to my crude notions of

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the subject, it appears to me that the adoption of any such scheme as this would be inconsistent with any legislation for a term; I speak with the greatest possible ignorance upon a matter of this sort, and am unwilling to speak upon it at all; but it certainly did not enter into my comprehension, in speaking of a scheme of this description, that there should be, as it were, a Bill for 20 years, or for 10 years, or any number of years, but that a measure should be adopted and passed at once, subject to alteration, next year or the year after, as the case might be, and the Government being thenceforward the Government of the Crown, there would be no room for any delegation of authority for one term or another.

3972. Whether for good or evil, that would involve a complete change in the system of Government in India, would not it?—Not at all in the system of Government in India; I do not understand that it would involve any change except one of name, and scarcely even that.

3973. Would not your plan involve to a great degree the necessity for some change, so as to place the appointments under the control of the Crown, with the sanction of Parliament?—I think to answer that question as it ought to be answered, I should possess more knowledge of things in this country than I can pretend to. I have said what I have said entirely as from India, and speaking in an Indian point of view. I am very ignorant of things in this country. Still, I may say this much, that I do not see any necessary connexion between the distribution of the patronage as at present exercised by the court, and this alteration, which seems to me but a trifling alteration after all, in the method of carrying on the business. As I understand it, it is merely a substitution of the open and avowed authority of the Crown, instead of the use of the name of the Company, and actually bringing the Minister of the Crown face to face with the Court of Directors, instead of his deciding upon their propositions without seeing them, and without hearing their debates. Further than that, it does not appear to me that there is any serious alteration, and no organic alteration in anything I have suggested.

3974. You were understood to say, that your idea would be not to grant the governing power to any body for a limited period, but to retain the power always within the control of the Crown, subject to such changes as might be deemed desirable from year to year; would it be possible under such a system, to maintain the secondary power which now exists, and to leave to that secondary power all its present power of conferring appointments and its present authority?—I still do not quite see the connexion; I suppose that even in this country, under the Government of England, there are secondary powers, and boards and bodies under the Crown, who exercise patronage. This body, I presume might still exercise such patronage. But as I have already said with respect to the compatibility or incompatibility of this scheme with English institutions, I desire to speak with the greatest possible hesitation and diffidence.

3975. Would you make the troops in India the Queen's troops?—I am not aware of any objection to their being so.

3976. You would make the officers of the army Queen's officers?—I am not aware of any objection to it, but the contrary.

3977. Though they were not appointed by the direct authority of the Crown?—They would be appointed by a body acting with the concurrence of the Ministers of the Crown.

3978. *Sir G. Grey.*] Holding their commissions from the Crown, like officers in the Queen's army?—I suppose they would.

3979. Retaining it as a separate service?—As a local army, belonging to the Crown.

3980. Not allowing an officer to be transferred from a regiment in India to a regiment elsewhere?—That involves a military question, with which I am not competent to deal; I do not see any difficulty in having a local army of that description belonging to the Crown.

3981. *Chairman.*] Would you keep the three armies in the three Presidencies, as separate armies under the Company's authority?—Under the authority of this Government, as so constituted. There would be still three separate local armies, as at present; there would be the army of the Queen's Government of India, in Bengal, the army of the Queen's Government of India, in Madras, and the army of the Queen's Government of India, in Bombay.

3982. Under the control of the Horse Guards here?—That is so purely a military question, that I feel quite unable to answer it.

3983. You

3983. You see the difficulty which would occur if it were not so. The Queen's troops here under the control of the Horse Guards would still be a distinct body from the Queen's troops in India, under the control of the Company, or whatever secondary agency might be established?—The fact I see, but I do not see the difficulty, probably from my ignorance of English institutions. I do not see why that particular branch of the Queen's army should not be controlled by military secretaries or clerks under this governing body, appointed for the purpose of governing India, just as the Indian army is controlled now by functionaries of that description.

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3984. Mr. *Ellis*.] Do you think any discontent might arise on the part of the officers of the separate army in India, on account of not being admitted to the same privileges that the officers of the Queen's army at home possessed?—No, it does not occur to me that it would be so. At the present moment there is occasionally a little heart-burning between the two services, partly of that description; something of the same sort might remain, but I think it would be less, and I think it would be of small importance.

3985. Mr. *V. Smith*.] From whom would you propose that the officers should receive their commissions?—I suppose, in form, the commission would be from the Queen.

3986. In the one case they are obtained by purchase, and in the other by patronage. At present you are aware that commissions in the Company's army are given by the Court of Directors; the commissions of the Crown are by purchase; would you propose that the existing system should still remain?—I do not myself see any objection to a system of purchase being introduced into the Indian army, but whether it were by purchase or by patronage, the commissions might still run in the name of the Queen, as they do at present.

3987. Sir *C. Wood*.] Would not the difference between the three local armies of which you speak and the Queen's troops, after the change which you have proposed, be precisely, or as nearly as may be, the same as exists at this moment?—There would be no difference except in name.

3988. Mr. *V. Smith*.] Do you think that a mere difference in name, if it produced no other change, would have much tendency to allay any dissatisfaction which may be felt at present?—I have not proposed the alteration with the view of allaying any dissatisfaction; the alteration follows almost of necessity upon the other suggestion which I made for the purpose of improving the Government of India. I said that it might be pleasing to the officers of the army to be the servants of the Crown rather than of the Company, but I did not propose that as a method of improving the army or of allaying dissatisfaction.

3989. Do you think if the army in India received the title of the army of the Queen, but the officers were not admitted to perfect equality with the other troops of the Queen, it would not have the tendency rather to increase than to allay dissatisfaction?—I cannot see that it would have any such effect.

3990. Mr. *Hume*.] Would you, in fact, propose to make any alteration in the mode of promotion which is now carried on in the army?—My idea is, that it would continue as it is now, except that the name would be changed.

3991. You did not intend that the influence of the Horse Guards, or any influence from England, should interfere with the proceedings of the separate Governments in India?—Nothing of the sort was in my mind.

3992. Sir *G. Grey*.] The patronage would remain still, therefore, with the Court of Directors?—The patronage would be with the Court of Directors, unless it should be thought fit that the appointments to the army in future should be given by purchase.

3993. Mr. *Elliot*.] Do you think it would be possible to give them the name of the Queen's army, without running a great risk of the patronage of the army very soon falling into the hands of the Government?—That again is so purely an English question that I hesitate to answer it; it does not appear to me that it would follow of necessity.

3994. Mr. *Ellice*.] At present the principal commands in India being given to officers of the Queen's army, do you think the officers of the local army in India, by whatever authority they might be governed, would be satisfied after the whole army was nominally the army of the Crown, if that system of the appointment of officers from the army at home were still carried on?—I do not think you could avoid a certain amount of dissatisfaction, such as occasionally prevails at present; but I think if the distribution were fair, as I think it is now on the

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whole, and a fair proportion of the superior military appointments were given to officers of the local army as well as officers of the English army, you might avoid all reasonable ground for dissatisfaction, and all such dissatisfaction as the Government might care for.

3995. Should you consider it fair, that the superior military appointments in India should be given to the small army at home rather than to the larger army of the Crown which would be constituted in India?—The question occurs at this moment; officers occasionally ask that question, “Why should not the superior commands be given to us?” You would have, perhaps, something of the same sort of dissatisfaction under the proposed system as you have now, but I think you would have no more, and probably less.

3996. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] I collect from your answers, that you think the best mode of governing India for the future, would be by a minister for India, aided by a council?—The form of government which I have supposed, in my answers to the previous questions, might certainly be so denominated; it would in effect be the government of a minister for India, with a council.

3997. Similar to what the government of the colonies would be now, provided the minister for the colonies were aided by a colonial council?—Yes, with this difference between the two cases; that the Council of India, I suppose, would be elected by an independent body for the most part, and in any other case which I have heard supposed, the council for the colonies would be nominated by Parliament or by the Crown.

3998. In that case would it not follow, absolutely of necessity, that the Minister of the Crown, who was responsible for the Government of India, should have the appointment of the civil and military servants proceeding to India?—It does not appear to me to follow of necessity by any means, nor at all to follow on account of propriety.

3999. You have stated, as your own opinion, and the opinion of others in India, that the present system is objectionable as having the appearance of farming the Government; would not it be the worst description of farming the Government, to leave the whole of the powers of the Government in the hands of a Minister of the Crown, and constitute a subordinate authority for no purpose whatever but that of distributing the patronage?—If it were for no purpose whatever but the distribution of patronage, it might be so, but they would have the same powers, authorities, and duties, as they have at present; they would have the power of giving advice, and they would give it with much more force, and much greater influence, and I apprehend they would have more strength and more authority in the Government of India than they have now.

4000. You think it would be quite compatible with the working of that system that the subordinate authorities should have the entire disposal and control of the patronage?—I think the patronage would probably be a difficulty. With regard to the army it might be got rid of, perhaps, by a system of purchase; with regard to civil appointments it might be reduced by giving a portion of them as prizes to certain institutions; but, as I said before, I am very conscious that this scheme may be beset by a thousand difficulties, arising out of the English constitution, of which I am utterly unaware; and I have no notion of expressing it as anything particularly worthy of notice, except as an idea which is undoubtedly prevalent in the country from which I come, and among some of the officers whose opinions I desire upon this particular point to represent.

4001. Of how many members would you think the council appointed to assist the Indian minister should consist?—I think they should be numerous. According to what I have before said, I think there should be precisely the number that exists at present. I have said that I desire to change none of the existing institutions, except the manner of communication and the term for which the Act has heretofore been passed.

4002. You stated that the objection which you entertained to the working of the present system of double government was, that the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, either generally were or were supposed to be antagonistic; will you have the goodness to state to the Committee your grounds for forming that opinion?—I think what I said was, that the opinion prevailed, right or wrong, erroneous or otherwise, in very great ignorance of the real facts of the case, that this was the position of the two authorities; therefore, the nature of my statement does not render it necessary that I should state the grounds, for perhaps there were none.

4003. Did

4003. Did you hear or have you read the evidence of Mr. Melvill, the secretary to the East India Company, upon that subject?—I think I have read all his evidence. I do not particularly call to mind the statement which the Honourable Baronet refers to, but I have read all his evidence.

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4004. Having read all that evidence, are you of opinion that it generally, or even frequently happens, that the Board of Control and the Court of Directors take different views upon public matters?—Since I have come to England I certainly have satisfied myself that the differences of that description between the two authorities are much more rare than I had imagined when in India; but that they do occur I have also satisfied myself, and that they occur upon some very important matters I know, and that they occur more frequently than I should have supposed to be desirable.

4005. Do you remember that Mr. Melvill gave the per-centage of cases in which the Chairs and the President of the Board of Control differed, and again gave the per-centage of cases in which the President of the Board of Control differed from the decision of the whole court?—I recollect the fact, but I do not recollect the per-centage.

4006. You stated, and stated very correctly, the course of proceeding with regard to papers and despatches; does not that course, whatever faults it may have, ensure a full and accurate consideration of every subject matter that passes the authorities?—I have no doubt that all subjects which come before the Government as at present constituted, receive a very full and careful investigation; but I think the investigation would be conducted under circumstances of greater advantage, if the major part of those engaged in the discussion were not previously aware that those in whom the ultimate decision lay had already committed themselves to an opinion upon the subject, and that in writing.

4007. You stated that the fact of the President of the Board of Control having formerly expressed an opinion, was rather inconsistent with the independent discussion of a deliberate assembly. In Parliament in this country is not every measure introduced by a Minister previously to its general discussion; and has not that Minister, and the Cabinet with whom he is associated, already formed an opinion before the measure is submitted to Parliament?—Yes, but the Minister may be out-voted, the President of the Board of Control never.

4008. If the President of the Board of Control sits in the Court of Directors as you suggest, and takes a part in a *viva voce* discussion, and overrules the decision of the court, you are of opinion that, as at present, that decision of the President should be final?—Certainly.

4009. Under the existing system, if the President of the Board of Control decides contrary to the opinion of the majority of the court, the majority of the court have the power of remonstrating, and by law can call upon the President of the Board of Control to state in writing his reasons for reversing the opinion of the majority of the court; do you not think that that provision of the law imposes a restraint upon the President of the Board of Control far exceeding what could exist if he were to preside at a *viva voce* discussion?—I have no doubt that it imposes a very useful restraint upon him; I have no doubt that the present system does ensure a great deal of excellent and full discussion. I only say that I think the discussion would be better in the manner I have suggested, and would be conducted in a manner more likely to lead to a sound conclusion, at all events in a manner more satisfactory to those affected by the decision.

4010. You speak generally of the feelings of the services in India, both civil and military; with your experience, is it your opinion that the services in India, civil and military, are and have been satisfied with the existing system of Government, and satisfied with the treatment which they have received, and the attention which their interests, as far as consistent with the public interest, have received?—On the whole, undoubtedly.

4011. You are not of opinion that any feeling of dissatisfaction exists in the service?—Not except in occasional cases; on the whole I think the services are very well satisfied; but the tendency in the services, I should say, is to attribute all the good which befalls them to the Court of Directors, and all the evil to the Board of Control.

4012. If that is the general impression in India, and if you yourself participate in it, would not the natural deduction be, that it is desirable to increase the power of the Court of Directors, and to diminish the authority of the President of the Board of Control?—I have a full persuasion that this plan which I have ventured

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to suggest, with the greatest possible diffidence, would increase the power of the court, and it is, in a great measure, with that view that I have ventured to suggest it. It appears to me that the court meeting with the Minister of the Crown face to face, each member of the court, well selected, and well informed, enforcing his own particular views of the questions under discussion in an oral debate, in a solemn assembly of that sort, would have much greater power and influence over the measures to be adopted by the Minister than they have at present.

4013. However well acquainted, and however conversant with the working of the machinery of the Government in India, the civil and military servants of the Company are and have been, they have not been particularly conversant with the working of the system at home, have they?—Assuredly not.

4014. The mode of working of the Secret Committee, and the powers of the President, and the members of that committee are clearly and distinctly defined by the Act of Parliament?—They are.

4015. Notwithstanding that you say the mode of working of the Secret Committee was till lately wholly unknown in India?—I will not say it was wholly unknown; it was wonderfully little known.

4016. Till of late very little was known about the matter?—Respecting the details, very little indeed was known, and a great deal was misunderstood.

4017. The functions of the Secret Committee are confined by the statute to matters of war and peace and treaties with the native powers, where publicity would be injurious, are not they?—They are.

4018. The President of the Board having the chief, and indeed the sole power, I assume that the decision of the President of the Board is the decision of Her Majesty's Government?—No doubt.

4019. Would you see no difficulty in introducing any system which should constitute a little cabinet that might be antagonistic to the cabinet which is responsible to the country and somewhat embarrassing to them?—I dare say there might be some difficulties, but they do not appear to me to be of any great importance. On the whole, I think the advantages of such a system predominate over the disadvantages.

4020. Do you think that any individual or body of men ought to have the power and authority of controlling or embarrassing the Queen's Government, who are responsible for the good management and peace of the Queen's territories throughout the world?—Certainly not, nor do I imagine that this plan would control or even embarrass them to any appreciable degree.

4021. While by the existing system the control in matters where secrecy is necessary is given entirely to the Queen's Government, the Executive and Administrative Government is conceded to the East India Company?—Under the control of the Board of Control.

4022. You have stated the proceedings so accurately that you doubtless know that the whole of the initiative rests with the Court of Directors?—I am aware of it.

4023. With the control of public opinion and the power of demanding from the Board an explanation of any alterations which may be made in their decision, do you not think that that system practically gives the Government of India, administrative and revenue, to the East India Company?—I cannot but say still that ultimately the Government of India is in the hands of the Minister of the Crown, seeing that he has the absolute control over everything which the Court of Directors may do or propose to do.

4024. But assuming that the subordinate body, whether it be a council or the court, or whether it has the power of initiating, has the power of remonstrating, and has the power of demanding from the controlling authority the reasons for any alterations, is it or is it not your opinion that in a country like this, influenced so much by public opinion, it does practically give them, if not the whole Government, the chief control over the Government of India?—It does no doubt give them the chief control, or at least a very important control over the Government; but I think under the system I suggest they would have even more, and I desire they should have more. I think they should have the right of coming face to face with the Minister of the Crown.

4025. In the system which you have suggested their discussions would be private?—Yes.

4026. Consequently they would not be known to the public?—No more than are at present.

4027. Then if the President over-ruled them you would not have what now exists,

exists, namely, the power of remonstrance of the one authority, and the reasons assigned in writing by the other?—You would have the previous remonstrance, and you might have the subsequent protest or dissent.

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4028. How could you know the previous remonstrance, inasmuch as you would have *viva voce* discussion, but no written remonstrance?—An actual written remonstrance even is not incompatible with my scheme, and might be introduced as a part of it. At all events, there might be written dissents after the measure had been adopted.

4029. You said that one of the disadvantages at present was, that the President of the Board of Control had no means of knowing the opinion of the minority of the court except at second-hand; are you aware that any member of the minority has the power of recording a dissent, which course is very frequently resorted to, and that those written dissents are sent up for the consideration of the President of the Board of Control, with the determination of the majority, so that he sees not only the determination of the majority of the court, but the recorded opinions of the minority, if they choose to record them?—No doubt; I am aware of that; and I think it a great advantage; what I have suggested seems to me to be only an additional advantage.

4030. Would not that system of recording dissents and giving written remonstrances entirely disappear?—I think I have expressly said that I would continue the power of recording dissents in the hands of the minority.

4031. If the President presided, and having presided determined against the opinion of the majority, for what purpose would you have the dissent recorded; to what superior power could that dissent be submitted?—In the first place the dissent might be called for in Parliament; there is no objection to that that I am aware of; and, in the next place, a dissent under those circumstances would have the same authority that a dissent has under present circumstances.

4032. Would you constitute a Council for the Government of India, and make it a part of the constitution of the body, that whenever the minority differed from the majority there should be an appeal to Parliament?—I would say, in answer to that question, that I have not presumed to constitute a Council for India at all; all I have presumed to do is to suggest that the existing Council for India should transact their business in a somewhat different way from that which is adopted at present; that whereas now they do not come as a body into personal contact with the President, and have no opportunity of debating and discussing their views before him, they should have it in future; any other good means of discussion and debate which they at present have they might still have, compatibly with this scheme, as far as I understand it. What I mean is rather to increase the power of the Court than to diminish it; and not to change the court as a council, or constitute a new council for India, but only to alter the working of the present system.

4033. *Mr. Ellice.*] You have been asked whether occasions of difference between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors were rare, and whether according to *Mr. Melvill's* evidence there has not been a general agreement between them. Have not, as far as you possess information on the subject, the occasions of difference, although very rare, been on questions which were of the greatest importance to the interests of India?—I do not know that I am sufficiently acquainted with the facts to answer that question, except by giving the impression which exists on my mind, and which I know prevails in other people's minds in India. I should say my belief is, that differences of that kind do occur in very important cases; if I were asked to specify the cases I should probably be able to do so.

4034. *Sir G. Grey.*] With regard to the higher appointments now made with the concurrence of the Crown and the Court of Directors, have you considered what would be the effect upon them of the plan you have recommended; would you give to the proposed council the same power which is now possessed by the Court of Directors, or would you give to the Crown the absolute power of making those appointments without any concurrence on the part of the court?—I should be glad to change the form of the present council, but I am very desirous of stating that I propose no new council.

4035. Would you give to the Court of Directors, constituted as you propose, the same power which they now possess of withholding their concurrence from appointments by the Crown, of the Governor-general, the Governors of the Presidencies, and the Commander-in-Chief?—It seems to me to follow from the new mode of transacting the business which I have suggested, that no such differences

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in fact could arise, for the appointments, like all other measures, would be either the measures of the majority concurred in by the President, or they would be the measures of the President against the opinion of the majority.

4036. Would you give the President, representing the Crown, the power to make all those appointments to which I have adverted, against the opinion of the majority of the council?—Undoubtedly; my notion is, that the President of the Board of Control in this mode of transacting the business should have complete power to do everything he pleased after hearing all that the court have to say upon the subject.

4037. Then I need hardly ask you whether you would give the Court of Directors the power of recalling the Governor-general?—The answer follows almost from the previous one.

4038. *Mr. V. Smith.*] You have proposed that a proportion of the Directors of whom you meant to retain the same number, should be chosen by the Court of Directors themselves, would you propose that the court should select whom they pleased, without any security for the possession of the necessary qualification, or without any limits to their choice?—I would prefer to leave them to their own free choice.

4039. You would not think it necessary to limit them to appointing persons who had had experience in service in India?—No; I believe, generally speaking, they would select such persons; but whether they selected them or selected other persons, I think they would select fit persons, and probably fitter than at present.

4040. Suppose there were no period fixed for their term of power, do you conceive that persons would be willing to accept the direction?—I do not see why it should deter them at all.

4041. Have you any experience or knowledge of the system of canvass pursued for the purpose of entering into the direction?—Only at second or third hand.

4042. Only from hearsay?—Only from hearsay.

4043. You stated, generally, that you considered it objectionable, and that you believed many persons were unwilling to subject themselves to it?—Yes.

4044. You have heard, probably, the names of eminent persons who have declined to go through the trouble of the canvass which is now necessary for a seat in the Direction?—I have.

4045. You were asked by an Honourable Member whether you did not think the council you propose would embarrass the proceedings of the Government; have you never known the present system embarrass the Government?—I have heard that the working of the present system did, on one important occasion, somewhat embarrass the Government.

4046. At any rate, it is possible it might do so?—No doubt.

4047. Is there anything in the system you propose that would be more embarrassing to the Administration than the present system?—I cannot see any reason why it should.

4048. You stated that the Crown was more looked up to than the Government of the Company, from its power of appointment; have you ever known a civil servant appointed to be Governor-general of India?—I think Lord Teignmouth was so appointed.

4049. Do not you think that the system of the Crown always appointing political friends to the Governor-generalship of India might have led to the opinion which you state exists in India, as to the superior power of the Crown?—I do not know that I said anything about the power of the Crown; I may have said something about the superior prestige of the Crown.

4050. *Mr. Labouchere.*] Is it the fact the Government does always appoint a political friend to be Governor-general of India?—The opinion prevails in India that the persons appointed as Governors-general have been in almost every instance persons of great fitness and ability.

4051. Persons of great political eminence and fitness for the situation?—Of great fitness for the situation undoubtedly.

4052. Are not you aware that Lord Dalhousie was not in party connexion with the Government that appointed him?—I am aware of it.

4053. *Mr. Mangles.*] You spoke of your object and your belief being, that the plan which you have proposed would give more power to the Court of Directors than they have at present, and yet you propose to take away from them the only absolute important power which they possess, that of recalling the Governor-

Governor-general and the Governors?—No doubt in that particular I was mistaken; in that particular respect their power would be diminished. F. J. Halliday, Esq.

4054. Also you propose to take from them the power of objecting to any man, however unfit they might think him, whom the Minister of the Crown proposed as Governor-general?—Yes; because I think the Government of the day, after hearing what a capable body, such as I have supposed, had to say, freely and fully, upon any matter of that sort, ought to decide.

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4055. Would not the effect of that be, to reduce them to a much lower degree of power than they at present possess?—Their power would be reduced.

4056. Would not it be a most serious reduction of their power?—I cannot suppose it would; the instances of their exercising the power of recall are, it is well known, very rare; the instances of objection may be more frequent, inasmuch as they do not transpire; but they might object even under the proposed system.

4057. Is not the knowledge of their possessing, however unfrequently it may be exercised, such an *ultima ratio*, the only means they have of effectually enforcing their authority upon a distant Governor-general, that Governor-general probably being a man of high political power and eminence in this country?—No doubt, if the Court of Directors is to be reconstituted entirely upon its present footing, and to transact its business as it does now, I should argue strongly for the retention of the power of recall, just as they have hitherto had it; but the power is given for a specific purpose in order to keep up the authority of this separate court, having certain powers of the Government delegated to it for specific objects. The reason for their exercising that particular power, under the new system, would no longer exist, and therefore it would fall by the necessity of the case; there would be nothing in the nature of the Court of Directors to render it desirable to continue this power simply for the sake of their having it, when the reason for it no longer existed.

4058. Would you not continue it for the sake of the prestige and the weight it would give to their authority?—No, because under the system I propose the authority is to be that of the Crown.

4059. You used the expression, "Farming the Government;" do you think the people of India believe that the Government of India is farmed to the Company, in the same sense that the taxes were farmed at the period you allude to?—They use precisely the same word in speaking of the renewal of the charter. They will talk with you as to the probability of the "Ijareh" or "farm" being renewed, and, as far as I know, they have no other term to express it.

4060. Is that not merely through the infirmity of their language; have they any word which signifies delegation?—They may have; I speak of the fact, and their use of the term carries with it a corresponding idea.

4061. How would you translate "delegation" into Hindoostanee; might not "Ijareh" be a fair translation of that term?—It would rather signify farm or lease.

4062. You said that, in fact, the Government was that of the Crown, and that the natives as they become more enlightened, will more and more understand it to be so?—It is the case.

4063. As they become more and more enlightened will not the mischief, which you consider arises from their notion of a farm, disappear of itself?—It may in that sense no doubt, and does; and yet there arises a proportionate weakness to the Government, from their seeing that the body held up as their apparent Governors are not their real Governors. Without wishing to speak irreverently, it has somewhat the appearance of a sham.

4064. You think it is beginning to be understood that the Government of India is that of the Crown?—Yes; as the natives become enlightened, it is so.

4065. The Government of Ceylon is that of the Crown too, is it not?—Yes.

4066. Do you consider that Ceylon has been and is better governed than the continent of India?—I am afraid I do not know enough of the Government of Ceylon to enter into any comparison; the general opinion is undoubtedly that it has not been so well governed.

4067. The one being virtually and the other ostensibly the Government of the Crown, how do you account for the Government of India having been better than that of Ceylon?—To answer that question would require a greater knowledge of the whole of the Colonial Department than I pretend to possess. I think I may say thus much, that it seems to be generally admitted that the Government,

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which the Colonial Department has hitherto exercised, has not been the most successful Government of the colonies, whereas the Government of the East India Company has been on the whole a successful Government of India; but that would form no argument against such a Government by the Crown as I have suggested, which would combine both the advantage of a Government by the Crown and a Government by the Company.

4068. Do you think it essential to the good government of India that some non-political body, whether called a Board of Directors or whether called an Indian Council, should be interposed between that country and the action of Parliament in this country?—I dare say it is of great use.

4069. Have you no stronger opinion upon the subject than that?—I am anxious not to express any strong opinion about the Government of this country.

4070. Do you think the Government of India would be improved if Parliamentary interference were to be more direct and frequent than it is now?—I am not, myself, personally, in such dread of Parliamentary interference with the Government of India as I see to prevail here in the minds of persons who are more acquainted than I am with what Parliamentary interference means. Upon the whole, I am inclined to think that Parliamentary interference, though it might create embarrassment in some cases, would work well in the end.

4071. *Mr. Cobden.*] The Committee understand you to say that by the services in India all that was good was attributed to the Company, and all that was evil to the Board of Control?—It is apt to be so.

4072. What is the feeling of the natives upon that subject?—The natives, generally, have no distinct idea upon the subject at all; they have a notion, as I have said, that the Government is farmed to a certain body of governors in England whom they very imperfectly understand, and I do not think the natives generally have any idea of the Board of Control whatever; they scarcely know it exists.

4073. The natives know of no Government but that of the Company?—Undoubtedly that is the case; speaking of the natives generally, there is a small body of natives who are better informed.

4074. They consider that India is given up for a time to the Company, and they do not understand the checks or controls, or responsibilities, attached to the Board of Control?—They do not.

4075. Consequently all the odium or obloquy of misgovernment, if there be any, attaches to the Company?—Undoubtedly.

4076. I understood you to say, that you believed the natives would regard with much more reverence the Government of the Crown than that of the Company?—I think they would be apt to do so: it is consonant to the general national character, I think, and it arises out of the kind of idea they would form of a Government farmed out, in consequence of their historical experience of the result of such methods of administration in India.

4077. Without making yourself responsible for the mode in which a Government under the Crown, administered directly from the Crown, should be carried on in India, or without pretending to say how that could be made to work in unison with our representative system here, is it your opinion that the Government should be carried on in the name of the Crown?—I think so.

4078. I understood you to state, that in saying so you were expressing the opinion of many intelligent persons in India, also engaged in the service?—Undoubtedly I am.

4079. I understood you to say that you did not propose in your plan to supersede the present Court of Directors; at the same time I suppose you do not prescribe the continuance of that court?—What I said was, that I could not approve altogether of the manner of electing the present Court of Directors, but I had not been able to devise any better plan, and did not wish to attempt it; I only expressed a preference, among three or four modes of which I had heard, for one over the others.

4080. Understanding you to say that the natives would prefer a Government direct from the Crown to a Government by the Company, if it were known that you were giving increased powers to the Court of Directors, which is the phrase you were understood to use, would not that rather tend to impair the force and diminish the popularity of the Government which you would establish?—Not if the whole scheme were taken together, which, though it would give a larger legitimate

legitimate influence to the Court of Directors, would leave the Government of India to be administered not only really but nominally by the Crown. *F. J. Halliday, Esq.*

4081. You consider, at the present moment, that the President of the Board of Control virtually governs India, and you wish him ostensibly to govern it; at least you wish some one representing the Crown ostensibly to govern India?—Precisely. *5 May 1853.*

4082. Have you thought, respecting the responsibility of the Court of Directors, whether they should be responsible to the Government, or to Parliament, or merely to the proprietors of East India Stock?—I have thought of it, and I see the subject to be encompassed with a great many difficulties; for that reason I said I should prefer not to set up any scheme of my own, though not satisfied with the present system, not being able to find out any better, but that I should prefer leaving it to persons who understand the state of things in this country better than I do.

4083. I presume if the President of the Board of Control, or any one representing his office, were to be appointed to work with a court such as the Court of Directors of the East India Company, that court must, in some manner, be brought into a position of responsibility to the Executive Government and to Parliament?—To Parliament, no doubt; I do not see that they would be placed under any responsibility to the Executive Government.

4084. Like, for example, the appointment of the Commissioners of Customs or of Excise; those appointments are not made by an independent constituency, but they are nominations from the Crown, through the Minister of the Crown. You propose to have a body of commissioners not appointed by the Crown, but elected by an independent body of constituents; how would you bring those constituents, or their nominees, into responsibility to the Government?—I do not understand that they would be in any way responsible to the Government.

4085. Do you suppose that the Minister of the Crown would be working in co-operation with a body holding no allegiance to the Government or to Parliament, but being appointed by an independent constituency?—He works in co-operation with them now.

4086. I understood you to say that the present system is a sham?—I did not say that it was a sham; I said it had somewhat the appearance of a sham to the natives of India.

4087. Would it tend to diminish the impression in India that the Government of that country is, I will not say a sham, but that it is not a reality, if it were known that the President of the Board of Control, or any other responsible Minister of the Crown, were associated with a body of men constituted as the present Court of Directors of the East India Company is?—The want of reality at present consists in this, as I understand it, that though the real governing power is the Minister of the Crown, the body put forward as the ostensible governors is the Court of Directors. Under the system which I have suggested the fact would be put forth as it really exists, and he who was the real governor would be also the ostensible governor.

4088. And he would be responsible both to the public opinion of India and also to Parliament?—Yes.

4089. You are aware that we very seldom hear of such a thing as the President of the Board of Control being called to account in the House of Commons for anything connected with the administration of India?—It may be so.

4090. But on the contrary, the Secretary for the Colonies is very frequently rather severely baited in the House of Commons?—Perhaps so.

4091. Supposing the Government of India were altered in the way you suggest, have you ever considered whether there would be an insuperable difficulty in the question of the patronage?—I have considered that that would be a difficulty, but it did not appear to me to be an insuperable difficulty.

4092. You are, of course, aware that the origin of the present form of government for India may be traced to a desire to evade the difficulty of the patronage?—I believe so.

4093. You suggested that the civil patronage might be made, to some extent at all events, the reward of merit in our public institutions, our colleges, and public schools?—I should rather throw out that idea for the purpose of, in some degree, limiting the patronage, so as to render it less of a difficulty. I think it would be advisable and right that a large proportion of the patronage of that description should

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should remain in the hands of this governing body as well as in the hands of the President of the Board of Control, as at present. What I meant by that suggestion was, that if the amount of the patronage occasioned any difficulty, it might be limited by giving a portion of it as prizes to certain educational institutions, or otherwise, as might be deemed advisable.

4094. Do not you think that at present the East India Company very often incurs obloquy for the misgovernment of India which it does not deserve, in consequence of this divided authority?—I dare say it does, sometimes.

4095. Take, for instance, the question which has excited much interest in our manufacturing districts, of the production and exportation of cotton in India; the defect has been generally attributed to the want of roads and other improvements; if I understand rightly, the Board of Control has the power of deciding upon questions of peace or war, and therefore must have a great influence over the prosperity and resources of India?—No doubt.

4096. If the Government declare war and absorb the revenues of the country, those resources, of course, cannot be laid out in making roads, or the production of cotton?—No.

4097. You would consider it fair to the East India Company, as well as to the Board of Control, that the responsibility should be fairly and intelligibly placed on the right shoulders?—Undoubtedly.

4098. At the present moment, you can see no way of doing that but constituting a single government for the administration of the affairs of India?—I see no other way.

4099. Mr. *Labouchere*.] Would your scheme ensure a single Government; would not there still be councillors whose appointments would emanate from a totally different source, who would mix in that Government?—There would. That appears to me, no doubt, a difficulty and an anomaly; the plain straightforward course would be decidedly to have the Government and the council nominated altogether by the Crown; but whenever I have spoken of that with well-informed persons, I have been informed, in a manner that I could not possibly resist with my want of experience, that such a measure was totally out of the question, that it was quite impossible; and therefore, driven from that, I fall back upon what appears to me to be the more practicable suggestion which I have made in the course of my evidence to-day.

4100. Are you aware of any history which affords experience of a Government where the executive authority and responsibility emanated from one source, and the councillors, who were to advise the executive, from another?—That is precisely the case with the present Government of India.

4101. Is not the present Government of India, professedly and avowedly, a system of double authority: I understand you to wish to substitute for that a single and undivided authority, and yet you would compose that single and undivided authority of a responsible Minister, whose councillors should be totally unconnected with him, and derived from a perfectly distinct source?—All I have proposed is to amend the manner of transacting business in the present anomalous system, as far as I can, without introducing any great constitutional or organic changes.

4102. In your opinion do you still leave a divided or double authority, or do you present your scheme as being based on the principle of a single and undivided authority; upon which of those two principles does the Government which you propose proceed?—There is this anomaly in it; looked at in one point of view it may be called a double Government, but looking at it in another point of view, it has more unity in it than the present form of Government at all events, and so far it would be an improvement; I would prefer an entirely single Government if such were possible.

4103. Mr. *Ellice*.] Whatever mode might be adopted for electing a Board of Directors, or a Council for the future government of India, you would be of opinion, would you not, that such a Board or Council should be as independent of the executive Government, and as permanent in its character, as it is at present; and that it should not change with the different changes which occur in the Government of this country?—I would.

4104. Mr. *Hume*.] In the first part of your evidence you said that there were two powers existing by which India was governed, and that you were desirous to identify those powers; is it not your opinion that the Court of Directors, composed as you have suggested of men of experience, and well acquainted with the affairs

affairs of India, should continue to give their advice and counsel to the Minister of India, who would have the ultimate power of decision?—I suppose that is practically what I have suggested.

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4105. Have not the Court of Directors, although acting as it were under the direction of the President of the Board of Control, the entire direction of the revenue, and of the administration of justice, and the arrangement of the army; do not they conduct all those departments at the India House in the efficient manner in which they are now carried on, and do you not wish that they should continue to carry on all those duties as heretofore they have done?—Yes.

4106. Do not you wish that, instead of the Chairman and Deputy-chairman of the court deciding on matters of great importance to India, without consulting the court, no such matters should be decided until the opinions of all the members of the court had been heard for and against the measure in question, leaving it then to the President of the Board of Control, after hearing those opinions, to decide as he thinks fit?—Yes.

4107. Would not you constitute one single Government to consist of the Minister for India, aided by the experience and counsel of the Court of Directors?—That is what I meant by saying, that in one point of view, my suggestion may be called a suggestion for a single Government; but it is double in this sense, that one branch of the authority would emanate from one source, and the other branch would emanate from a totally different source.

4108. You see no difficulty which would arise in the administration of affairs in India, from that additional advice and information which could be obtained in the way you have suggested?—No; I think it would be a means of improving the Government in India.

4109. You have offered an opinion about one-third or one-fourth of the number of Directors being nominated by the Court of Directors itself; has not it occurred to you that the Crown might nominate that number of the Directors, without allowing any party views, or party combinations, to influence those appointments?—I have considered that subject, but I really have too little acquaintance with the state of parties, and the conduct of affairs in England, to offer an opinion upon it.

4110. Is it your opinion that the Secret Committee should be continued; and if so, is it your opinion that the members of that Committee should place their opinions on record in all instances where they differ from the President of the Board of Control?—It is my idea that they should place their opinions on record in all instances, whether they differed from the President of the Board of Control or not.

4111. Do you contemplate advantage, in case subsequent inquiries should take place, from those opinions being recorded, showing the reasons for the course of conduct which had been pursued?—Yes; certainly.

4112. Would not that be productive of very great advantage in the way of affording facilities to parties who had to inquire at some future period into the proceedings which had taken place?—I dare say it might.

4113. Is not the principle object of the whole scheme which has been referred to, to place the responsibility in one individual, that responsibility being known to Parliament and to the country?—That would be one concomitant of the suggestion.

4114. You think that the responsibility should avowedly rest with the Minister of the Crown, just as the administration of the colonies rests with the Secretary for the Colonies?—That it should be open and patent to the public that he is the responsible president.

4115. Do you conceive that any possible mode could be adopted for keeping in check the revenue, the judicial, and the military systems in India better than exists at present?—I do not know that I can go the length of saying that no better mode than the present could be devised. I have a very high opinion of the mode in which the Government of India has been conducted, in all its branches.

4116. Are not you aware that in the Court of Directors there are committees having special reference to the administration of the revenue, the judicial administration, and the military administration?—I am.

4117. Can you suggest any improvement which could be made in that mode of conducting the business?—No, it appears a very excellent mode of conducting the business, discussing subjects in committee previously to their presentation to the full court.

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4118. Have you found that schemes sent home from India have been well and carefully considered by committees of the Court of Directors?—Very well considered.

4119. Is not it your wish that the Minister who is to be responsible for the Government of India should have the advantage of knowing what are the opinions of well-informed members of the Court of Directors, by hearing the discussions which take place on every important question?—It is so.

4120. Would it in your opinion involve any great loss of time, or interfere with the ultimate responsibility of the Minister?—I do not understand that it would.

4121. Then, in fact, what you desire is, that the knowledge possessed by the Court of Directors should be made more useful than it is at present, that the check and control now existing should be continued, and that the President of the Board of Control, instead of deciding as he now does on the opinion of the Chairs, or without their opinion, should invariably be made acquainted with the opinion of the court, and whatever reasons or facts could be adduced by it?—Not the opinion of the court only; but also of the individuals of the court.

4122. *Sir G. Grey.*] Would you prohibit the court from discussing matters connected with the Government of India in the absence of the President of the Board of Control?—That is a matter of detail which I have scarcely considered. The obvious intention of the plan is, that the President of the Board of Control should hear all their discussions, and one cannot understand why they should discuss matters in his absence.

4123. Do you contemplate that the President of the Board of Control should always be present during the discussions of the Court of Directors?—I certainly think that at all important discussions, at any rate, he should be present, and for the purpose of carrying out the scheme completely, I think he should be present at all.

4124. *Mr. Labouchere.*] Would you apply that answer to the discussions which take place in committees?—No, not in committees.

4125. *Mr. Hume.*] Are not you aware that in the Court of Directors, as now constituted, every military arrangement is referred to the Military Committee, every revenue arrangement to the Revenue Committee, every judicial arrangement to the Judicial Committee; and that having been discussed in those committees separately for a certain period, probably 10 or 15 days, the results of their deliberations are at length brought before the full Court?—I understand that, but they do not do this till the measure has previously been before the Chairman and Deputy-chairman and the President of the Board of Control, and till those authorities have actually given an opinion in writing upon it.

4126. Are not the Committee to understand that you wish this: that the information which those committees may have collected and brought before the court should be discussed before the President of the Board of Control passes his determination, and before the Chairs agree with him?—Certainly.

4127. *Sir C. Wood.*] Are you not aware that any communication from the President of the Board of Control, in answer to what is called the previous communication, is not his final determination?—I am quite aware of it.

4128. *Mr. Elliot.*] Are not you aware that it constantly happens that, on the return of a despatch from the Court of Directors, in reply to an answer to a previous communication, the President of the Board of Control changes his original view, as expressed in answer to the previous communication?—I dare say he does; but no man is very willing to change his view after he has once put it down on paper.

4129. As it happens almost every day, do not you think that that is so slight an objection as really to be hardly worth urging?—If that happens in almost every instance the objection falls to the ground; I was not aware that it was so.

4130. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] You expressed an opinion that the number of this court, whatever it may be called, should not be diminished; that it should remain at its present number of 24; have you any ground for thinking that that large number is requisite for the purpose?—In the first place, it is the number which at present exists, and I wish to suggest as little change as possible; in the next place, a large number would tend to make the courts, I suppose, more independent, and would make them more completely a bar to party interference or influence, as it is supposed they are at present; and in the third place, it would tend to distribute the patronage more widely, so as to make it in the case of each less a matter of public importance.

4131. You

4131. You would retain the present practice of making the patronage of India individual patronage?—I see no objection to it, under certain limitations; on the contrary it appears to be an advantage.

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4132. You have suggested a mode of relieving those individual Directors of a portion of the most valuable patronage of the civil service; do you see any objection to relieving them of a considerable portion of their military patronage in the same way?—I see no objection; but they should still have a sufficient amount of patronage to render it worth their while to undertake those duties; and also to give them that sympathy with the general machinery of the affairs of India which they now feel from their present connexion with the patronage of the country.

4133. The scheme which you suggest as one which would meet with your approbation contemplates the addition to this body, or the insertion into this body, of 24 Directors, one-third or one-fourth of another description of persons, not elected as the present members of the court are elected; how would you get rid of the one-third or one-fourth of the present members of the court?—I should not think of getting rid of them; I only meant, and I think I said, that as vacancies occurred, say, every third or every fourth vacancy should be filled up in this manner.

4134. There are now 30 Directors upon the roll, and six of those only go out by rotation; according to your plan it would take some years before there would be a sufficient change to alter the present personalty of that court?—No doubt it would; I do not think that a great disadvantage.

4135. You have told the Committee that the form of Government in this country is beginning to be considered as a sham; did that apply especially to the idea of India being governed by the Court of Directors?—I explained my meaning to be this, that the ostensible Government was beginning to be understood as not being the real Government.

4136. By ostensible Government, did you mean the Court of Directors?—What is called in India, the Company.

4137. Is not there a wide distinction between the Company and the Court of Directors?—Not in India; they are looked upon as the same; undoubtedly there is a distinction.

4138. In addition to the other reasons which you have urged, or the opinion which you have expressed in favour of the Government of India being carried on in future in the name of the Crown, do not you consider that it would be looked upon as wanting in respect to the feelings of the people of India, to place them any longer under the Government of the Company, which you say they are beginning to look upon as a sham?—Certainly, if you put it in that form before them, it would not be respectful; but in no other way should I consider that it was disrespectful to the natives of India to continue the present form of Government, if such should be decided upon by Parliament.

4139. Do you think the civil servants would consider themselves flattered by being continued under the same circumstances?—I would give the same answer. I do not think the civil service would consider that it was any question of flattery, or the contrary, if the Government were continued on its present footing for another 20 years.

4140. If officers of the Indian army receive commissions from the Crown, and the Crown only, what sort of commissions would you give to members of the civil service?—They have no commissions at present.

4141. They must have some warrant for their appointment now?—They would have exactly what they have now, except that the order of their appointment would proceed in the name of the Crown.

4142. Do not you think that one of the great evils of the present system of intercourse between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors is this: that in consequence of the Chairs and the President of the Board of Control having, in ordinary cases, previously formed their opinion, when that opinion is opposed either by a majority or a minority of the members of the court, and of the members of the committees to which the subject may have been referred, their opposition always takes the appearance of an opposition to the superior authority, and is on that account disadvantageous?—I did not quite mean that; I only meant that there was a disadvantage in that being a subject of discussion upon which the deciding body had, to some extent, committed itself to an opinion.

4143. In consequence of the deciding body having already formed an opinion, is not it likely, in a great many cases, that the members of the court would be

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deterred from opposing that opinion, because it would be placing themselves in the attitude of oppositionists without the expectation of success?—They would not, I think, be deterred. It might happen that a man might not think it worth his while to make any opposition to a measure which he believed had been determined on over his head, but I do not know that that occurs.

4144. *Mr. Ellice.*] I gather from your evidence that, on the whole, you are of opinion that there should be a greater consolidation of institutions for the Government of India under the direct authority of the Crown?—Precisely.

4145. Do you see any advantage in maintaining the double establishment which now exists in Cannon-row and at the India House for the purpose?—None whatever, but the contrary.

4146. You would be of opinion that a great saving of time and labour, through the greater concentration of authority, would take place if the one authority were removed to the place where the other carries on its affairs?—It was naturally involved in the scheme which I ventured to suggest.

4147. In fact it would be desirable to put an end to the double establishment, in that respect at all events, as far as the conduct of Indian affairs is concerned?—Quite so.

4148. *Mr. Cobden.*] I understood you to say that you came here rather to speak on these subjects from an Indian point of view than with regard to our own arrangements at home?—That is so.

4149. I conclude, therefore, that in giving the opinions you have expressed as to what should be done here in devising a new mode of Government, which you think should be a Government entirely by the Crown, you are not prepared to say how the details should be worked out?—Very far from it.

4150. I gather that, as the result of your long experience in India, it is your opinion that, if a single Government were created for ruling India in the name of the Crown, it would very much add to the authority of this country in India, and tend to consolidate and strengthen our dominion there?—I do believe so.

4151. *Mr. Lowe.*] You have been asked some questions as to whether the tendency of the scheme you recommend would be to enlarge the power of the Directors of the East India Company; is not what you meant to say that it would rather increase their influence than their power?—I think I used the expression “legitimate influence.”

4152. You mean that influence which the superior knowledge and the high character of the gentlemen would naturally give them in conference with the Minister?—Yes, and with a better opportunity of exhibiting those qualities.

4153. Are you of opinion that a body constituted as the East India Company is now, is on principle a proper depository for the very high and ultimate powers of the Government?—I cannot say that I think so.

4154. Is not it practically an irresponsible body?—It is so.

4155. And, therefore, in theory, an objectionable depository of power in that sense?—In that sense.

4156. With regard to the election of Directors, is it not the fact now that the entire direction is to a great extent self-elected; that practically the candidate recommended by the court generally succeeds?—I really am not aware of it; I should not have supposed that it was so.

4157. With regard to the course of business in the office, how would you recommend, under the system you have sketched out, that the business should be prepared, should the initiative draft come from the Directors or should it come from the Minister?—My idea is that the initiative draft should come from the committee in the department; that it should be laid before the general court, at which the Minister for the Crown should preside; and that it should be there discussed as much and as often as might be necessary, and decided on.

4158. Are the Committee to understand your opinion to be that every despatch should proceed from the Crown Minister and be signed by him?—As to the actual fact of signing, if that be necessary, in order to declare that it comes from the Minister of the Crown, with the advice of this council, or of the Court of Directors, or whatever they be termed, I should say, yes. But that is a matter of detail rather than of principle.

4159. While all the orders to India should proceed from the Minister of the Crown, the appointments to the offices should remain as they are, in the hands of the Company?—I think so.

4160. *Mr. Hume.*] Would there be any difficulty in the Secretary to the court

or

or to the council signing the orders just as is done now?—The whole of that is matter of detail, into which I have stated I am not competent to enter.

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4161-2. Are the Committee to understand, that it is only after the committees have considered the various questions submitted to them in the different departments, and when their reports are brought into the general court, or the general council, you think the Minister ought to attend to hear the opinions of the members of the court?—Yes.

4163. *Mr. Hardinge.*] Would you propose any change in the constituency which would have to elect the remaining portion of the Directors not self-elected?—I have not contemplated any change; I do not approve, certainly, of the constituency which I have heard proposed, composed of the holders of the Company's paper in England and India. That would have a tendency to lead men in high office in India, just at the time when they ought to be most independent, to be canvassing for seats in the Direction.

4164. You cannot, at this moment, recommend any change in the present constituency?—No, I am not prepared to do so.

4165. You have suggested that the system of purchase should be adopted in the Indian army; do you think you would get a better class of officers by such a system?—I do not know that you would. As far as I have seen, the class of officers in the Queen's army in India, and in the Company's army in India, seem to be pretty nearly the same; I am not competent to compare them with officers in the Queen's army elsewhere.

4166. Then the Horse Guards would have the patronage, inasmuch as they would select officers for purchase?—I do not know that that follows as a necessary part of the scheme of purchase; the selection might still remain with the two governing bodies, as far as that is a matter of patronage.

4167. Do you think that Parliamentary and political influence in matters relating to India is very much to be deprecated?—Very much to be deprecated.

4168. With regard to the responsibility of the President of the Board of Control, is not the President of the Board of Control practically responsible to Parliament at this moment?—No doubt he is.

4169. In fact, even in matters of peace or war he would be responsible?—He is responsible now.

4170. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Are you aware of any reason why the proprietors of East India stock should have anything more to say to the appointment of the officers who are to govern India than any other class of men?—As an abstract question, none whatever, except the fact that they have it now.

4171. By maintaining that system are not you perpetuating this very sham of which you think it is desirable to get rid?—I did not speak of that as having any connexion with what I said had the appearance of a sham; it was the manner in which the Court of Directors was presented to the public that I thought unreal.

4172. You would retain the scheme of giving the proprietors of East India Stock a *quasi* share in the Government of India, because you know of no means of getting rid of such an anomaly?—Because I have no better scheme to propose.

4173. *Mr. Hume.*] Are you not aware that by the Act of Parliament the Court of Directors are the protectors of the East India proprietors, and that they are held responsible for the management of the revenues of India, from which their dividends are to be paid?—Not as separate from the Board of Control, I suppose.

4174. *Mr. Mangles.*] Was the plan which you have now enumerated formed in India or since you have been in this country?—A common subject of conversation in India is the reconstitution of the Government, and the question whether it should be under the Crown or remain as it is at present; and, as I have said, I find a number of opinions are in favour of the one plan over the other. The details of the scheme have rather been followed out since I came home, but the general plan was in my head when in India.

4175. Do you think that the Government of India as a whole has been decidedly good or decidedly bad, under the present system?—Decidedly good, unquestionably.

4176. Do not you think it rather hazardous to make any extensive change in that which has worked so well?—If this be considered an extensive change I do not see any hazard in it. I would not propose anything that I thought hazardous.

F. J. Halliday, Esq. It does not appear to me to be either an extensive change in itself, or to involve any real hazard.

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4177. Has the direct Government of the Crown in our former North American colonies, or in the colonies now existing, been so good or so fortunate in its results as to warrant the belief that what has been good in the case of India, will be still further improved by the change you mention?—No; and if I proposed anything at all similar to the method of governing the colonies at that time, I should think I was incurring considerable hazard; but what I suggest seems to me to be entirely different, and to have many safeguards which that mode of Government had not.

Lunæ, 9^o die Maii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. Baring.
Sir James Hogg.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. Clive.
Mr. Spooner.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Hildyard.
Mr. Mangles.

Sir George Grey.
Mr. Hardinge.
Sir Charles Wood.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Labouchere.
Mr. Cobden.
Mr. Hume.
Sir T. H. Maddock.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Frederick James Halliday, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

F. J. Halliday, Esq.

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4178. *Chairman.*] REFERRING to the evidence which you gave at the last meeting of the Committee, are we to understand that it is your opinion that, under all existing circumstances, it is prudent and desirable to maintain, with some modifications, the present system of double Government for India, and that it would be safer and better to introduce no organic changes in the construction of the system of Government at home?—My idea certainly is, and I gave my evidence under that impression throughout, that organic change is not desirable; though it is desirable to modify, as much as might seem necessary, the existing institutions; to reform them only as far as they need reform, and to keep them otherwise in all their integrity. For instance, the system of double Government and election by the Court of Proprietors has undoubtedly, whatever defects may be attributed to it, the good effect of keeping out mere party differences and discussions from the Government of India; that good I would, on no account, do away with. But, on the other hand, the mode of transacting business between those two branches of the double Government, appears to me defective; and for that I ventured to suggest a remedy; my whole object throughout being to endeavour to suggest merely such necessary alterations in the system as should insure its better working in future; but for that purpose I would recommend nothing like organic change, nor anything beyond careful, and even, I may say, experimental alteration at present, in a matter of such very great importance.

4179. With reference to the system of education now adopted at Haileybury, do you consider that system to be calculated to insure, as far as any system can insure, competent persons to fill the situations of civil servants in India?—The system pursued at Haileybury has undoubtedly given a number of very competent persons to the administration of the Government in India; but it has also allowed a proportion to creep into the service who were certainly unfit, and who, under an improved system, ought, I think, to have been excluded. So far I doubt whether Haileybury has perfectly fulfilled its object, which I take to be not only the instruction of persons intended for the administration of offices in the Government in the East Indies, but also to be, in some sort, a safe and legitimate check upon any indiscriminate exercise of patronage that might otherwise be expected to occur. I have an impression myself that you might secure the objects for which

which Haileybury is constituted quite as well by having an independent board of examiners, and allowing the candidates and persons nominated to employment in the East Indies to qualify themselves where they please, and then to present themselves for examination, and to receive their appointment after they have passed an examination up to a sufficient standard.

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4180. You consider that no new special system of education would be required?—Undoubtedly a special system of education would be required; but my idea is rather that it should be insured by means of a special examination, than by a special place of education erected and supported by the Government.

4181-2. You think that the means of obtaining the necessary education might be found elsewhere as well and as conveniently as at an institution organised for the purpose?—In everything which is now taught at Haileybury, except perhaps (and I am not quite sure even of that exception) the Oriental languages; but with regard to the Oriental languages, I am decidedly of opinion that their acquirement had better be entirely postponed till the candidate arrives in India, and that all the time that he can spare in this country should be devoted to the acquirement of such branches of necessary knowledge as he can acquire best in England, and perhaps only in England; and not at all, or only very insufficiently, after he arrives in India.

4183. Would not a special application to the study of law be required?—No doubt; but I have no reason to suppose (though labouring under a necessary ignorance of things in this country) that the study of the law could not be prosecuted even better, at all events as well, out of Haileybury as in it.

4184. There has been an opinion expressed by a previous witness that the present mode of education, by keeping students who are to be the civil servants of the Company together, has a useful moral effect upon them when they are afterwards distributed throughout India; that it has the effect, as it were, of a kind of public opinion on the part of those with whom they had been associated for the purposes of education; do you attach any importance to that observation?—I attach a certain degree of importance to it, no doubt, but not so much as some persons do; particularly as I think that the object itself is almost as completely attained by the persons in question being combined in one service after they arrive in India. It may be said, also, that though what has been alluded to in the question is an advantage, there may be at times somewhat of disadvantage in it, as the *esprit de corps* may occasionally act in both ways; it may act against the public as well as for the public. On the whole, I should not attach any great importance to the fact, though I do not deny the fact.

4185. Supposing it to be thought desirable to maintain the College of Haileybury, have you any opinion to give to the Committee as to any improvements in the system?—Supposing the college to be maintained, I should still be disposed to prefer that the Oriental acquirements should be left entirely until the student arrived in India, and that the tuition at Haileybury should be directed entirely to European forms of knowledge, such as cannot be acquired so well in the East. I think also, that a longer term is necessary to complete the acquirement of those branches of knowledge which seem to be necessary to fit men for the important duties they have to fulfil in India; and I am decidedly of opinion that it would be better that those who examine the student at the close of his career at Haileybury, should, like those who examine him before he enters the college, be entirely independent of the college.

4186. Would you then recommend that they should not be sent to India at as early an age as they go now?—I do not know that, on the whole, they go to India very young. On the contrary, of late years, I think they have gone at a more advanced age than they did formerly. My answer was chiefly directed to the object, whether they go young or go old, of keeping them at the place of instruction a sufficient time to insure their reaping proper advantage from it, which I doubt whether they can do now at Haileybury, in the course of merely two years.

4187. Do I understand you rightly that you think that the giving more time at Haileybury to the other studies, apart from Oriental languages, would have the effect of so improving the education of the civil servant as not to require that he should leave the college at an older age than at present?—I still think that three years spent at Haileybury would be better than two.

4188. Mr. *Mangles*.] You said that you think it desirable that the young men preparing for the civil service should be left to qualify themselves where they can.

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Do you know whether any place of education exists in England where the different studies which are pursued at Haileybury could be pursued simultaneously?—I am not aware whether there is any single place of education in England where the studies now pursued in the one institution of Haileybury could be simultaneously pursued; but I know that institutions have sprung up and are springing up every day, which prepare for Haileybury even in the special matters; and I suppose that if there were a public demand for institutions of that sort, institutions would arise. I cannot imagine that the tuition which is now obtained at Haileybury could not, in such a country as this, be obtained readily elsewhere.

4189. What superiority would such institutions, springing up of themselves spontaneously to meet a demand, have over Haileybury?—In answer to the question, whether there were such institutions, I said that such institutions might spring up; but I was not suggesting that the education at such distinct institutions would have any advantage over the present education at Haileybury.

4190. If such institutions do not exist, and if, as you say, they would rise up to meet the demand, they must be distinct institutions?—Take the various subjects of instruction at Haileybury at present; you teach classics, mathematics, law, history, and political economy, together. It is conceivable that a portion of those might be taught to a young man at some other institution, or even at home; and he could afterwards acquire the rest one at a time, or two at a time, at different places and in different manners, until he became perfect, and able to pass an examination, such as might be required as a final examination.

4191. Do you think that such a sort of piecemeal education would be desirable?—It appears to me to be somewhat the sort of education that takes place to fit men for all special employments in this country, or in any country. Boys in school do not learn, generally speaking, anything but one or two branches, and those the most elementary; and they afterwards proceed at other places, and with other tutors, to fit themselves for civil engineers, or lawyers, or physicians, by whatever special education may be necessary for their career in life, without thinking it necessary to acquire it all at once in any one place.

4192. Do you think that at any institution which now exists, or at any that would be found to meet the demand, such instructors as Sir James Mackintosh, or Mr. Malthus, or Mr. Empson, or Professor Jones, would be found; men of such eminence in their professions?—The question seems to imply that there is no place but Haileybury at which a man can acquire such a knowledge of law, or such a knowledge of political economy, as he does there, which appears to me to be contrary to the fact. If men in England acquire much greater knowledge of law, and much greater knowledge of political economy, and of other sciences, than any of our students hitherto have acquired at Haileybury, I suppose it is entirely because they have equally good teachers elsewhere as the very eminent persons alluded to at Haileybury.

4193. Had you ever the advantage of attending Sir James Mackintosh's lectures?—I had.

4194. For how long?—For one term.

4195. Do you think that instruction equal to that is to be obtained at any other institution in the country?—My knowledge of the institutions in this country is extremely scanty. I can only draw inferences from what I see around me. I think there must be many men in this country, who, after six months' tuition in law at some place, have acquired a much greater knowledge of law than I acquired by my six months' tuition, under Sir James Mackintosh, at Haileybury. I do not mean, and I am not competent to say a word in depreciation of Sir James Mackintosh, or his memory; it would be absurd and presumptuous in me to do so; but it does not seem to me that the fact of his great eminence is one upon which you can build the argument that nowhere else could any similar teacher be found.

4196. Is there, practically, any instruction in law, or political economy, at either Oxford or Cambridge, for young men?—I am not aware whether there is or is not. Upon these matters I profess great ignorance; but I suppose that if a demand either at Oxford, or Cambridge, or anywhere else, arose for instruction in political economy, in a country like this it would be supplied.

4197. Has it been supplied?—Somehow or other people here learn both law and political economy, without going to Haileybury.

4198. Sir *G. Grey*.] Do you think that if a certain standard of acquirement were fixed as a qualification for civil servants going to India, the course of study would

would be adapted so as to prepare young men to pass the examination?—I have that impression, certainly. *F. J. Hailiday, Esq.*

4199. Mr. *Hildyard.*] Are you aware that “Blackstone’s Commentaries” were based upon lectures delivered in the University of Oxford, and that that book has proved one of the most valuable text-books that has been written on the law of England?—I have a general knowledge that such was the case, and also that lectures have been delivered at Oxford upon political economy; but I do not wish to profess any knowledge of detail in this country. It appears to me, generally, from all that I see and hear, that if knowledge is necessary there must be means of acquiring it in this country.

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4200. Mr. *Mangles.*] Practically, has the instruction at the Universities accommodated itself to the wants of the times?—It is in the course of accommodating itself; but I am not very competent to speak upon that subject.

4201. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] Do not your late answers apply rather to the case of persons more advanced in age than of youths, such as it is proposed to send out to India?—No; my answers related to no particular age. It appears to me that, generally speaking (with great ignorance on my part of institutions in this country), if there be a demand for education at any age, or in any branch of knowledge, you are pretty sure to be able to obtain it.

4202. Without contesting your general principle, you are requested to state whether there be or be not actually in existence any other institution similar to Haileybury, in which young men can be taught the elements of political economy as well as of law?—I am not aware of any other institution; there may be many without my knowing it; of course I am necessarily ignorant of these things in this country.

4203. At all events, is there any institution now in existence which had such men as Haileybury has had, as professors and principals?—There may have been institutions where there have been professors of law as eminent as Sir James Mackintosh, and professors of political economy as eminent as Mr. Jones; I should incline to think that there are at this moment.

4204. Mr. *Mangles.*] Have you personally a grateful recollection of the instruction which you received at Haileybury?—I have, undoubtedly.

4205. Sir *T. H. Maddock.*] Adverting to the question put to you by the Chairman, are you of opinion that the advantages of educating the young men designed for the civil service together in one institution such as Haileybury, and the other advantages to which you referred, which would arise from their being brought up for special examination, might be combined by fixing the place of education at one of our great Universities, and establishing there professors in those particular branches which have been alluded to?—I confess I think that, if you are to establish any special place of education for candidates for employment in India, things had better remain as they are.

4206. Mr. *Hardinge.*] Do you think that the course of study in the College of Fort William is sufficiently stringent?—At the time I am speaking now, it is more strict than it has been for many years past; a great change has taken place, I understand, even since I left India, and a greater degree of strictness has been introduced; so that, possibly, it may be at this moment as strict as is necessary; when I left India I do not think it was as strict as was necessary.

4207. Would you recommend any change in the course of study pursued there?—I think that, supposing it not yet to have been introduced, which I have some reason to think it has been, a better mode of teaching Oriental languages might be introduced in Fort William than was prevalent there when I left India. I think, also, that a greater degree of strictness of discipline might well be introduced, such as insisting upon attendance at college lectures, and greater strictness in regard to conduct, and in respect to the examinations. I have, however, reason to think that those alterations have actually been introduced, or are in course of being introduced.

4208. Sir *J. W. Hogg.*] Do you think it would be better to limit the study of the Oriental languages in this country to the principles and the grammar of the languages, such as can be obtained from book study, as well in one country as in another?—If you teach any part of the language to persons in England, certainly that is the mode which I should be disposed to recommend.

4209. To lay the foundation merely here and allow the superstructure to be reared in India?—Unquestionably.

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4210. Do you think it is desirable that students at Haileybury, or elsewhere, intended for the civil service in India, should devote any of their time to the study in this country of Sanscrit or Arabic?—I confess I do not.

4211. You would rather limit their study, even of principles, to those languages which are at present spoken languages?—Merely to the elements of the actual vernacular languages which they would be called upon to employ in the business of the country.

4212. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] But you would, upon the whole, think it unnecessary to give them any instruction whatever in this country in Oriental languages?—I should think it unnecessary.

4213. *Sir C. Wood.*] Would not you even give them the rudiments of any of the languages used in India?—I have no great objection to their being given the rudiments, if you confine it to that; but I do not think it necessary. I believe that, after all, what you would give in that way would be so trifling, that it might just as well be commenced in India.

4214. Even upon the supposition of there being no residence in Calcutta upon their arrival?—Yes.

4215. *Chairman.*] From your experience, should you say that the civil servants sent out to India are as competent a body of men as would be selected from any other classes in England by any mode of appointment?—I have not much upon which to found a comparison; but certainly they are upon the whole a very competent body.

4216. *Mr. Hardinge.*] Have you ever heard complaints of a want of knowledge of Bengali amongst your young civilians?—There has been in past years, and even I may say almost up to the present time, a great complaint of a want of knowledge of Bengali; that is actually being remedied; the young men who leave the college at present for employment in Bengal being now as fully instructed in Bengali as can be desired. But the civilians of former days certainly knew very little of Bengali; it was not the custom to use it; a civilian who was able to transact his business in Bengali in the Lower Provinces was a rarity.

4217. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] Has not the rule requiring young civilians to pass in two languages within a prescribed time, or in failure thereof to be sent home and lose their appointment, been of late rigidly enforced?—It has been rigidly enforced.

4218. Both in Bengal and at Madras, and in Bombay?—It has been rigidly enforced as far as the authorities external to the college are concerned; but there has been one fact observable with regard to that question that must of necessity be mentioned; namely, that when a young man has repeatedly failed up to the very last moment, and has been allowed the usual six weeks to prepare himself for leaving India for England, with absolute notice to quit in case of failure, it has almost invariably happened that in the course of those six weeks, though he was very ignorant before, he managed somehow to pass; and beyond all doubt that has caused in the minds of many persons a suspicion that the college authorities were not so strict as they ought to have been. That is one of the laxities of discipline to which I alluded in my answer to a previous question, and which I believe now has been remedied.

4219. Has not that culpable indulgence of granting six weeks been actually refused in recent cases, and have not young gentlemen been sent home where that indulgence was refused them?—I am not aware whether the indulgence has been refused, but I know more than one case in which a young civilian has been actually sent home for failing to pass within the prescribed time. I was under the impression that in these cases the six weeks had been granted, and still the young man had failed to pass.

4220. You know that young men have been recently sent home, both from Bengal, Bombay, and Madras?—Yes, with unsparing strictness on the part of the Government authorities.

4221. And having been sent home, they have lost their appointments?—They have.

4222. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Do you know how many young men have been sent home from Bengal under those circumstances during the last 10 years?—I cannot answer the question as to the number, but I should say certainly very few; but the Government has not spared to send home any of whom the college authorities have, in the prescribed time, reported that they had not passed.

4223. Is the inference to be drawn from your former answer that the rule has been

been more rigidly enforced in the last year or two than it had been in previous years during the last 10 years?—In the last year or two the cases have been more numerous; whether the rule has been more rigidly enforced I am not prepared to say. My impression is, that in that particular matter the authorities of the Government have been unsparingly strict, but that the authorities of the college have, up to a comparatively recent period, been somewhat lax.

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4224. Do you think that during the last 10 years the circumstance of a student having passed at the college of Fort William has afforded any guarantee whatever that he was, in respect to languages, fit for the public service?—The mere fact of having passed at the college of Fort William furnishes no such guarantee; but a certain number of those who passed through the college of Fort William would pass through it with distinction as to their acquirements in languages; and as to those the college course at Fort William affords undoubtedly a guarantee.

4225. In what year was the subsequent examination of young civilians in the native languages established?—In the year 1850, I think.

4226. Since the establishment of that rule, the Government has the means of ascertaining the fitness in respect to their knowledge of languages of all the young civilians employed in Bengal?—It has, undoubtedly, and a much greater amount of fitness is in process of being enforced.

4227. *Mr. Mangles.*] Will you state to the Committee the nature of the three successive examinations to which young civilians are subjected?—I am not sure that I can describe it in detail, but it actually exists upon paper, and may be before the Committee, no doubt, if they think fit to call for it. I should say, generally, that it consists of an examination as to their knowledge of the vernacular language, increasing in strictness from the first to the third; and at the third examination they are tested as to their knowledge of the Regulations and rules of practice in the different courts and offices in which a young civilian is to be or has been employed, so as to test, in the last of the three examinations, whether the student has really a fitness for further advancement in the service.

4228. They are not capable of advancement beyond a certain point, till they have passed the second examination?—They are actually incapable of advancement, till they pass the second, and incapable of further advancement till they have passed the third. The examinations are very strict, and their strictness has been very much complained of by those subject to them, and even by some others. If there be any error in them, it is not on the side of laxity, certainly.

4229. *Chairman.*] Passing now to the question of the present system of government in India, is it your opinion that the seat of the Supreme Government should still be at Calcutta, or would you suggest a change?—I think the seat of Government ought to be at Calcutta; in the first place, because it is there; and I should be very unwilling to change a great fact of that sort without very strong reasons. Further, it is easily accessible from the other presidencies and from Europe; it is not easily assailable, as I understand, in a military point of view; it is the commercial capital, and must therefore of necessity be the financial capital of the Government, where all the financial transactions are carried on; but what I chiefly lay stress upon is, that it is a place where the largest and most intelligent and most influential body of Englishmen unconnected with the Government is congregated, and their presence and residence there has a very useful, liberalising effect upon the Government of India at all times, in executive as well as in legislative matters. Such, I think, would not exist, and the want of it would speedily be found if the Government was separated from that body, and placed in another part of the country, apart by itself.

4230. You think that there is no objection to having the seat of government in a position that is not central, like Calcutta?—That is an objection, but it is counterbalanced by the advantages which I have alluded to, and perhaps others; the formation of electric telegraphs and railways will, of course, remedy that by degrees as fast as they are instituted.

4231. Do you share in the opinion that it would be desirable to have a separate Governor of Bengal distinct from the Governor-general?—I am not one of those that anticipate any inordinate amount of good from the change; indeed, I have had some hesitation about it altogether; but a change of some sort or other in the Government of Bengal seems to be forced upon the authorities, from the manner in which the government has been carried on in years past, of which I have a statement here, which, if the Committee permit me, I will put in; it is a statement

F. J. Halliday, Esq. showing the changes in the office of Governor and Deputy Governor of Bengal, from the year 1834 up to the latest period.
9 May 1853. 4232. Will you have the goodness to read it?—

[The same was read, as follows:]

MEMORANDUM, showing the Changes in the Office of GOVERNOR and DEPUTY GOVERNOR of Bengal since the 22d of April 1834, the Date of the last Charter Act.

		FROM	TO	PERIOD:			
				Years.	Months.	Days.	
Sir Charles Metcalfe	-- Deputy Governor.	22 April 1834	13 Nov. 1834	-	6	22	- The Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, at Ootacamund.
Lord William Bentinck	Governor	14 Nov. 1834	19 Mar. 1835	-	4	6	Returned to England.
Sir Charles Metcalfe	Governor	20 Mar. 1835	3 Mar. 1836	-	11	14	Relieved by Lord Auckland.
Lord Auckland	Governor	4 Mar. 1836	20 Oct. 1837	1	7	17	-- Proceeded to the Upper Provinces.
A. Ross, Esq.	-- Deputy Governor.	21 Oct. 1837	14 Oct. 1838	-	11	24	-- Retired on the completion of his period of service.
Colonel W. Morison	-- Deputy Governor.	15 Oct. 1838	16 June 1839	-	8	2	-- Ditto.
T. C. Robertson, Esq.	-- Deputy Governor.	17 June 1839	26 Jan. 1840	-	7	10	-- Appointed Lieutenant-governor North-Western Provinces.
W. W. Bird, Esq.	-- Deputy Governor.	27 Jan. 1840	10 Feb. 1840	-	-	14	Relieved by Lord Auckland.
Lord Auckland	Governor	11 Feb. 1840	27 Feb. 1842	2	-	19	-- Relieved by Lord Ellenborough.
Lord Ellenborough	Governor	28 Feb. 1842	10 April 1842	-	1	11	-- Proceeded to the Upper Provinces.
W. W. Bird, Esq.	-- Deputy Governor.	11 April 1842	18 Sept. 1844	2	5	8	-- Lord Ellenborough returned to the Presidency on the 13th July 1843, but continued Mr. Bird in the office of Deputy Governor. Lord Ellenborough proceeded to the Upper Provinces a second time on the 25th November 1843, and returned on the 28th February 1844, but did not relieve Mr. Bird. Sir H. Hardinge became Governor-General on the 22d July 1844, but immediately made over the Government to Mr. Bird, who retired on the completion of his period of service.
Sir H. Hardinge	Governor	19 Sept. 1844	21 Sept. 1845	1	-	3	-- Proceeded to the Upper Provinces.
Sir Herbert Maddock	-- Deputy Governor.	22 Sept. 1845	11 Jan. 1848	2	3	20	-- Lord Hardinge returned to the Presidency on the 11th December 1847, but continued Sir Herbert Maddock in the office of Deputy Governor. Sir Herbert was relieved by Lord Dalhousie.
Lord Dalhousie	Governor	12 Jan. 1848	10 Oct. 1848	-	8	29	-- Proceeded to the Upper Provinces.
Sir Herbert Maddock	-- Deputy Governor.	11 Oct. 1848	11 Mar. 1849	-	5	1	-- Retired on the completion of his period of service.
Lieutenant-general Sir J. H. Estlin.	-- Deputy Governor.	12 Mar. 1849	29 Jan. 1852	2	10	11	-- Lord Dalhousie returned to the Presidency on the 7th March 1850, but continued the Deputy Governor in office, and proceeded a second time to the Upper Provinces on the 15th April 1850; returned 30th January 1852.
Lord Dalhousie	Governor	30 Jan. 1852	-	-	-	-	

It will be seen that in less than 18 years, there have been 17 changes in the Executive Government of Bengal: that of these, the longest period of consecutive rule was 2 years, 10 months, and 18 days, and the shortest only 14 days: that 10 of the 17 rulers were in power for less than 12 consecutive months each, and on an average only six months and a half each; of these 10 four were in power for less than six consecutive months each: that of those who held the Government for 12 months and upwards, only four held it for more than two years, and only one for more than two years and six months. It will be seen, also, that during the 17 years and 9 months embraced by the Statement, the Executive Government of Bengal has been held by deputy or temporary Governors for 11 years and 10 months, the duties of the Supreme Government not allowing the Governors-general to give to the local Government a longer period out of the whole term than 5 years and 10 months. During all the term of the present charter, the empire has been largely increasing in extent, and the duties of the Governor-general in the Supreme Government have been growing constantly more onerous. It is not likely that future Governors-general will be able to devote to the affairs of Bengal more time than has been given by them to that Government in past years.

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4233. Will you state what you consider to be the practical inconvenience of those changes?—The practical inconvenience is, of course, the great uncertainty in the system of government, it being constantly in a state of fluctuation, passing from one hand and from one mind to another; an avowed want of feeling of stability as regards the Government in the minds of those persons subject to it, as well as the servants of the Government; a necessary absence of sustained action in any particular department, and a great amount of transition and uncertainty in all measures emanating from so many minds in such a comparatively short space of time. Also great weakness, arising, of course, out of the facts I have alluded to, inseparable from them, and affecting the whole march and course of the Government in all its transactions.

4234. Do you consider, then, that the system of Government is changed in the change of Governor?—To a certain extent it inevitably is so. The new Governor is apt either to change it a good deal, or to do nothing, and to take comparatively small interest in it. It has always been found that the most efficient Governors, those who have given the most attention to the affairs of the Government, have been those who felt that they were in power for a longer period than usual; and it has often been the case that the government has passed from time to time into the hands of men who were aware that they would not be in possession of authority long enough to acquire the necessary knowledge to administer it with effect.

4235. Has that weakness of the Government caused a feeling of insecurity as to property, or life, or person?—I think that weakness of the Government has been the foundation of a great many of the evils that have been described by witnesses before the Committee in the system of Government. It has prevented an improved administration of justice, and the police, and other improvements in various parts of the machine of the Government; and no doubt it has caused various parts of the machine to fall into a state of looseness and inefficiency.

4236. If you are doubtful as to the propriety of having a separate Government at Bengal, what would be the plan you would suggest for the purpose of remedying those evils of which you have spoken?—I did not express myself as doubtful of the propriety of having a separate Government. It appears to me to be a thing almost forced upon the Government by the state of the case. I should very much prefer, myself, that the Government should remain, as it was intended by the existing Act of Parliament, in the hands of the actual Governor-general, who, almost in all instances, whenever he has found time to devote his attention to the affairs of the Government of Bengal, has done it with remarkable power and effect. I think in parting with him as Governor of Bengal, you part with very great advantages arising out of his rank and knowledge and statesmanship at the head of affairs in that country. You part, also, with this particular advantage, that it is through the administration of local affairs as Governor of Bengal, for the most part, that the Governor-general has the means of acquiring that knowledge of the internal affairs of the country, which, in fact, fits him for a great part of his duties as Governor-general. Therefore, if it were possible that things should continue as they are, I, for one, should think it an advantage. But, looking at the manner in which it has worked during past years, and seeing that the Governor-general has rarely had time to devote himself for

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any sufficient period, and with sufficient intensity of application to the affairs of Bengal, and that the business of the Governor-general has increased, and is increasing in the Government of India, so that if he has not had leisure in past years to apply himself to the local Government, there is still less likelihood of it in future times, it appears to me that some sort of alteration is absolutely necessary. The alterations which have been suggested are, either that the Government should be placed in the hands of a separate Governor, or Lieutenant-governor, as is the case in the North-western Provinces, or that it should be placed, as it was before 1834, in the hands of the Governor-general and his Council. There is good and evil in both those suggestions, and I have not been able myself to invent a third. Of the two I prefer a single Governor, though I am far from supposing that out of such an arrangement so much good will spring as has been supposed by many, or as has been prophesied, from the abundant advantage that has sprung out of the administration of Mr. Thomason in the North-western Provinces. Mr. Thomason's administration has been, no doubt, most fortunate, but such men as Mr. Thomason are very rarely to be found; and it would be very difficult to supply his place, if he were to vacate his appointment at this moment, from amongst the service. What is more particularly applicable to his case as well as to the case of Bengal is, that Mr. Thomason was selected at a very much earlier age than it is at all probable that any future selections of the kind will in general be made; and it is to the personal vigour which a man can hope to enjoy in India only for a comparatively short number of years, that the fortunate and successful results of Mr. Thomason's administration are undoubtedly, in a great measure, to be traced. If the Government of Bengal, or any other portion of the Eastern Territories, should fall, term after term, into the hands of an officer of the service who has risen to the very highest ranks, and passed a long period of service in that country, it will undoubtedly happen that, in a great number of cases, it will fall into hands which, however efficient they may formerly have been, will not, during the term of his holding the particular office, generally be adequate to the duties to be performed. On the other hand, if you entrust the Government to the Governor-general in Council, you will not, in fact, relieve the Governor-general, I believe, at all; for the Governor-general will still feel himself, as he does now, responsible for everything that is done in the Council, and he will take as much share in the business of Bengal as he does at present when he is the sole Governor; the only effect being that the vigour of his Government will be somewhat impaired by his being joined with the members of his Council, who may not always feel so great an interest, and will never feel such an amount of responsibility. Add to which that, under that system of a Governor of Bengal with a Council, you would lose the important advantage of the occasional tours which a single and separate Governor is enabled to make throughout the territories under his administration, and which have under Mr. Thomason's government done so much, and which would be capable of doing so much good in the Government of Bengal. On the whole, then, feeling that it is a choice of difficulties, I incline to the system of a separate Governor or Lieutenant-governor, or Deputy-governor, under the Governor-general, for the administration of the affairs of Bengal. If, however, this plan should be adopted, I should very much doubt the propriety of placing the Government of Calcutta itself under that single officer, but I should be inclined to place it at all events under the Governor-general in Council, and in the absence of the Governor-general then under the Council; giving if possible in that Council, for such purposes, a seat to the separate Governor or Deputy-governor, or Lieutenant-governor of Bengal; so that, in all matters relating to Calcutta itself, the Council sitting on the spot should have their just power and authority.

4237. Would that arrangement free the Governor-general from that press of business which results from the present system?—Entirely.

4238. Would you have the Governor of Bengal with or without a Council?—Without a Council, except as regards the affairs of Calcutta, in which I should be disposed, if possible, to associate him with the Council; at all events when the Governor-general was not actually present, and I incline to think at all times.

4239. *Sir C. Wood.*] You would make Calcutta like Washington, in the United States, the territory of the Government of India?—Just so; but it would be very desirable that the Deputy or Lieutenant-governor of Bengal should have a voice in that Council, because of the inevitably close connexion of all affairs in the management of persons and things in Calcutta with those beyond Calcutta.

4240. Do

4240. Do you mean, that the Deputy-governor of Bengal should only have a seat in the Council when they were discussing matters respecting the Government of the Calcutta territory?—I think, as regards the Government of the Calcutta territory, he should certainly have a seat. I was speaking only with regard to that; but I think also that the Governor of Bengal should have a seat and a voice in the Council when they are discussing matters regarding Bengal itself.

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4241. *Chairman.*] You think that the Governor of Bengal should have a permanent seat in the Executive Council of the Supreme Government?—I think he should have a right to sit and vote in the Executive Council on matters regarding Bengal.

4242. But only to sit in the Council upon those occasions?—At all events not to vote upon other matters; if he sat at other times it would be only as a matter of convenience; I should not imagine that he would sit except on matters regarding Bengal.

4243. *Sir C. Wood.*] You would not put the Deputy-governor of Bengal permanently, and for general purposes, into the Council of the Government of India?—No.

4244. But you would permit him to sit in the Council of India, in reference to questions concerning the Government of Bengal, just as the Lieutenant-governor of Madras, or of Bombay, or of the North-western Provinces, would sit at present in the Council of India, when it was assembled within their respective Presidencies?—Just so.

4245. *Mr. Mangles.*] Is it desirable that he should attend for legislative purposes, when that legislation relates to Bengal?—I am speaking at present only of the Executive Council; but I am of opinion he should be a permanent member of the Legislative Council, and for all subjects.

4246. *Mr. Cobden.*] With reference to the frequent changes which have taken place in the Government of Bengal, will you explain the reason of those very frequent changes?—They almost invariably arose from the absence of the Governor-general from the Presidency; his going to other parts of the territory on public duty.

4247. *Sir G. Grey.*] What was the reason of the same person not having been allowed to act in the absence of the Governor-general, on two or three occasions which happened near together in point of time?—So far as I know, it was so invariably when the same person was present to be appointed; but in a great number of instances the person appointed at one time was not in Council on the next occasion. The great reason is, that the senior member of Council has invariably been selected by the Governor-general to fill the post of Deputy-governor.

4248. *Chairman.*] In whom do you think that the appointment of the separate Governor of Bengal should be vested?—Either in the Governor-general, or in the Government at home, as might be thought fit.

4249. What would be the qualification for the separate Governor of Bengal; does your plan involve the necessity of having in that situation a civil servant who has had considerable experience?—Not of necessity, certainly. I imagine that, in the greater number of instances, such a person would be appointed; but I should not think it right to limit (if the appointment was from home, at all events) the discretion of those in whom the appointment was vested.

4250. *Mr. Labouchere.*] Would you wish it to be considered an appointment of the same rank and importance as the Governorships of Madras and Bombay?—Quite so.

4251. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] At present the Governor-general, in appointing the Deputy-governor, is compelled to appoint one of the existing members of Council?—He is so.

4252. If the law were so far changed as to enable the Governor general to appoint any member of the civil service of the prescribed standing, would not that carry out the views which you have mentioned?—I do not think it would, for two reasons: first, that the law at present permits the Governor-general to appoint any member of the Council, and yet he has always chosen the senior; I think the influence that has hitherto caused that would be apt to prevail in future, and that there still would be a tendency to appoint the senior, from a notion that if the senior member of Council was not appointed it would be a slur upon him; and I think that would not answer the purpose for another reason, that it would not prevent the repeated changes.

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4253. My question was, assuming the law to be changed, and that there was to be a permanent Governor or Lieutenant-governor of Bengal selected at the discretion of the Governor-general from any member of the service, and not confined to the members of Council, would not that carry out your views?—To a great extent it would; but in that case I should think it necessary that the selection should be made from persons not in the Council, unless the person selected went out of the Council as soon as he was appointed.

4254. If there was a Lieutenant-governor of Bengal, it would necessarily follow that if he was appointed Governor of Bengal, his seat in the Council would be vacated and another person would be appointed?—In that sense naturally so. But I am myself strongly of opinion that the appointment would, upon the whole, be better in the hands of the Home Government than in the local Government or the Governor-general.

4255. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] You have called the attention of the Committee to the fluctuating character of the Administration of Bengal, arising from the frequent changes in the offices of Governor and Deputy-governor of Bengal. Will you look at the paper which you have given, and state whether, though it contains the names of 17 persons in a period of somewhat less than 18 years, there would be more than one instance in which any difference of opinion is likely to have prevailed between the person appointed and his successor, such a difference as was likely to have produced any alteration in the principles of the Administration?—The first on the list is Sir Charles Metcalfe; in the 2nd instance, Lord William Bentinck might have differed from Sir Charles Metcalfe; in the 3rd instance, Sir Charles Metcalfe again might have differed from Lord William Bentinck; in the 4th, Lord Auckland might have differed from Sir Charles Metcalfe; in the 5th, Mr. Ross might have differed from Lord Auckland; in the 6th, Colonel Morison might have differed from Mr. Ross; in the 7th, Mr. Robertson might have differed from Colonel Morison; in the 8th, Mr. Bird might have differed from Mr. Robertson; in the 9th, Lord Auckland might have differed from Mr. Bird; in the 10th, Lord Ellenborough might have differed from Lord Auckland; in the 11th, Mr. Bird might have differed from Lord Ellenborough; in the 12th, Lord Hardinge might have differed from Mr. Bird; in the 13th, Sir Herbert Maddock might have differed from Lord Hardinge; in the 14th, Lord Dalhousie might have differed from Sir Herbert Maddock; in the 15th, Sir Herbert Maddock might again have differed from Lord Dalhousie; in the 16th, Sir John Littler might have differed from Sir Herbert Maddock; in the 17th, Lord Dalhousie might have differed from Sir John Littler.

4256. In point of fact, was there any difference in more than one instance?—That is a fact which I am not capable of stating; but with different persons and different minds there is a possibility of great difference.

4257. Was there, in point of fact, any difference in the principles of administration in the cases of the successive individuals whose names are placed before the Committee upon that list?—Most certainly there was a very great and sensible difference.

4258. Out of that number of 17 names, is it not the fact that five names occur twice?—I dare say it is.

4259. Is it likely that, even if Lord Ellenborough differed from Lord Auckland, Mr. Wilberforce Bird would differ from Mr. Wilberforce Bird?—No, certainly not.

4260. Or Sir Herbert Maddock from Sir Herbert Maddock?—No; but without differing from themselves at previous times they would be liable to differ from the Governor-general who immediately preceded them, and the whole effect of variety would be occasioned, though the same name might occur twice or three times.

4261. *Mr. V. Smith.*] Independently of any difference of opinion and of principle between those gentlemen, do you conceive that there is inconvenience arising from the change of minds upon the subjects that come before them?—That is an inconvenience which is matter of notoriety in all the Government offices.

4262. In every public department?—In every public department.

4263. *Mr. Mangles.*] Was there not among many of those gentlemen considerable difference of opinion?—There was considerable difference of opinion.

4264. *Chairman.*] Do not you think that the objection might be met by the appointment

appointment of a permanent Lieutenant-governor to act in the absence of the Governor-general, and to assist the Governor general when present at Calcutta in the details of the administration?—I think that would be a much better plan than the present; but there would be this objection to it, that of necessity the position, and power and authority of the Lieutenant-governor so constituted would be greatly impaired by the notorious fact that he would at any time be liable to be superseded by the arrival of the Governor-general, and that he could pursue no continuous administration, or any system of measures; he would be obliged to refer everything at all times to the Governor-general; for if he felt, even when alone, that next year, or even next month, he would be associated with and superseded by the Governor-general in the administration of the affairs of Bengal, he would be unable to adopt any independent course of administration himself.

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4265. You would not anticipate inconvenience from collision of opinion and authority between the Governor-general, when present in Calcutta, and a Lieutenant-governor, exercising almost independent authority within that province?—I think there would occasionally be inconvenience unless the Lieutenant-governor had a seat in the Executive Council, not that that would always prevent it, but it would, in a great degree, mitigate and modify it. I think, also, it would occur if the Governor-general, when present at Calcutta, had not the supreme executive power in the place in which he was sitting. For that purpose, I suggested that when the Governor-general is at Calcutta he shall be actual Governor in Council of the place in which he is sitting, as in a similar instance in Washington, in the United States.

4266. Supposing the appointment to be made by the Home Government, should you see no reason to apprehend that a person might be appointed as Governor for Bengal who is not conversant with Indian affairs?—I should very rarely anticipate that that would take place; I can imagine that there may be some instances in which a capable man sent from home might be better than a choice amongst incapable men in India; such might be the fact at any time if that were the position of circumstances. I should not wish to limit the Home Government in their choice, but I should anticipate that the choice would usually be made from capable persons having experience in India.

4267. In the case of the appointment of an individual who had never been in India, do you think that there would be no inconvenience in leaving him to act without a Council?—There would be as much inconvenience in leaving him to act without a Council as is now felt, and no more, in leaving the Governor general, as Governor of Bengal, to act without Council; it would be precisely the same thing.

4268. Then what you anticipate is the appointment of some experienced Indian servant, without making it an appointment by seniority?—Certainly, without making it an appointment by seniority, and without binding the authorities at home to appoint any member of any particular service.

4269. Would not the separation of the Government of Bengal from the office of Governor-general, diminish the patronage of the Governor-general as to impair his influence and authority?—It would not, in point of fact.

4270. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] You would prefer that the Deputy-governor of Bengal should be appointed in England rather than by the Governor-general in Council; what would be your views with regard to the future appointment of the Lieutenant-governor at Agra?—In all cases I am disposed to prefer the appointment from home. I think appointments from home carry more weight. We know, in India, almost nothing of the reasons that influence any particular appointment. Hitherto we have seen that the appointments to high places, from home, have been made with remarkable care and propriety, and we have great confidence in the administration of the home authorities in such affairs; if the appointment were made in India, no doubt it might be usually made very well, but it would be liable to little petty doubts that are apt to arise upon the spot. It might be said that such a person was appointed, because he was immediately about the Governor-general, or because he had the means of obtaining influence over the Governor-general, or because he had particular thoughts in consonance with those of the Governor-general; or that he had succumbed to him, or had endeavoured to curry favour with him, in order to obtain this appointment. It might be thought also that the Governor-general might have appointed any particular person as much on account of his subserviency to him as for any particular

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particular fitness. Not that any of those reasons would really be true, but that such notions as those are likely to occur in a small community of that sort, and they would weaken the effect of the appointment. They would not occur if the appointment were made by a great power, like the Government of India in England.

4271. You would prefer that the Lieutenant-governor of Agra should be appointed in England?—Unquestionably.

4272. Is it your opinion that the much greater independence of the Governor-general that the appointments of these Deputy-governors by the authorities in England would give him, would be advantageous to the administration?—I believe, on the whole, it would.

4273. *Mr. Hardinge.*] If you deprive the Governor-general of his patronage, would not that weaken his authority?—The patronage which he would be deprived of as Governor of Bengal does not seem to me to be patronage of any particular importance in that respect; it is almost entirely, with scarcely any exceptions, the mere routine of raising persons from one office to another, who, by reason of rank or general admitted service, and, in a few rare cases, by reason of special and peculiar merit, are generally supposed to have a claim for those offices. The patronage of the civil service in Bengal is no source of power to the Governor-general, but rather a source of annoyance and vexation; it has none of the characteristics of patronage as the term is usually understood in this country, the appointments being made, for the most part, of necessity, arising out of the circumstances of the case; and with special instances of promotion by reason of particular merit. I believe it would be found to be absolutely necessary for the purposes of Government that the power of making those appointments should vest in the person actually administering the Government.

4274. Has it not been the custom for the Governor-general to retain the patronage of the North-Western Provinces?—Not of the North-western Provinces, certainly.

4275. Had not Lord Ellenborough all-important appointments submitted to him as Governor-general when he was up the country?—In the North-western Provinces, under Mr. Thomason, all the patronage, except the highest offices, in which a veto is reserved to the Governor-general in Council, has remained entirely with the Lieutenant-governor. In Bengal, except during the administration of Lord Ellenborough, the patronage (as we call it, for it is not real patronage), the duty of distributing, according to understood rules, the just promotion of persons in the service, and which is ruled, in a great measure, by seniority, and properly so ruled, has been exercised by the Deputy-governor under the constant control and superintendence of the Governor-general, and that mode of conducting the duty of promoting persons in the public service according to those general rules has been found exceedingly disadvantageous in practice.

4276. Are you aware that Mr. Thomason has rather upset the system of promotion by seniority in the North-western Provinces?—Mr. Thomason has done what was very necessary; he has prevented seniority from being the constant rule; but he has not upset the system of seniority, at least I hope not, because I look upon the system of seniority, upon the whole, to be one great and just safeguard for the purposes of good administration in India. The seniority system, I think, properly governs promotions in the civil service in India, subject to considerations of decided and marked merit. If you strike seniority entirely out of consideration, and leave the matter to merit alone, you will open the door to great, and sometimes just, imputations of jobbery; and, therefore, promotion by seniority, although liable to occasional exceptions on the ground of merit, seems to me to be the true mode of administering the civil service in India.

4277. What control would you give to the Governor-general over the appointments made by the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal?—The rule at present, in the case of the North-western Provinces, is, that the Lieutenant-governor of the North-western Provinces has the appointment to all offices, except the memberships of the Board of Revenue, and the judgeships in the Sudder Dewanny or Chief Court. To those, he nominates for the approval of the Supreme Government, that is, the Governor-general in Council, and he appoints after receiving their approval; the Governor-general in Council has, in fact, a veto upon the nomination of the Lieutenant-governor to those particular offices. I think that is a wholesome rule, and I think that that rule should be adopted in any future appointment of a Lieutenant-governor of Bengal.

4277*. Under

4277*. Under the system you recommend, to what extent would questions relating to Bengal come before the Council?—Scarcely any, except those involving matters of principle or organic change, or of public importance, which the Governor of Bengal himself might send up to the Supreme Government.

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4278. It would be discretionary with the Lieutenant-governor to refer any question he pleased to the Supreme Government?—Quite so.

4279. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] You have stated that you think that the control of the Governor-general in Council over the Governor of Agra, and the Governor of Bengal, in respect of appointments to certain offices, viz. the Sudder judges and the members of the Revenue Board, is desirable: if that is the case, would you extend the same control over the Governments of Madras and Bombay?—No, I do not think it necessary; there is a sufficient difference in the circumstances to render it unnecessary; particularly this, that the Governor-general in Council has no means at present of judging of the comparative fitness or unfitness of the members of the service in those other presidencies, nor is the Governor-general in Council ever on the spot; whereas, in Bengal, he lives and rules amongst the Government servants of the Presidency of Bengal, in the Upper and Lower Provinces.

4280. Supposing the Governor-general remains for two or three years after his arrival in India at the seat of government, in Calcutta, what more can he know of the merits and services of those who are claimants to be Sudder judges at Agra than he does of gentlemen of the same class at Bombay or Madras?—He has around him persons who, almost of necessity, are more or less acquainted with their claims; and he may even have, and, in a number of recent instances, actually has had, members in the Council capable of advising him as to the comparative merits and the relative claims of persons in all parts of the service in Bengal, such as he has not with reference to the services in Madras and Bombay.

4281. Will you state upon what grounds you think it a salutary measure that the Governor of Bengal and the Governor of Agra should be controlled in the selection of any officers whatever, and why it would not be preferable that the local governors should be responsible for the appointments themselves?—I have no absolute reason to give why they should not have the whole patronage; but I think that you should conjoin in some degree the Governor-general and his Council with the administration of the territory in which they actually live, and move, and exercise their functions; and I see no better way, upon the whole, of keeping up that connexion between the Supreme Government and the affairs of the local Presidencies than by giving them this control over the rare instances which occur of appointments to the highest offices. Besides which, it adds an amount of éclat and consideration to the appointments themselves, which I think is useful. And in the particular instance of the exercise of the local Government by officers selected from the civil service, and brought up amongst the members of that service, and united to them by all kinds of ties and familiarities, it seems to me to be a very wholesome check that some external authority should have something to say in the selection of the officers for the very highest duties under those local governments.

4282. Is it not evident that the Lieutenant-governor of Agra must be a far better judge of the qualifications and merits of the candidates to fill one of those high situations than the Governor-general in Council?—That is not so evident to me; he may, in some instances, be not so good a judge; and he may be considered liable, occasionally, to particular personal prejudices. It may often happen that the persons who are selected for the highest offices are just the persons in whose intimate society he has been brought up from boyhood, and therefore, it is precisely with respect to those appointments that it is necessary to interpose some check, were it only to secure impartiality on the part of the Government in the administration of its highest patronage.

4283. Would not your objection, in a less degree, extend to his exercise of an independent power of appointment in every case?—It is an objection that cannot be got rid of, and it has been felt as a great reason why it would be generally disadvantageous to select men from the civil service for the highest position of all in India.

4284. Sir *G. Grey*.] Is there not this additional reason for giving the Governor-general in Council a control over these appointments, that the Lieutenant-governor of Agra and the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal would not have

Councils,

F. J. Halliday, Esq. Councils, while the Lieutenant-Governors of Bombay and of Madras would have Councils who might exercise some control over those appointments?—Undoubtedly that is another reason.

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4285. *Chairman.*] With regard to the power of the Governor-general during the absences which he makes from the seat of Government, would you recommend that he should be attended by his Council on those occasions or not?—That subject is one of difficulty; I cannot say that, upon the whole, I think it would be advisable that the Council should attend the Governor-general to all parts of the country; it would be full of all kinds of inconvenience and expense. At the same time, I feel very strongly that the absence of the Governor-general alone, when too frequent or too much prolonged, does produce great mischief and great dislocation in many of the affairs of the Government. The only thing which I can suggest is, that whatever measures can be adopted here or in India to make those absences as infrequent and as short as possible, should be adopted. The matter is almost wholly in the hands of the Home Government; I apprehend that it rests almost entirely with them to control the Governor-general in this matter. The Governor-general is, undoubtedly, under a strong temptation to quit his Council more than is desirable, and for longer periods than is desirable, though I do not believe that any one Governor-general ever did so without an honest conviction, in his own mind, that he was doing right. Still, I think that the Governors-general have not been controlled in this matter so much as was desirable. The only thing that strikes me is, that in future the Legislative Act, which is necessary before the Governor-general can quit his Council, should be passed only for a specified and rather short term, and should be subject to renewal from time to time upon cause shown, so as to make the Legislative Council share in the responsibility of authorising the absence of the Governor-general, and to cause the propriety of his continued absence to come up as frequently as possible for re-consideration and re-discussion. Beyond that I see no check but the check of the home authorities, and in their hands I would leave it.

4286. *Sir C. Wood.*] Would you think it desirable so to limit the discretion of the Governor-general rather than to fetter him by an absolute prohibition?—I feel that he cannot be fettered by an absolute prohibition.

4287. *Sir G. Grey.*] Do not you think that one tendency of the plan which you have recommended, the establishment of an independent Governor of Bengal, would be rather to facilitate the absences of the Governor-general from Calcutta?—There is no doubt of it, and it is one objection to the plan.

4288. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Will you explain more fully to the Committee the grounds of your objections to the members of Council, or some of them, accompanying the Governor-general in his absences from Calcutta, irrespective of the question of expense?—It would be enormously expensive, because you must have not only the members of Council, but all the offices connected with the Government, and it would be excessively inconvenient. And in reference to the financial department, it appears to me almost impossible, the whole business of finance being conducted, of necessity, in Calcutta, with establishments and offices which it is entirely out of the question to move.

4289. *Chairman.*] If I rightly understand you, besides the control of the Home Government over the discretion of the Governor-general, you would still place a power of limiting the absences of the Governor-general in the Legislative Council?—Yes; with the view of bringing the question as often as possible under discussion, and, as it were, of presenting constantly to the mind of the Governor-general himself, the question of the propriety of continuing to absent himself, and the necessity of justifying that continued absence to his colleagues and to the Home Government.

4290. There may be advantages in the absences of the Governor-general on tours of inspection?—Unquestionably; that cannot possibly be prohibited; I believe, in almost every instance, the Governor-general has gone away upon actual necessary business which could not be avoided.

4291. *Sir C. Wood.*] Is not the objections rather to prolonged absence than to his simply going away for a time?—The objection is chiefly to prolonged absence; but there are instances in which questions have been raised as to the propriety of the actual absence itself, and the necessity or the emergency of the occasion on which it rested.

4292. *Chairman.*] During the absence of the Governor-general he retains the power

power of overruling the decisions of the Council, does he not?—There is rather a doubt in my mind, and I think elsewhere, upon that point; to answer the question properly, it would be necessary to refer to the Charter Act. If it be necessary, the Governor-general has the power, after interchanging Minutes with his colleagues present in the Council, in cases in which he thinks it absolutely necessary, for the safety and welfare of the State, to overrule their opinion. But I think the wording of the section is such, that it is necessary that the Governor-general should be present in the Council with his colleagues; if so, there may arise a doubt whether he has that power in the absence of his colleagues. The question has arisen lately, and has, I believe, been referred home.

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4293. Do you think it desirable that the Governor-general should have the power of overruling the decision of the rest of the Council during his absence from them?—No, absolutely not. I think he should be bound to come and discuss the matter with his colleagues before overruling their opinion.

4294. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] Do you believe that the Governor-general, when absent from Calcutta, has a veto upon any legislative enactment?—He has.

4295. When present, he has not that veto?—He is there, and forms one of the majority or of the minority.

4296. Do you think it right to continue to him that veto when absent which he does not possess when present?—I do; I think that under any form of Legislative Council it would be right that the Governor-general should have a veto upon all Legislative Acts, whether he be absent or not.

4297. You would then give him a veto when absent which he has not when present?—I would give him both.

4298. You would give to the Governor-general the same controlling power with regard to legislation which he has with regard to all other departments, where he has the power of acting upon his own responsibility?—Yes, with a rather more unlimited authority, because he is limited in a peculiar manner in other affairs. He has that power only in special matters of politics, such as war and peace; but I think it desirable that the Governor-general should have an absolute veto upon all matters of legislation, whether present or absent.

4299. *Mr. Mangles.*] Is it not the fact, that by law the power of the Governor-general of acting upon his own discretion, is not limited to matters of peace and war, but is absolutely unlimited?—It is not absolutely unlimited.

4300. *Mr. Hume.*] You say that there have been doubts about the propriety of the absence of the Governor-general upon some occasions; by whom do you think that a check can be exercised in that respect?—I think the only real check is in the hands of the Home Government.

4301. *Sir C. Wood.*] What I apprehend you to mean is this: that it is not desirable to impose any positive legal restriction upon the Governor-general's absences, but that by instructions from home his discretion should be considered as limited in that respect?—Yes; that is exactly what I mean.

4302. *Sir G. Grey.*] If the Council passed an Act limiting the duration of the absence of the Governor-general to six months, would his absence, if extended beyond that period, be an illegal absence?—I would make it an illegal absence, and I would cause it to deprive him of the special powers with which he was invested by the Act allowing him to go away.

4303. *Mr. Mangles.*] How could such an Act be passed if the Governor-general had a veto upon all Acts?—What I suggested was not respecting the passing of the Act, but respecting the termination of the Act after a certain time, which would be independent of any veto of the Governor-general.

4304. *Chairman.*] Without referring to any legal points, are there any changes in the power of the Governor-general that you would suggest?—No; except that one, that he should have a veto upon all legislation.

4305. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Does the Governor-general, when he is absent upon those occasions, draw the whole of his salary?—Certainly.

4306. Does the officer, the President of the Council, who acts for him during his absence, receive any salary for his additional labour and responsibility?—None whatever.

4307. Do you think it would be proper that that officer should be remunerated for this great labour and responsibility?—The present remuneration of that officer is very considerable; I am not, off-hand, disposed to suggest that he should receive anything additional.

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4308. *Sir G. Grey.*] That case would not arise in the case of the appointment of a permanent Lieutenant-governor of Bengal?—No.

4309. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Has not the President of the Council to incur expenses, in consequence of his holding the situation of Acting Governor, which he otherwise would not incur?—I apprehend that the salary of a member of Council, which is very large and quite adequate, is given him to cover that chance of expense like any other, and that he should take his appointment with that chance.

4310. *Mr. Hildyard.*] You stated that you believed that the remedy for this evil, such as it is, must rest with the Home Government?—In the main.

4311. But you think it desirable that the Act of the Council should specify the time for which the Governor may be absent?—I do.

4312. The time is now unlimited?—It is.

4313. Would it not also be desirable to specify the object as well as the time in the Act?—No, because the object may be political and secret, and generally is.

4314. When permission is given to the Governor, is the Act which gives him that permission immediately made known to the Home Government?—Immediately.

4315. *Sir G. Grey.*] During the absence of the Governor-general, if occasion for a prolonged absence should arise, the Council might pass an Act extending the period?—That is precisely what I mean; and that, if they do not pass such an Act, the powers given by the Act should cease at the time originally fixed.

4316. Supposing they had passed an Act authorising the absence of the Governor-general for six months, and they should afterwards be of opinion that a prolonged absence was necessary, they might pass an Act extending his absence for three months or six months more, so as to obviate any inconvenience from the original limitation?—Precisely.

4317. *Mr. Hildyard.*] Would there be any objection to the Council specifying in the Act both the time and the object, transmitting the Act to the Home Government, but not making it matter of publicity, so that the Home Government might have the means of judging of the necessity of the Governor-general's absence by knowing what the object was?—The only effect of that would be, that the public would not know that such an Act was passed; they would not know with what powers the Governor-general was proceeding through the country, and they would not know the powers he had left behind. But at present the whole object is gained, because the discussions upon the origin of the Act and the Act itself are sent home, and the Home Government have both before them.

4318. *Mr. Hardinge.*] Would you recommend any change in the division of powers which is now laid down by the resolution on the subject between the Governor-general and the Council when the Governor-general leaves Calcutta?—That is a matter for the discretion of the Governor-general in Council. Differences of opinion have arisen regarding the powers vested in the Governor-general and in the President of the Council respectively, and I should certainly wish, in future, that the law should be so framed as to prevent any such embarrassing differences.

4319. Upon such a question as that would you allow the Governor-general to overrule his Council?—It would follow his general power. The Governor-general would have a general power of vetoing any Act, and adopting any executive measures that he might think fit.

4320. Would you leave those powers?—Precisely.

4321. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] Considering the high position, the vast powers, and the great responsibility of the Governor-general, do not you think that upon that, as upon all other points, it is essential to invest him with large discretionary power?—Undoubtedly, it is absolutely necessary.

4322. *Chairman.*] With regard to the composition of the Executive Council, would you suggest any change, or would you leave it as it is?—The only change that has ever occurred to me as necessary is, that the fourth ordinary member, the legal member, should have a voice in the Executive Council; I think that would be advantageous; it is often necessary to ask his opinion upon matters that come before the Council.

4323. The Commander-in-chief is now a member of the Council; is it desirable that he should continue to be a member of the Executive Council?—I think it is.

4324. Is not he frequently absent from Calcutta?—He is, of course, generally absent;

absent; but I think whenever he chooses to be present at the Council it is desirable that he should be enabled to be present. *F. J. Halliday, Esq.*

4325. You think his opinion is of value to the Executive Council?—It is likely to be. *9 May 1853.*

4326. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] How long was Lord Gough sitting in the Council during the five years he was in India?—Very little indeed.

4327. On what ground do you think it is beneficial that he should be a member of the Council?—I think that if the Commander-in-chief wishes to take a share in the executive business of the Government, and to discuss matters face to face with his colleagues, he should be enabled to do so; I think whenever he happens to be at the place where the Council is located he should be entirely at liberty to discuss matters, in which the administration of his department is intimately concerned, with his colleagues in the Council.

4328. You are aware that it is thought unnecessary in England that the Commander-in-chief should be a Member of the Cabinet?—I think the two cases are very different. Looking at it even cursorily, it appears to me that there is a considerable difference between the position of the Commander-in-chief in England relatively to the Cabinet, and the position of the Commander-in-chief in India relatively to the Council.

4329. Do you think that, in the case of a Commander-in-chief who, in the course of four or five years' service, sits only for three or four days in the Council, it is desirable or just that the revenues of India should be taxed to the amount of 5,000 *l.* for giving him a seat in the Council?—That is another question. I said nothing about the propriety of paying him for the duty; I only said that I think it is desirable that he should have the power of being present in the Council under these circumstances.

4330. But that is the remuneration given to him for that duty?—It is the form under which the Commander-in-chief is remunerated for his services; and I apprehend that if you took that away, it would have to be made up in some other form.

4331. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] Are not you aware that the present Commander-in-chief does not receive any separate remuneration as a member of Council, but that he receives a consolidated allowance, which embraces his salary as a member of Council?—I was not actually aware of the fact; it may be so.

4332. *Mr. Elliot.*] Is it not the fact that the disturbances which took place in the Madras army originated almost entirely from the fact of the Commander-in-chief not having a seat in the Council, in the year 1809?—I am not aware of that; but I can conceive of numerous instances in which it may be important that the Commander-in-chief should have the power of taking his seat in the Council.

4333. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Even though he never attends the Council?—Even though other duties may be more pressing and important, and may take him away; he should have the option, at all events.

4334. *Sir C. Wood.*] I understand you to say that you thought that the Legislative Councillor should have a permanent seat in the Executive Council; do you think it necessary to continue to maintain the Legislative Councillor?—Yes, I do; he has undoubtedly been of great service; he has introduced a certain amount of necessary knowledge into the Council, and a certain English element into their deliberations, and a certain amount of statesmanship, which was very often wanting, especially in the absence of the Governor-general; and I am quite conscious myself, from actual experience, that the Council at all times derived very valuable assistance from his presence and from his opinions; and the Executive Council is constantly in the habit of sending to him upon various Executive questions; he is requested to give his opinion upon them.

4335. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Are you aware of any possible objection to his giving his opinion upon those questions?—I am not aware of any objection, except enlarging the Council, if that be an objection.

4336. *Sir C. Wood.*] You think it desirable for the advantage of his assistance in the Executive Council, in addition to his other duties, that the Legislative Councillor should be maintained?—There are two ways in which it may be looked at. He is of very great use in the Legislative Council; but he is under great disadvantage in consequence of his want of knowledge of the affairs of the country, and the details of the administration; and it has been found absolutely necessary to supply that disadvantage by authorising him, as a matter of courtesy

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and convenience, to sit in the Council, and to read all the papers, and to hear all the discussions upon matters connected with the administration of the Home Government. It would be only carrying that out to the necessary consequence, as it appears to me that he should also have the power of voting upon those questions. It is natural to imagine that he does not give the same sort of sustained attention and informing attention to things that come before him, upon which he is not expected to give a vote, as he would if he had the responsibility of taking a part in their decision. By giving him a share in the executive Government, you would very much increase his usefulness as a legislator. And, on the other hand, his knowledge and experience would be of great advantage to the Executive Government. It already is found, in practice, that a necessity in some instances arises for requesting him to give his opinion upon Executive matters, which opinion in itself is now of no legal value, and which probably would be improved in all respects if he gave it under the responsibility of having a share in those proceedings. So that I think both the Executive Government and the Legislative Government would be benefited by some change in the present law.

4337. Do you believe that it would be possible, by improving the situation of the Advocate-general, to dispense with the assistance of the Legislative Councillor entirely in the matter of legislation?—Certainly not. The Advocate-general, as Advocate-general, has so much to do, that it is out of the question to get from him that service as a member of the Legislative Government compatibly with his duties as Advocate-general.

4338. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Would you recommend that the Legislative Councillor should see all the papers in the Foreign or Secret Department?—I see no objection to it. I apprehend that, with reference to matters in the Secret Department, he is often asked for his opinion.

4339. Do you think that he would have time to read them?—I think so. He would have no more to do than the executive members of the Council.

4340. But you must recollect that he has other duties to attend to?—Yes; but the recommendation I have made of an improved Legislative Council would tend to lighten his responsibility.

4341. It has been suggested that it would be desirable to add councillors from Bombay and Madras; what is your opinion of that?—I should agree to that in the Legislative Council.

4342. *Chairman*.] Would you recommend any change in the form of the Governments of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay?—No; I am not prepared to recommend any change.

4343. You would still leave them under a Governor in Council?—I would.

4344. Sir *C. Wood*.] Do you think it would be desirable to constitute any separate Government for the provinces on the banks of the Indus, and its tributaries?—I doubt the sufficiency of my knowledge to give any valuable opinion upon that subject. I should look forward certainly to those provinces becoming a separate Government at some time or other; but whether at this present moment it is absolutely necessary, or whether they could be combined with the Government of the North-Western Provinces, or whether what is now taking place there is not the erection of something like a separate Government, is more than I have knowledge enough to say.

4345. Mr. *Hume*.] In saying that you would continue the Governments of Madras and Bombay as they now are, would you limit them from applying any portion of their revenues for public works, as they are now limited?—Certainly. The power of the purse must remain in the hands of the Central Government, or you would have everything in confusion.

4346. Do you consider that, having Governors in Council there, whose duty it is to be acquainted with the affairs of the province, they ought to be limited to the expenditure of 10,000 rupees for any public work?—I think they must be limited in all treasury matters. I would not make it minutely harassing or trifling; but in a reasonable way I think they must be limited as to the power of the purse. Occasions arise when the Government of India has need, at a particular moment, for all its funds, in consequence of the state of public affairs, and a local Presidency might wish at that particular moment to expend a very large sum of money upon public works.

4347. Do you consider that the Supreme Government of India, constituted as you have supposed it to be, would have sufficient time to give their attention to those

those matters connected with Bombay and Madras equally with the Government on the spot?—I think probably they have not time; but it is absolutely necessary that the Supreme Government, having the entire responsibility on questions of peace and war, should be answerable also for the finance, and, speaking in a large sense, that no great expenditure in different parts of the territory should take place without its knowledge.

4348. Questions of peace and war are only accidental and temporary. My question has reference to the general proceedings in each of those territories; do you think that the present restriction in this respect ought to be continued?—I certainly think that the present restriction ought to be continued. I would not make it, as it has occasionally been made, harassing and annoying; I would conduct it as liberally as possible.

4349. Are you aware that it has been stated to the Committee, that such have been the delays and the want of attention to the applications from those Governments, that a reference to England upon those matters has been considered preferable to the present system?—I am quite aware of that, and it always must of necessity arise. Each local Government thinks the affairs of its locality preferable to all other affairs, and very rightly and very justly. Each local Government thinks that the particular public work in which it is interested at the time, and which will raise its character with the public in the Province, is a work upon which the finances of the State ought to be expended. That is natural and inevitable. Each local Government, checked at any time in matters of that sort, is sure to be annoyed, and is sure to think that the control ought to be lodged in its own hands, and out of that, no doubt, some irritation has arisen; I see no cure for it except such a liberal administration and power of discretion as is absolutely necessary to be vested in the central Government.

4350. You do not approve of the reference in those cases being sent home to England, instead of being submitted to the Supreme Government?—I do not.

4351. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] Is there not a limit upon the expenditure of money for public works or otherwise by the Supreme Government itself?—There is.

4352. Beyond certain prescribed limits the Supreme Government of India cannot spend money without the sanction of the Home Government?—Exactly.

4353. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Do you think that limitation an expedient one?—I see no harm in it; the communication at present is very rapid. The Supreme Government has discretion in cases of emergency to expend money without this previous sanction, and I do not think that check, especially under the financial circumstances which have existed for some time past in India, can be at all objected to.

4354. Mr. *Hume*.] Do you recollect a proposal for a large application of capital to irrigation by the formation of the Ganges Canal, which was made by Lord Ellenborough, and do you recollect by whom that proposal was stopped, whether it was from home, or in what manner?—I am aware of the proposal; but as regards the canals in the Upper Provinces, I have understood that Lord Ellenborough put a stop for a time to the works and the expenditure, in consequence of the drainage upon the finances expected by him for purposes of war.

4355. Then the check was not from the Government at home, but from the necessity of the money being wanted for purposes of war?—So I understood it.

4356. Sir *C. Wood*.] Are not those works now in progress, and rapidly approaching to completion?—They are rapidly proceeding.

4357. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] Is not the Ganges Canal in so forward a state that the water will be soon let into it?—I fancy so.

4358. Mr. *Hildyard*.] You stated, as one of the grounds why you thought Calcutta had better remain the seat of the Supreme Government, that it is the commercial capital of India, and has, consequently, among its population a larger number of intelligent and independent men than any other city in India, and that their opinion operates beneficially upon the action of the Government?—Undoubtedly.

4359. If Bombay and Madras became connected by electric telegraph with Calcutta, do you think that the Government of those two Provinces might be carried on advantageously, and less expensively, and less cumbrously, from Calcutta, instead of by the present separate Governments?—No, I do not; I do not think it would be advisable to attempt it.

4360. What is the ground of your doubt upon that subject?—A general opinion that

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that Government is best exercised as nearly as possible, other circumstances being the same, at the place affected.

4361. Does not the electric telegraph, so far as communication goes, utterly annihilate distance?—Yes; but it does not annihilate the influence, such as it is, of the population, the commercial and other population of the neighbourhood of Bombay, upon the action of the Government, which would not have the same effect upon the action of a Government so far distant as Calcutta.

4362. In all matters of great public importance, such as public works, would not the Government at Calcutta, receiving the representations of parties on the spot with whom it was in communication, be as well able to form a judgment as a Government on the spot?—I cannot say that I think they would, even with the assistance of a telegraph.

4363. You state that it is necessary, even now, to control the public expenditure in those two Presidencies, by the judgment of the Supreme Government?—It is so; but under the admitted disadvantage of a competent want of knowledge, and a want of interest in the authorities at Calcutta, as to the affairs of the Presidency where that expenditure is to be controlled, I do not think that the knowledge required would be sufficiently conveyed, or that local interest would be sufficiently brought to bear upon the Government, by means of any amount of electric telegraph.

4364. *Mr. Hardinge.*] Do you think that estimates might be prepared annually of moneys required by the Local Governments for public works, and sent home?—I think they might; but that would not prevent the Supreme Government from stepping in, in case of need, and saying, "Whatever the estimate may be, we cannot allow money to be spent in these particular works at this moment;" and it would not prevent the Local Governments from continually wishing to expend more than the estimates, and being annoyed by being checked.

4365. Would you have them send those estimates home direct, or that they should send them first to the Supreme Government?—I think it would be desirable that they should go to the Supreme Government.

4366. *Mr. Elliot.*] You have shown, by your former evidence, that you are perfectly acquainted with the mode of transacting business between the India Board and the Court of Directors, and you expressed an opinion that if that system were changed, and the business were done by the President and the Court, sitting as a Board, it would be an improvement, all matters requiring debate being discussed at that Board; do you not think that, in cases where the Court was opposed to the views of the Board of Control, the President, being opposed singly to 24 gentlemen in a debate, would be at a very great disadvantage?—I think he might put himself at disadvantage, but I do not think he would necessarily be at disadvantage. The position of the President of the Board of Control, in that case, would be the position of a judge hearing all that could be said, and deciding upon his own responsibility. I do not think there could be any disadvantage of any sort in his position, in having to hear all that is said.

4367. One great object which you have in view is to get rid of the great quantity of writing attending the transmission of previous communications, and draft dispatches, and so forth, between the Court and the Board. Do you not see great advantage in the existence of a record of all the arguments which have arisen in all cases in which differences may have occurred between those two authorities, and in the facility which is thus afforded to future Presidents of the Board of Control, and future members of the Court of Directors, to become better acquainted with the cases before them?—It is a question of degree: no doubt, to a certain extent, the record is of advantage; but it may be carried too far, and I think is carried too far; I think a sufficient amount of writing will yet remain to enable successive Presidents of the Board of Control to acquire sufficient knowledge.

4368. If the business were conducted by discussion at the Board, by what method would a new President of the Board obtain that knowledge which he can now have at a moment's notice by referring to the records of the Board?—He would have, what I imagine he now refers to in a great number of cases, despatches from India and despatches to India; and he would have any record of dissents which would still remain for reference.

4369. He has now, besides those, a full note of all the discussions which have taken place on the subject, with the minutes of the secretaries and the minutes of the President of the Board of Control himself to refer to. Is not that a very great advantage?—

advantage?—I dare say, so far as it goes, it is an advantage; but I think any loss in that respect would be counterbalanced by other benefits that are supposed to arise from the change.

4370. Do not you think that there must be great advantage gained by the thorough sifting, under the existing system, of every subject that comes before the Court and the Board by means of those written communications?—I think so; but I think the sifting in each particular case would be quite as great if the discussion was oral, and perhaps greater.

4371. How would the President of the Board be able to carry on a discussion with those members of the Court of Directors who had had the advantage of sitting as a committee on each of the subjects brought under discussion; how would he be able to meet all the arguments that would be used without having had the opportunities of preparing himself upon the subject which they would have had?—He might have opportunities, because of course he would have to prepare his case.

4372. Provided he knew what was coming up?—There is nothing in the system of discussion proposed which should militate against that.

4373. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] You have expressed an opinion that one of the advantages of the present system of the Court is, that all party differences are kept out of view. In Question 3956 you were asked, "Would you allow the Court of Directors to have the absolute nomination of that portion which you mention, a quarter or a third, or should it be subject to the approval of the Crown or the sanction of Parliament?" Your answer is, "I should suppose that the sanction of Parliament, in whatever way it was proper to be conveyed, would be the best mode of checking the appointments; it does not appear to me advisable that there should be a veto in the hands of the Crown." Will you be so good as to give some further explanation of your views upon that point, which appear to me inconsistent with maintaining the Court of Directors independent of party and political influences?—I dare say it may be so; I have said, throughout my examination upon this subject, that I consider myself very incompetent to enter into details regarding the working of institutions in this country; and that my suggestions were probably exceedingly crude and insufficient, and liable to correction by those who know more of the matter than I do.

4374. Then would you reconsider that answer?—I am not prepared to make any different answer from the answer which I gave on that occasion. I do not profess to know much about the subject, but I gave the answer to the best of my view, being asked the question.

4375. Will you have the goodness to look at the answer to Question 4031, "If the President presided, and having presided determined against the opinion of the majority, for what purpose would you have the dissent recorded; to what superior power could that dissent be submitted?" You reply, "In the first place, the dissent might be submitted to Parliament; there is no objection to that, that I am aware of; and in the next place, a dissent, under those circumstances, would have the same authority that a dissent has under present circumstances." As that appears to be creating a direct appeal to Parliament, would it not seem, that under such a system it would be impossible to prevent party considerations from coming into action?—I made that answer under the supposition that dissents now may be submitted to Parliament, so that there would be no real charge under this suggestion.

4376. But in this case they would be necessarily submitted, and in the other case they would not be submitted unless called for?—Perhaps the use of the words "called for" would have been better.

4377. *Chairman*.] You have stated that you gave some answers with the qualification of the sense of your comparative want of knowledge of affairs in England; has there been in your answer any reserve from any other motive?—None whatever. I have endeavoured to say precisely and exactly the whole of what I thought; but I have been profoundly sensible of my inadequacy to speak upon matters in this country, of which I have been unwilling to speak except under the pressure of being placed here to give answers to questions put to me; but whatever I have said, I said without the slightest reserve, and without the slightest desire to qualify it except in that way.

4378. You said that you were unwilling to give answers upon some points; what caused that unwillingness?—Merely a sense of my own inability to give answers that should be valuable upon matters of such importance with which I was very imperfectly acquainted.

John Clarke Marshman, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

*J. C. Marshman,
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4379. *Chairman.*] WE have had described to us the provisions and forms of Government in India, and we wish to ask you to state whether, from your long experience, there is any change which you would suggest; in the first place, would you suggest any change in the formation of the Council in India?—At present the Government of India consists of the Governor-general and the members of Council, who have a complete control over all the transactions and the expenditure of all the minor Presidencies. This Council consists of the Governor-general, and the Commander-in-chief, when he happens to be present, which is very rarely the case, a military member, and two civil members, who are in almost every instance, I believe in every instance, chosen from the civil service of Bengal. As the Supreme Council has a supreme control over all the transactions of the minor Presidencies, there appears a strong objection to its present constitution, as having no members from Madras or Bombay.

4380. *Sir C. Wood.*] Was not General Morrison a Madras officer?—He was; but I am alluding more particularly to the two civil members of the Council, who, during the whole currency of the present charter, have been invariably appointed from the Bengal civil service. The circumstance of there not being any members to represent the interests of Madras and Bombay, is not only a great disadvantage in the management of the general Government, but also a source of intense irritation to those two minor Presidencies, and I think, therefore, that it would be advisable to add to the Executive Council two members, one of whom should be selected from the Madras civil service, and the other from that of Bombay.

4381. Would that be the only change you would suggest in the Council?—In the Executive Council; because I consider that this feeling of intense irritation which prevails at the other Presidencies has a natural tendency to embarrass the working both of the general and of the particular Governments.

4382. What is the general age at which men now attain to Council?—I think after they have been about 30 years in the service. It appears to me that they are raised to the Council at present at rather too advanced a period of life, and that those appointments to the Council are therefore generally given more as a reward for past services, than as a pledge of any future labour in the Council; and it would be of great advantage if men of 25 years' standing in the service were appointed to it, and they were expected to take a more active share in the duties of the Government.

4383. You mean, that length of service should be less looked to than the qualifications of the individuals for useful service?—Yes. But the mere length of service does not regulate the appointments to Council, because there are always 15 or 20 men of higher standing in the service who are passed over in the selection of members of Council; but I meant to say, that if they were appointed, as they used formerly to be, at an earlier period of their service, say after 25 years' service, it would be an improvement upon the present system.

4384. Have you any observations to make regarding the military member of Council?—The military member of Council is generally appointed after he has been about 50 years in the service, and when he may be supposed to be completely worn out. This post in the Council is given to him simply because the Government has no other means of rewarding his military services. He necessarily comes to the Council ignorant of almost all questions that come before him. If, therefore, it be deemed necessary to have a military member as well as the Commander-in-chief, who is also a member of Council, I think it would be very advisable to have a much younger man selected for it, and that he should be chosen indiscriminately for his abilities from any of the Presidencies.

4385. With regard to the legislative member of Council, at present the duration of his services is limited to five years; do you think that is sufficient?—No; I think there is great objection to limiting the period of service, as at present, to five years. He is generally an accomplished lawyer or an eminent jurist sent from this country, and when he first arrives in India has everything to learn regarding the habits and manners of the people, and the laws and institutions that he is to be employed in mending, and it is a great disadvantage that he is obliged to quit the Council immediately upon his becoming, you may say, master of the duties of his appointment. After he has been there five years, and when

when he is in his prime, he is expected to leave the Council, and then you have another man out from England, who is required to serve the same apprenticeship, and to quit the Council as soon as it is completed. It would, in my humble opinion, be a great advantage if the period of service of the legislative member were extended in all cases to seven years at least, if not to a longer period.

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4386. What is your opinion of the control that is exercised by the Supreme Government over the subordinate Presidencies?—I believe it was the intention of the last Act to give a complete control over all the movements, and more especially over the expenditure of all the minor Presidencies, to the Supreme Council; but I do not think the Council, generally, interferes much in the internal organization or management of the subordinate Presidencies, and that its interference is in a great measure confined to a control over the finances; and this appears to be a great cause of irritation in the minor Presidencies. I think that there has been some kind of understanding between the Supreme Council, or the Governor-general in Council, and the minor Presidencies, by which they are permitted to spend to the extent of 1,000 *l.* or 1,500 *l.* a year in any kind of work, without obtaining the sanction of the Supreme Council. But with regard to the augmentation of any of their establishments, the Governor of Madras is not at liberty to increase the salary of the lowest native to the extent of 6 *d.* a month, without the permission of the Governor-general in Council, or of the Governor-general alone, when he happens to be absent from his Council; and this is a source, I conceive, of the greatest annoyance to the officers and members of the minor Presidencies.

4387. What has been the result of this control over the execution of public works in those Presidencies?—It is generally asserted, at Madras and Bombay, and more particularly at Madras, that in consequence of this control the execution of public works has been exceedingly retarded at that Presidency, and that every proposition which is made for the execution of any such public works is received in the Council with a feeling of indifference and very often with a feeling of hostility, and that, as the seat of the Council is in Calcutta, the Presidency of Bengal receives far more attention from the Council than the other Presidencies, and that large sums are more readily voted for public works in Bengal than at the other Presidencies. But some six or eight months ago a statement was drawn up of the sums which had been appropriated by order of the Supreme Council to public works at the four Presidencies respectively, and it was found that the largest sum had been devoted to works in the North-western Provinces connected with the Ganges Canal and the Trunk Road, and that next to the North-western Provinces the Madras Presidency had received the largest sum, next, that of Bombay, and last of all, Bengal.

4388. What is your opinion as to the necessity of maintaining that control on the part of the Governor-general in Council?—I think that the Governor-general in Council must always maintain a supreme control over all the financial arrangements of India in all the minor Presidencies, because before this control was established it used, undoubtedly, to be felt that there was excessive and almost boundless extravagance of expenditure at the minor Presidencies and a vast deal of jobbery. Lord William Bentinck always maintained that this check was necessary in order to keep the expenditure of those Presidencies within bounds, and that the general Government of India was likely to be exposed to continual embarrassment unless the Governor-general possessed this complete control over all the finances of the minor Presidencies. At the same time, it appears very desirable to place larger resources at the disposal of the Governors of the subordinate Presidencies, and to allow them a sufficient latitude of expenditure to render their administration efficient and useful.

4389. Do you think it desirable to remove the seat of the Supreme Government from Calcutta, or to leave it there?—I do not see how it is possible to remove the seat of Government without entailing immense inconvenience upon the Government, and upon the administration generally. Calcutta became accidentally the seat of Government; but having once become so, I do not think it would be easy to remove it. It is the pivot of all the commercial transactions of the Gangetic Valley, which have now increased to the extent of 20 millions sterling a year, and are continually upon the increase. It is the estuary of more than 100 rivers; and it seems difficult, if not impossible, to remove the public establishments from it, or the records which have accumulated

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during a whole century. Moreover, you could not, under any circumstances, remove the Treasury, and the Mint, or the Financial Secretary. If therefore you were to remove the Government, you must still leave the officer at the head of the finance in Calcutta; and his separation from the Government of India would be a manifest disadvantage. Calcutta is, likewise, the seat of the largest, the most intelligent, and the most influential Anglo-Saxon community we have in India. And it seems highly desirable, from all these circumstances, that Calcutta should still continue to be the seat of the Imperial Government. One of the objections which has been raised, is, that Calcutta is not centrally situated as regards the rest of the country. But the same objection would apply to almost all capitals. It would apply to London; it would apply to Paris, to Petersburg, and to Washington, in the United States, which is now at an immense distance from California; at a far greater distance than the remotest of our provinces is from Calcutta. I think it will be seen, upon consulting the map, that Calcutta is almost as centrally situated as any other place; it is nearly equidistant from Madras, from Bombay, and from Delhi; and you have now the element of a new empire growing up to the eastward, in the Burmese dominions, and that circumstance will render Calcutta still more centrally situated. The Government have now determined, moreover, to lay down a line of electric telegraph; so that in the course of three or four years we shall probably have 4,000 miles of telegraph, a complete net-work, all over India; and it will become a matter of complete indifference where the Governor-general may happen to be; he will receive communications, however lengthy, in the same period, whether he resides at Calcutta, or whether the Government is removed up to Simla or to Bombay, or placed in any other situation.

4390. If the seat of Government remains at Calcutta, should the Governor-general, in your opinion, be at liberty to move from Calcutta at any time, and for any period, that he pleases; and if so, should he or should he not be attended by his Council?—I think the Governor-general must always be at liberty to move about the country wherever he considers that his presence is necessary, and that his duty requires him to be; this is altogether irrespective of the location of the seat of the Supreme Government, for wherever the seat of the Government may be, the Governor-general must be equally at liberty to quit it whenever he considers it necessary for any public exigency. The question of the Council travelling with the Governor-general is one of extreme difficulty, and it becomes the more difficult the larger you make the Council; but if the Governor-general were absent only for a short period from the seat of Government, wherever it happened to be located, that difficulty would be, in a great measure, removed; and as soon as our lines of telegraph and railway have been completed, there will be no difficulty whatever in the Council accompanying the Governor-general, or proceeding to the position where the Governor-general may happen to be, on the occurrence of any political emergency.

4391. Sir C. Wood.] In like manner the Governor-general might go back to Calcutta, in order to consult his Council, without any loss of time?—Yes; he might either go to the seat of Government to consult the Council, or the Council might go to meet him.

4392. Chairman.] But with the present means of travelling, you are not prepared to suggest that the Council should attend him when travelling?—I should scarcely conceive it advisable, because it would be necessary for the Council to travel with a very large secretarial establishment, and with the records of the Government. As soon as the electric telegraph has been established, which you may expect in the course of 30 months, or of three years, there will be constant daily and hourly communication between the members of Council and the Governor-general, wherever they may respectively be.

4393. Would you think it desirable or not to place any limit as to the duration of the absences of the Governor-general?—I think the Governor-general himself must be the best judge of that.

4394. Are you of opinion that the Legislative Council is at present composed as it ought to be?—The Legislative Council is at present composed of the same members as the Executive Council, with the addition of one legislative member from England. I think it is the weakest and least satisfactory of all our institutions, and that it would be very advisable to strengthen it by the addition of some of the official members of the Government. I think it would be desirable that Madras and Bombay should each contribute one member to the Executive Council,

Council, and that they should also become members of the Legislative Council; and you might also increase it by giving the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Chief Judge of the Sudder, the Home Secretary, the chief member of the Board of Revenue, and probably the Advocate-general, seats in the Council. You would thus have from 11 to 12 (supposing the Commander-in-chief to be absent) members of Council of great experience and varied talent; and I think that this would give much greater weight to the legislation, and attract a greater degree of public confidence to our laws. At the same time, as it would be a very great advantage to have this variety of Councillors seated at the Council-board, so I would also propose, that in lieu of the written minutes which are now prepared by different members of the Council, there should be oral discussion at the Council-board; and I would even go so far as to propose that these discussions should be taken down by a short-hand writer, and regularly published, in order that the public might have the satisfaction of knowing the grounds upon which the laws were determined upon.

4395. Would you recommend that the Legislative Council should sit throughout the year?—The Legislative Council does now sit throughout the year; but it has been considered rather a disadvantage that they should be employed all the twelvemonth round, either in making or in mending the laws; and it would possibly be advantageous for there to be a Legislative Session, consisting, say, of eight months in the year, so as to leave four months of leisure.

4396. What would be the advantage of that?—It would give a little breathing time to the Legislature, and it would enable the legislative member, upon whom devolves so very large a portion of the duties of the Council, to travel about the country, and to see the various officers of Government, and to look into our institutions and the working of them, and to examine their defects. He would be able thus to obtain, while travelling through the country, the opinion of some of the ablest public servants regarding the mode in which it would be most advisable to construct our future legislation.

4397. What is your opinion of the propriety of the appointment of some natives to the Executive Council?—It is an exceedingly difficult and delicate question. I should be very sorry to say anything that would, in any measure, wound the feelings of the natives, among whom I have lived so long, but I am constrained to observe that, at present, I do not think they are prepared to take a share in the Executive Government of the country, although I think they might be admitted to a much larger share in the administration than they have yet enjoyed. The Government of India must be managed, I conceive, upon those large and liberal and comprehensive principles which are now predominant in this country, but which have made very little progress in native society in India, and I think it is the European mind that must lay down the general principles and direct the general movements of Government. Upon this ground I would not take upon myself to recommend any native to be appointed to the Executive Government. I think it would not be an element of strength, but rather a source of great embarrassment to the Council. The natives themselves have so little confidence in one another, that if any such member were appointed to the Council, he would be regarded with feelings of the most intense envy and mistrust, and, therefore, the advantage of having him as a kind of national representative, would be in a great measure neutralized, and however honourable and upright a man he might be, his own countrymen would never give him credit for any such virtues; his own servants would be continually representing that he possessed supreme power in the country, and they would immediately set their influence in his family up to sale, and this would serve to bring suspicion upon the master, and to lower the dignity of the Government with which he was connected. I think that any native appointed thus to the Executive Government would become a great focus of intrigue, and that the Government itself would thereby lose in public estimation.

4398. The Government of the North-western Provinces has been much commended; what is your view of the subject?—I think it is universally admitted in India, that the present system of Government in the North-western Provinces is the most successful of all the experiments that we have been able to make, and that the Government of Mr. Thomason has been more efficient and more effectual than that of any of the other Presidencies. This has arisen from more than one circumstance; from the very happy selection of a gentleman of Mr. Thomason's experience and ability by Lord Ellenborough nine years ago, and his long con-

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tinuance in office, his being altogether unembarrassed by a Council, and his annual tour of four or five months through the country, by which he is enabled to see everything with his own eyes, and become perfectly acquainted with all men and all things within his jurisdiction.

4399. What is generally supposed to be the state of the Government of Bengal now?—The Government of Bengal unfortunately presents rather a melancholy contrast to that of the North-western Provinces, and this, I think, is justly attributed to the different system of administration which prevails in it, and which can scarcely lead to any satisfactory results. The Governor-general is *ex officio* Governor of Bengal, and assumes that office, and performs its functions, whenever he happens to be in Calcutta. There is only one instance, that of Lord Ellenborough, in which a Governor-general has appointed a separate Governor of Bengal, when he himself was at the Presidency. But the Governor-general is so weighed down with the labours of the general administration of India, that even when he is at the Presidency it is utterly impossible for him to devote an adequate share of his attention to the duties of the Government of Bengal, or to carry them on with any degree of satisfaction to himself or to the people. It must also be remembered that, since the period of the last Charter, when this arrangement was made, we have added the province of Scinde, the Punjaub, and Pegu, to our territories, and that the labours of the Supreme Government have been thereby almost doubled; and the constant communication with England, more especially the twice a month communication, however advantageous it may be to the objects of good government, necessarily has a tendency to increase the occupations of the Governor-general. It is, therefore, utterly impossible for him, however vigorous he may be in physical constitution, or in mind, adequately to perform the duties of Governor-general of India and those of Governor of Bengal. When the Governor-general leaves the Presidency, he devolves the Government of Bengal upon some member of the Council. I believe the Act simply says that the Governor of Bengal must be a member of the Council of India, but the habit has grown up of appointing the senior member of Council, and we have thus a constant mutation in the office. We have had 10 or more successive Governors of Bengal during the last 18 years; and moreover, by this arrangement of appointing the senior member of Council to the Governorship of Bengal, you very often have men who, however eminent they may be in their own professional line, are utter strangers to all questions connected with the internal Government of Bengal; gentlemen who are put in there as a reward for their military services. Under these circumstances, the Government of Bengal has become, to a very great degree, inefficient; so much so, that this vicious arrangement has served to neutralise the ability of the very ablest of the members of our Government who have been for the last 14 years secretaries to the Government of Bengal. I allude to Mr. Halliday and to Mr. John Peter Grant.

4400. What remedy would you suggest?—The remedy is to assimilate the Government of Bengal to that of the North-western Provinces; and to appoint a separate Governor, the ablest man in the service, not a member of Council, and therefore not liable to be removed by the mutations of Council, and to leave him entirely unfettered by a Council, and at the same time to give him a sufficient degree of power to render his office useful, and to enable him to fulfil its duties with efficiency.

Jovis, 12^o die Maii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.
Mr. Mangles.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Spooner.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir C. Wood.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Labouchere.

Mr. Elliot.
Mr. Cobden.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Viscount Jocelyn.
Mr. Hardinge.
Sir J. W. Hogg.
Mr. R. H. Clive.

THOMAS BARING, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.

John Clarke Marshman, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

4401. *Chairman.*] IN the plan which you have suggested of a separate Governor for Bengal, independent of a Governor-general, and without a Council, would you propose that the patronage should be conferred upon the Governor of Bengal? —Yes; the question has been raised in India, in reference to the appointment of a separate Governor of Bengal, whether it would not tend to impair the authority and the dignity of the Governor-general if he were divested of that patronage; but the Governor-general has at present nothing whatever to do with the patronage of Madras and of Bombay, or with that of the North-western Provinces, except, I believe, as regards the appointment of three or four of the highest officers, the judges of the Sudder, and members of the Board. In Bengal, the Governor-general in Council retains a voice, whether he is in Calcutta or not, in the appointment of the five judges of the Sudder Court, of the three members of the Board, and the three Secretaries to the Government of India, being 11 appointments in all, of the value of 5,200 *l.* a year each. These offices are entirely at the disposal of the Governor-general in Council. I cannot think, if you were to divest him simply of the remaining fourth of the patronage of India, which he enjoys now as Governor of Bengal, while you left him those higher appointments, and while he had the entire appointment of all the political officers, and of all the functionaries in the Non-regulation Provinces, there would be any impairing whatever of his dignity or his authority.

4402. Would you suggest any change in the present form of the Government of Madras and of Bombay?—It appears to me that the same form of Government which has proved so successful in the North-western Provinces, might be advantageously applied to the Government of Madras and Bombay; that is, that it would be an immense advantage if the administration of those two Presidencies were placed in the hands of the ablest men in the public service there, without the incumbrance of a Council. The only difficulty which appears to lie in the way of the arrangement is, the existence of separate armies at Madras and at Bombay.

4403. You presume that some experienced individuals, in India, would have those appointments in that case?—Gentlemen of the same ability and the same experience as Mr. Thomason, who has been appointed to the North-western Provinces.

4404. Will you state the difficulty which would occur as regards the army?—It appears indispensable that the armies of Madras and of Bombay should be kept separate from each other, and distinct from the army of the Bengal Presidency. It has been supposed that a Commander-in-chief, fresh from England, might not be able to get on so well with a single Governor without a Council, appointed from among the members of the civil service, as he would

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with a Governor sent out from England supported by two members of Council. This is, however, rather a professional question, which military men can best decide; but I think if this difficulty could be removed, it would be immensely to the advantage of those Presidencies if they were placed under the same scheme of Government as that which has proved so successful in the North-western Provinces. At the same time, it should be remembered, that in the course of three or four years we shall have the means of communication by the electric telegraph throughout India, so that, in case of any difference of opinion between the Governors of Madras and Bombay and the Commander-in-chief, a reference might be made to the Governor-general, and a reply might be received from him in the same day, in whatever part of India he might happen to be.

4405. Will you state what are the objections to the present system of having a Council at Madras and Bombay?—The two Councillors are generally men very far advanced in life, and sometimes superannuated. Past experience seems to show that a system of government, by means of a Governor unacquainted with the affairs of the Presidency, and two aged members of Council, has not worked well; there is very considerable delay, difficulty and embarrassment experienced in working with such a Council.

4406. The Commander-in-chief is a member of the Council?—He is necessarily a member of the Councils of the subordinate Presidencies.

4407. Do you consider that objectionable?—No; under the present constitution of the Government, the Commander-in-chief, the Governor, and two members of the Council, constitute the Government; but under the proposed form there would be simply a Commander-in-chief to manage the military details of the Presidencies, and a Civil Governor, without a Council, to superintend the civil administration.

4408. Is not the Commander-in-chief often absent from the Council?—The Commander-in-Chief is never present in the Bengal Presidency. I think that the late Commander-in-chief was only five days in the Council during the whole period of his incumbency; but the Commanders-in-chief of Madras and Bombay are more frequently at the Presidency, and much oftener, I think, attend the meetings of the Council.

4409. Mr. *Hume.*] What do you mean by a Governor unacquainted with the affairs of the country?—The Governor who is sent out from this country is in almost all cases a nobleman who has had no experience whatever in Indian affairs or administration.

4410. Do you propose that under the change you have alluded to he should be a civil servant, or a person in the service of the Company?—A person in the service of the Company, generally a civil servant; but I think it would be improper to exclude men of such ability as Sir Thomas Munro or Sir John Malcolm, simply because they were not members of the civil service.

4411. Are the Committee to understand that, under the change you contemplate, the Governors at Madras and Bombay should be men well acquainted with the practice of the Indian Government?—Yes; I have stated that I propose the Governor should be the ablest man that could be selected from the public service of India.

4412. Sir *G. Grey.*] Either military or civil?—Yes.

4413. Would not it follow, as a necessary consequence of depriving them of the assistance of a Council, that they must be taken from the Indian service, civil or military?—Yes; the chief necessity for maintaining the Council at present arises from the ignorance of the Governor, who is sent out from this country.

4414. Has not it often occurred that the Governors of Madras and Bombay have been previously employed either in the military or the civil service in India?—Sir Henry Pottinger has been employed in India; Sir Thomas Munro was also an Indian servant, as were Sir George Clerk and Mr. Elphinstone.

4415. Mr. *Elliot.*] Sir George Barlow?—Yes.

4416. Mr. *Hume.*] You stated that you would wish to see introduced a Government similar to that now existing in the North-western Provinces; will you explain a little further what the peculiarities and advantages of that system are?—I think I stated in my evidence on Monday last, that the great advantage connected with the present system of administration in the North-western Provinces was, that one of the ablest men in the service had been appointed to superintend the administration, that he was not fettered by a Council, that not being a member of

of the Council he was not liable to be prematurely removed, Mr. Thomason having been enabled to remain at the head of the administration for eight or nine years; and that being unfettered, by a Council, he was able to travel through the country, and to visit personally almost every district once in two or three years.

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4417. Then, in fact, you regard the individual responsibility which would attach to such a person as of more importance than any assistance which he could obtain from a Council?—Much more.

4418. You have given an opinion against Governors being sent from England, who are unacquainted with Indian affairs; is that opinion formed from your own observation, during the long time that you have been in India, of any evil effects arising from that practice?—Not from my personal observation at Madras or Bombay, because I have not had an opportunity of visiting those Presidencies, or rather of remaining there a sufficient time to examine personally into the question; but I think I speak the general voice of the community when I say, that a Governor like Mr. Thomason would be universally preferred to a Governor sent out from this country, ignorant of the affairs of India, and leaning for advice upon two members of Council, whose opinion he has, at the same time, full liberty to overrule.

4419. I understood you to say, on a former day, that you objected to the period at which civil servants and others were appointed to responsible situations; are the Committee to understand that you would prefer that such officers should be selected after a shorter period of service in India?—I think I alluded exclusively to the appointment of men who were very far advanced in life to the Supreme Council; men, for instance, who have been in India more than 30 years. I said I thought it would be an advantage if they were five, or six, or seven years younger in the service when appointed to that office; the same remark would be applicable to the selection of Governors for the other two Presidencies.

4420. In fact, your observation generally is, that men have been too far advanced in life before they have attained to those responsible offices which are of so much importance in the Government of India?—Yes.

4421. Are the Committee to understand from you, that you prefer individual responsibility in all cases to the interposition of a Council Board?—Yes, individual responsibility in the Governors at the various Presidencies.

4422. Have you formed any opinion as to whether it would be advantageous that the community at large, at all the Presidencies, should be fully aware of the intentions of the Government as to enacting laws, with the view of giving them an opportunity for making remonstrances or applications to the Government on the subject?—At present the drafts of all Acts are published two months before they are enacted, and often three months; in some cases they remain under consideration for five or six months; and I think the public have a full opportunity of expressing their sentiments regarding them. The natives, more especially, have fully availed themselves of this opportunity, for they have sent up, in three or four instances within the last six months, remonstrances against some of the Acts which it was proposed to enact, and I think their representations have had considerable effect with the members of the Council, in inducing them to modify the Acts which were proposed.

4423. Does the period of two, three, or six months depend upon caprice, or is there any regulation on that subject?—I believe the rule is, that the draft must be published for two months at least.

4424. What is your opinion as to the publicity given to the proceedings of the Government in the newspapers or journals of the country; do you consider that it would be advantageous or injurious to allow the fullest publicity to discussions upon all executive orders?—Those orders are always open to discussion, because we have a free press in India.

4425. Are not you aware, that officers have been sent from the country, for publishing letters remarking on the military and other proceedings of the Government?—I do not know of any instance of an officer being sent out of the country for it; I believe there have been one or two instances in which the Government has visited with its displeasure, the publication of papers and documents of which public officers had become officially cognizant, inasmuch as it was in contravention of an order passed by Lord Ellenborough 10 years ago.

4426. Are not you aware, that previous to Lord Ellenborough's time, from the time of Mr. Buckingham's publication, several military officers have been reprimanded and punished, for having made remarks on certain military proceedings?—I do

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—I do not know exactly to what period the Honourable Member alludes, whether it is previous to the time of the press being declared free or since that date.

4427. Before the time that the press was declared to be free?—My answer has reference to a subsequent period.

4428. Is it your opinion, that the punishment or censure of public officers on such occasions is likely to be beneficial?—I think the Government must possess a control over all its own documents, and that if Government considers it necessary to prohibit the public officers to whom they are intrusted from making them public, it must be at liberty to do so.

4429. What is your opinion as to the advantage or disadvantage likely to arise from the discussion of public orders and public measures in the newspapers?—With regard to the discussion of military questions, it is a very delicate matter; Lord William Bentinck who allowed the press practically to be entirely free, felt himself under the necessity, at a period of great excitement, of prohibiting all the military officers at the Presidency from discussing the half batta question; I think there would be considerable inconvenience, and possibly some little danger, in military officers discussing the military arrangements of the Government.

4430. The half batta question was one of considerable importance; who was more likely to be able to give information upon that subject than the officers whom you would interdict from publishing their opinions respecting it?—In reference to the half batta question, it was not information that the Government desired; the governing body at home had sent out orders that the pay of the troops at certain cantonments should be reduced; the Government required no information upon the subject.

4431. Are not you aware that those orders from home caused discontent and unpleasant consequences at some of the stations?—Very great discontent.

4432. Would it, in your opinion, have been beneficial that the Government should have been advertised in time, by such communications as the public press might afford, of the danger of pressing a measure which met with general opposition?—The honourable Member refers to a period before the establishment of the liberty of the press; the half batta question was agitated about 1830.

4433. Do you think that public discussion of the freest possible kind in the newspapers would be a benefit or a disadvantage to the interests of India?—I think you cannot prevent that discussion. After having given a free press to India, it is not within the power of the Government to prevent any such discussions.

4434. Opinions have been stated to this Committee as to the character of the press of India generally; from your experience, are you able to state how far the public press in that country has been conducted with ordinary talent and honesty, and how far it is deserving or not of the support of the community?—That is a very large question. When it is remembered that I was myself a member of the press, it is almost asking me to pass a judgment in the presence of this Committee upon my contemporaries, and upon many of those who essentially differed from me. My answer would appear invidious to persons in India. I am free to say, however, that I consider that the press in India is conducted with a great deal of ability, and that the editorial articles are fully equal, with some exceptions, to anything which you have in the provincial press in England, though of course not equal in talent to the articles which appear in the great metropolitan papers.

4435. Mr. Mangles.] Is there not, on all public subjects connected with the revenue or the judicial administration of India, the greatest freedom of discussion allowed on the part of public officers in every part of India?—I can scarcely say that, because public documents, and information which has been obtained officially, cannot be communicated to the press without, in some measure, incurring the displeasure of the Government.

4436. Do you recollect what was called the "Indophilus" controversy?—Yes.

4437. Was there any want of freedom of discussion in that controversy?—None whatever. All we could require in India is, that the same freedom should be allowed now which was permitted then.

4438. Do you recollect the discussion, at a subsequent date, as to the La-khiraj measures?—Yes, I do; that was almost immediately after, at least within two or three years after the first controversy. "Indophilus" was Sir Charles Trevelyan, who wrote a number of very able articles in the papers, towards the close of Lord William Bentinck's administration. Lord William Bentinck was delighted to find those important questions debated in the papers, and rather encouraged able men in the

the service to come forward and discuss them, but since that period, and since the Honourable Member left India, there has been a far greater restriction upon the communication of public information to the press than there was then. I do not think that at the present time any officer would consider himself at liberty to make use of information which he obtained from his official position to the same extent to which it was used freely in the "Indophilus" controversy.

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4439. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Is it your opinion that permission given to officers of the army to write in newspapers under their own signatures, would be detrimental or otherwise to the discipline of the army?—I do not think you could safely give permission to the officers of the army thus to write upon military subjects.

4440. Are you aware whether such permission is given to officers of the army here?—I am not aware of that.

4441. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] If you would not give permission to the officers so to write, would you give permission to the men?—Certainly not.

4442. From your experience in England, are you aware whether it would be allowed to any civil functionary of the Crown to communicate information derived officially from his station under the Crown to any newspaper?—I am not fully cognizant what is the practice, having been so long absent from this country; but, in reference to Mr. Mangles' question, I have stated distinctly, that the same degree of latitude is not enjoyed by public officers now which they did enjoy throughout that controversy.

4443. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] That controversy took place at the close of the administration of Lord William Bentinck, who was succeeded in the Government of India by Lord Auckland; are you aware whether, during Lord Auckland's administration, any measures whatever were adopted to restrict communications of this kind more than they had been restricted under the Government of his predecessor?—No, I do not think any such enactment was made by Lord Auckland; Lord Auckland assumed the Government of India under circumstances different from those of any of his predecessors; in the year 1836 Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Governor-general, had made the press free by an Act of the Legislative Council; Lord Auckland, therefore, came to the country after the press had been made free, and one of the first questions which arose was, How you were to carry on a despotic Government with a free press? If I had known that the subject of the press would have been brought forward to-day, I could have submitted to the Committee a paper of some value, containing Lord Auckland's opinion upon the subject, and stating the mode in which he endeavoured to reconcile the practice of the Government with the existence of a free press. I will bring or send that paper at any time if the Committee should desire it; it was a paper sent to me by his Lordship's private secretary.*

**Vide Appendix.*

4444. Mr. *Hume*.] Was that published?—It was never published till I published it.

4445. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] You have alluded to two periods: one at the close of Lord William Bentinck's administration, when great latitude was allowed to this kind of discussion in the public papers; and you have referred to another period, the administration of Lord Ellenborough, when obstacles were placed in its way; are you aware whether there was any sufficient reason during Lord Ellenborough's administration for his prohibiting such communications as you have alluded to?—I was not in the secrets of the Government, and I cannot be supposed to know the motives which led Lord Ellenborough to issue the notification, which prohibited all officers of the Government, civil and military, from communicating to the press, or in any way making known, any information which they had obtained from their official position.

4446. Had you at any time reason to suppose that the discussions which took place in the Council Chamber were divulged to any editors of newspapers, without the knowledge and without the consent of the Government?—That is rather a difficult question for me to answer; I can only speak in reference to what was a matter of notoriety, which is, that one member of Council did divulge the contents of despatches and the secrets of the Government to one of the editors of the newspapers.

4447. Under such circumstances, supposing them to have existed, would it have been possible for Lord Ellenborough to have conducted the Government if he had not placed some prohibition on this sort of improper correspondence?—Perhaps not, but the prohibition did not arise from the circumstance of this member

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of Council having communicated to the editor of the newspaper the secrets of the Council Chamber; it was on the occasion of Colonel Sleeman's having endeavoured to vindicate himself from certain aspersions which were cast upon his character, by the publication of four or five documents, either in one of the Bombay papers or in a paper at Delhi.

4448. *Mr. Hume.*] Was he forbidden by the Government so to vindicate himself?—I do not know whether he received any such intimation; it was immediately after the appearance of those documents that the notification was issued by the Governor-general to the effect I have stated.

4449. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Are you of opinion, that with respect to this restriction on the publication of official documents, there ought or ought not to be a broad distinction made between documents relating merely to the administration of the judicial and revenue branches of the Government, and those relating to its military and political concerns?—A clear distinction; all documents connected with political movements, or military transactions, I think the Government must, in every instance, retain in its own exclusive possession, but what we have had reason to complain of in India is, that there is not a sufficient communication to the public of documents connected with the general administration of the country, such as find their way to the public in this country through the means of Parliamentary Papers and Blue Books, and discussions in Parliament.

4450. In what manner would you suggest that, in affairs connected, with the ordinary administration of the country, the public should have the means of knowing the views and intentions, and orders of the Government, either by admitting the public to the consultations of the Government, or by the Government periodically publishing sufficient of its acts and proceedings to enable the public to judge of them, and to give them an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon them?—I should certainly prefer that it be done by a liberal publication of all documents connected with the general administration which it was not necessary for the Government to keep secret.

4451. Ordinarily, do you consider that there is any necessity for secrecy in the affairs of the Government administration?—Not in the smallest degree; on the contrary, those very documents which have been in a measure, I will not say withheld, but which have not been given to the public, would have tended to raise the character of the Government instead of being injurious to it.

4452. *Mr. Hume.*] Are the Committee to understand that you believe the manner in which, through the public press, the proceedings of the British Government in various parts of the world are made known, is beneficial to the public interests?—I think it is; I speak of the general communication of all information, and all documents connected with the public interests.

4453. And all you require is, that the same facilities, however they can be obtained, should be given in India?—Yes.

4454. *Sir G. Grey.*] To take statistical information, for example; is there any practical difficulty on the part of any editor of a newspaper in obtaining from the Government of India, statistical information to publish in his own columns for the information of the public?—I think there is a considerable difficulty; although the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in the last week of my residence in India, told me he would furnish me with any documents whatever that I wished, I know the general impression amongst all editors is, that they have not that free access to public documents connected with the statistics, and the general administration of the country, which they require, and which would be beneficial to the community.

4455. What motive can there be on the part of the Government to withhold information, when the free circulation of it would tend to the credit of the Government, as you said just now?—That is a question of the motives of the Government; I can only speak with regard to facts.

4456. Does this impression, which you say exists, arise from the refusal of information when application has been made for it, or from what other cause?—From the general belief that the Government has been offended with those officers who were supposed to have communicated it.

4457. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] Has not Mr. Thomason, the Governor of the North-western Provinces, been in the habit of publishing statistical and other interesting information for several years past?—He has.

4458. Has not that system been of late followed in Bengal?—It has; but we want a great many more documents, documents which Mr. Thomason, perhaps,

perhaps, would scarcely consider himself at liberty to publish without permission from the authorities at home.

4459. Do not you think Mr. Thomason has liberally published almost all the information which would come under the denomination of statistical?—I think not; the series of documents which he has published in reference to the North-western Provinces had chiefly reference to scientific subjects.

4460. And all statistics relating to education?—All statistics relating to education.

4461. And also in reference to public works?—What we require is an enlargement of such publications, so that while the Government of India withheld from the public all political and all military information, the publication of which might be considered detrimental to the interests of the State, there should be a full and free communication, by those means which are deemed most advantageous, of whatever refers to the general administration of the country.

4462. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] You said that the present Secretary of the Government of Bengal had offered to place at your disposal certain statistical information; are you of opinion that he would have made the same offer to the editor of any other public newspaper in Calcutta?—I do not know that he would not.

4463. Are you aware that some years ago the editor of a newspaper in Calcutta applied to the Government for full access to the documents necessary to enable him to collect a large body of statistics, in order to publish a work upon them?—Yes; and I think he was refused.

4464. I allude to the case of Mr. Hume?—I am alluding, however, to another case, in which an individual applied for the documents connected with the salt revenue; there was a good deal of hesitation in giving him access to those documents.

4465. The case which I allude to is the case of Mr. Hume, who applied for permission to have access to the Government records for the purposes which I mentioned; are you aware that any obstacle was thrown in his way in collecting and publishing that information?—I think not; still I must say there is a repugnance on the part of the Government of India to give full and free access to official documents with a view to their being made public. I may mention, if the Committee will allow me, a request which I made to the Court of Directors for permission to examine their records in Calcutta for a work I was engaged on, "The History of the Serampore Mission." I first made application to the Government in India; I said I should restrict myself to a period antecedent to the year 1820, because I considered that everything previous to that date might be considered as belonging to the domain of history. The Government of India was under the necessity of refusing me, and requested me to make application to the Court of Directors; the Court of Directors commended the Government for having refused me, but stated that, as I was a gentleman of great respectability, the Government was at liberty to give me access to any particular document which I might require, if it did not appear to be detrimental to the public interests. Upon this I made application for the documents connected with the controversy of 1807, just after Lord Minto's arrival in India; all the documents were collected together by the Secretary, but, on reading over those documents, it appeared that it might be injudicious to allow some of them to see the light. It was discovered, almost immediately after, that the whole of that correspondence with the Government of India and the Government of England had been published by the Parliamentary Committee of 1813, in a large Blue Book. I mention this simply to illustrate that the Government of India does not consider itself at full liberty to allow the communication even of ancient and historic documents to the public through the means of the press.

4466. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] I think your request to the Government of Bengal, and also to the Home Government, was a general and unlimited request for access to all documents whatever relating to some particular subject-matter?—To the Serampore Mission.

4467. It was a general and unlimited request for such documents?—Down to the year 1820, it was.

4468. And the reply was, was not it, a direction from the Government that every facility should be afforded to you to refer to any particular document which was likely to aid you in your compilation, but they objected to give you an unlimited order to inspect all documents relating to any subject?—That was the purport of it.

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4469. Do not you think that a Government, in the exercise of a moderate and at the same time a very liberal discretion, must always place some limit to the permission to refer to public documents?—Yes; but in this case I limited my request to a period antecedent to the appointment of any member of the present Court of Directors; I consider that historical documents of that nature might be freely communicated without any detriment to the public interests; some line must be drawn between the domain of politics and that of history, and I drew it in the year 1820, and I requested no paper except those which had appeared before that time. I mention this incident, not to cast any reflection upon the Board of Directors, but simply to show that I think the Government in India does not consider itself at liberty to make that full and free communication of public papers, not connected with the political transactions of the country, which is desirable.

4470. From your experience in this country, do you think the Home Government would give an unlimited order for any individual, however talented and respectable, to have reference to all documents and records relating to any particular subject without requiring him to give such a specification as would enable the authorities to judge whether it was or was not consistent with the public interests to grant his request?—I have been so short a period in this country, that it is difficult for me to offer any satisfactory answer to that question.

4471. Mr. *Mangles*.] Is not it a matter of almost daily occurrence, that to the various Government offices, private individuals present petitions asking for copies of papers?—I think they do.

4472. Do not they get copies of those papers?—I have known instances in which they have been refused.

4473. Have not you known many more in which the applications have been granted?—Perhaps not.

4474. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Your impression is, that there is an excessive and unnecessary love of secrecy in the authorities in Bengal?—I cannot say whether there is a love of secrecy, but there is, unquestionably, more secrecy than there was during the period of Lord William Bentinck's administration.

4475. I gather from a former answer of yours, that every paper and document that was refused to you by the Government in India, had already been made public here in a Blue Book?—They were not refused; but while the Government was considering whether the papers should be made over to me or not, it was discovered that they had been published by the Parliamentary Committee of 1813.

4476. Has that mode of dealing with the subject on the part of the Government of India, originated entirely from the instructions of the Court of Directors?—I am unable to answer that question.

4477. Mr. *Mangles*.] I remember Mr. Halliday writing to me some time ago to say that when Mr. George Thompson visited India, he had told Mr. George Thompson that he should have free access to any paper he wished to see in the Judicial and Revenue Departments; how do you reconcile that with your view of the great closeness and strictness of the Government?—I can only look at the two distinct facts, without being able to reconcile them. I am aware that when Mr. Thompson arrived in India Mr. Halliday did offer him access to all the judicial and revenue records of the Government, and to every paper that he might desire, but I do not think in any one instance he ever asked for any.

4478. You know that of your own knowledge?—I do; I told Mr. Thompson, after he had obtained this access to the most authentic sources of information, we should expect him to make a valuable use of it.

4479. Mr. *Hardinge*.] You said that the remonstrances of the natives had had the effect of modifying the clauses of certain drafts of Acts published by the Government; does not that prove that the Government do not disregard the opinions of the natives upon legislative questions?—The Government has never shown any disregard to the opinions of the natives on any question upon which it legislates, though the Government, of course, reserves to itself full power to reject any suggestions which they may make. The drafts of Acts have been commented upon by the natives, both in their own papers and in memorials, which have been sent up to the Council, and in the petitions of a body called the Landholders' Society. I have had occasion to remark that, in more than one instance, the representations of the natives have had the effect of modifying the Acts which were passed.

4480. Mr.

4480. Mr. *Mangles*.] You spoke of the members of Council, and you implied that they were now appointed at a greater age than they were formerly?—Such is my impression, that they are appointed now at a later age than they used to be, with some exceptions.

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4481. To what do you attribute that; do you think that the civil servants remain longer in India than they did?—Much longer.

4482. You said that it would be desirable that younger men should be appointed; how would you bring that about without unjustly passing over very eminent men of older standing, who had not succeeded to the Council?—There would be a degree of difficulty in that matter, but if you look over the list, you will find that members are now appointed to the Council of 30 and 31 years' standing. There are very eminent men now in India, whom every one who is acquainted with their character would wish to see in the Council, but who have no prospect whatever of succeeding to it till they have been 30 or 31 years in the country.

4483. How could that be remedied without passing over very eminent men who have the misfortune to be older?—I think that you require generally for members of the Council younger men, and if a man does remain in the service longer, in fact, than he ought to remain—for Lord Wellesley calculated that every civilian would retire after 25 years' service with a full competency—I think the interests of the Government and of the country require that you should pass him over and take a younger man.

4484. Is not it the case that the allowances of the civil service have been very much reduced since Lord Wellesley's time, thereby incapacitating men from acquiring that competency within the time that Lord Wellesley contemplated?—I think the allowances to the civil service have been very considerably reduced, to the extent, perhaps, in the whole service, of 12 lacs of rupees a year; still the first question you have to look at is the emergencies of the public service, and although you may possibly, by putting younger men into the Council, act with some degree of injustice to older men of considerable ability, I think the general interests of the country should overbalance those personal considerations.

4485. After how many years' standing was Lord Metcalfe appointed?—I think after 25 years' standing.

4486. Mr. *Hume*.] Can you explain on what principle Lord Wellesley calculated that 25 years would be adequate to enable civil servants to retire?—I cannot explain the principle upon which the calculation was drawn up by Lord Wellesley, but you will find it distinctly recorded in a minute which he sent home about 1801, that 25 years was the period in which a civilian might be expected to be able to retire with a competency.

4487. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Was not the rate of Indian interest at that time 12 per cent.?—It was.

4488. What is the Indian interest upon accumulations now?—I am sorry to say that they are going to reduce it from five per cent. to four.

4489. In other words then, the prospects of the civil servant of making that competent provision for himself which Lord Wellesley had before him in drawing that minute, are reduced in the same proportion as the rate of interest upon the accumulations of officers in the civil service have been reduced, from 12 per cent. to four per cent.?—Yes.

4490. You used the expression, on a former day, that large and comprehensive principles of Government have made but little progress in India; is not it the case, that in several respects the laws of British India have been, and still are, in advance of the laws of England?—That observation of mine had reference entirely to the native community; it was in reply to a question, whether it would be advisable to admit natives into the Government of India, either into the Executive or Legislative Council; I then said I believed that it was necessary for the European mind to take the lead and direction; I referred entirely to the native community, and not to Europeans.

4491. Is it not the case, that the laws of British India have been, and still are, in advance in several respects of the laws of England?—In many cases they are in advance of them.

4492. Did not Lord Cornwallis put the subjects of the Government in India upon an equal footing with the Government in every possible case of litigation?—Exactly so.

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4493. A native may prosecute the Government upon every imaginable case of grievance?—Yes, I have stated that in my evidence on the previous day.

4494. Sir J. W. Hogg.] A native may even sue the Government in *forma pauperis*?—I believe so.

4495. Mr. Mangles.] You spoke of the inferiority of the Government of Bengal to the Government of the North-Western Provinces; may not it be the case that the character of the people and the nature of the climate may have a great deal to do with the superiority in the one case and the inferiority in the other?—I have already said, in reference to the police, that I consider the inferiority of the police in Bengal to arise, to a considerable extent, from the want of spirit and courage in the people.

4496. Generally, as to the inferiority of the Government, do not you think that the climate and the character of the people may have a great deal to do with it?—The difference between the character of the people in the North-Western Provinces and those in the Lower Provinces of Bengal seems to consist chiefly in the existence of greater courage and spirit among them; but I believe there is just the same spirit of chicanery in the North-West as you have in Bengal.

4497. In the single case of tours taken by the Governor, is not it much more easy and pleasant to take tours in the North-Western Provinces than through Bengal?—We have so very few roads in Bengal, that it is much more agreeable to make tours in the North-West than in Bengal; but the climate during four months of the year is just as agreeable in Bengal as it is in the North-Western Provinces.

4498. Is not it the case, that the communication throughout Bengal is kept up, from the nature of the country, in a great measure by water-carriage, and not by marching or travelling?—They have only one road in Bengal, a branch of the great trunk road, which was made in order to communicate with the road which passes through the North-Western Provinces. In many districts where roads might have been kept up, they have been neglected; in the eastern parts of Bengal there is a great deal of water communication, but I believe that in more than half its districts the communication is almost entirely by land.

4499. If there were the finest road in the world, would anybody go to Dacca otherwise than by water?—No, I do not think he would; he would always prefer going by water; the Governor-general is now on his tour at Dacca, and he has preferred to take advantage of the steamer.

4500. Do you suppose that that would be so pleasant as travelling through the North-Western Provinces in the cold weather?—I do not know that it is not as agreeable with a good steamer, and especially with the Governor-general's new barge.

4501. You spoke of its not being desirable to have Councils in the minor Presidencies, supposing the Governor selected were a man of Indian experience?—Yes.

4502. Are you aware that Sir George Clerk, a man of very great Indian experience, gave it as his deliberate opinion, upon the whole, after mentioning the inconveniences arising from it, that it was desirable that the Governor should have a Council?—I have heard that Sir George Clerk delivered that opinion before this Committee. His opinion is certainly entitled to very great weight; but Sir George Clerk may have been speaking under a feeling of delicacy, because he was generally at variance with the members of his Council.

4503. He distinctly said, that in spite of those variances, to which he alluded, he was still deliberately of opinion that a Council was desirable to advise and check the Governor?—There are other opinions in India, perhaps, entitled to as great weight as Sir George Clerk, which are against the appointment of Councils, and for the concentration of authority in one individual.

4504. Yet he was the only witness who has been before the Committee; who, having had Indian experience, and having had a Council, nevertheless gave his opinion in favour of a Council; are the other authorities of equal weight; to which you allude; in the same position in both respects?—I do not think there is any other individual who has been Governor of the North-Western Provinces without a Council, and a Governor of either of the minor Presidencies with a Council; I can only speak as to the general opinion which, I think, is entertained in India; I apprehend that the general wish of the people at Madras and at Bombay is, that the ablest men at those Presidencies should be appointed Governor, in the same manner as Mr. Thomason is.

4505. Would

4505. Would not that take away from the civil service some of those highest prizes, which it is very desirable to offer to them?—If you appoint two members to the Supreme Council from Madras and from Bombay, and also a member of the Madras civil service and of the Bombay civil service as Governor, you will give them much more than you take away from them.

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4506. Sir G. Grey.] In comparing the Government of the North-Western Provinces with that of Madras and Bombay, you stated that one advantage which the former possessed was that the Lieutenant-governor was not liable to be removed till after a certain period?—He is not liable to be removed, whereas the other Governors are expected to move off at the end of five years.

4507. Do you consider that the limitation of time during which the Governors of Madras and Bombay generally hold their offices is injurious?—Generally, I think, it is injurious. Mr. Thomason's continuance at the head of the Government for nine years, with all his accumulated experience, has certainly been found very beneficial to the interests of the country.

4508. If your recommendation were adopted, that the Councils should be dispensed with, and Indian servants from the military or civil service appointed to the government of Madras and Bombay, would you recommend that those appointments should be for an indefinite period?—Not altogether indefinite, but for a much longer period than five years.

4509. Sir T. H. Maddock.] To what degree do you consider that the difference in the character of the administration in the Upper Provinces, and in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, and the difference in the social position of the people in those two parts of India, is attributable to the circumstance that in the Upper Provinces the native institutions of the country, arising out of the tenure of land, have been allowed to continue very much in the same position and upon the same conditions as they were under former Governments for centuries; whereas in Bengal, the whole frame of society was subverted by Lord Cornwallis's perpetual settlement of the revenue?—The existence of those village communities, which I believe is the point more particularly referred to, must give a considerable advantage to the officers of Government in managing the administration of the different provinces; but those institutions had been broken up in Bengal before Lord Cornwallis's time. What Lord Cornwallis did was to grant the landed estates in perpetuity to the zemindars, and a good deal of the misery of the natives of Bengal is certainly to be attributed to the system that was introduced by Lord Cornwallis, which threw all the power into the hands of the zemindars, and left very little protection for the ryots.

4510. Is it now possible, without a breach of faith, for the Government in any degree to retrace its steps with regard to the land settlement of Bengal?—I do not think it is possible; the natives consider the settlement as irrevocable, and any attempt of the Government to tamper with it, would certainly be considered a breach of public faith.

4511. And you consider it impossible now, at this distant period, to restore to their rights in the land all those who were dispossessed of them by the gift of Lord Cornwallis of the proprietary rights in the lands, to those persons who are mere farmers of the land?—I do not think it possible to restore the lands to those who originally held them, but it may be possible for the Government to make under tenures perpetual, and thus to create a new interest in the land; at present, as the Committee is aware, when an estate is sold for arrears of revenue, all under tenures are *ipso facto* cancelled, but if the Government were able to devise some means for preserving those under tenures, it would create a new tenure of land, which might be found exceedingly advantageous to the interests of society.

4512. And without any injustice to any class of persons?—Without any injustice whatever; the regulation was intended solely for the protection of the interests of the Government.

4513. Mr. Mangles.] Should you say that all under tenures are cancelled by a sale for arrears of revenue; are not you aware that all tenures existing at the time of the settlement are specially reserved?—I speak of all tenures which have been created since the decennial settlement; the Government leaves the others in the same position in which they stood before 1793.

4514. Is not that a large exception, and in some parts of the country a very large exception?—The exceptions are gradually growing less and less; that is to say, the under tenants are unable, in most cases, to prove that they possessed any rights before 1793, and those rights are becoming gradually extinct.

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4515. Mr. *Elliot*.] Is not it the case with regard to Putnee tenures in Bengal and Hooghly, and that part of the country, that there is a provision made by which the under tenants are able to avoid the loss of their land upon a failure in the payment of the revenue by the zemindar?—They are able to protect their own interests by paying up the arrears that may be due, but the law is that the tenure becomes otherwise void.

4516. Still they have the power, by paying the Government revenue, to save their own talooks from sale?—They have that power.

4517. Mr. *Hume*.] Are the Committee to understand, that if the zemindar's portion of the rent has been paid by the tenant to the zemindar, they are obliged to pay over again what may be due to obtain the preservation of their rights?—That may or may not be the case, but I have not at this moment a sufficiently distinct recollection of the provisions of that very voluminous Act to be able to answer it with certainty.

4518. Mr. *Elliot*.] Has not that Act, in fact, been found to answer the purpose of saving the undertenants from forfeiting their holdings?—It has, in many instances.

4519. You have stated that you prefer the system of individual responsibility in the Governors to that of aiding them by a Council; do you extend that principle to the Governor-general of India?—No, I meant it to apply to the Governors of the subordinate Presidencies.

4520. If that is a good principle to extend to the Governors of the subordinate Presidencies, why would not it be a good principle to extend to the Governor-general of India?—You must have a Supreme Council in India for the general management of its affairs; where this supreme control is vested, you require more than a single individual. You must always send out a Governor-general from this country; I believe this necessity is generally admitted; but the Governor-general on his arrival is necessarily, to a considerable degree, unacquainted with Indian affairs, and that is one reason why it appears necessary that there should always be a Supreme Council to assist in the management and government of India.

4521. Since the men whom you selected to fill the situations of Governors of the Presidencies, though men of high character and ability, must, like other men, be liable to err, is not it of very great consequence that there should be somebody at hand possessing authority to object to measures which may be proposed by them in Council, and to record those objections, so that the whole circumstances should come home on record for the Court of Directors to consider the decision which has been come to?—That may be a very considerable advantage; but on the other hand, when we perceive how the Government of the North-Western Provinces has worked for the last 18 years without any such Council, I should rather give the preference to a system which imposed individual responsibility upon the Governor than to the present system.

4522. Do you not consider Mr. Thomason to be a very extraordinary and a very remarkably efficient public officer?—I think Mr. Thomason is a most efficient public officer, but I could not take upon me to say that he is extraordinary in any sense which would imply that there was no other individual in the service capable of filling his place.

4523. Do not you think it would be difficult to go on finding a succession of men like Mr. Thomason so particularly qualified for that particular office?—I think you would have very little difficulty in always procuring men of sufficient ability, equal to Mr. Thomason in the service, and more especially if it were known that the situation of Governor was open to competition. Many men would, in that case, lay themselves out for it, and prepare themselves for it, from the period of their first arrival to India.

4524. I understood you to say that you would recommend in those presidencies where there was a Governor without a Council consisting of civilians, the Commander-in-chief should be in the Council?—Not that the Commander-in-chief should be in the Council. I merely said that it was supposed there would be some difficulty and embarrassment if he were not a member of the Council; that as the Commander-in-chief would have the control of the army, and a civilian would have the command of the general civil administration, they might not get on well together, and that questions might arise in which they differed, which might be detrimental to the interests of the public service.

4525. You do not propose that the Commander-in-chief should have a seat in the

the Council?—There would be no Council if the members of Council were discontinued.

4526. Are not you aware that the great difficulties which occurred at Madras in the years 1808 and 1809 arose entirely from the Commander-in-chief not having sat in the Council?—I consider that if any such difficulties should arise, with the present facilities of communication which we have, and are likely to have in the course of three or four years, the Governor-general would be able to interpose before any disastrous consequences could occur.

4527. You think that it would be quite unnecessary to provide against such a contingency?—Quite so. By the electric telegraph the Governor-general would receive information of it in the course of three or four hours, and he would be able, if it were necessary, to hasten down to Madras in a steamer in three days.

4528. Mr. *Lowe*.] If the Council were abolished at Bombay and Madras, do you think it would be right or desirable that the offices of Governor and Commander-in-chief should be combined in the same person, leaving him without any Council?—My suggestion rests upon the supposition that the Commander-in-chief should be sent from this country, and that the civil Governor should be appointed in India from the members of the civil service.

4529. You would take the Governor always from the members of the civil service?—Generally; not, however, to the exclusion of a member of the military service, if a man of extraordinary genius, like Sir Thomas Munro or Sir John Malcolm, were to turn up.

4530. In that case, there would be necessarily an officer from England acting as Commander-in-chief in the Presidency?—Yes; that is the general rule at present.

4531. Mr. *Elliot*.] At what age does a young man in the civil service generally go to India from this country?—I think they come to India at the age of 19.

4532. When they have been there 30 years they are 49 years of age; do you consider a man of 49 years of age so worn out as not to be fit to be a member of the Council?—I think you would find, in most cases, that after a man has been 30 years in India he has seen his best days, and that the vigour of his faculties has begun to decay.

4533. Mr. *Lowe*.] With regard to the press of India, are you of opinion that the institution of a free press in India rendered any modification of the system of government necessary?—There have been some discussions upon that subject in India, but I have not made up my mind upon it, nor have I heard any definite opinion upon the subject.

4534. With respect to secrecy, do you apprehend that the extent of secrecy which you say exists is a proper institution, combined with a free press?—I think the less secrecy you have the better.

4535. Is not the effect of secrecy that it deprives the newspapers of their legitimate pabulum, and rather drives them to make the most of such things as they have?—I did not refer to that, because I believe that the editors of newspapers, in almost every instance, have been able to obtain access to particular documents, when it was their interest to do so, though not to statistical documents. On some occasions, the editors of the newspapers in Calcutta have succeeded in obtaining particular documents connected with the political department, in spite of all the exertions of the Government to keep them secret; and it has been said that there is no Government paper which may not be obtained by applying a little bribery and corruption to some of the subordinate clerks.

4536. Do you think it would be wise in the Government of India to have a recognised official organ, like the "Moniteur," in France?—I scarcely think it would.

4537. Will you be so good as to state what you think would be the objection?—A paper like that must be edited by some one who is paid by the Government; and he would be obliged then to undertake the defence of all the measures of the Government, and the journal, therefore, would not carry the same weight as an independent paper. I think, also, that it would attract so much envy and opposition on the part of the other members of the press, as to a considerable extent to embarrass the Government.

4538. Do you think that the present relations of the Government to the press in India could in any way be beneficially modified?—As I have stated before, I should have been very happy to have read the paper which Mr. Colvin sent to me,

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in which he gave me Lord Auckland's opinion upon the subject, and mentioned the mode in which he had endeavoured to soften the hostility of the press, after a free press had been established, and to clear away misrepresentations by communicating information to the newspapers. I think the Government might be much freer in communicating information to the press, and that it would be exceedingly advantageous, not only to the general interests of society, but also to the Government itself.

4539. What strikes one forcibly is this, you are educating the Hindoos and giving them a free press; the press, with very few exceptions, all writes one way, that is, against the Government, with very imperfect information, while the Government is comparatively defenceless; can you suggest anything in the shape of a remedy for that?—The only remedy which I could suggest would be a freer communication of information to the press, by whatever means the Government might deem most advantageous, but scarcely by the establishment of a paper which should be regarded as the particular organ of the Government. In almost all instances, I have seen public misrepresentations removed as soon as correct intelligence has been communicated regarding the measures of the Government; the feeling of dissatisfaction arises, in almost every case, from ignorance of the motive which has influenced the conduct of the Government, which is therefore misrepresented.

4540. When you speak of the press, do you mean the whole of the press, or would you have the Government select certain of the more respectable newspapers?—I think there should be a freer communication kept up between the Government offices and the editors of the newspapers generally. Lord Auckland said, that wherever he found a paper disposed to do justice to the Government, he authorised the Secretary to make a free communication of any paper or any information, the publication of which might not be deemed detrimental to the public interests.

4541. Would you allow particular servants of the Government, whose conduct is impugned and attacked, to defend themselves in the press by letters, giving their names, as persons do in the papers in this country whose conduct is reflected on?—The public servants in India are placed in a very invidious position. They are continually attacked by the newspapers, but do not feel at liberty to defend themselves; on the other hand, if you were to allow them, in every case, to defend themselves, they might be deemed to admit the charges in every instance in which they did not thus defend themselves.

4542. Is not that a matter rather of discretion, which every public man is obliged to practice; some things he passes over as unworthy of contradiction, and reserves his contradiction for greater and more important matters?—That might be the case; I think even an anonymous defence, in which the circumstances of the case should be put clearly before the public, would be far better than the present system of silence which they are obliged to adopt.

4543. You object to the system of silence?—Entirely so, because their characters now are at the mercy of every slanderer who chooses to write an article or a letter in the papers, and they have no means whatever of defending themselves. The most atrocious charges are frequently brought against them, but they are told that they are responsible to the Government, and not to the public, for the integrity of their conduct. These slanders remain uncorrected, and inflict a great deal of injury upon them as public men, and are exceedingly distressing to their families and friends in this country.

4544. You think that they ought to be allowed to defend themselves anonymously?—Yes, I think they might be allowed to defend themselves anonymously. I am not certain that the Government might not safely take off the restriction, or give permission in particular cases for individuals to defend themselves.

4545. Are not those libels on public servants very extensively copied into the native press?—I think there is a disposition on the part of the editors of such newspapers to give additional circulation to anything that may injuriously affect the character of public officers.

4546. *Mr. V. Smith.*] Will you state to the Committee which is the restriction that prevents Government servants writing in the newspapers; is it contained in an order of the Government?—Yes.

4547. *Mr. Lowe.*] With respect to libels, the law in India is much the same as it is in England, is not it?—Yes.

4548. Have public servants the full right to avail themselves of the law of libel?

libel?—I believe in every instance they may bring an action against a libeller in the Supreme Court.

4549. Do you think, considering the nature of the Government in India, and the peculiar position of a free press there, the law of libel adapted to a free country is altogether well suited for India?—We do not consider that a man gains anything by resorting to the Courts; in too many instances the case is decided not upon its merits, but upon some technicality, so that the character of the individual remains just where it was before.

4550. Do you think that a modification of the law of libel would be an advantage?—That is rather a legal question, which I am scarcely competent to enter into.

4551. Have you seen evils result from the technicalities which now beset the law of libel?—Yes; I think the administration of the law of libel might be rendered much more simple and efficacious, and less expensive; I believe in no instance is a libel case got through the Supreme Court under a cost of 300*l.* or 400*l.*, and in some cases 500*l.*

4552. Sir *G. Grey*.] In the case of a civil servant applying for a criminal information, would not he be able to deny upon oath charges which had been brought against him?—I believe so.

4553. Mr. *Labouchere*.] When you speak of libels, do you allude to attacks on personal character, or severe attacks on the political conduct of the individual?—To both; there are numerous attacks upon the private characters of individuals in the papers; but I allude more particularly to attacks upon their public conduct, because the Government would not consider it necessary to prevent any man defending himself in a case of private slander; it is merely in reference to the affairs of Government entrusted to a public officer that the Government considers him as responsible to it, and not to the public, and therefore objects to his meeting any attacks which may be made upon him in the public press.

4554. That would produce a controversy upon a political question, upon which there might be a fair difference of opinion?—Yes.

4555. Viscount *Jocelyn*.] At the present moment there is no objection to a man anonymously defending himself in the public papers, is there?—He may do it anonymously, but, generally speaking, he will be detected; some particular exclusive information which he may bring forward will lead to the suspicion that he has written the letter, and it is contrary to the wishes and to the orders of Government that public officers should so defend themselves.

4556. Do you believe, if the libel affected the character of a public servant, and such a defence were not injurious to the public interests, the Government would take any serious offence at it?—I believe there have been one or two cases in which the Government has severely reprimanded public servants, especially at Madras, for having rebutted a charge brought against them in the columns of a newspaper, and it is therefore considered to be the will of Government that they should in no instance avail themselves of the papers for the defence of their character.

4557. Mr. *V. Smith*.] Does that prohibition extend to anonymous writing, as well as to other writing?—Not to anonymous writing; but it would be very difficult for a man to defend himself in a case in which he was personally interested, without making allusion to information which would enable Government to detect paternity of the communication.

4558. If it were discovered, would he be censured for having written it, though he had written it anonymously?—It is very likely he would, and the dread of such censure induces many men to sit down under slander instead of refuting it.

4559. Viscount *Jocelyn*.] Do not you think that they do, in many instances, rebut it?—In not half as many instances as they might do it; there may be occasionally an instance in which a man either writes a letter anonymously in the paper in his own defence, or gets a friend to write it; but the general feeling among official men is, that it is contrary to the wishes of the Government, and they would therefore rather avoid any contravention of that wish.

4560. Mr. *Labouchere*.] You stated, that it was generally thought that documents of a confidential nature could be procured in the different offices in India by bribing the clerks; do you share in that opinion yourself?—I have known instances in which they have been procured; I can mention, in particular, an instance, in reference to the late King of Burmah. He employed parties in Calcutta to obtain copies of the despatches which the Government sent to the

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Resident at his Court, by douceurs; he thus had access to almost all the despatches which were sent.

4561. Do you believe that state of things to be a necessary consequence of the employment of such persons as must be employed in the lower situations under the Government in India, or do you think it is the effect of the bad constitution of the public offices, which might be remedied?—The Government has endeavoured in every such instance to find out the offender, and he has always been punished when detected; still we find that the offence is frequently committed. It may possibly arise from the character of the inferior clerks, and the smallness of the allowances which they receive.

4562. Mr. *Mangles*.] You said that you thought it desirable that public officers should defend themselves in the public press; is it your experience that in any country a public man obtains any advantage by replying to the editor of a newspaper?—It may not be so necessary in this country, because there are other means by which a public officer may be defended; but in India there is no opportunity whatever for him to set the public right regarding his conduct, except through the means of the press.

4563. Has not the editor of a newspaper always the last word, and may not he refuse to insert a communication addressed to him?—In any case in which it was known that an editor had refused to insert a reply to any charge he had brought, it would injuriously affect the character of his paper.

4564. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Are not attacks in the newspapers upon public men so numerous, that if they answer one they must answer all?—I cannot say that that is so; I do not think they are so numerous as the Honourable Member seems to suppose. There are some papers which are unscrupulous in admitting attacks, and rather invite them; but I think, generally speaking, the press in India desires, for its own sake, to obtain a reputation for impartiality; and that in every instance in which a slander has been published, there has been little, if any, difficulty in obtaining the insertion of a refutation in the paper.

4565. Would not the time of public men be almost wholly taken up in meeting all those attacks upon them?—I do not think that the attacks are so numerous as to require so large a devotion of their time.

4566. Do you think that members of the civil or military service, if appointed Governors of the minor Presidencies, might be influenced by certain prejudices, acquired by long residence in India, from which Governors sent out from England would be free?—There would be always some little danger of that contingency. You have to balance that danger against the advantage of having a man of superior ability at the head of affairs.

4567. Might not there be some objection raised as regards the distribution of patronage?—Yes; that is also one of the difficulties in the way, but it would still be advantageous to have an individual at the head of the Presidency fully acquainted with its affairs, even although there might possibly be some little bias in the distribution of his patronage.

4568. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Do you think that the Commander-in-chief of the Forces at those subordinate Presidencies would be entirely subordinate to the Governors of those Presidencies?—He would be subordinate to the Commander-in-chief of India, who would act under the orders of the Governor-general and the Supreme Government.

4569. He now is subordinate to the Governor in Council, at each of those Presidencies; the object of my question is to know whether, in the plan you suggest, you contemplate that he should continue subordinate to the Governors in the Presidencies?—I do not exactly understand in what way you suppose him to be subordinate. The army of Bombay is under the general control of the Governor in Council of Bombay. The same is the case with the army at Madras.

4570. My question is for the purpose of ascertaining whether you propose to continue the same subordination of the armies of those Presidencies to the Governors of those Presidencies?—I have not contemplated that the Commanders-in-chief at the minor Presidencies should act in absolute subordination to the Governors of the Presidencies, because I think they would act in all cases in subordination to the superior authority of the Supreme Council and the Commander-in-chief of India, and that if any difference of opinion arose between the Commander-in-chief at the subordinate Presidencies and the Governor, who might thus be appointed, a reference could be immediately made to the Governor-general and the Supreme Council before any mischief arose from it.

4571. Wherever

4571. Wherever there is any portion of the army, such as at Hyderabad, or at Nagpore, the Commander-in-chief of the army is entirely subordinate to the representative of the Government: you would not place the Governor of Madras and the Governor of Bombay in a position in which they would not have the complete control and direction of the armies of those Presidencies, would you?—The armies at Hyderabad and at Nagpore are not under the control of the Government of Madras, I believe, but under the direct control of the Government of India.

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4572. The direct control of the Resident?—The Resident is entirely controlled by the Government of India, and is not in any measure responsible to the Government of Madras.

4573. In the same way in which he is responsible to the Government of India, the Governors of Madras and of Bombay would, under this system, be responsible to the Government of India?—Yes.

4574. What I wish to gain is, your opinion of the position of Commander-in-chief of the army in relation to the Governors of those Presidencies?—I think they would be at the head of two different departments, and that any difference of opinion on any measure might be referred to the supreme authority.

4575. Can you imagine a case in which the Governor of Bombay deemed it expedient to send a force of 4,000 or 5,000 men, out, not having the absolute control over the army of Bombay, the commander of that army was not bound to obey his orders?—I think such discretionary power might be vested in the hands of the Governor, just in the same manner as you vest in the political agent authority to call out, in cases of extraordinary necessity, the troops which are within the circle of his authority.

4576. You would, of course, allow him to have the entire direction of the movements of this army from station to station?—I should say that the arrangements regarding the internal movements of the army, if not committed to the Commander-in-chief himself, might be carried out in conjunction with the Governor.

4577. You do not suppose that it would be practicable to allow the commander of an army to regulate its distribution without the orders of the country, do you?—No; with regard to the distribution of the army, there must be concert between the two authorities.

4578. Must not there be a superior authority to direct the whole?—That superior authority, I should say, would be exercised only on emergent occasions; on all ordinary occasions the civil and military chiefs should be required to act in concert, and any difference of opinion should be referred to the superior authorities. I have already stated that I believed there was a difficulty with regard to the question of the army, and, as I am not a professional man, it is impossible for me to solve it; I recommend the appointment of a civilian to the office of Governor, only on the supposition that the military difficulties might be obviated.

4579. *Chairman.*] Have you at all considered the present form of the Home Government, and can you state your view as to the propriety of any change in it?—I have been so long absent from this country, that any opinion I might venture to offer to the Committee must be given with very great diffidence. Every one is fully aware of the anomaly of the present system of administering the Government in India. The body which was appointed for the management of a great commercial enterprise has now to administer the government of a large empire; and it is certainly an anomaly, that 2,000 holders of stock, many of them ladies, who have no interest whatever in India, should still appoint its governors. But however anomalous it may be, I think there have been both advantages and disadvantages connected with the present system.

4580. What do you consider to have been the advantages?—The advantage appears to be, that you have a body of men for the administration of the affairs of India, and for the distribution of its patronage, who are not elected in subservience to any political party. The great desideratum regarding the Government of India, is, that you should have a body of independent men, and that it should not be brought into the vortex of English politics. In India the prescriptive rule among the natives has always been to turn power into money; here power is almost always converted into political or Parliamentary influence; and it is to be dreaded, therefore, if you break up the present system entirely, that men may be appointed to the direction of the Government of India under the impulse of political influence, which would be, I consider, extremely detrimental to the interests of the

Government and to the interests of India. At present no man is appointed to the Direction because of the political party to which he belongs; and this has had a strong tendency to exclude political and party feeling from the Government of India, so that no one asks, when a man is chosen as a Director, whether he is a Whig or a Tory.

4581. What do you consider to be the disadvantages of the present system?—The disadvantages of the present system seem to consist in this: that those who are candidates for the Direction, are obliged to undergo a very humiliating canvass of six or seven years. No man is elected to the Direction simply on the ground of his being well qualified, from his knowledge of India, for the government of that country; and no man is rejected simply because he happens to have no knowledge whatever of India. The merit of a candidate is, to a great extent, a happy accident; moreover, as this canvass lasts for six or seven years, even those from India who obtain a place in the Direction come in after almost all their Indian sympathies have been blunted, and their knowledge of its affairs is out of date.

4582. Have you ever thought of any remedy for that state of things?—I have sometimes thought, that if you still continue to keep up this system of a double Government, that is, of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, it would be an advantage if one-fourth, or even one-third, of the Directors were appointed by direct nomination from among those who have had long Indian experience, whether acquired officially or non-officially. With regard to the nomination of those Directors, if it was considered constitutionally improper that they should be appointed by the Crown, they might be selected by the Court of Directors, and the Minister for India might have a veto upon their nomination.

4583. You have heard that the question of having a single Government appointed by the Crown, has been alluded to by some of the witnesses before this Committee; have you turned your attention to that subject?—I have always considered that, in that case, you would run great risk of rendering the Government of India subservient to home politics; and individuals would be selected for office, not so much in consequence of their merit, as because they possessed Parliamentary influence, and that would be exceedingly injurious to the interests of India.

4584. Are you then in favour of continuing the present structure of the Government of India?—I think if you continue the double Government, you might introduce into it this modification, of appointing a certain number of the Directors, either by the Crown, or by the remaining body of the Directors themselves. It was evidently the intention of Parliament that the present arrangement should entirely cease 20 years hence. The basis of the system, of course, is the body of proprietors; when the proprietors cease to exist, there can be no Court of Directors; the proprietors are to be absolutely paid off in April 1874, upon which the whole of the present system of Government must cease and determine; and it has occurred to me that it might be possible to prepare for the great change that would then become necessary by the nomination of a certain proportion of the Directors, so that the public, and the public authorities, would have an opportunity of seeing intermediately how the newly-modelled machine worked.

4585. The Committee understood you to say, that you thought the adoption of a single Government under present circumstances would be objectionable; are the Committee to understand that you would be in favour of the continuance of the present system of Government, with certain modifications?—If it were left to me, I would rather vote for the continuance of the present system, because I think that a change, such as the transfer of the whole of the Government of India from the Court of Directors to the Crown, and similar to that which was proposed by Mr. Fox in his Bill, would be much too violent and sudden, and that it would tend very much to embarrass so vast a machine as that of the Government of India. It would require so many changes as to be, even on that ground, altogether unadvisable; and I think it would be more advisable to prepare for the change which must take place 20 years hence by gradually remodelling the Government, and seeing how the partial nomination of individuals worked.

4586. Are you prepared to state to the Committee whether the opinion which you express is shared by a considerable proportion of the English residents in India?—I can scarcely undertake to represent their wishes, because there is a great diversity of opinion upon the subject. I think, generally speaking, the public servants in India are rather in favour of the existing order of things; but there-

there is a large body of men out of the service, including, I believe, some editors of public newspapers, who are for transferring the whole Government to the Crown. But public opinion is so divided in India upon this subject, that I should be sorry to be considered as representing the views of those who reside there.

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4587. Have you had an opportunity of observing the effect of the present system of patronage, more especially regarding the civil service?—The patronage of the civil service is the remuneration which the Court of Directors receive for governing India. As it regards the mode in which that patronage has been exercised, I believe every one will most readily allow that the civil servants in India are perhaps as high principled and as honourable a body of men as can be met with in any public service; the service also contains a great number of men of very great ability, and of this we have the best evidence, from the selection which has been made by the Ministers of the Crown of four or five of the most eminent civilians for the government of the Crown Colonies; but, at the same time, we have had often to remark that men of very inferior qualifications have been pushed into the service by the patronage which is exercised by the Directors.

4588. The appointments to office in India depend upon the Government of the country; does not that keep back men of inferior ability?—It has been said that the civil service has a vested right in the offices belonging to it, and such seems to be the general opinion in India; for unless charges of corruption or venality are substantiated against a civilian, or unless he is utterly incompetent for the discharge of his duties, he is sure to rise into office with the general tide of seniority. It therefore becomes the more necessary that none but able men should be sent out in the civil service; there are many instances in which officers of exceedingly inferior ability, and scarcely able to manage business at all, having once got into the service, and moved on without committing any great mistakes, are appointed to situations of very considerable importance, for which they are utterly unfit.

4589. Are not the present examinations a guarantee against that?—I think, if we are to judge of the strictness of the examination in England by the result that we see in India, it must be very tender and delicate indeed; there are certainly many men of first-rate ability sent out, but we have to lament in India that too many of the civilians have been men of exceedingly inferior abilities, who would not have been sent out if the examination had been sufficiently strict. We generally consider that as soon as a man has obtained the promise of a writership for any of his sons, the appointment is liable to no subsequent contingency; and that though he may possibly be rejected once or twice, he is sure eventually to obtain admission into the service.

4590. Are you prepared to recommend to the Committee any change in the present system of patronage?—In India it has been a very general opinion, that if one-fourth, or a certain number of the writerships, were given as prizes to the great public institutions in this country, we should be likely to have a superior order of men; and that, if the final, as well as the preliminary examination at Haileybury, were made more stringent than it is at present, many of those who are unworthy of the service would be excluded from it.

4591. Have you observed the result of the education at Haileybury?—I have never been at Haileybury myself; I can therefore only speak in regard to what I have had opportunities of observing in India. I would remark on that subject, that there seems to be a great deal too much attention paid to the study of Oriental languages at Haileybury; more especially to the study of Sanscrit. Every student is obliged to devote a large portion of his time to the acquisition of Sanscrit, which is of no manner of use whatever to him in India. I think, therefore, that the course of study might be advantageously modified; that the object should be to complete the English education of the students, and that it should be left entirely to the Government of India to commence and mature and complete the Oriental education of the students. We find that a man obtains more knowledge of Oriental languages in one month in India, than he can possibly acquire in six months of the deepest study at Haileybury.

4592. Will you state if the Government in India have made any new arrangements respecting the examination of civilians, and will you describe those arrangements?—Yes. Heretofore civilians were sent out into the public service as soon as they were pronounced qualified in two languages by the examiner; but it was found that many of the men who were thus reported to be qualified were

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utterly unable to understand anything which was addressed to them in the courts, or to say anything to the suitor or to the officers of the court which should be intelligible. The Government formerly had no means of ascertaining whether a civilian who went away unqualified from the college, did qualify himself by obtaining a knowledge of the languages, afterwards in the course of public business. It was repeatedly pressed upon the attention of the Government that there should be some subsequent examination after a civilian had been for some little time in the public service. Rules were accordingly drawn up which I have brought with me, and if the Committee will permit me I will read a single page, which will explain the nature of the examination to which the students are now subjected: "The second standard of examination shall be similar in its nature to the first, but greatly more difficult in degree. In the vernacular portion of it, the reading of the most common office running hand must be tolerably ready; the papers selected as tests should be of the most difficult description of office papers; the dictation and conversation should be fluent, correct, and idiomatic; and the assistant should be tested in his power of explaining himself clearly, and with sufficient propriety in the vernacular, in a difficult argument or topic, such as may occur in official business. In this examination it will be necessary for the assistant to pass in both vernacular languages, Bengulee and Hindostanee. The test here described shall be strictly enforced in respect of the language of the district where the assistant is stationed at the time of examination; but an allowance will be made for want of familiarity in the other languages. In that other language, however, the first standard of examination must be decidedly surpassed at this examination. The question of law and practice should be selected from the whole field of the duties of a magistrate and collector, but they shall be arranged in two classes: one class comprehending important and leading points, in answering which no books shall be allowed; and the other class, comprehending less general and less common points, in answering which the assistance of books shall be allowed. No guides, digests, or summaries however shall be permitted to be used, the assistant being confined to the original laws, circular orders, and constructions. The object of this class of questions is to test the assistant's knowledge of where readily to find the law or practice on the less common points that arise in business. In preparing these questions, nice and difficult points should be avoided; the object being not to evoke subtlety or ingenuity but only to ascertain whether the acquisitions and capacity of the person examined are adequate to enable him to perform fitly the important functions of an Indian magistrate and collector or not. The trial cases should be selected from those possessing enough of complexity to test the assistant's ability to master all ordinary difficulties, and especially to test his power of minute attention to, and just appreciation of evidence." These are the stringent rules which the Government has very recently adopted for the examination of civilians, after they have been appointed to the public service; and they effectually serve to secure a complete knowledge of the Oriental languages among the members of the public service; and it appears to be no longer necessary that any great attention, or in fact any attention at all, should be paid to the study of Oriental languages in this country.

4593. Some suggestions have been made regarding the re-modelling of the intercourse between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control; have you turned your attention to that subject?—I am unacquainted with the particular mode in which public business is conducted between the two authorities, further than the knowledge I have obtained by the perusal of public documents; but it has always appeared to me, and I think to many others in India, that the mode of communication between the two authorities by written documents is open to very great objection; that it has an inevitable tendency to create delay and embarrassment; and that, upon all those questions in which the Court of Directors have a voice, it would be advantageous if the President of the Board of Control were to meet them at a personal conference, and to hear all the objections which they had to state against any measure before he made up his mind upon the subject.

4594. It has been suggested that the constitution of the Court of Proprietors should be enlarged, so as to include holders of Government notes in India; what is your opinion upon that subject?—I think there would be considerable difficulty in it; I know that it has been suggested, more particularly by the natives themselves, because they consider that it would give them some direct influence upon the Government in this country. But there are very serious difficulties in the way; the

the Government securities amount to four times the aggregate of Indian stock in this country, and if the holders were admitted to give their vote in the election of Directors, they must be frequently disappointed; because the occurrence of a vacancy could not be communicated to them in time for them to send home a vote by proxy. It has also been suggested that the holders of Government promissory notes in this country might be admitted to the same privilege which now attaches exclusively to the holders of India stock, but this must depend, in a great measure, upon the extent to which those notes are held by parties in this country. I think there was a document published some little time ago, by order of Parliament, regarding the amount of promissory notes held respectively by natives and by Europeans, from which it would appear that one-third of those notes are held by natives, and two-thirds by Europeans. The first question, therefore, would be, to ascertain what proportion of the holders of those notes were resident in this country.

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4595. You are aware that Mr. Dundas was in the habit of bringing forward an Indian Budget every year; would you recommend that that practice should be renewed?—I think it might be revived with very great advantage. Mr. Dundas brought it forward, I believe, during the whole period of his being President of the Board of Control; and though that Budget was read latterly to very thin Houses, and was therefore discontinued, I think, if the practice was revived at the present time, it would be a very great advantage, not only to the Government generally, but also to the natives in India; it would give the Minister of the Crown who presided over Indian affairs an opportunity of offering explanations, and expounding to Parliament the state of the finances and the general position and prospect of affairs; and that it would serve to create an additional interest in the concerns of India.

4596. Have you any other suggestion to offer in connexion with this subject?—I would only further suggest, that if the Governors of the various Presidencies were required to draw up an annual report of the general state of the country, upon the same principle as the admirable report which was sent home regarding Canada by Lord Elgin in December last, and which I find printed as an Appendix to the Papers upon the Great Trunk Railway, it might be a very great advantage. This report should in like manner present a faithful representation of the progress of trade, and of education; the state of crime; the progress of our institutions and public works, and whatever else might be conducive to enlighten the public mind regarding Indian affairs. I think that this would be sure, in a great measure, to remove many erroneous impressions; that it would be invaluable as a record for future comparison; and that it might possibly create a spirit of generous emulation among the Governors of the various Presidencies.

4597. It has been proposed to postpone legislation for India to a future period, and renew the present arrangement for a time; what is your opinion as to the policy of such a course?—I think there was a general wish in India that legislation should be postponed till there had been a full and complete inquiry into the mode in which the Government had been administered; but that desire arose chiefly from the impression that Parliament, after having made the present arrangement, would again dismiss the subject of India for 20 years more, and never allow it to be brought under discussion till the termination of the new charter or of the new arrangement. But if, instead of extending that arrangement to 20 years; no period whatever was mentioned, and Parliament was deemed at liberty at any time to entertain any subject connected with India, or any memorial which came from India, that objection, I think, would be removed. On many grounds it appears advisable to complete the arrangement in the present year. I found, on my arrival in this country, that the subject of India was attracting a most unusual and unexpected amount of public attention. We had fully expected that the new arrangement would have been completed with little inquiry, and without any excitement. On the contrary, we are all astonished at the extraordinary interest which has been excited upon the Indian question. This, therefore, appears to be a very particular reason for completing the arrangements now; and when it is considered that next year there may come up great questions of foreign or domestic interest which would cast the Indian question entirely into the shade, it appears exceedingly advisable that the arrangement should be completed in the present year, more especially as the period of the old compact will expire in April next.

4598. Would you recommend the completion of this arrangement before the inquiry by the Committees in Parliament has terminated?—The arrangement

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which might be made, would embrace only the general form of the Government, both in this country and in India. None of the various details which have been brought before the Committee would be embodied in the Act of Parliament. For the arrangement of the general government of India, both abroad and at home, I think the Committee has received as much information as can be deemed necessary, and that nothing is to be gained by waiting for further light upon that subject. After having provided the best form of Government which you can devise for India, both here and abroad, these details and this examination which the Committee has been going into will be found of very great advantage in regulating the movements of that Government.

4599. By postponing legislation, do you think we should obtain further valuable information from India?—I do not think it is at all likely. It must be remembered that the Committee was appointed, I believe, in April last year; information of that appointment was communicated to India in the course of six weeks; the public mind was immediately excited upon the subject; the natives took a deep interest in it; they held meetings; they organised committees, and they have sent home a memorial from each Presidency, embodying their views as to the Government of India. I think, if they had intended to have deputed any delegates to make a personal representation of their wishes, they would long since have done so, for they have had ample time to do it. I know at one Presidency, that of Bengal, they have felt objections to coming home, on the ground that it interfered with the injunctions of caste. I think, therefore, that there can be no necessity whatever for waiting in the hope of obtaining further information from India.

4600. Mr. Cobden.] I understood you to say that you were in favour of a double form of Government; what two Governments do you mean?—I allude to the popular representation of the double form of Government, by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control.

4601. You speak of the popular form of expression; do you consider the Board of Directors to be the Government of India?—They are the Government of India, because the Act states that the administration is transferred to them for the period of 20 years.

4602. You are doubtless very well acquainted with the Act for arranging the Government for the East Indian territories passed in 1833; are you aware that in clause 25 of that Act, it provides that the Board of Control shall have "full power to superintend, control, and direct all acts, operations, and concerns of the said Company which in anywise relate to or concern the government or revenues of the said territories;" and that, again, in clause 109, all the powers of the Company are specially enacted to be subject to the control of the Board of Control, except as to the disposal of patronage?—Yes; I am aware of that.

4603. Do you, giving your own opinion, and not using the popular phrase, consider, with those reservations in this Act of Parliament, the Court of Directors of the East India Company is a Government?—I should be very sorry to say that it was not a Government; I think it is a Government controlled by the President of the Board of Control.

4604. Do you think it a power which is to be responsible to the Government of India?—It is difficult to say to whom it is responsible.

4605. Are they responsible either to the people of India, or to the Parliament of England?—They are not responsible in any measure to the people of India, but they may be considered responsible to Parliament for the due exercise of the powers which have been granted to them by the Act.

4606. Have any powers been granted by the Act, except the disposal of the patronage?—I am not clearly aware of the mode in which the business of India is conducted in this country. It is possible that the President of the Board of Control may have, as I believe he has, the right to overrule the decision of the Court of Directors in all respects; but still it is certain that a very large share of the Government of India does devolve upon the Court of Directors.

4607. The appointment of the servants of the Company is exclusively vested in the Directors of the Company?—Yes.

4608. And so far as the administration goes, those servants are responsible to the Company?—They are responsible to the Court of Directors.

4609. But in what way do you think the Court of Directors is responsible to Parliament?—I cannot speak decisively in answer to that question, because I have not had an opportunity of examining the machinery of the Government in this country;

country; but my impression is, that although the President of the Board of Control has a general control over all the affairs of India, and all the decisions of the Directors, yet a great many questions, and questions of the greatest importance to the administration of the British Government in India, are decided by the Court of Directors.

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4610. In seeking to acquaint yourself with the form of government for India, you would resort exclusively to this Act of Parliament under which the present Government of India is constituted?—Yes.

4611. Do you find that by this Act of Parliament any discretionary powers are vested in the Court of Directors, except with reference to the disposal of the patronage?—I should think they are, in all matters, subject to the Board of Control.

4612. Admitting that the Court of Directors have no power in the government of India, how can you make them responsible either to Parliament or to the people of India?—Yet it was the intention of the Act to confer certain powers of action upon them, and to give a control over the exercise of those powers to the Board of Control.

4613. You admit that, unless a party has power entrusted to it, it cannot be responsible for the exercise of its power?—No; I can therefore simply state, that they are responsible for the exercise of all the powers given to them in that Act.

4614. You say still that this Act was intended to vest a certain power in the East India Company?—There must have been some object in view in creating the present Government of the East India Company.

4615. Did not you state that the object was to vest in a trading company certain powers of government?—Yes.

4616. You are well aware, of course, that the continued maintenance of the Company was with a view to escape the difficulty respecting patronage which was thought to have been experienced in the administration of our own affairs at home?—Perhaps; but at the time when that Act was passed, in 1833, the Ministry of the day, when they had it entirely in their power to have paid off the Court of Proprietors, and thus brought the whole of the East India Company to a termination at once, preferred to deposit two millions sterling to form a guarantee fund, and to expend six or seven millions in discharging part of the Indian debt, instead of paying off the proprietors of East India stock, which would have obliged them to create a new Government. The Ministry also provided that all the trading powers of the Company should cease, that their functions should be entirely imperial, and that they should devote themselves exclusively to the administration of public affairs. The objection, I think, which the question refers to applies rather to the Act itself.

4617. You say you believe that the intention of Parliament was to give certain powers to the East India Company; having admitted that no such powers exist, except in the disposal of patronage, you would admit that, if Parliament had such object, it has failed to accomplish it?—That must very much depend upon the working of the system. Although Parliament may have exempted nothing from the control of the President of the Board of Control, except the disposal of patronage, yet it is certain that the Court of Directors were intended to be a body employed in the administration of the affairs of India.

4618. To the extent of the disposal of patronage?—Not merely to the extent of the disposal of patronage; the patronage of the Court of Directors consists only in appointment to the service, and not in appointment to office. The great patronage still lies in the hands of the Governor-general and the Governors of the various Presidencies. All the patronage which the Court has to dispose of is the appointment to writerships and cadetships, and so forth.

4619. Will you explain to the Committee what power the Court of Directors have under this Charter Act beyond the disposal of the patronage?—I cannot exactly speak to that, because I have not seen the interior working of the system of either the Court of Directors or the Board of Control.

4620. I only wish for an answer founded upon this Act of Parliament for the Government of India?—All I can say is, if this Act of Parliament was intended to give them no power whatsoever, except the disposal of patronage, it could not be considered an Act for vesting the administration of affairs in the hands of the East India Company.

4621. I understood you to say, just now, that you thought it a disadvantage for the people of India that this question of the Government of India should recur in Parliament only once in 20 years?—Yes.

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4622. Would not the renewal of the Charter in terms such as I have explained to you, have the effect of suspending that interest in the question of the Government of India, from the popular impression that we have given power to another body to govern India for 20 years?—To extend the arrangements distinctly to 20 years would certainly have the effect of weakening the interest which the natives of India might take in the arrangement.

4623. I understood you to say that you had found a great interest in England at the present moment, in consequence of the anticipated renewal of the Act for the Government of India?—Not in consequence of the renewal of the Act; but I found, on my arrival in this country, that there was an extraordinary interest excited on the Indian question generally.

4624. You spoke of the disadvantage of closing for 20 years the discussions in this country upon the subject of India, and you also referred to the desirableness of keeping alive the interest in Parliament on the question; would not it be defeating that desirable object, if a Government for 20 years be formed which, in reality, has no power for governing India, but which has the effect of lulling the mind of the people of this country into the belief that power has been delegated to another body to govern India?—In saying that the interest of the people in India would be kept up, I referred to the fact that the natives in India would be dissatisfied if Parliament were to legislate for the future government of India this year, before they supposed the inquiries were complete; and this upon the ground that, when an arrangement was made which was to last for 20 years, it was a mere matter of justice that a full and ample inquiry, such as, it is said, cannot be completed in the present year, should be entered upon regarding the Government of India. But I stated that if, instead of fixing a period of 20 years you mentioned no period whatsoever, and if the minister of India brought forward his annual budget, and thus afforded an opportunity for Indian questions to be asked and to be discussed every year, the objection of the natives to immediate legislation would be, in a great measure, removed.

4625. You contemplate that, in any form of Government which is to be established for India, it shall be a Parliamentary Government, open to the annual revision of Parliament?—Unless you establish a Government positively for 20 years, it must be always open to the revision of Parliament.

4626. You do not contemplate the renewal of the charter for 20 years?—I am proposing that you should make an arrangement for the future government of India, without mentioning any period during which that arrangement should be maintained.

4627. I understood you to say that you thought it would be a disadvantage to bring the Government of India within the range of our party politics?—Decidedly so.

4628. How do you contemplate bringing this question under the revision of Parliament without bringing it within the range of our party politics?—I think, if the Minister of India were to bring forward his annual budget, and give a general explanation of the efforts which had been made to improve the Government of India, and then you had an Indian debate upon the subject once at least in the course of the year, that would not be to bring the Government of India within the range of party politics; it would not lead to the appointment of members of the Court of Directors on account of their political predilections.

4629. The President of the Board of Control, who has an absolute veto in the government of India upon all matters excepting the patronage of India, is now liable to removal with a change of parties in this country, is he not?—Yes.

4630. You are aware that we have had three changes in that office in the course of one year?—Yes; that is, of course, inevitable, from the circumstance of the President of the Board of Control being a member of the Cabinet, which is one reason why I proposed that the double government should be kept up, because the appointment of the Directors of the East India Company would still be totally independent of all party politics, both as to those who were selected by the proprietors and those who were nominated; those who were thus appointed would be nominated either by the Minister for the time being, as vacancies occurred, or the Directors; in neither case would they be subservient to the Minister of the day.

4631. What power do you propose to give to the Directors of the East Company?—I simply propose that the President of the Board of Control and the
Directors

Directors should sit together, and decide upon all questions, instead of exchanging written communications, as at present, which occasion delay and embarrassment.

4632. You would propose that the Directors should be a species of council to aid the President of the Board of Control?—They are little else than that at present, I suppose.

4633. Would you have them elected by an independent body of proprietors of East India stock?—I have proposed that a certain proportion of the Directors, instead of being elected by the proprietors of East India stock, should be appointed for their acquaintance with Indian affairs; those appointments might be made either by the Minister of the Crown, or, if there was any constitutional objection to that, the nomination might be made by the Directors, with a veto in the hands of the President of the Board of Control.

4634. Then they would be virtually nominated by the Crown, would not they?—Only in the same way as the Judges are nominated by the Crown.

4635. Would you make them irremovable except by a vote of Parliament?—I have not thought that it would be necessary to remove them, and I have not contemplated any arrangement upon that question.

4636. You are aware that the Judges are irremovable when once appointed?—I meant to say, that though the Judges are appointed by the Ministry, yet their appointment is not supposed to be subservient to party politics, nor are they considered as belonging to the party which has appointed them.

4637. You do not contemplate that the Council or the Court of Directors, or by whatever name you choose to call the body for assisting in the deliberations of any Minister for India, should be nominated by the Crown?—I propose that a certain portion, say two-thirds or three-fourths, should be elected as they are at present, but that, in order to admit into the Court of Directors men from India well acquainted with Indian affairs, while their information and their sympathies are fresh, one-third or one-fourth of the Directors should be appointed by nomination, and not by selection.

4638. Mr. *V. Smith*.] Would you require, as a qualification, that they should have been resident in India or not?—They should be nominated for their general acquaintance with Indian affairs.

4639. Mr. *Cobden*.] I understand you to say, that the Council, so situated with the President of the Board of Control, or the Minister for India, whatever he may be called, should not have a greater power than they have at present?—I do not mean that they should do more than they do at present, but simply that in lieu of the written communications, which create so much delay and embarrassment, the President of the Board of Control should meet the Court of Directors in person, and that personal discussions should take the place of written communications.

4640. Would not the Government of India in such a case assume very much the form of a Government of one of the Crown colonies at present?—The only difference between the plan I propose and that which now exists, would consist simply in the appointment of a few men by nomination, and the President of the Board of Control sitting with the Court of Directors, either by the Court of Directors going to the West End of the town, or the President of the Board of Control going to the East End of the town.

4641. Mr. *V. Smith*.] You would leave the President of the Board of Control a veto?—There should be no change in his present position, but simply that, instead of the present system of written communications, he should meet the Court of Directors face to face.

4642. Sir *C. Wood*.] I understand you to propose that the respective powers of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control should remain as they are at present?—Yes.

4643. The only difference being, that to a certain degree you would alter the constitution of the Court of Directors, by infusing a certain number of persons recently arrived from India, who should be selected by the Court of Directors, or nominated by the Crown, and that you would change the present written communications into verbal communications?—Exactly so.

4644. Mr. *Cobden*.] You are aware, that by Clause 109 of the Act for the Government of India, it is enacted, "that every power, authority, and function by this or any other Act or Acts given to and vested in the said Court of Directors shall be deemed and taken to be subject to such control of the said Board of Commissioners as in this Act is mentioned, unless there shall be something in the enactments conferring such powers, authorities, or functions inconsistent with

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such construction, and except as to any patronage or right of appointing to office vested in or reserved to the said Court." In your new scheme of Government you would vest that ostensibly, which is now virtually vested in the President of the Board of Control, or the Minister for India, namely, the whole power of governing India, subject, of course, to the control of his colleagues in the Cabinet?—In all questions of peace and war.

4645. In all matters you would give him the aid of the Court of Directors, who would then have the same power that they have now, under this clause, which is only the power of disposing of the patronage?—And of discussing all Indian questions, and offering their own opinion upon every subject, which must always carry weight.

4646. Which they have now?—Which they have now; I propose that there should be no alteration except in this, that the President of the Board of Control should personally meet the Directors.

4647. Will you be good enough to say what is the opinion in India, among the natives, with regard to the Government of India; do they consider that the East India Company is invested with power to govern India, or do they understand that, by the Charter Act of 1833, that power is really reserved to the Executive Government of this country?—I do not think there is a single native who has read the Charter Act through.

4648. The popular opinion is, that the East India Company is the Government of India?—I think so.

4649. They never look beyond it?—I do not think they do.

4650. Any odium which attaches to the Government of India falls upon the Company in the feelings of the natives?—It does not certainly fall upon the Crown; it must fall upon the Company, which, as the depository of all power, of course receives all the abuse of everything that goes wrong.

4651. You are aware that in the discussion about cotton, the discussion about roads, and other matters, the Company incurs the odium for any backslidings or failures which occur in the Government of India?—Yes.

4652. Yet the Company has no power to declare peace or war, and consequently can have no power over the disposal of the revenues or the condition of the finances of that country?—The Court of Directors of course have no voice in questions of peace and war; they must be left exclusively to the Minister of the Crown, who is also a Member of the Cabinet, and the Council which has been appointed for him in the Secret Committee.

4653. Is not it desirable for the interests of the natives of India, and also as an act of justice to the East India Company itself, that something should be done to make the responsibility fall upon the shoulders of those who have the real governing power of India?—I am quite unable to enter into those minute details.

4654. What is your opinion with regard to the impression that would be produced upon the native mind in India, if it were known that the East India Company were not a reality, but, as some people would call it, a sham?—It is difficult for me to say what would be the impression created. I do not think you would be able to explain it to the natives, or that they take sufficient interest in the thing to understand it; the natives at present understand that the country is governed by the Company.

4655. Is it your opinion, that if it were known that the country was governed directly from the Crown of this country, it would increase their reverence for the Government?—I think, if the name of the Crown were brought forward more prominently, it would certainly be highly advantageous.

4656. Mr. Lowe.] Do you propose that as a part of your scheme?—I have not as yet mentioned it.

4657. What is your opinion upon that point; do you think that the Government should be carried on in the name of the Crown or of the Company?—There would be great advantages, I think, in carrying it on in the name of the Crown, that is, in substituting universally the name of the Crown for that of the Company, even without altering the present scheme of Government.

4658. Sir C. Wood.] Are you aware that all despatches originate with the Court of Directors?—Yes.

4659. Does not the mere possession of the initiative give the greatest possible influence in the transaction of business?—I think it must necessarily do so.

4660. Chairman.]

4660. *Chairman.*] Would it be desirable to admit those servants of the Company who had retired after the full period which entitled them to their annuities or pensions to join in the nomination of the Directors?—The object of giving them votes would be to improve the Court of Directors, but if you put in one-third or one-fourth of the Directors by nomination, from among the ablest men who have been in India, the necessity for any such arrangement would be much reduced.

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4661. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] If you gave that power of voting to retired civil servants, it would be necessary to extend it to retired military servants?—Yes, and it would be very difficult to draw any line of distinction.

A P P E N D I X.

LORD AUCKLAND'S Opinion regarding the establishment of a Government Organ communicated in a letter from *J. R. Colvin, Esq.*, to *J. C. Marshman, Esq.*

THE question was brought under discussion by a communication from Calcutta for instructions relative to the appointment of an editor of the "Courier" on the part of Government, and a formal proposition from Bombay for securing some one paper in the interest of the Government at that Presidency. The following communication was made of Lord Auckland's views on the subject. He has adopted so much of the Bombay suggestions that he will press it on the Court to recal their very impolitic prohibition against any of their own servants being editors of newspapers. Beyond this, after thinking carefully over what had come recommended to him by so many high authorities, he does not see reason to depart from the general principle on which he has always acted,—that it is well to have an influence over as many newspapers as are disposed to deal fairly and reasonably with the Government, but not to have a direct and exclusive connexion with any of them. In India there is no Government party from which a paper on the Government side would receive a large independent support. In England, the Government or the opposition papers support the principles of their different parties, and the more consistent and respectable among them acquire, on that account, credit and influence. They maintain a friendly connexion, if on that side, with the Government, but they cannot be identified with the Government. In India, the Army cares for its interests,—the lawyers, merchants, and English settlers for theirs,—the Civil Service is too small and divided a body to form a powerful united interest. Among all these classes, there are moderate and fair-judging men, who would read with attention well-written and accurate expositions of the acts or motives of the Government, but there is no great number who would take in a paper, because the Government was generally defended by it. Such a paper would have to lean for support chiefly on the Government itself, and it would come to be regarded as a mere Government organ. Then would follow all the disadvantage of the Government being rudely attacked, where it can carry on no equal contest. Government must be dull and true. Against it will be hurled every weapon of abuse and misrepresentation,—wit and satire, scandal and personality. Any paper, moreover, which appeared to possess a monopoly of intelligence through its connexion with Government would certainly have all other papers turned against it. Government would have one weak friend—not respected, because not supposed to be independent,—and all else incensed and interested forces.

Appendix.

When Lord Auckland was in Calcutta a certain degree of civility was maintained with all the papers, with one or two, (the Englishman and Courier) a closer connexion. Items of intelligence were distributed among them and were most gratefully received. This privilege was much valued, for news in this country is scarce, and a reputation for obtaining what there is, is much prized. By this means there was little difficulty in obtaining, somewhere or other, publication for any fact or statement which it was considered desirable to make known,—and a generally temperate tone in the newspapers was pretty well preserved. The thing must be done with caution and judgment, for there must be no compromise of independence on either side. But it is this mode of influence which Lord Auckland would prefer to any such more direct measure as that which has been suggested.

S E C O N D
R E P O R T
FROM THE
SELECT COMMITTEE
ON
INDIAN TERRITORIES;
TOGETHER WITH THE
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE,
AND APPENDIX.

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
12 May 1853.*

[*Price 10d.*]

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2 June 1853.

Lunæ, 15^o die Novembris, 1852.

Ordered, THAT a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the Operation of the Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 85, for effecting an Arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories till the 30th day of April 1854.

Martis, 16^o die Novembris, 1852.

Committee nominated of—

Mr. Herries.	Mr. Milner Gibson.
Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.	Mr. Mangles.
Lord John Russell.	Sir James Hogg.
Mr. Baring.	Mr. Hume.
Sir Charles Wood.	Mr. Bankes.
Mr. Baillie.	Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Gladstone.	Mr. Robert Hildyard.
Mr. Newdegate.	Mr. James Wilson.
Mr. Labouchere.	Mr. Spooner.
Sir James Graham.	Mr. Keogh.
Mr. Alderman Thompson.	Mr. Macaulay.
Sir William Molesworth.	Lord Stanley.
Sir Robert Harry Inglis.	Mr. Robert Clive.
Viscount Jocelyn.	Mr. Edward Ellice.
Mr. Cobden.	Viscount Palmerston.
Mr. Hardinge.	

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to send for Persons, Papers, and Records.

Ordered, THAT Five be the Quorum of the said Committee.

Veneris, 18^o die Februarii, 1853.

Ordered, THAT Mr. Wilson be discharged from further attendance on the Committee, and that Lord John Russell, Sir Charles Wood, Sir George Grey, Sir Thomas Maddock, Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. John Elliot, and Mr. Lowe be added thereto.

Martis, 22^o die Februarii, 1853.

Ordered, THAT Mr. Chichester Fortescue be discharged from further attendance on the Committee, and that Mr. John Fitzgerald be added thereto.

Jovis, 28^a die Aprilis, 1853.

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to Report the Minutes of Evidence taken before them, from time to time, to The House.

Lunæ, 2^o die Maii, 1853.

Ordered, THAT the Report of the Select Committee on Indian Territories of last Session, and copy of the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the same subject (communicated 1st December) be referred to the Committee.

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THIRD REPORT.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to inquire into the Operation of the Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 85, for effecting an Arrangement with the EAST INDIA COMPANY, and for the better Government of Her Majesty's INDIAN TERRITORIES till the 30th day of April 1854, and to whom several Petitions, and the Report of the Committee on Indian Territories of last Session, and also the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords on the same subject, were referred, and who were empowered to Report the MINUTES OF EVIDENCE taken before them, from time to time, to The House :

HAVE made further progress in the Matters to them referred, and have agreed to make a Third Report of the Minutes of Evidence taken before them.

2 June 1853.

LIST OF WITNESSES.

Lunæ, 23^o die Maii, 1853.

John Sullivan, Esq. - - - - - p. 1

Jovis, 26^o die Maii, 1853.

Sir Charles Trevelyan, K. C. B. - - - - - p. 33

Jovis, 2^o die Junii, 1853.

John Sullivan, Esq. - - - - - p. 54

 MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

Lunæ, 23^o die Maii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.	Mr. Mangles.
Mr. R. H. Clive.	Mr. Elliot.
Sir George Grey.	Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Spooner.	Mr. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Hardinge.	Mr. Vernon Smith.
Sir Charles Wood.	Mr. Hildyard.
Mr. Cobden.	Mr. Lowe.
Sir J. W. Hogg.	

THOMAS BARING, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.

John Sullivan, Esq., called in ; and Examined.

4662. *Chairman.*] WILL you state to the Committee at what period you were in India, and what situations you filled?—I went to India in 1804, and returned finally in 1841 ; I was actually resident there 29 years ; I was Head Assistant to the Chief Secretary when I went ; afterwards I was attached for some years to the Resident at Mysore ; for 19 years I was Collector and Magistrate of the district of Coimbatore ; afterwards I was Senior Member of the Board of Revenue, and then a Member of Council at Madras.

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4663. The Committee are aware that you have given much attention to the subject of the Government of India, and they will be glad to hear what you consider the defects of the present system, both in India and at home, and what remedies you would suggest as applicable to those defects ; perhaps it would be better to divide your answer, and to begin with the Government in India?—I think the sooner the relations which subsisted between the Supreme and subordinate Governments in India, previously to the legislation in 1833, are restored, the better ; I believe that all legislation that disturbed those relations was wanton, mischievous, and has been most pernicious in its operation ; I think it was wanton, because under the old law the Governor-general had full authority to interfere in the affairs of the subordinate Presidencies whenever he thought fit ; he had such ample power that he might have made either Bombay or Madras the seat of the Supreme Government for the time, and have had the whole of the affairs of those Presidencies under his hands ; but this power was, in my opinion, wisely kept dormant, except upon great occasions. It never was brought into operation except the Governor-general thought the public interests likely to be seriously compromised by the subordinate Government. The legislation of 1833 kindled those powers into what I consider to be a mischievous activity ; it threw upon the Governor-general, already overloaded with business, additional business which he had no competent qualifications to perform. It exceedingly weakened and lowered the dignity of the subordinate government ; it detracted very much from its authority, and it left to the Governor-general questions to decide for which he had no previous preparation. The consequence is, that the business of the subordinate Governments has, in a great measure, been taken away from those who are perfectly competent to discharge it, and lodged very much in the hands of the Secretary, who has never given his mind at all, nor had any opportunities, to qualify himself to decide upon such subjects. It has had another

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very mischievous effect, that is, that it tends very much to make Bengal a model for all the other Presidencies; countries, which are as far separate and as distinct as Russia and Spain, have a tendency, under the present regime, to be brought under the same regulations and the same laws and customs. A very strong opinion upon that subject was given many years ago by Sir Thomas Munro; he proposed a new distribution of the territories of the different Presidencies: that the boundaries of the Madras territories should be the Rivers Mahanuddy and Nerbuddah to the north; to the west the boundary between the Nizam and the Peishwa's countries, as it stood in 1792; to the north-west, a line drawn from the Kistna to the Ghauts, including the southern Mahratta states. "The whole of those tracts," he says, "belongs either to the Carnatic or the Deccan. Its inhabitants differ, both in language and character, from those of Hindostan and Bengal. Let each Presidency," he says, "pursue the course best calculated to promote improvement in its own territory. Do not suppose that one way will answer for all, and that Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, places 1,000 miles apart from each other, must be in everything so much alike as to require exactly the same rules of internal administration on every point; let each Presidency act for itself. By those means a spirit of emulation will be kept alive, and each may borrow from the other every improvement which may be suited to the circumstances of its own provinces. If there is only one system, and if one Presidency is to be the model of the rest, it will have no standard to compare its own with; and when it falls into error, it will, instead of correcting it by the example of others, communicate it to them." Mr. Elphinstone has expressed an opinion in almost equally strong language, and so has Sir Richard Jenkins, three of the very highest authorities. I have therefore a very decided opinion, that the sooner the relations which subsisted under the old law are restored, the better it will be for the people of India.

4664. In what way do you think the new system has worked injuriously in a practical point of view as respects Madras and Bombay?—It has led the Governor-general sometimes to interfere, in a manner which has brought ridicule upon the Supreme Government, in the affairs of the Madras Presidency; he has often to decide upon questions which he was perfectly incompetent to decide upon, and has been obliged sometimes to withdraw his judgment in consequence. One instance which I can mention was in reference to certain irrigation works at the Madras Presidency. Madras depends for its revenue almost entirely upon its irrigation works; the consequence is, that it has given very great attention to that subject; it has a most admirably organised corps of civil engineers. Upon one occasion important works were projected in the Masulipatam district. The chief engineer has a seat at the Board of Works; and, in fact, is the leading member of the Board of Works. It is the practice when any new works are proposed to communicate the proposition to the different provincial engineers, who canvass it, and give their opinion upon it, and afterwards submit it to the Board of Works. The works to which I allude underwent this ordeal. They went to the provincial engineer, and came up to the Board of Works, and they were stamped with the approbation of the chief engineer there, and in that form were handed up to the Madras Government. The Madras Government sent them on to Bengal, as they are bound to do under the present regulations, merely as a matter of form, expecting an instant sanction to them. Great delay, however, occurred; and it appeared afterwards that the Governor-general had submitted the whole plan of those works to an engineer in Bengal, who was totally ignorant of the localities. He ventured to pronounce an opinion, which was sent to the Madras Government. The Madras Government expressed great surprise that a plan for local works, which had undergone searching investigation by officers of great competence, with the chief engineer, a full colonel, at their head, should be submitted to a subaltern engineer in Bengal. They referred the opinion so given by the Bengal engineer to our own engineer, and our own engineer had no difficulty in proving that it was an opinion formed in perfect ignorance of the localities, and, therefore, could not be made applicable in any way. The consequence was a retraction of the opinion, and, after many months' delay, the sanction of the works.

4665. Will you state to the Committee what were the independent powers which the subordinate Presidencies exercised before 1833, and which you would wish to see re-established?—They had full sway over the whole internal administration. Minutes of their consultations were always submitted to the
Supreme

Supreme Government, so that it had the check-string in its hand ; and if it saw anything in the proceedings of the subordinate Government which was erroneous in principle, it had the means of making a remonstrance ; but the whole of the territory of the Madras Government, in respect to all the branches of its administration, was in the hands of the local Government.

4666. That would involve, would not it, a power of expenditure in the Government of Madras independent of the Supreme Government?—The expenditure was always under the control of the local Government ; but if the Governor-general under the old regime saw anything faulty in the expenditure of the subordinate Presidency, he had full power to put an end to it.

4667. Had not the Governor-general the previous power of approval or refusal?—No ; it was not submitted to him as it now is, as a matter of necessity. I said that this lowered very much the dignity of the Madras Government, and that it is a system perfectly unintelligible to the people. The people of Madras and Bombay see the Governor surrounded with all the paraphernalia of power ; they see him with a body-guard ; with palaces, with a council, and they are astonished to find when they present a petition to him asking for redress, involving the expenditure of two or three rupees, he is obliged to declare himself helpless without reference to the Government of Bengal.

4668. Would there be no inconvenience in the exercise of that power of sanctioning expenditure without reference to the Supreme Government, looking to the financial position of India?—Not if an active interference were exercised by the home Government, which I take to be the proper check upon the subordinate Governments.

4669. Your opinion would be, that the system formerly existing in the subordinate Presidencies should be re-established as it stood previously to 1833?—Yes ; I do not think that any express legislation is necessary for the purpose ; it might be done by instructions from the home authorities.

4670. Is there any further change in the Government in India which you would suggest as desirable?—I think it desirable that the whole of the Government of India should be recast as it stood before the legislation of 1833 ; that is, that the Governor-general should administer the province of Bengal as he did before. It is the opinion of Mr. Elphinstone and others, who are very competent judges, that it is an unwholesome practice to leave the Governor-general himself without some special administration, in which he may keep his mind alive to all questions of the internal administration of the country.

4671. You would not be in favour of appointing a distinct Governor of Bengal?—No ; I think it would be much better if the Governor-general were freed from all interference with the affairs of the subordinate Presidency ; he would have, at all events, some portion of his time to devote to the administration of Bengal. I have stated that the Governor-general is overloaded with business. I may mention another fact to show how heedlessly he who has already a great deal to do has more labour thrown upon him. The little kingdom of Mysore is in fact an integral part of Madras ; it is hemmed in by the Madras territories, the people speak the same language, and are united by marriage, customs, and castes ; for the last 22 years Mysore has been nominally superintended and under the management of the Supreme Government at Calcutta, which is distant 1,400 miles ; I may say that this arose out of some misunderstanding between the Governor-general and the Governor of Madras, and it has been kept up ever since. It happens very fortunately for the people of Mysore, that it has been in the best hands, in the hands of a man who has never abused and is not likely to abuse his authority ; but if he did, there is no sort of redress nor superintendence nearer than Calcutta, when the Governor-general is there, which is at a distance of 1,200 or 1,400 miles.

4672. Mr. *Elliot*.] What is the amount of expenditure that the Governor of Madras has the power of sanctioning now?—In my time, it was no amount at all ; I do not know what it has been the last 10 or 12 years ; the smallest expenditure was then obliged to be referred to Calcutta. I think a certain sum now is permitted to be expended without reference.

4673. Sir *G. Grey*.] You mentioned one case in which, in your opinion, an injurious delay had taken place, from requiring the approval of the Supreme Government to works of irrigation in Madras. Can you state any case which has occurred, in which serious injury has been inflicted upon the interests either of Madras or Bombay, by the interference of the Supreme Government in the

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expenditure of money?—I should say there is a general injury done. The functions of the subordinate governments are in a great measure usurped by the interference of the Supreme Government. The power of free action is not left to them; they are always acting under a check.

4674. In your opinion, have works involving considerable expenditure, which were essential to the prosperity of either of those two provinces, been interrupted or stopped by the interference, which you think prejudicial, of the Supreme Government?—There is a necessary delay, and as far as delay goes, there is *pro tanto* mischief.

4675. Have works been stopped, and the execution of them prevented by this interference?—There has been a temporary suspension of many works; the Supreme Government has called for explanation, and at last have left the subordinate Government to determine upon the works.

4676. Mr. Mangles.] Was there a more rapid progress in the execution of public works in Madras before 1833, than there has been since?—Decidedly; all the time occupied in correspondence with the Supreme Government is so much time lost.

4677. Practically, can you mention any great public works of irrigation which were executed previously to 1833?—A great many public works were executed then; I cannot lay my hand upon any particular works.

4678. Those works which are now being executed upon the Godavery and the Kistnah, and elsewhere, were ordered by the Government to be executed under the system of which you so much disapprove?—I did not mean to imply that the Supreme Government threw any unnecessary obstructions in the way; I only adduced that as an extraordinary instance of interference, their having referred that question which had been decided by a corps of engineers at Madras to an engineer at Bengal who was ignorant of the locality.

4679. Is not it practically the case that those great works of which I am speaking were left unexecuted by the local Government which had free action, and have remained to be executed under the sanction of the Supreme Government?—They were not planned till after 1833.

4680. Is not that rather against your argument, and in favour of the present system?—It depended entirely upon the activity and intelligence of the local engineers; the irrigation at Tanjore has been the subject of serious consideration for the last 30 years; great expenditure has been made, and the irrigation very much improved, but at one time there was a threat of one of the branches of the river being stopped from the sand; the subject was then particularly investigated by a man of the highest talent, Colonel Cotton, and he suggested the plan of the anicuts, by which all those evils have been perfectly remedied. There was a great deal of hesitation on the part of the Madras Government to undertake them; many engineers differed in opinion with Colonel Cotton; there was a very strong opposition; the thing was not promptly done, though it was done after consideration.

4681. Still, practically, more has been done under the system of government which you deprecate, than under the system of government which you say was a more suitable system?—It does not arise from the system.

4682. It has been done?—It has been done in consequence of the intelligence of the engineer who projected the works.

4683. You spoke of powers being lodged in the hands of a secretary; did you mean the Secretary of the Supreme Government?—I meant the Secretary of the Supreme Government.

4684. Why should the power be more in the hands of the Secretary of the Supreme Government than in the hands of the secretary of the Local Government; why should you suppose that the power would not be in the Governor-general in Council, but in the hands of the Secretary?—I am speaking of the Governor-general; he has so much to do, that he is naturally very apt to devolve some of his work upon the Secretary.

4685. Is it more likely that the Secretary would have the power under the Governor-general in Council, than under the Governor in Council at Madras?—When I gave that answer, I was thinking of the Governor-general having his secretaries about him; when he is in the Supreme Council, the Supreme Council would execute their functions.

4686. Is it not the case, that as a general rule the Supreme Government would be in the hands of abler men than the Local Government?—By no means; I think

think they would not be men so well qualified for the administration of the local affairs of Madras.

4687. Are not the ablest men likely to be selected for the office of Governor-general?—I do not think the ablest men are always likely to be selected.

4688. Is not the Government at home likely to select abler men for the Governor-general, than for the Governors of the subordinate Presidencies?—I do not think so; I think the ablest men have always been at the subordinate Presidencies. We have had Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, and Mr. Elphinstone; I should not even put Lord Wellesley upon a par with them. Those were men who had all the advantages possessed by Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings; they had their political sagacity, and they had greater advantages in having an intimate knowledge of the manners and customs, and the political history and connexions of the country which they governed. I conceive them to be upon a par, in point of political talent, with the greatest of our Governors-general, having also the advantages of local knowledge.

4689. As regards the Supreme Council, is not there a much larger field of selection in the services of Bengal than in the services of the subordinate Presidencies?—The ablest men in Bengal could not be so fit to administer the affairs of Madras as men who had been intimately connected with the Presidency during their whole lives.

4690. You do not think that it is essential that the general control of the finances of India should be in the hands of those who are responsible for them?—I would rather keep them under the control of the Home Government; I do not mean to say that the subordinate Governments are to be allowed to increase their army or establishments without the sanction of the Supreme Government. My observations do not extend beyond the question of internal administration. In all questions of the increase of the establishments and the army, I think the Supreme Government should have the fullest control, and in fact, I should say, they had it under the old regime.

4691. Do you agree with those who think that India should be mainly governed in India?—I think it should; I would have the Madras Presidency governed by the Madras Government, Bombay by the Bombay Government, and Agra and Bengal by the Agra and Bengal Governments. In matters of finance and expenditure, I think a well constituted Home Government would be more likely to exercise a beneficial control than the Supreme Government in India, inasmuch as I cannot contemplate any Home Government being established which would not in some part consist of persons having local knowledge.

4692. Mr. R. H. Clive.] Was not Mr. Webb a man of great power and talent?—Very great power and talent.

4693. In reference to the questions which have been put to you by the honourable Member, is not the character of that gentleman a sufficient proof that talent can be produced in Madras sufficient to conduct the administration of the affairs of Madras?—He is one of a great galaxy of talent which has been produced at the subordinate Presidencies; Mr. Webb, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munro, Colonel Close, Colonel Wilkes, Colonel Walker are all men of first rate talent, who played an important part in the early history of India.

4694. Did not Lord Wellesley, when he went down to Madras, exercise full power and with great effect, when the Mysore was annexed to our empire?—He came round there and exercised the Supreme Government, but he left the details of the Government to Lord Clive, who had for his secretary Mr. Webb. He knew what agents Lord Clive had round him, and he left him full power, confining his attention to the great question of the Mysore war.

4695. The Madras Government did not suffer any loss of influence, in consequence of Lord Wellesley coming there to take, to a certain degree, the charge of the Government which effected the annexation of the Mysore?—It tended rather to exalt the character of the Madras Government than to depress it, inasmuch as the Council of Madras became for the nonce the Supreme Council.

4696. Sir T. H. Maddock.] You have attributed to the control which is exercised by the Supreme Government over the subordinate governments in matters of useful expenditure great evils, inconvenience and delay; are you aware whether the Supreme Government of India has unlimited power, with regard to sanctioning or disallowing such expenditure?—I believe the powers of the Supreme Government, with respect to expenditure, have in some measure

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been circumscribed now; I think the Home Government has taken it in some measure into its hands; I believe I may say it has circumscribed the expenditure of the Supreme Government itself.

4697. Are you aware that the Governor-general in Council is restricted from incurring any expense exceeding 50,000 rupees without the previous sanction of the Home Authorities?—I have understood that that is the case now.

4698. Then it cannot be attributed, can it, to the Supreme Government, that those delays have arisen in obtaining sanction for the expenditure of many lacs of rupees in forming the proposed anicuts of the Godavery and the Kistna?—I did not mean to ascribe delay to the Supreme Government; I gave that as an instance of the mischief arising from its interference; the instance I cited, was that of a reference made by the Governor-general to a Bengal engineer after the subject had been fully canvassed by those who alone were competent to determine it; I am not aware that there are greater delays than there would be by a reference home.

4699. Do you suppose that the injury would be less, if instead of referring to an authority close at hand, you were to refer to an authority in England, whose proceedings are generally supposed to be not very speedy?—I contemplate the superior advantage that the Home Government would have in having those persons in it who are conversant with the localities, and competent to give a judgment upon the subject; in those qualifications the Supreme Council are always deficient.

4700. Is there any other branch of the Government which you consider to have been injuriously controlled by the Supreme Government, except the financial branch?—I think the character of the whole Government is exceedingly lowered in the eyes of the people by this interference; it weakens the Government; the Government feel that they have not free action, and are not allowed an independent opinion, and they are apt to cast a great deal of responsibility upon the Supreme Government which they ought to bear themselves.

4701. If the Governors of Madras and Bombay were relieved from this controlling authority of the Governor-general in India, would not they fall under a similar authority and control by some board or some body in England?—Not at all; they would do, and report what they had done.

4702. Then what control is there on the part of the Supreme Government which is injurious?—I gave an instance just now; sometimes they meddle with things which are quite out of their depth, and which they are incompetent to decide on; if the Madras Government had free action, they would, upon receiving the recommendation of the Board of Works, as to any particular work, have ordered the work to be done, and have reported to the Court of Directors that it had done so, or if it were of great magnitude they might have asked the permission of the Court of Directors.

4703. You are of opinion that the controlling authority of the Supreme Government should be limited to military and political affairs?—Yes, that is my decided opinion, as it was before. I would restore the state of things which existed previously to the legislation of 1833.

4704. The Supreme Government would have had no authority whatever to interfere in any matters of a judicial, or of a revenue or financial nature, in the subordinate Government?—That would be the rule; the exception would be if they saw anything radically wrong. With respect to judicial establishments, and revenue establishments, Lord Wellesley ordered what was called the permanent settlement to be introduced into Madras; he ordered a judicial system to be introduced into Madras. Lord William Bentinck went round and remonstrated with Lord Wellesley, and got the order cancelled; he always had the power, but it was reserved for great occasions.

4705. Are you aware whether the territories of Madras now produce a revenue equal to their expenditure?—Yes, and a surplus.

4706. Are you aware whether in the present day the territories of Bombay produce a revenue equal to their expenditure?—I think not; I think the revenue deficient, but there are many extra expenses thrown upon Bombay which belong to the general expenditure of the country.

4707. Would you consider that the expenditure in a territory like Bombay, which has probably drawn for many years a sum not much inferior to a crore of rupees from the resources of the Supreme Government, should be left uncontrolled

trolled from without, where its revenue is so incompetent to meet its expenses?—I think a great deal of the expenditure of Bombay belongs to Imperial purposes; it is not properly charged to Bombay.

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4708. Admitting that the Indian navy might be deducted, still the territorial resources of Bombay are not equal to the expenses of the administration?—I should think to the proper expenses of the administration they are adequate; a great deal of the army of Bombay is kept up for Imperial purposes; Bombay supplies Aden, the ports in the Red Sea, and supplies Scinde.

4709. Mr. V. Smith.] Is it your opinion, as regards the administration of the three Presidencies, that the state of things which existed previously to the Act of 1833, should be restored as it then stood, without any modification?—That is my opinion. That state of things was disturbed in opposition to the opinions of men whom I consider to be the highest authorities; Sir Thomas Munro, Mr. Elphinstone and Sir Richard Jenkins, they all deprecated it; indeed, Mr. Elphinstone said, that the interference of the Supreme Government in the old regime was greater than was wholesome.

4710. You consider that the system which existed before 1833 was perfect?—Yes, I think so.

4711. Sir C. Wood.] Are you not aware that when the measure was introduced, the importance of having greater control was stated as one of the grounds on which that measure was framed?—It was; but that was very much questioned.

4712. Mr. Hardinge.] Would you recommend that there should be three members added to the Council from the three Presidencies?—I think it is indispensable, if the present regime is continued, that there should be members from the Bombay and Madras Councils in the Supreme Government. It is impossible for the Government to carry on the affairs of those Presidencies without having the assistance of those who are competent to give them advice.

4713. Would not that obviate the inconvenience you refer to?—No; the derogation from the position and the powers of the subordinate Governments would remain as it is now; they would not have the same free action, nor the same independent authority, nor the same respect in the eyes of the people.

4714. Chairman.] In a pamphlet you have published upon the question which is now under the consideration of the Committee, one of the improvements which you suggest is to cut off all useless correspondence between England and India. Will you shortly explain to the Committee what your idea upon that subject is?—I think, under the present system, there is an attempt made to govern India in detail, which I conceive to be very mischievous indeed; in my judgment it diverts the attention of the Home Government from its most important function, that is, keeping its eye constantly fixed upon the actions of the Supreme Government and the Governments in India, to see that they steadily follow out principles of policy and principles of administration which have been laid down, and in that way correcting the great evils arising from the fluctuating state of our administration. The whole of the Indian administration at this moment is in a state of fluctuation; we have a Governor-general, a Supreme Council, and local Governors in Council, changing every five years. We have an annual change at the India House of the chairman, deputy chairman, and a certain portion of the Court of Directors. We have a change at the Board of Control as often as the Ministry changes, so that what is the majority to-day is the minority to-morrow, and the policy of to-day is not the policy of to-morrow. In that respect we do not steadily pursue principles which have been laid down, either for policy or for administration. As a striking instance of this I may state that up to the year 1848 we acknowledged the inherent right of all the Sovereigns of India to adopt their successors, and that we were bound to acknowledge the successors so adopted. Indeed we went the length of inviting them to name their successors during their lifetime. In 1848 we turned round and denied that they had any such right at all; that was a question of the very highest importance affecting the dearest rights of the natives, and calculated very much to alienate their affections from our rule; that is one instance. Another was affecting the internal administration. As long ago as the year 1827, Sir Thomas Munro ordered the assessment upon the lands of Tanjore to be fixed, and the work was begun during his Government. It was dropped for some years, and taken up again, and a little more progress made under another Government; but up to this moment that task has never been accomplished,

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entirely owing to the fluctuations in the administration and the want of that correcting power which the Home Government ought to exercise, by seeing that principles once laid down are followed out.

4715. Are you to be understood that the effect of diminishing that useless correspondence would be to give more independent power to the Supreme Government in India?—No; my idea is, that you might get rid of that useless correspondence if the Home Government retained the check-string always in its hands, so as to pull up the Government in India when it was wrong, but did not enter into the minute details of subjects which were of themselves of no importance.

4716. You have suggested the propriety of simplifying the machinery of the Government abroad; will you explain what you mean by that?—I alluded to restoring the original state of things between the Supreme and the subordinate Governments. I should go still further. At Madras we have a complicated machinery. We have subordinate Boards. We have the Board of Revenue, which I consider in the present state of things a very useless establishment. The Madras Government has nothing to do but to attend to the affairs of its own internal administration, and the principal of those affairs is the management of the revenue. I think it very mischievous that its own immediate control of the revenue is withdrawn, and lodged in the hands of an intermediate Board.

4717. You have suggested the propriety of giving to the Bengal Presidency a distinct Governor, leaving the general control of the whole of the empire to the Governor-general with a Council properly constituted. In your previous evidence the Committee understood you to suggest that the Governor-general in Council should be at the same time Governor of Bengal?—I should prefer that now. I had supposed that the regime established in 1833 would be continued, and in that case I think the Bengal provinces ought to have a separate Government.

4718. With reference to that section of the Act of 1833 which renders the natives of India eligible to all offices, to what extent would you think it desirable under present circumstances to carry that section of the Act into operation?—I would adopt the principle laid down by Sir Thomas Munro and Mr. Elphinstone, that they should fill all offices for which they might prove themselves qualified. I would allow them to prove their qualifications as they went on, beginning with the subordinate offices, and not withholding from them any office in the civil department which they might prove themselves to be qualified for.

4719. I observe you suggest, that in order to carry that into effect, no civil appointment should be made in England after a certain period?—Certainly you must cut off the source of supply from England; by no other means can you bring forward the natives, unless you stop the supply of civilians from this country. You cannot maintain two separate establishments, a native civil establishment and a European civil establishment. The only way in which natives can be brought forward is by allowing them to fill the offices now occupied by Europeans.

4720. You think that everything is now ripe, both as respects the capacity of the natives, and the connexion between the two countries, for the adoption of that system?—I have a very decided opinion that it is so myself; but opinions of much greater weight than mine, namely, those of Sir Thomas Munro and Mr. Elphinstone, were given to that effect 25 years ago.

4721. Where would you vest the original appointment?—With the local Government.

4722. Instead of with the Court of Directors?—Yes; just as the Governor-general in Council appoints covenanted servants, I would have him appoint natives.

4723. Since the Act of 1833, have any natives received first appointments or writerships from the Court of Directors?—None at all, I think. I have a faint recollection that there was some discussion between the Court of Directors and Sir John Hobhouse, who wanted to appoint the son of Ram Mohun Roy; but that was objected to, on the ground that it would have been illegal, as all those appointed from the covenanted service must pass through Haileybury College.

4724. Could not he have passed through Haileybury College?—I am not sure what the objection was, but it seemed to be a strange thing that a native should go to Haileybury College. Some objection was made, and the idea was dropped in consequence.

4725. Y ou.

4725. You are not sufficiently aware of the facts to state what the objection was to his entering Haileybury College?—I have only a faint recollection that that objection was started.

4726. From your knowledge of Haileybury, can you say whether there would have been any objection to his entrance or not?—I cannot say.

4727. Do you suppose that that provision in the Act of Parliament in reference to the eligibility of natives, was meant to apply to appointments to writerships as well as to other appointments?—I am not quite sure about that. Haileybury is a collegiate establishment, and there is an attendance at chapel required. I do not know whether they must be members of the Established Church.

4728. In point of fact, no writership has been given to a native?—No.

4729. Mr. *Elliot*.] Was it the opinion of Sir Thomas Munro and Mr. Elphinstone that writers ought to be appointed from the native community?—No; I do not think they contemplated any separate service at all; their broad principle was, that natives should be admitted to all offices then established for which they might prove themselves qualified.

4730. They did not intend to supersede the civil service entirely, did they?—Except by degrees. It would have been by degrees a supercession of it.

4731. I understood you to say, that it would be necessary to stop the supply from this country in order to enable appointments to be filled up by natives in India; was any such suggestion ever made by Sir Thomas Munro?—There was that broad principle laid down which involved it. If you admit natives to all offices for which they are qualified, it follows that there would be no further supply necessary from Europe.

4732. *Chairman*.] You would allow a free competition between natives and Europeans in India?—Quite so.

4733. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] You would discontinue the supply from England entirely?—I would say that, after a given time, no more writers should be sent to India.

4734. And you would leave the selection free to the Indian Government, whether of Europeans, or natives, or half castes?—Entirely. I have no doubt but that eventually the natives would beat both the half castes and the Europeans.

4735. Mr. *Elliot*.] What opportunity would the Government have of selecting Europeans if none were sent out from England?—In the Madras territory there are no Europeans employed in the internal administration, except such as are in the service.

4736. The result of your scheme would be to lodge the whole of the appointments in the natives?—All the civil appointments it would gradually place in the hands of the natives; that was Sir Thomas Munro's and Mr. Elphinstone's proposal.

4737. Mr. *Mangles*.] You spoke with great and just admiration of the class of men who have been raised up for the local government of India. How would such a class of men be raised up in future for the government of the subordinate Presidencies by your plan; do you contemplate seeing a native of India Governor of Madras?—No.

4738. How then is that class of men to be raised up?—I do not mean to say that the natives are ever to have possession of the government, but I think that in half a century they will work their way to almost every office under the government; Sir Thomas Munro and Mr. Elphinstone would have been great men anywhere. It was not because they were in India that they became great.

4739. Supposing you stopped the admission of Europeans into the civil service, how would you obtain the class of men to which Mr. Elphinstone belongs?—You would still have the whole military establishment to choose from. Sir Thomas Munro and Sir John Malcolm were both military men. You will find men among Europeans qualified for the government in that way. I do not mean to say that I would shut out Europeans from a superintending administration over the natives; my idea is, that a mixed administration is much better than a purely native administration; but I would entrust all the provincial offices to the natives, and I would have the superintending administration over them composed of Europeans and natives.

4740. How would the Europeans be qualified to exercise the superintending power

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power if they had never exercised the subordinate power?—You would have the whole of the military service to choose from for the civil administration.

4741. According to your plan, the whole of the subordinate administration would be placed in the hands of the natives, therefore those military officers whom you would select as superintendents would never have been in the subordinate situations?—They would be subordinate to the provincial administration. If you had a superintending administration composed of natives and Europeans they would have European assistance.

4742. How would the European Members of the Board of Superintendence be trained, so to fit them for their duties, inasmuch as there would be none of them employed in the subordinate offices?—You are supposing the whole of the civil administration to be transferred to the natives at once. I am only expressing a strong opinion, that that is a principle which should be kept in view, and gradually be carried into effect.

4743. Mr. V. Smith.] When the whole of the appointments were transferred to the natives, the opportunity which a civil servant now has of becoming acquainted with the country, and thereby qualified for office, would be gone?—You would still have the whole of the military service to choose from, and you might and would select military men to fill the civil offices, which would give them a full insight into all the affairs of the country.

4744. As far as the civil service is concerned, you will no longer be able to select Europeans for office who had a general knowledge of Indian affairs?—What I meant was, that in order to carry out the principle it would be necessary to stop the supply of writers for a time. I would qualify my former answer in that way.

4745. Mr. Mangles.] In what way would those superintending military men, not having passed through the subordinate offices, become qualified for such superintendence?—You are supposing that the whole of the provisional administration is to be placed immediately in the hands of the natives; I only contemplate it as a very distant event. I only meant to say, that I would adopt the principle laid down by Sir Thomas Munro and Mr. Elphinstone; I would carry it out gradually. I have never contemplated having a purely native administration.

4746. Mr. Elliot.] As you are going to retain to some extent European administration, what advantage would you gain by substituting military men for civil servants?—You send out military men now who must do duty with their regiments.

4747. I understand you to say, that you would stop the supply of writers?—For the present.

4748. Having done that, you must employ military men in civil capacities?—Certainly; as is already the case.

4749. What advantage would the Government derive from employing those military men instead of civil servants, who have undergone a thorough training for the various positions in which they are to be placed?—You send out civilians, and they must be provided for in the civil administration; you send out also military men; they are with their regiments, and when their service can be dispensed with there, then I say they may be put into civil situations. I am contemplating having only one service: a plan which was suggested in 1833.

4750. What advantage would the State gain beyond some saving of expense, from having military men put in to do the duties now performed by civil servants, who are regularly trained to those duties?—Both civil and military servants are now sent out; then only military servants would be sent out. The cadets would do duty with their regiments, but when their services were required in the civil department they would be made use of.

4751. What advantage would the State gain from doing away with one class of officers and substituting another set of persons out of another department of the service, who had not had the training that the civil servants now have?—Supposing half a dozen vacancies to occur to-morrow in the provincial offices in the Madras territory, and all those places to be filled up by six natives; if you sent out civilians, whose prospects depended upon those civil situations which the natives occupied, those six civilians must be on the *pavé*; there would be no opening for them. If you sent out six military men, they must go to their regiments and do duty there.

4752. They

4752. They could not obtain the training which the civil service would have had?—Perhaps not, though they might have the same training.

4753. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Do you contemplate that in the course of 40 or 50 years, whenever this plan should come to maturity, the highest offices, such as seats in the Council, the presidentships of the Revenue Boards, the offices of judges in the Sudder Dewanny, and other high appointments, should be held either by military men or by natives?—I would have a joint administration of Europeans and natives.

4754. Do you consider that military officers without any training would make very good chief justices?—They are all heaven-born judges in India; I do not know that they would not do as well as civilians.

4755. Would it tend to maintain the connexion between England and India that all the chief offices should be held by natives, and that Europeans resident there should be subject to native judges, native collectors, native members of Council, and natives presiding over every branch of the administration?—I do not consider what would be good for Europeans; I am only considering what would be good for India generally.

4756. Would such a system work well for the promotion of the connexion between England and India?—I think it would have a most wholesome operation; I think it would bind the two countries much closer together than is the case now.

4757. Under your system things would come at last to a point in which there would be nobody but the Governor of Madras left who would have any authority except natives; do you imagine that he could carry on the government efficiently with no other men in authority but natives?—I did not mean to give any such extreme opinion; I qualified my opinion by saying that I contemplated that the natives should eventually have all the provincial offices, leaving the superintending offices in the hands of Europeans, or Europeans mixed with natives.

4758. Those Europeans would be entirely military men?—I do not contemplate any separate service for them; that was a question which was very much debated when the Charter was under discussion in 1833, that there should be only one service, and that the members of it should be selected for military or civil employment, as the Government might think proper.

4759. It is your opinion that such a system would tend to the permanent connexion of India and England?—I am most decidedly of that opinion.

4760. *Chairman*.] You do not anticipate the appointment of natives to commands in the army?—No.

4761. The army appointments should be given to Europeans, and the civil appointments to natives?—Yes.

4762. Mr. *Mangles*.] You speak with great confidence of the authority of Sir Thomas Munro; are you aware that he said upon one occasion, that of all the principal native servants whom he had employed, amounting to nearly 100, only two or three, or four, had been found eventually not to have committed some acts of peculation and dishonesty?—I have a perfect recollection of it; it was long after that, just a few months before he died, that he recorded a minute, which will be found in his life, in which he said his decided opinion was that the natives should be employed in every branch of the civil administration, and hold every civil office for which they were qualified; I am perfectly aware of the corruption which he found among the native servants, but he assigns as the reason their inadequate pay.

4763. Do you think with adequate pay, the moral condition of the native population is such, that they may be trusted to the same extent as the civil and military officers of the Company are now trusted?—That was the way European integrity was purchased in India, by giving them high salaries.

4764. Do you think that the natives are now in a state of moral fitness to be so implicitly trusted?—I am sorry to say that I do not think they are so fit as they used to be; I think our administration has had a very deteriorating effect upon them.

4765. Do not you think that a considerable part of the time of the Government would be taken up in watching the conduct of officers at a distance from them?—I should judge from their conduct in the offices with which they have been intrusted, that there is no such ground for apprehension; they do now 97 per

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cent. of the whole judicial business of the country, and they do it with perfect integrity and with perfect satisfaction to the people and to the Government.

4766. Are not their decisions subject to appeal to courts presided over by European judges?—That I believe to be a most mistaken opinion; they have just the same jurisdiction in their subordinate courts that a judge of a county court here has; up to a certain amount, they have primary and final jurisdiction, and they have jurisdiction in appeal also. Beyond a certain amount, their decisions are appealable; but the first native judge appointed by Sir Thomas Munro, was appointed upon the express ground that he should go to a distant part of the country where, from the unhealthiness of the climate, no European could live.

4767. Do you think the natives of India are now in such a state, that they could be trusted, without the power of appeal to a European judge, with the whole judicial business of the country?—I do not immediately contemplate such a system; but as far as they have been entrusted with offices they have discharged their duties with the utmost integrity, and they have received the highest approbation from the Government which has employed them; I would go on gradually in trying them for higher offices.

4768. *Mr. V. Smith.*] When you say that European integrity in India was purchased by high salaries, do you put the integrity of the two nations upon a level in other respects?—I am only recurring to the facts. You will see, in Lord Cornwallis's Minute, that it was upon the ground of the want of integrity in the European administration that he raised their salaries, so as to make them proof against corruption.

4769. From the effect produced thereby, you argue that a similar act would produce a similar effect upon the natives?—I think so; it has done so as far as they have been tried.

4770. *Mr. Mangles.*] Is that all which is necessary to produce moral fitness in the natives?—No, I should be sorry to say that; I do not suppose, however, that anything so immoral has been done by the natives as has been done by Europeans in the case of the Calcutta Union Bank.

4771. *Mr. Cobden.*] You allude to the deteriorating effect of our administration upon the character of the natives; in what way has that effect been produced?—By debarring them from all offices of trust and emolument, making them have a bad opinion of themselves, showing that we do not trust them; not giving them a fair field for the exercise of their faculties, and confining them to subordinate offices, with very insufficient pay.

4772. I understood you to say, that you considered that the highest administrative offices might be filled by natives, if you paid them adequately?—I am only repeating principles which had been laid down by Sir Thomas Munro and Mr. Elphinstone, that there is no situation for which a native should prove himself qualified, which he should be debarred from. Mr. Elphinstone said he should be glad to see a native a member of one of the Boards. When the subject of India was under discussion, Mr. Grant was questioned whether it was his intention that a native should occupy a post in the Supreme Council; he said there was nothing to debar him from it.

4773. There is no law to debar a native from any office of trust; should you consider that a native would be qualified for a legislative office, such as that of a Member of Council?—I believe there are many so qualified; I see an opinion of that kind given by Sir Herbert Maddock.

4774. You would draw no distinction between administrative and legislative functions, but you would consider the natives to be by talent and morality eligible for either if their pay were sufficient?—As far as my experience has gone, they have been perfectly faithful in the extensive judicial offices in which they have been employed up to the point of their employment.

4775. Do you think if it were known that the office of a superior judge with 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* a year was as open to natives as to Englishmen, it would be long before you would find natives of talent and morality equal to the office?—I have no doubt it would not; but I do not contemplate paying them equally with Europeans, by any means; if a European judge gets 4,000*l.*, 1,000*l.*, I think, would be sufficient for a native.

4776. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Are you aware what is the amount of salary which is drawn by native officers in high posts in the native states of India?—

When

When I was attached to a native state, the Dewan got 3,500 rupees a month, and he got a very large commission upon the revenue.

4777. That being the case, and much higher salaries than that which you have mentioned being allowed to officers in the native states, have you ever heard, or do you believe, that those officers are honest, and do not make large fortunes over and above their salaries?—They have a great many emoluments allowed them in the native states which we should consider illicit; things that we should consider illicit they consider legal emoluments; but it is not only the salaries they get, but the opportunities they have of employing a great many of their friends and relations.

4778. The fact is, is not it, that they do amass large fortunes?—At this moment I cannot call to my recollection any instance of a man, during the time I was attached to the Resident at Mysore, who was supposed to have made a large fortune by improper means.

4779. *Mr. Mangles.*] Do not they receive nuzzers?—They do.

4780. What is a nuzzer?—A nuzzer is a present.

4781. Is a nuzzer a bribe?—No, it is a present for an office; it was a common practice in this country some centuries ago for a man to pay a premium for his office.

4782. Is not it supposed that the fortunes which are amassed by those high officers in the native states are derived principally from those nuzzers, or other illicit gains which they may be allowed to make?—I think, in a corrupt native state, all the officers from first to last are employed in cheating the Government.

4783. Upon what ground do you found your inference that if the natives in the British territories received equally high salaries, they would necessarily be as honest as Englishmen?—Where natives have been paid well, they have been faithful, just as Europeans have.

4784. To what instances do you allude of any natives having been raised to those high offices?—At this moment all the principal judicial officers, the principal Sudder Amins, are such instances.

4785. Is it your opinion that the salary given to those officers is already sufficient?—For the offices which they hold it is a sufficient salary; the principal Sudder Amin has a very handsome salary for the office he holds.

4786. Were the principal Sudder Amins introduced before you left India?—Yes, they were.

4787. In your opinion, is the administration of justice in their hands as pure as it is in the hands of Englishmen?—I have not heard of a single principal Sudder Amin having been called in question for his administration of justice.

4788. *Chairman.*] To revert to an answer given by you some time back, in which you stated that you did not anticipate the probability of appointing natives to higher situations in the army in India than they hold now, would not there be a practical inconvenience in the Government of India by England if, while the natives could be promoted to the highest civil appointments, they saw there was no confidence placed in them in the command of their own fellow-countrymen as soldiers?—That is, supposing a complete separation of interest between the military and the civil classes of natives; but I think they are quite identified. I think all the native officers would rejoice to see their fellow-countrymen elevated in civil situations, and they would quite understand why they could not be elevated to similar posts in the army.

4789. Why would they consider that they should not be so?—They would think, under the present constitution of the army, in which many European troops are employed, that much mischief and inconvenience might arise if they were elevated in the army, as their fellow-countrymen might be in the civil departments.

4790. Would not they consider themselves then as a lower grade of men?—I should think they would all be gratified to see their fellow-countrymen elevated. With respect to the employment of natives in the army, I should be very glad to see them employed in the command of a regiment of veterans, or in the command of hill forts, and other offices which were opened to them by Sir John Malcolm, but were afterwards disallowed.

4791. Would you appoint natives as cadets?—I should not contemplate the continuation of cadets as a separate service; I would confine the elevation of natives in the military department to the command of hill forts or to the command of veteran battalions, or give them another grade in their own regiments, or increase their pay. I have no apprehension whatever that they

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would look with jealousy upon the elevation of their fellow-countrymen to high civil situations.

4792. I observe in the publication to which I have already alluded, you recommend amalgamating the supreme and local courts of justice at the three Presidencies, and reducing the number of the judges; to what extent, and how would you reduce the number of the judges?—I know at Madras that there is a very great waste of judicial power. There are three judges of the *Sudder Adawlut*, and two judges of the Supreme Court. I am quite satisfied that there is not business enough for three judges; I think you might amalgamate them with great effect, and make one court with three judges, but the desirability of that might be easily ascertained by the amount of business which is done there.

4793. Could the reduction in the number of judges be carried to a considerable extent in all the Presidencies?—I think in Madras it could; I do not venture to give any opinion with respect to Bengal and Bombay.

4794. Do you recommend that the native princes and chiefs of India should have the right of defending themselves before a tribunal to be established for the purpose against any attack or aggression which might be made upon them by the English Government?—In my judgment that is a point of the highest importance. In our own territories there is no wrong without a remedy; every peasant may prosecute the Government in its own courts, and frequently does prosecute them, and with effect. The Government there is a regulated Government, but the moment the Governor-general steps beyond the boundary of our own territory his powers are perfectly autocratic; he may seize the person or property of any native chief, or any native subject, and that man is absolutely without redress in India; no tribunal can take cognisance of his complaint; therefore I hold it to be a matter of the highest importance that some tribunal should be constituted here, either the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or some other body before which a man could come and substantiate his rights against the British Government in India.

4795. Would you recommend that the tribunal should be established in England?—Yes; I do not think it could be established in India without derogating from the authority of the Governor-general, which would be exceedingly objectionable. Where no redress is provided by our own courts in India some tribunal should be constituted in this country, before which a native could come and insist upon his cause being heard and tried upon its merits.

4796. That tribunal would take cognisance not of every cause between individuals and the Government in India, but between native princes and the Government?—Between native princes and our own Government.

4797. You recommend likewise that this country should restore any territory which it may have taken from our allies by virtue merely of our power, as well as any territories which may be more profitable to us in their hands than in our own?—I think it would be both wise and right to do so.

4798. Should not we have a great deal to return?—I believe, if a strict investigation were made, we should not find that we had got one single rupee by any of the territories we have taken in lieu of the subsidies which were paid us before the territories became our own; I do not think, in a single instance, we have profited by taking a territory, where the native prince before was under an engagement to pay us a subsidy; we do not derive as much profit from such a territory under our own management as we derived from the subsidy paid by the native prince.

4799. *Sir C. Wood.*] Does not that answer assume that the subsidies were actually paid before we took possession of the territory?—They were always punctually paid.

4800. *Mr. Cobden.*] Might not we go much further, and say that much of the territory we have acquired has not been profitable?—I may instance the territory of Scinde, and of Sattara at this moment, and I believe I may instance the Punjab too; it is very questionable whether it pays its expenses.

4801. *Chairman.*] Are not there two questions, one involving what may be called financial profit, and another what may be called political necessity, in the acquisition of territory?—I think they are strictly combined; I may instance Lord Clive's dealings with the Nabob of Oude; having honourably conquered Oude, he weighed all the consequences of taking the territory, and of restoring it, and he restored it as politically and financially, a better arrangement for us than taking the territory at all.

4802. *Mr.*

4802. Mr. V. Smith.] As regards the opinions of the inhabitants of those territories, what should you say?—That is a question for the people themselves to decide; if you put it to them I have no doubt which way their vote would go.

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4803. Would they prefer being under the native princes?—I have no doubt of it; if you put it to the vote, that would be the result.

4804. Sir G. Grey.] Do you mean that the condition of the people has in your opinion been deteriorated by the transfer of the territory from the native princes to the British Government?—In some respects it has been deteriorated; in their own country, all offices of trust and emolument are open to them; the moment we get possession of a territory, we shut them out from those offices, therefore their prospects are blasted.

4805. How has their physical condition been affected?—In many respects I think it is worse in our territory than under the native governments; in others it is better.

4806. You think both as a matter of revenue, and on the ground of political considerations, and as involving the physical and moral condition of the people, that it is desirable that the British Government should restore to the native princes all those territories which have been taken by the means to which you advert?—I have no hesitation in giving my opinion to that effect.

4807. If that were carried into effect, what would be the limits of British India?—I would not undertake to answer that question off-hand. There was an able paper published when this question was under discussion in 1833, by General Walker, on the subject, and he indicated that he thought that would be the desirable limit; but things have much altered since that time.

4808. Are you able to give the Committee an idea of the limits of British India, supposing your recommendation were carried into effect so far as it now practically could be?—I should restore our late conquests, Scinde and Sattara; I should apportion all the territory we have taken from the Punjaub to its ancient owners, before Runjeet Sing conquered it.

4809. Chairman.] What other territories would you restore?—I would restore Mysore and Coorg.

4810. Mr. Elliot.] And the Mahratta territories?—I do not know as to the Mahratta territories; I am only re-echoing opinions given 20 or 30 years ago.

4811. Sir G. Grey.] Is the Committee to understand that you adopt those opinions?—I do, most fully.

4812. You do not merely re-echo them as the opinions of men in whom you place confidence, but, judging from your own experience and knowledge of India, you are prepared to adopt those opinions, and to recommend that they should be carried out?—Most undoubtedly; if I had the destination of India in my command, I should, without the least hesitation, give up every particle of territory which was not essential for our military defence, or financially profitable.

4813. Mr. Mangles.] You spoke of there being within our own territories a regular administration of justice, under which the ryot might, and offenders, sue the Government and obtain redress; do you believe that state of things exists in any native territory?—No; not as between sovereign and subject.

4814. Did such a state of things ever exist?—No, except by accident. In the native states, the natives were liable to the caprices of despotism; there was no protection, as there is none in Russia, or Austria, or any other despotic country, for the subject against his sovereign; that is the case in the great majority of countries in the world, I am sorry to say.

4815. You think it would be for the benefit of the people to be transferred from the British Government to their former Government, such as you have described it to be in regard to despotism?—Those are exceptional cases. Despots are not always cutting off the heads of their subjects; on the contrary, there is a great deal of paternal despotism. But there is another side of the subject. Justice, for the most part, is administered as between man and man; and I believe justice is better administered between man and man in the native states than in our own states. I may refer to Lord Hastings' description of our administration of justice when he was Governor-general. I do not think you can tell such a story of any other Government in India, either now or formerly. I may give the Committee another instance. In the Madras territories, in the year 1838, the magistrate of Bellary, a district touching upon the Nizam's territory, sent down representations from the people, who had come to him in great numbers to complain, that if the Government did not free them from the injustice

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injustice and injuries to which they were subject under our own judicial system, they would all be obliged to emigrate to the Nizam's territory. The consequence was, that circular letters were sent to all the judges, to know whether that was the feeling in their districts; and I believe, with one single exception, the opinion of all the judges was, that all the people complained, and complained loudly, of the effects of our judicial system upon their happiness and property.

4816. Did not they get redress?—No; it was impossible to give redress. Similar complaints exist at this moment.

4817. Mr. V. Smith.] In what year was that?—In the year 1838.

4818. Did any of the people go in consequence of their failure in obtaining justice?—Some of them did.

4819. Did a large proportion go?—I do not remember the number. The papers are all on record.

4820. Mr. Mangles.] Are you acquainted with the nature of the collection of the revenue in the native states?—Yes, I am.

4821. I was once travelling through Oude, and I heard cannonading going on eight or nine consecutive days in collecting the revenue; is that the process which now obtains in the native states?—No, I do not believe so; it obtains in Oude, and it is the consequence of our administration in Oude. I do not consider Oude a native state; it is a sort of hybrid Government; the Resident is the mainspring of the Government there.

4822. Does not it obtain in Hydrabad?—I fancy not.

4823. Are not the villages fortified in Hydrabad?—I dare say they are; many robberies go on there.

4824. For what purpose do you suppose the people fortify their villages?—They were constantly liable to irruptions from the Mahrattas and to continual wars; till the British Government obtained the ascendancy in India there were constant convulsions and rebellions.

4825. Are there any fortified villages in our territories?—No, only the remnants of them; we hold India by so strong a grasp that we have put down all such invasions and irruptions. A fact came to my knowledge the other day as to the Nizam's territories, which proves that things cannot be so bad in them as is generally supposed; I was reading a report by one of the Madras collectors, in which he said that the ryots of his district, that is the district of Bellary, had come and claimed a remission of revenue, upon the ground that formerly they had found a ready market for all their rice produce in the Nizam's territory; and now the cultivation of rice had increased so considerably in the Nizam's territory that the market there was wanting for them, and, therefore, upon that ground they claimed a remission. You are aware that in the Carnatic the increase of the rice cultivation involves a considerable expenditure upon works of irrigation, therefore from that fact I infer that things are not so bad in the Nizam's territory as they are supposed to be.

4826. Are you aware of the exact meaning of the Hindostanee term "tehsil"?—Yes.

4827. Are you aware that in many districts of India, with relation to the native governments, that word has been corrupted from its original meaning, and signifies oppression and violence and fraud?—No, I have no knowledge of that; I have only to say that while I was in Mysore the administration of Porneah called forth the warmest eulogium of the Duke of Wellington.

4828. Are not those exceptions?—No, I think not; in Tippoo's time the country was found in the highest state of cultivation, when we should suppose there would be every abuse prevailing; that is recorded by the historians at that time as surprising everybody.

4829. You think that Tippoo's government was more favourable to the people than the British Government?—He was a despot, no doubt, and was guilty of all the caprices of despotism; but still the country was in good order, the people were substantial, and they were satisfied.

4830. Were the Hindoos satisfied whom he converted by force?—I was only speaking of the general mass of the population.

4831. Was not a great part of the population Hindoo?—The great mass of the population were satisfied, because they remained in the country, and did not emigrate to our territory.

4832. Mr. V. Smith.] Is not freedom from military invasion, which enables them to dismantle the fortifications of their villages, an advantage gained by our

our rule?—An incalculable advantage. We put a stop to all those convulsions which distracted India, which caused bloodshed and violence, and everything that was bad.

4833. Mr. *Mangles*.] What is the meaning of the word "wulsa"?—The emigration of all the population when a native army comes among them.

4834. Is not it a strong proof of a very miserable state of society when by one word they describe that which in any other language cannot be described except by a long periphrasis?—Yes; it was principally in reference to the Mahratta invasions; the word was used upon the approach of a Mahratta army.

4835. Do you think it would be much to the benefit of the people to restore such states to the native rule?—I would leave the people to judge of that for themselves.

4836. How would you poll them?—Very easily; it would be very easy to take the public opinion in India from the village organisations which exist.

4837. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Do you think if such a state of things were restored as you seem to contemplate there would be any power to prevent the rising up of such a body of marauders as the Pindarees, who were a class put down in the year 1828?—I do not contemplate but that we should have the most complete military command of the whole country just as we have now.

4838. After we had restored all the dynasties we have subverted?—Yes; we should take complete possession of every military post.

4839. In what way would those dynasties be restored?—The native princes would be restored to their territorial administration, but we should have complete military control over the country.

4840. I understood you to say that the anarchy prevailing in Oude was attributable to the influence of the Resident at Lucknow; on what grounds do you state that?—By the treaty we are bound to support the Nabob in all his exactions and misgovernment.

4841. Do we take any measures to support him in those exactions?—I believe almost invariably whenever he calls upon us for the use of troops we give them to him.

4842. You are not aware that we never upon any occasion give him the use of our troops in those operations which have been alluded to as a means of collecting the revenue?—I have always heard it stated as a matter of general complaint that the treaties bound us to support him.

4843. If you are informed that precisely the contrary is the case in practice, and that not a single British soldier is employed on such services, would you still be of opinion that the anarchy in Oude is owing to the influence of the Resident?—If there is misgovernment in Oude, and we were to withdraw our influence, the people would right themselves, but our presence prevents that.

4844. Mr. *Mangles*.] Has there ever been an instance in the whole history of India, of people who did right themselves in that way, establishing a better government?—It depends upon what you call a better government; the people themselves are the best judges of that. I have seen no government equal to that of Mysore under Porneah.

4845. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Are you aware, in any parts of India with which you are personally acquainted, of British territories bordering upon native territories where migration takes place more from the native territories to the British, than from the British territories to the native?—In the Madras territories the migration is to the native states.

4846. To which native states?—To Mysore and Hyderabad.

4847. Do you consider Mysore a native state, controlled as it is by the British Government?—I speak of the time when it was not under the British Government. I do not know what has been the case since. I had occasion to make particular inquiry on this subject. I was accused of having induced the people of Mysore to come into my district, by giving them a low assessment. On the contrary, I found that people had gone out of my country into Mysore, but none had come to me from Mysore.

4848. Sir *C. Wood*.] When was this?—It was about the year 1828.

4849. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Do you infer from that, that Mysore was better governed than the district under your government?—The people liked it better, for they did not come to me. I told the people, "Why do not you come here?" and the reply was, "We have one rope over our necks now, and if you come to us there will be two."

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4850. How came it that, you paying so much consideration to the feelings of the people and their opinions, they abandoned you to take refuge in a neighbouring kingdom?—I believe entirely from our police and judicial systems. I believe they kept out of the Company's territory in consequence.

4851. It was not attributable at all to the local management of the district?—I believe in the district I was in the assessment was very light, and the people were very well off. I do not say that there was nothing faulty in my administration; there may have been.

4852. *Sir C. Wood.*] If the assessment was light, and the people were well off, what were the particular points which rendered them discontented?—A general dislike to the judicial and police administration in our territories.

4853. Taking first the judicial system, in what respects is our judicial system so obnoxious to the people?—It is a system of forms of oaths, and attended with great expense, and involving an immense waste of time, which all bears with great oppression upon the people. We have a system of stamp duties; people write bonds, and get others to swear to them. It was those particular circumstances that were complained of in the Bellary district, when a representation was made to the Madras Government, that if their wrongs were not redressed, they would be obliged to go into the Nizam's territory.

4854. Is the habit of false swearing confined to our territories?—I speak of false swearing upon stamps; stamps are unknown in the native states.

4855. Does the false swearing depend upon the stamp?—A man gets a stamp and writes a bond, and gets two witnesses to swear to it; that is a legal document; if a man swears that he has signed the bond, it is a document upon which another can prosecute in court.

4856. *Mr. Mangles.*] In the native states, do not they put a bond upon complaint paper, and swear to it in the same way?—In the native states stamps were unknown, but in our territory no claim can be enforced that is not upon a stamp.

4857. *Mr. V. Smith.*] Were oaths unknown?—None but the most solemn oaths were sworn.

4858. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] Is not the mode of constructing the native mercantile bankers' books, that a great number of separate slips are tied together, thereby greatly facilitating the means of subtracting one, and putting in its place another sheet?—They are kept with the greatest carelessness, but I never recollect to have heard of any banker's book having been fabricated.

4859. Have you never known instances where one sheet was withdrawn and another substituted?—I have not known any such instance myself.

4860. Is that the way in which the books are kept, not bound up, but separate slips tied together?—They are kept in the loosest way.

4861. You stated that great hardship arose to the natives from the necessity of our interfering, under treaty, in aiding the Nizam's officers in the suppression of disturbance; are you under the impression that it is imperative upon the Resident to aid the Nizam, without any previous inquiry into the stipulation?—I only recollect the words of the treaty, that you are bound to comply with all requisitions from the Nizam to put down internal insurrection.

4862. Are you aware that, practically, the officer is actually prohibited from interfering until he has satisfied himself as to the necessity of interference, and stipulated as to the fate of the parties who are implicated by his interference?—I was not aware of the fact.

4863. Do not you think that if we are responsible for the consequences of such interference, the stipulations which I have suggested are fair and quite consistent with the spirit of the treaty?—They are very proper if it be considered that the treaty admits of them, but I have always understood that you were bound to interfere.

4864. *Mr. Cobden.*] You stated that if the sense of the natives could be taken, you believe the majority of them would be for reverting to the native rule; to what states do you apply that opinion?—I apply it particularly now to Sattarah and Scinde; I would apply it also to the Punjaub and to Mysore.

4865. Do you apply it to any of our older acquisitions?—The older acquisitions have become accustomed to our rule; none of the dynasties are alive now, I suppose, who could put in a claim to the territories; I have no doubt, if you asked those who are under Scindiah's rule, or under Holkar's rule, whether they would like to come under our rule, what would be their answer.

4866. Do you suppose that they have traditions among them which tell them that

that the economical condition of the population was better in former times under their native rulers than it is now?—I think, generally speaking, history tells us that it was; they have been in a state of the greatest prosperity from the earliest time, as far as history tells us.

4867. Do you think that there was a greater waste of life or treasure in the wars under the Moguls than there has been under our own rule?—I think pretty much the same.

4868. Take the last 60 years, and including the war in the Punjaub, and Scinde, and Afghanistan, do you suppose that at any period with which you are acquainted in the history of the Mogul rule in 60 years, there was as much life or wealth sacrificed in India in war as has been sacrificed during the last 60 years?—Yes; I should think there were more wars under the Mogul government in 60 years than there have been under our rule, and, of course, a greater sacrifice of wealth, notwithstanding we have it on the testimony of history that during the whole period of the Mogul government the country was in a state of the greatest prosperity; it was so when we took possession of it.

4869. How do you account for the superior economical state of the people, and for their ability to lay out the money which they did in canals and irrigation and tanks, if they were wasting more wealth, and sacrificing more lives, in wars, than we do now, especially seeing that the wars were carried on very much upon their own territories instead of being beyond their limits?—We have an expensive element which they were free from, which is the European element, civil and military, which swallow up so much of the revenue; from that cause our administration is so much more expensive; that, I think, is the great reason.

4870. Do you think it is attributable to the civil expenditure?—The expenditure altogether; wherever Europeans are employed the administration is more expensive under our Government than it was under the native government.

4871. You propose to elevate natives to those civil appointments, thereby saving three-fourths of the salaries now paid; do you intend to apply that rule to the army?—No, I do not think it can be done in the army; you cannot do without European soldiers and officers.

4872. If you do not apply it to the army, seeing that there are 6,000 or 7,000 Europeans employed as officers in the army, and only 1,000 English civilians employed, you would still leave the great element of cost untouched, would you not?—Yes, you would; but you would reduce it as far as you could.

4873. Then you come to the conclusion that we cannot have a Government carried on by a race 12,000 miles distant which would be as cheap and as good as the native government would be?—The less territory you have, the less establishment you would require of course; I should think you would derive a much larger revenue from that territory in the hands of its native owners, than you would in your own hands, because the administration would in every respect be more economical.

4874. We had better farm the territory under the native chiefs, you think?—I think so.

4875. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] On what grounds have you come to the conclusion that if the native inhabitants of Sattara and the Scinde Provinces were now offered the choice of remaining under British rule, or being restored to the native rule, they would prefer the latter?—If I were in their place I should desire it, and therefore I conclude they have the same opinions.

4876. You have no certain information of what their feelings are?—I have had communications with different natives, which lead me to suppose that it would be so, and I see it upon record by those who have still more acquaintance with the native states than I have, that that is the feeling among them; they are strongly attached to their native dynasties.

4877. Is not the dynasty of the Rajah of Sattara of our creation, in the year 1818?—I cannot admit that; Sattara was an ancient dynasty, which we restored.

4878. Sir *G. Grey*.] I understand you to recommend that the complete military occupation should be still retained by the British Government of all those provinces, and that the civil administration only should be left in the hands of the native rulers?—Undoubtedly that is my opinion.

4879. How would you provide for the payment of the troops occupied in garrisoning those provinces under the rule of the native princes?—I contemplate subsidies from all those native princes; if I restored any territory, I should get a subsidy.

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4880. Would the native population, if they were polled, also prefer a military occupation of the country by troops in the British pay, to being left to themselves?—I think they would; they would feel sure of being protected from internal convulsions, and of having greater safety than under the native princes. I would only occupy those points which were absolutely necessary for military defence.

4881. You think the natives would enjoy greater security from internal convulsion as well as from external aggression by the presence of British troops?—I think so.

4882. Do you think those subsidies would be regularly paid?—I have no doubt they would not only pay the subsidies, but a premium to get back their territory.

4883. It would be felt, you think, to be the interest of both princes and people that the military occupation of the country should remain in the hands of the British troops?—Yes.

4884. Do you think in the Punjaub they would prefer having military forces stationed among them to keep down internal convulsion, than to be left, as they were, to themselves?—Yes.

4885. *Sir C. Wood.*] Have the Nizam's subsidies been regularly paid?—They were, till we overwhelmed him with an enormous army, which is an unlawful charge thrown upon him.

4886. Are not the Nizam's territories in the same position in which you would put those of other native princes, being civilly administered by a native government, and protected by us on the payment of a subsidy?—No; wherever we have a Resident, he exercises supreme authority over the territory.

4887. *Mr. Mangtes.*] Under your system how would you contemplate acting in the case of a tyrannical native ruler; should our army maintain him in power?—No.

4888. *Sir C. Wood.*] What would be the ordinary communication between a native prince simply administering his territory and the military force of occupation belonging to us?—I do not mean to say that you would have a military force in each native state, unless it were necessary for the military defence of the empire.

4889. Then we should not have a military occupation of the territory?—No further than was necessary for the general defence of the empire.

4890. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] You would restore a great deal of territory to the native rulers upon principles of justice?—Yes.

4891. Because we have become possessed of them by violence, or other means, without any just right or title?—I would do so upon principles of justice and upon principles of financial economy.

4892. The leading principle for restoring those territories would be because we have no right to retain, and had no original right to take them?—Not only have we no right to retain them, but I do not think we are gainers by retaining them, but, on the contrary, we are losers.

4893. I gather that you are influenced rather by general principles of justice than by considerations of finance?—Yes.

4894. If they are restored to those chiefs, as an act of justice, because we had no right to take, and of course have no right to retain them, upon what principles of justice should you contend that we should have the right to exact from them tribute?—I take it that they would be very glad to get their country in exchange for tribute; if we have taken anything unjustly, we should restore it without requiring tribute; but half a measure of justice would be better than none at all.

4895. Your principle would require the restoration of all the territories to all the princes without any stipulation whatsoever as to tribute and subsidy?—I do not see that that follows; I would keep in my own hands all that was financially profitable, and all that was not I would give back to its native owners, upon an agreement that they should pay us a certain amount of tribute.

4896. In this redistribution of territory would you be influenced solely by financial considerations of what would be most beneficial to the ruling power, quite irrespective of the principles of justice?—Certainly not quite irrespective of the principles of justice. I would restore the territory of Sattara because we have unjustly taken it, and the territory of Scinde because we have unjustly taken it. I think we had no right to confiscate the Punjaub, and that it would be very politic to restore it.

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4897. To whom would you restore the territory of the Punjaub?—I would look out for its ancient owners; if I did not find them I should like to see it distributed among other native princes, so as to form a hedge of small native states between us and the Indus.

4898. Do not you think that an experiment similar to that which you suggest with regard to part of the Punjaub was made by Lord Hardinge after his first conquest?—I am not aware of it, except that he gave part of the territory to Gholab Sing.

4899. Did not he leave the territory in the possession of the native chief; did not he adopt means for the protection of that territory, exactly as you suggest, and was not the result a general rising of the people against the British Government?—Lord Hardinge, as Governor-general, was Regent of Lahore, and the guardian of the young Rajah of Lahore's person, and the whole of the administration was conducted by a board of officers, selected by Lord Hardinge. That rebellion was occasioned entirely, I believe, by the agents of this Board of Commissioners.

4900. What do you mean by the agents of the Board of Commissioners?—I mean officers employed by them.

4901. Do you mean European officers?—Yes.

4902. Mr. Cobden.] Do you mean by their exactions, or that they purposely provoked and stimulated the rebellion?—Not that they purposely provoked it, but they injudiciously provoked it; I am alluding to Captain Abbott, who surrounded an officer, named Chutter Sing; that was the origin of the rebellion. I have already expressed this opinion in a pamphlet which I wrote upon the subject.

4903. Do you mean that the rebellion was provoked with a view to the ulterior conquest and occupation of the territory by ourselves?—By no means; it was a mere want of judgment.

4904. By injudicious acts of oppression?—By injudicious acts.

4905. Sir J. W. Hogg.] Under the first arrangement there was a rebellion, a rising of the Punjaub against the British authority?—There was.

4906. In restoring Scinde and the other countries, would you, or would you not, exact from them a tribute?—The Ameers of Scinde were bound to pay this tribute before we took the country; I would exact it again.

4907. Would you exact a tribute from the countries which you think we took without any right or without justice?—No, certainly not.

4908. Then from all the territories of India which, in your opinion, we ought not to have taken, you would require no tribute?—Those which were not bound to pay a tribute before I would not require it from, those which were I would exact it from now. I beg not to be understood as asserting that we have taken all our territories in India unjustly; I am instancing Sattara, the Punjaub and Scinde.

4909. Sattara is not an instance which comes under the general political view; it is a question whether it was or was not a lapse; is not that the principle involved in the case of Sattara?—That is the ground that was taken up; that was the subterfuge for taking the territory; that it was a lapse.

4910. Whether it was or was not a lapse was the disputed point?—That was the pretext.

4911. In restoring those native governments, I presume you would not interfere with their internal arrangements; you would allow them to adopt such civil and military arrangements as they thought were requisite for conducting public business, and for the security of the state?—All civil business and all military arrangements that were not inconsistent with the general defence and security of the empire.

4912. You would concede to each of those states the power of having such a military force as they might think requisite for their military defence?—Just what they had before.

4913. Would not you then restore the whole of the elements of discord which originally tore to pieces the Indian empire under the Mahomedan dynasties?—Our military ascendancy would entirely prevent that; we might prevent a shot being fired throughout Hindostan.

4914. If all the territories you allude to were restored, and each of them were to organise a military force, do not you doubt whether our military supremacy would not be in some danger?—Scinde made no aggression upon us when Scinde had its force, nor did Sattara.

4915. Those are very minute territories?—Yes.

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4916. Are you aware of the computed aggregate military force of all the native states in India?—Three hundred thousand and odd, I think.

4917. As far as numbers go, exceeding the British force in India?—Yes.

4918. You speak of the prosperity of the country under the Mahomedan dynasty; was not it a constant struggle of the emperors to maintain their power, and was not there a constant struggle with the soubahdars each to establish an independent dynasty?—Not till the time of the breaking up of the Mogul empire.

4919. With the exception of three or four of the more powerful emperors, was not the state which I have described almost uninterrupted during the Mahomedan dynasties; a constant struggle among the soubahdars for independent power, and extending their territory, and a constant and very often unsuccessful effort of the ruling powers to maintain their sway?—I do not think that state of things existed till near the middle of the 18th century.

4920. Are you of opinion, that from the first invasion of the Moguls, about the same time as the Norman invasion of England, the Mahomedan rulers had quiet possession of all India?—They had possession of a large empire in India.

4921. Do you think that is historically correct?—I think that after the first establishment of the slave-king dynasty the Mahomedans had a powerful empire established before the Mogul conquests.

4922. My questions relate to their empire being undisturbed; was not it an empire of constant aggression?—Of aggression, certainly; but during the Moguls, in the time of Akbar, Jehangeer, Shah Jehan, and Aurungzebe, it was, upon the whole, a tranquil and prosperous empire.

4923. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Even in those reigns there were constant insurrections, and wars, and devastation prevailing, were not there?—There were many insurrections, many people struggling for power.

4924. Are you aware that Colonel Wilkes says, the further you go back in the history of India, in looking for the golden age, the more wild and barbarous the wars and conquests and devastations of the country were?—I do not remember the passage, nor do I know what is meant by a "golden age," but it is not at all consistent with Mr. Elphinstone's history. He tells us that India was in a state of the greatest prosperity at the time of Alexander, at the beginning of the Christian era; it was in a state of great prosperity up to the breaking up of the Mogul empire.

4925. You spoke of our having received our territory in a high state of prosperity; do you think Bengal was in a high state of prosperity when we acquired that country?—It is represented to have been so.

4926. Are not you aware that many large districts were almost entirely covered with jungle, and given up to the tiger and wild boar?—Twenty-five years after our rule commenced, Lord Cornwallis says that was the case.

4927. Are not you aware that Mr. Gould says, from his experience, which went back almost to our acquisition of the country, that in his recollection the cultivation and the population had enormously increased?—I know Lord Clive describes it as a country of inexhaustible riches; that is his expression; and in his memorable answer before the House of Commons he said, the riches were so great that he was only astonished at his own forbearance and that of those about him.

4928. Mr. *V. Smith*.] You have stated generally your belief, that the natives prefer the administration under their own princes to ours; does that apply to the existing state of things, or do you think ours is capable of such improvements that we might make it more palatable to them?—Unquestionably, I wish to be understood thus. If you ask any native he will tell you that there is a debtor and creditor side of the account. He quite understands that he has protection from all those frightful invasions and convulsions which are so frequent under the native dynasties, and from all the caprices of despotism; that he has the most complete personal liberty; that any native may move himself and his property the whole extent of India without any molestation, let, or hinderance of any kind; he has an amount of political liberty which very few subjects of countries on the Continent have; he may print what he pleases, and discuss with perfect freedom all political subjects. On the other hand, he knows that he is debarred from all advancement; he can never look to rise, as he might have done under his own native sovereign, to a fair share in the government and administration of the country.

4929. You

4929. You stated that he preferred the easy administration of justice, without stamps, without oaths, without forms, to ours; can you state to the Committee how we could improve our judicial administration so as to make it as easy and simple and as agreeable to him as his own?—Under the native administration, all justice was administered in the villages by punchayets.

4930. Was that an administration free from corruption?—All the judgments by the punchayets were supposed to be quite free from corruption.

4931. Do you think that by the simple abolition of those forms which we have introduced to supersede the native system we could recur to the primitive form, and make our administration better loved by the natives?—I think that would be a great improvement; an attempt was made to establish the system of punchayet, but it was only partial. If both parties consent to the punchayet, there is one; but it requires the consent of both parties, and it is very well known that if a man has a bad cause he will not consent to it, therefore it is nugatory.

4932. Where was that attempt made?—In the Madras territories.

4933. Has it been abolished since?—No, it so stands now; if two parties in a suit agree to the assembling of the punchayet a punchayet must be assembled.

4934. Am I to understand you that the practical result of that experiment has not been such as to induce you to wish to extend it?—For that reason it has never been fully carried out.

4935. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Do you think the condition of the natives of the Punjaub under Runjeet Sing was better than under the present rule?—It was, I understand, a very flourishing state under Runjeet Sing, but I have not information to enable me to answer that question with accuracy.

4936. Do you think that if a British force had been left at Lahore, and the revenue had been collected by native agents, instead of being superintended by the civil officers of our service, there would have been no rising among the chiefs?—I think the rising was entirely brought about by our own injudicious measures; undoubtedly that is my impression.

4937. Do you think that, if our civilians had not been employed in superintending the collection of the revenue, no rising would have taken place?—I cannot say that; the Sikhs hate us with such intense hatred that I will not venture to say that.

4938. You do not attribute the rising to any exaction or mal-administration of Captain Abbott?—It was not any exaction; he threatened and frightened Shere Singh, by surrounding him with a hostile Mahomedan population, in the first place, and put him on his defence; but there was no complaint of exaction.

4939. You do not attribute the rising in the Punjaub solely to any act of his, do you?—I do attribute that rising to him, and to the treatment of Mool Raj, at Mooltan.

4940. Sir *G. Grey*.] Are the Committee to understand that it would be inexpedient to adopt any new code of laws or any new procedure for the administration of the law in India, and that you think that all we have to do is to recur to the law and procedure which existed in the native states before we took possession of them?—I think that many things of which the natives complain now would be cured by recurring to the ancient mode of settling their civil disputes by punchayet.

4941. You do not advocate the adoption of any new code or any new mode of procedure?—Not any one code for all India.

4942. For any part of India, do you?—In Madras a great deal of attention was paid to that subject of procedure some time ago, and so there was in Bombay; I am not aware that there is anything deficient, or anything requiring new legislation.

4943. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Have you any objection to one criminal code for all India?—I am not aware of any objection to a criminal code; the Mahomedan law is so bad, and so is the Hindoo law, that it would be a great improvement to have a code.

4944. Sir *G. Grey*.] You would not have recourse to the criminal code existing in those native states?—No.

4945. Do you think that in that respect the natives of those states have acquired any benefit from being transferred to the British rule?—The administration of criminal law is vastly superior in our territories to anything in the native states.

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4946. Would you add that to the other advantages which you think are enjoyed under the British rule?—So few people come under the criminal law that I would not give that much consideration.

4947. You said that they had kept a sort of debtor and creditor account?—Yes; if you asked a native he would state the advantages of our rule in the way I have stated them.

4948. Is the sole disadvantage on the other side of the account, the forms and the consequent delays in the administration of civil justice?—And the native being barred from all high offices of trust and emolument in his own country.

4949. You stated that 97 per cent. of the judicial business of the country is transacted through the natives?—I believe so.

4950. Therefore they are debarred from the highest judicial appointments, but not from the subordinate ones?—They cannot go beyond the present situations they hold, the highest of which is that of principal Sudder Amin, which is about equivalent to a judge of the county court in this country.

4951. As both those evils appear to be easily remediable, do you think if they were remedied the natives would have no hesitation in preferring the British rule to the native?—I think, generally speaking, they would; I think that would tend very much to attach them to the British rule.

4952. That is all that is wanted to give general satisfaction among the natives?—I think that is the great evil.

4953. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Have you resided in any of the native states?—I was in Mysore some years.

4954. During the existence of the native government?—Yes.

4955. Are you of opinion that there is a greater or less amount of civil cases decided under the native government than under the British government?—There is more litigation under our system, I think.

4956. And therefore there are more cases brought forward and decided?—Yes.

4957. To what do you attribute that litigation?—I attribute it very much to the opportunities and facilities that our courts give for litigation.

4958. Are you aware that in the native states it is frequently the habit to bring a complaint before the chief native officer, and that the chief native officer, after a very brief inquiry, passes his order, which is immediately enforced without any reference to a punchayet?—That is not consistent with my experience in Mysore; there questions between man and man were always decided by punchayets in the villages.

4959. Was the ancient Hindoo law administered in Mysore?—There was a common law or law of custom administered.

4960. The Hindoo law?—Not the Hindoo written law.

4961. Were the courts administered after the established forms of the Hindoo law?—No, not after the established form of the Hindoo law; they had particular regulations; there was a Sudder court at Mysore consisting of three natives, and they acted under particular regulations.

4962. Before Mysore fell under the British rule?—Yes.

4963. *Mr. Elliot.*] Was not mutilation common in Mysore?—Not in Pornea's time; there were complaints after his time of that.

4964. If you were to restore Mysore, to whom would you restore it?—To the Rajah.

4965. Why not restore it to the descendants of Tippoo?—Because he had unjustly taken it; we were under treaty with the Rajah; Tippoo was a usurper of the Rajah's territory.

4966. *Mr. Lowe.*] You say we are not to interfere with the internal affairs of the native states, that if the people take up arms against the king we are not to interfere?—There should be no systematic interference.

4967. Do you propose to interfere at all; for example, if we gave Mysore back, and the people of that country found the Rajah a tyrant and took up arms, should we interfere?—Under particular circumstances I would interfere.

4968. What particular circumstances?—If we found a man grossly abusing his authority I would interfere.

4969. If the people rose to put him down you would interfere on the side of the people?—I would support the people against the Rajah, if the Rajah were a tyrant.

4970. If on the other hand the people rose unjustly, without sufficient ground, what would you do?—I do not think that would be a just cause of interference.

4971. You would leave the Rajah to deal with the people?—Yes.

4972. It

4972. It results from that, that you contemplate the possibility of as many civil wars in India, existing at the same time, as there would be independent or *quasi* independent native states?—I cannot allow that civil wars have always existed.

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4973. I spoke of what might exist; supposing simultaneously in half a dozen native states, situated as you suppose, the people rose against the king, that would take the form of a civil war; should you say that the English Government should tolerate half a dozen civil wars going on at the same time in India?—I would establish the same regime in the native states which I restored, which prevails in the native states now in existence; there are many native states now in existence.

4974. You have made the complaint, and it is a very common one, that we prevent the people from doing right for themselves upon their Rajahs, in case a man is a tyrant; how do you contemplate that we ought to act; is the English Government to tolerate half a dozen civil wars going on in the native states?—The British Government should not allow a sword to be drawn without its permission in any part of India.

4975. Does not your proposition virtually come to this, that the Rajah should be perfectly absolute in his civil government, we not interfering with him or checking him at all, nor allowing a sword to be drawn against him; is not that handing over those people, bound hand and foot, to the most detestable tyranny that can be imagined?—Many of the native states have not been under a detestable tyranny; I certainly would not reduce the native states which I restored to such a condition.

4976. Is not the rebellion of the people the only check upon the despotism of oriental monarchies?—That has very often been the case.

4977. You think we should not allow the people to right themselves; what is that but delivering the people to any degree of abuse and exaction which the monarch chose to exercise?—I do not suppose that the people are always under the influence of tyranny and exaction in the native states.

4978. You may have a tyrant; when such a case arises you say, we are not to allow the people to rise against him?—That would depend upon the relations you restore between yourself and the state; I would leave them as they are in the Rajpoot states, and other states in alliance with us now.

4979. You would tolerate those internal wars going on?—I do not think we have internal wars going on now.

4980. Because we do not permit it?—I would not permit it then; I would restore the state to its ancient rulers, and let them administer the state as they used to do.

4981. What form of government do you contemplate; you contemplate that the government should be carried on by the native authorities, the Rajahs?—Yes, I would restore Mysore to the Rajah of Mysore, and let the government go on under him as it used to do.

4982. Would you have any Resident there?—No, I think not.

4983. Should there be any troops there?—Not unless they were wanted for the general defence of the country or the occupation of some military post; in that case I would have them.

4984. Supposing no such post was required, you would not have any troops there?—Unless it were necessary for the defence of the country, or for the purposes of our own troops themselves, I would not place troops there.

4985. It would be better, you think, that we should not have troops there?—Not unless it is necessary for the defence of the country, or for the location of our own army.

4986. Supposing neither to be necessary?—Then I would not have any troops.

4987. You would not interfere with the manner in which the Rajah governed his people?—No.

4988. Supposing a civil war broke out?—We must put it down instantly with a strong hand.

4989. Whichever side it arose from?—Yes; I would always be the umpire upon those occasions.

4990. Would you enforce redress for the complaints of the people?—I would inquire into them.

4991. Supposing people came and complained that the Rajah was oppressing them,

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them, and made out a good case, would you cite the Rajah before some English officer?—Certainly not.

4992. What would you do in such a case?—I should follow the practice that obtained when the Rajah was in possession of his territory. I should make representations to the Rajah.

4993. If those representations were not attended to?—It would depend upon the relations which we were under, by our treaty with the Rajah.

4994. I am putting a model state of relation, framed as you would wish it?—I am not prepared to answer that question. As the native states are now, so I would have the native states continued. If we dispossessed ourselves of a native state, I would put it into the position in which it was before we took it.

4995. I understand that you have not made up your mind whether you would enforce those people's complaints or not?—I think the less you interfere with the action of a native state the better.

4996. That is not exactly the question. Would you enforce the people's complaints or not?—I should take a little time to consider what I would do.

4997. Does not the whole question hinge upon that?—I do not consider that it does.

4998. If you do not enforce the people's complaints, would not you be handing them over to a complete despotism, rendered all the more bitter because of our maintaining the sovereign in his place?—That seems to me, with all deference, to assume that the rulers of all the native states are tyrants and oppressors.

4999. Supposing such a case?—I would not legislate for extreme cases. I do not say there are not cases in which I would interfere. My general rule would be non-interference.

5000. If, on the other hand, you did interfere, would not it be better to interfere a little earlier, and prevent those complaints, rather than destroy the power of the king for the purpose of remedying them?—You might weaken his authority, and render it impossible for him to govern, if you interfered prematurely.

5001. Would not there be great danger of that, unless you renounced intervention altogether?—I am guided in what I say by the state of the government in the native states now; I am not aware of any cases which call for extreme interference.

5002. They know that we should interfere immediately now?—You can always interfere when there is an insurrection and rebellion.

5003. Is not it perfectly well known that we should not tolerate any civil war on any large scale in India?—One article in the treaties with the native princes is that we are to leave them free and perfect masters of their states.

5004. Would the English Government tolerate any civil war upon a large scale?—No.

5005. It is perfectly well known that they would not?—Certainly.

5006. Then we cannot reason from the present state of things to your supposed state of things, because now it is perfectly well known that we should interfere?—In all cases of serious insurrection I would interfere, but in cases where ryots came, for instance, to complain of the Rajah, I would not interfere to redress every light complaint; if there were insurrection I would interfere, but I do not contemplate any new regime.

5007. You would interfere if there were positive insurrection, to stop it?—Yes.

5008. Would you adjudicate between the parties?—To a certain extent you must inquire.

5009. Do you think the authority of the sovereign would be worth anything after such an intervention?—I think you seem to be reasoning from extreme cases.

5010. *Chairman.*] One suggestion which you have made for the government of India, supposing it to remain under British rule, is, that the Sovereign of this country should be in name what she is in reality, Queen of Hindostan, and have the power of constituting one of her sons her hereditary viceroy; what advantage would be derived from that?—I borrowed the idea, it is not mine; it seemed to me to be a very happy one; I think it would give a root and a prestige to the Government in India which it has not now. The Government is now considered to be the Government of a stranger. The vaguest ideas pervade the people as to

what

what the Government really is. The establishment of sovereign authority by the Queen assuming some particular title, or appointing one of the royal family hereditary viceroy, would be thoroughly understood by the people. They have a clear notion of what hereditary monarchy is, and they would be very much attached to it, and if the Queen were to intimate to the native princes that she had assumed the management of her own territories it would have a most happy effect upon their own allegiance, and wean them from the lingering attachment, which both Hindoos and Mahomedans still retain, to the government of the Mogul Emperors.

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5011. Will you state to the Committee what your views are as to the requisite changes in the Home Government?—I have always considered the Home Government to be one which is unconstitutional in principle and inconvenient in practice; very obstructive of public business, and very wasteful of time and money. The leading vice in it is that there is no direct responsibility. I think the object should be to establish a responsible Government, and to do that, with the least possible change in the existing state of things. I would take for my model the Government abroad; I would frame the Government at home upon the model of the Government abroad; I would vest it in a President in Council. There are two ways of doing that, either through the medium of the East India Company or without the East India Company; I would vest the Government in the East India Company as trustees of the Crown; and I would give the Queen the nomination of the chairman and deputy-chairman of the East India Company, and allow Her to select from the present Court of Directors six or eight, or whatever number might be expedient, to form a Council; and in the President in Council, so constituted, I would vest the Home Government of India. Or if you drop the East India Company altogether, under that section of the Act which enables the Queen to select certain persons as Commissioners for the affairs of India, I would allow Her, in addition to the present Members of the Board of Control, to select a certain number from those who have been 10 or 12 years resident in India, and constitute them the Home Government.

5012. So as to have only one Board of Government instead of two?—Yes; I would have but one Board. That would absorb six, or eight, or ten of the present Directors; and as a great number of constitutional ghosts have been conjured up about patronage, I would leave the patronage in the hands of the 18 or 20 Directors who might remain, and constitute them a Court of Patronage, and cut them off from the Executive Government, allowing them to administer the patronage under the strict superintendence of the Executive Government.

5013. They having no other duty but that of administering the patronage?—The patronage is now with them. I would allow them to retain it during their lives. As lapses occur I would throw it open to the public, giving it to the public schools, or the universities, making provision for the gradual extinction of the Court of Directors as they now stand.

5014. How would you have fresh Directors elected?—I would give to the Directors, selected from the present Court, a term of office of three or four years. Upon any lapse, I would introduce the principle of election from certain classes, or of selection by the Crown from certain classes.

5015. So as to have the whole of the Council and executive officers appointed by the Crown?—Yes, on the principle of election or of selection; I would allow the Crown to appoint in the first place a certain number of the Court of Directors, and make them a Council. Upon lapses occurring, I would allow the Crown to select from persons who have been so many years resident in India, or allow the East India Company, upon an enlarged basis, to elect with the permission of the Crown. The East India Company are now nothing but trustees of the Crown; and, therefore, in giving the Queen the power of appointing the Chairman of the East India Company, you, in fact, only give her the privilege of naming the president of her trustees; and in giving her the power of selecting from the present Court of Directors a certain number to make a Council, you give her the privilege of selecting from the general body of her trustees those who are to be invested with the actual management of her affairs.

5016. *Mr. V. Smith.* Do you mean the proprietors still to elect any portion of the body?—If the East India Company is to be continued I should very much wish to see its basis enlarged, by comprehending all persons who hold a certain amount of the territorial debt, and have been for a certain number of years resident in India.

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5017. As voters?—Yes; or as the class from whom the present councillors might be selected, if you adopted the principle of selection.

5018. *Chairman.*] As I understand your scheme, it is this: that there should be either a Chairman or a President appointed by the Crown; and out of the present Directors there should be a Council selected by the Crown, of some six persons, leaving for the present the patronage in the hands of the remaining Directors; but as those Directors died or resigned, no further Directors should be elected; but the whole of the patronage should be thrown open to public competition, and the Council, as well as the President or Chairman, should be in the direct nomination of the Crown?—Precisely.

5019. Would the President or Chairman be one of the Cabinet Ministers?—Yes; I should wish to see the Government of India linked on to the general Government of the country by a Cabinet Minister being appointed Chairman of the East India Company.

5020. That individual would resign, or be appointed, according to each successive change of ministry?—Yes; the Chairman and Deputy Chairman should be in the appointment of the Crown, and the Chairman and Deputy Chairman should go out with the Ministers of the Crown.

5021. *Sir G. Grey.*] You would vest the Government of India in this body which you have described?—I would.

5022. You do not propose that those six Members of Council, or whatever they may be called, should be merely a council of advice, but that they should take part individually in the Government of India, and that the decisions of that body should be the decisions of the majority?—I would frame the Government at home precisely after the mode of the Government abroad, which is a Government in commission. The first man in the commission is the President, and all the others are Commissioners; they have an equal vote, the President having the casting vote, but having the power of acting upon his own responsibility against the majority of the Council when he pleases; I would reserve to the President the power which he has now.

5023. The Council would be merely a council of advice without any power of controlling the decisions of the President?—A council of advice.

5024. With no power of controlling the decisions of the President?—Not if he chose to act upon his own responsibility, recording his reasons at the time, which should be published as a matter of course.

5025. *Mr. V. Smith.*] You propose that the patronage should be exercised by the Directors under the control of the Executive; how would that be possible?—The Executive would determine how many appointments should be made.

5026. As to the appointments themselves, would you subject them to any control?—I would leave them as they are now; my object has been not to sketch the best scheme, but the scheme with the least disturbance to existing arrangements. I would allow those Directors to keep the patronage during their lives.

5027. Where would you lodge the patronage upon the expiration of their lives?—I would throw it open to competition to the public schools.

5028. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Why would you lodge the patronage in the hands of those 18 gentlemen for their lives?—They have it now.

5029. Would that be any reason for their continuing to have it after they had been discharged from their office?—There have been many objections raised about the patronage; that appears to me to be the easiest mode of disposing of them all.

5030. You propose, ultimately, to get rid of the bugbear of the patronage by making those appointments prizes at schools and colleges. Is there any objection to doing that immediately?—None, but that I think it would be a hard measure to deal out to those gentlemen now in the direction.

5031. When those gentlemen shall be relieved of the onerous duties now devolving upon them as the governors of India, would it be consistent that they should receive the same great reward for those services when the services have ceased?—The observation which I made was, that I desired to make an arrangement with the least disturbance to existing things. The patronage is now in their hands, and I would keep it there; it is not absolutely necessary that it should be there, but it is one way of disposing of the question of patronage which appears to me unobjectionable.

5032. *Sir G. Grey.*] As that body gradually diminished the patronage would become

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become more valuable in the hands of the existing members, and at last would be in the hands of a single individual?—As each individual died, his patronage would be thrown open to competition in the way I have suggested.

5033. Mr. *Elliot*.] The patronage would be reduced gradually according to your plan, inasmuch as you would gradually do away with the civil service in India?—Yes; I think if you act up to the principle of admitting the natives to all offices for which they are qualified, the question of patronage will settle itself, except the military patronage.

5034. Mr. *V. Smith*.] Do not you think if the actual Government were divested of the patronage it would be very much weakened?—Not if you give to that Government substantial power, and make it what it now pretends to be, the sovereign of India.

5035. Do not all governments receive that adventitious aid which is derived from patronage?—I do not know that it is so; the patronage of their own offices at home would be with them, of course.

5036. Is there any reason why the patronage of India should be thrown open to competition rather than any other?—I should have no objection to the Board having a great deal of the patronage remaining with them.

5037. What would you do with the military patronage?—I should like to see the military patronage all sold, with a preference of purchase to officers who have been in India, both in the Queen's and the Company's services.

5038. Not the promotions?—No, the initiatory patronage; I would lodge both the civil and military patronage in the hands of this body of directors.

5039. From whom you would take away all other power?—I would take away all other power; I look upon that as a fundamental principle.

5040. Do not you see any evil in the separation of the power and the patronage?—I am only propounding a scheme to meet the objections about patronage.

5041. Would not that be a very anomalous body?—It would; it would be a court of patronage.

5042. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] When this Government was formed in England, what would be the position of the Governor-general in Council in India, in relation to the governing body here?—I do not contemplate any change in the position of the Governor-general; he would receive his orders and instructions as he does now; there would simply be an amalgamation of the two Boards here.

5043. *Chairman*.] The President or Chairman, and Deputy-chairman would be appointed by the Crown?—Yes.

5044. And they would cease to occupy those situations with any change of the Ministry?—Exactly.

5045. Do you propose that the Council should likewise be removable at the pleasure of the Crown?—No, not by any means.

5046. But appointed by the Crown for a certain number of years?—Selected from the existing Court of Directors' for a certain number of years.

5047. At the expiration of that number of years is their power to be renewable at the pleasure of the Crown?—Yes; they are to be eligible for re-appointment by the Crown.

5048. In case of a vacancy, that vacancy should be filled by the Crown?—Either by the Crown selecting from that class of persons who have been so many years in India, or by the Crown allowing the principle of election to be introduced; those only to be qualified for election, who have been a certain number of years in India.

5049. Would you have the deliberations of that Council public?—No more public than they are now.

5050. In case of any difference between the Council and the Chairman, would you have those cases of difference reported to Parliament?—As a rule they should be reported to Parliament; all I should propose is what the Court of Directors have been contending for unsuccessfully for the last 34 years, and what they made a great struggle for when the question was under discussion in 1833, that it should be the rule upon every occasion of difference between the two Boards, that as a matter of course the papers should be laid before Parliament; but that was resisted by the Minister, and has never been carried out.

5051. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Having constituted your Board as you propose, where would the responsibility to the public rest?—Just as the Governor-general in Council is responsible the Government itself would be responsible.

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5052. The whole of this Board would be responsible?—Yes; where there was a difference of opinion they would publish the grounds of that difference.

5053. To whom would they be responsible?—To Parliament.

5054. If you make this Board responsible for all its acts in the government of India to Parliament, what process would you adopt for its reporting to Parliament, or laying before Parliament, its proceedings?—Just the same process as prevails in all other departments of the state; papers would be called for when a question arose.

5055. Do you think it would be desirable for the Government of India abroad that the affairs of its administration should be subject to frequent or constant discussion in Parliament?—I think it would be very desirable; I should not, however, in the least, expect that there would be frequent discussions in Parliament about it.

5056. What leads you to think that the affairs of the administration of India would not be frequently discussed in Parliament under such a system as you suggest?—Because there is generally not time for Parliament to discuss them, and Parliament has not the inclination, and has not the necessary knowledge; for those reasons I should be very glad to see the Court of Proprietors kept up, because I think they would very much facilitate discussion in Parliament, if they had the power of reporting any resolutions they might to come Parliament; it would keep up a constant ventilation of Indian subjects.

5057. The Court of Proprietors have no greater interest in the Government of India than the proprietors of any other stock, have they?—No, very few of them; there are some who have.

5058. You still think that it would be desirable to keep up the East India Company for the purpose of allowing discussions on the affairs of India?—I think it would be advantageous; as I said before, I should be for enlarging the basis of the East India Company by admitting into it the holders of a certain amount of territorial debt, and all persons who have been a certain number of years in India.

5059. Do you think that any good results have generally followed the discussions which take place in the Court of Proprietors?—I think that they have, on the whole, operated as a wholesome check on the executive. Under the present system, however, the Directors have such complete command of the Court of Proprietors that their utility is very much neutralised; but nevertheless, upon the whole, they have been advantageous; in my opinion.

5060. *Chairman.*] You spoke of a reference to Parliament by the India Board, constituted as you suggest; would you submit to Parliament for its sanction all questions of revenue and expenditure, and obtain the necessary votes for that expenditure, as is the case in other public offices?—That was the case for a great many years. There was a regular Indian budget brought forward from the year 1793 up to 1811, when it was dropped.

5061. *Sir G. Grey.*] Was there any vote of the House of Commons upon that budget?—There were resolutions always passed by the House.

5062. Or was the statement laid before the House simply for the information of the House?—There were always resolutions, I think.

5063. Were those resolutions sanctioning the expenditure in detail?—It was assumed upon the financial statement that the result of the revenue was so much and the expenditure so much. It was a general parliamentary sanction to the financial statement.

5064. Was any power exercised by the House of interfering with any portion of the expenditure in detail?—There were very frequently debates upon the subject.

5065. *Mr. V. Smith.*] The Indian budget, when it was brought forward, in fact excited very little attention, did not it?—That was the case, and it was given up in consequence of the little interest which it excited.

5066. *Sir G. Grey.*] Would you recommend that Parliament should exercise any control over the expenditure in India?—I should be very glad that they should do so.

5067. Taking the instance to which you referred in the former part of your evidence, as to the expenditure upon public works of irrigation in Madras, do you think no such works should be executed without the previous sanction of Parliament?—Certainly not. With respect, however, to works of great magnitude, I think they should not be undertaken without the consent of the Home Government.

5068. To

5068. To what extent would you have Parliament exercise a control over the expenditure in the case of large works?—I think it would be better that such control should be left to the Home Government rather than to Parliament.

5069. Would the financial statement be a statement of revenue for past years, or involve estimates for future years?—Both; that was the course followed before.

5070. You would not require that the expenditure should be delayed till the sanction of Parliament had been obtained to the several items?—No.

5071. What advantage do you anticipate from that financial statement?—Calling public attention to the state of India.

5072. Did not it fail to excite attention when it was formerly made?—I think it did, but I should be glad to see it revived.

5073. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] What is the amount of delay in laying the accounts of 1850 before the authorities in England?—I think it is two years.

5074. Are you aware that the estimates of the year 1853 are, I imagine, not even yet arrived in England?—I suppose the sketch estimate, of the financial year 1852-53 is in England.

5075. Would it be of any use to lay such a problematical document before Parliament?—I am not aware of any other advantage than that it might call the attention of Parliament to the affairs of India, which I think is very desirable.

5076. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] The proprietors of East India Stock, perhaps, have not a great deal of interest in the Government of India, but they have a little; is the payment of their dividend guaranteed?—Yes.

5077. By Parliament?—I believe it is.

5078. Do you mean that it is guaranteed out of the English funds?—No, certainly not.

5079. It is only guaranteed out of the revenues of India?—There is a guarantee fund.

5080. There is a guaranteed fund which consisted originally of about 2,000,000 *l.*, and is now about 4,000,000 *l.*?—Yes.

5081. If a war were to occur of a disastrous character, and the revenues of India could not bear the payment of the dividend upon East India Stock of 10½ per cent., where would it come from?—It would depend upon the boldness of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in bringing it before Parliament.

5082. It would come out of the guarantee fund in the first instance; that is provided for by the Act of Parliament, but if India were lost to-morrow, what would the proprietors of East India Stock have to look to?—I am not aware of any security that they would have.

5083. Would they have anything to look to for the payment of their 12,000,000 *l.* except the 4,000,000 *l.*, the present amount of the guarantee fund?—They would have no greater legal security, certainly.

5084. India being gone, the security for their money is gone?—Yes, I am afraid so.

5085. That gives them some little connexion with India, does not it?—Yes.

5086. *Mr. Mangles.*] Do you think the Government of India would be improved by bringing it into close connexion with Parliamentary operation?—I think it would be very much improved if the attention of Parliament could be periodically drawn to India; but in all the observations which I have made with respect to the Home Government, my object has been to get rid of what I consider to be unconstitutional in principle, inconvenient in practice, and obstructive of public business.

5087. Do you think that the great man whose authority you have so often quoted, *Sir Thomas Munro*, would have had his administration improved if he had been liable to be called in question from time to time, in Parliament?—I do not think there would have been any difference; I do not contemplate there being any difference in the local administration from the two Boards being united; I do not see that there would be more Parliamentary interference under the amalgamation of the Boards than when they are separate.

5088. You do not contemplate that as one of the advantages to be obtained?—No, I do not look to that as an advantage.

5089. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Are you satisfied with the present mode that the native and other subjects of the Queen in India have of complaining of any alleged grievances, and obtaining redress in England?—That is what I men-

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tioned just now; I think they are totally without means of redress at this moment.

5090. What is the mode that you would suggest to the Committee of establishing some means of obtaining redress in those cases where you now say so much difficulty exists in obtaining it?—It has struck me that they might be brought before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, under some fresh organisation, or that a tribunal might be appointed in this country for the purpose of going into those questions, particularly in case of a breach of treaty with the native states, or a seizure of their territories.

5091. Do you allude to such questions as would arise between parties aggrieved and the Government?—Yes.

5092. You do not mean to include merely cases of oppression or grievance, in the case of subject and subject?—No; it is only parties aggrieved by the British Government, for whom no redress is provided by the local tribunals in India.

5093. Do you think that the form of Government you have suggested for the administration of India, in England, would suffice for the purpose?—I should be afraid that the Home Government of India, under whatever form it may be carried on, would be so much identified with the Government abroad, that it would hardly form an impartial tribunal for determining upon the acts of that Government; I think it would be necessary to have an independent tribunal.

5094. *Mr. Elliot.*] Why is it more necessary to have an independent tribunal for references of that sort from India, than from the colonies?—The colonies have already that tribunal, I think; I do not think, further, the same class of questions could arise in the colonies; these are questions between persons who are not British subjects, against the British Government; no class of questions like that could arise in the colonies.

5095. Supposing, for example, one of our neighbours in Africa, Sandilli, for instance, were to consider himself very ill used, and wished to appeal to England, he would have no special tribunal to appeal to here; why should the people in India be in a different position from him?—We are under special treaties with the native states of India, and have guaranteed them in the possession of their territories.

5096. So we are with some of the African tribes?—If you break your treaty with Sandilli, there should be some tribunal, I think, before which he could bring his grievances.

5097. There is no more reason why an Indian should have that advantage than a person belonging to one of our colonies, is there?—I do not know that there is; you may seize Sandilli's territory unjustly; he may have a cause of complaint against you which I think should be investigated.

5098. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] Do you think it is possible to constitute any tribunal which is to be a political tribunal, and to determine the political rights of two countries?—It would be beset with difficulties, no doubt, but I do not think it is impracticable; there should be some means of redress for every wrong which is done.

5099. With regard to any foreign aggression, must not the ultimate and sole appeal be to Parliament?—I do not think Parliament can go into any investigation as to the construction of treaties, the rights of adoption, and all those sort of questions; they appear to me to be beyond the legitimate purview of Parliament.

Jovis, 26^o die Maii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir J. W. Hogg.
Mr. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Cobden.

Mr. Elliot.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Sir George Grey.
Sir Charles Wood.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Newdegate.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Sir *Charles Trevelyan*, K. C. B., Examined.

5100. *Chairman.*] WILL you state the period during which you were resident in India, and what situations you held while there?—I was nominated to the civil service of the East India Company; and after passing two years at Haileybury, I received an appointment as writer in the Bengal establishment, in the latter end of the year 1825. I took my passage to Bombay, and landed there in June 1826. After spending two months at Bombay and Poonah, I marched across the Continent to Madras, spending some time at Sattara, Bellary, and several of the Madras stations. I took ship from Madras to Calcutta, and passed the college at Calcutta in less than two months; then I was appointed Assistant to Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Resident at Delhi, the Governor-general's Agent for Rajpootanah, and Civil Commissioner for the Delhi territory. I rose through the successive steps in the Delhi Residency till I became First Assistant, and Delhi was my head-quarters for five years. During that period I was employed on various detached duties, first, at my own request, as assistant to the magistrate at Delhi; then I was employed in the settlement of an important boundary dispute with the Rajahs of Bicaner and Putteala. I was twice in charge of the Rhotuck division of the Delhi territory as Judge, Magistrate and Collector; and once I acted as Magistrate and Collector of Delhi. I was nearly a year in charge of the Governor-general's agency for the states of Kotah and Boondee. I was in charge of the Bhurtpore agency for a short period. I was afterwards appointed Deputy Secretary in the general department, but I declined to take up the appointment, wishing to complete the inquiries I had commenced into the town and transit duties. I was afterwards appointed Deputy Secretary in the political department. For seven years after that I held the appointment of Deputy Secretary in the political department, under Sir William Macnaghten, the Secretary. I accompanied Lord William Bentinck to what was called the Congress of Native Princes at Ajmere, and spent the hot weather with him at Simla. When he went down to Calcutta, I obtained his permission to visit several custom-houses in the Upper and Central Provinces, in order to test the accuracy of the information I had collected on the subject of the town and transit duties. On my arrival at Calcutta I was employed for some time in preparing my report on that subject. During my service at Calcutta I twice acted as Secretary to the Board of Revenue. I was a member of the Commission appointed by Lord William Bentinck for the revision of the Post-office system of the whole of India, and for carrying out the abolition of the transit and town duties in the remainder of India. I was also a member of the Prison Discipline Committee, and of the committees which were appointed for introducing the cultivation of tea into India, and for establishing life assurance on a more extended footing. During the whole period I took an active part in the Education Committee. I commenced my labours as a member of the local Education Committee at Delhi, where I was instrumental in founding the

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the new English college there; and when I came to Calcutta, I was appointed a member of the General Committee of Public Instruction, now called the Council of Education, and I took an active part in its proceedings during the rest of the time I was in India. I came home on furlough in February 1838, and in January 1840 I was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Treasury, which appointment I have ever since held.

5101. From the opportunities you have had of judging of the system of Government in India, will you state to the Committee what your opinion is as to its present organisation, the defects which you may have noticed in it, and such improvements as you can suggest?—I felt it to be my duty to consider the subject very carefully, and the more so because it has appeared to me that in the discussions which have lately taken place, the importance of the Home Government has been over-estimated, at the expense of the Government of India, and a great deal has been said which appears to imply that the Government of India may substantially be carried on from this country; whereas the fact is that the positive and active functions of the Home Government are confined to the making of first appointments, and to revising the proceedings of the Indian Government; and the real Government of India, in all its departments of legislation, diplomacy, judicial and revenue legislation, and so on, must be conducted in India itself, in the face of all the exigencies which have to be provided for, and in direct communication with the officers whose agency is employed, and the people whose interests are affected. Entertaining those views, I have given my particular attention to the subject, and I have read the greater part of the evidence, and it appears to me that the modifications required in the present constitution of the Indian Government are as follows: There should be a Supreme Government for the whole of India, entirely separated from any local administrative responsibility. That Government should consist, first, of the Governor-general, appointed as at present from home. Next of three ordinary members of council, appointed, as at present, from home, and really selected from the whole civil and military service of India, and not, as at present, appointed in an undue proportion from the Bengal and Agra Presidencies. Then, of a fourth extraordinary member, who would act in the double capacity of legislative and executive councillor, and who should vote as well as sit in the Executive Council. It is perhaps proper that the Commander-in-chief should be in the Supreme Council, but it is not likely that he would take any more active part in the proceedings of the Government than he has done heretofore. Those five members would be the executive council of the Governor-general. I think there should be added to them legislative councillors, one being selected from each of the four Presidencies; and I think the best mode of appointment would be that they should be nominated by the local governors, and approved by the Governor-general. In that respect their appointments should be upon the same footing as that of the Governor-general himself; they should be made by the consent of the two parties principally interested, a plan which has answered extremely well in the appointment of the Governor-general. I think also that the chief justice of a consolidated court, to be composed of an union of the Supreme Court and the Sudder Dewany and Nizamut Adawlut, should be a legislative councillor *ex officio*. And as besides the four established Presidencies there are two incipient Presidencies, answering in the system of India to what are called the Territories of the United States, namely, the Punjaub and the collection of Eastern Possessions, to which Pegu has lately been added; and as it will not always be possible to establish an exact equality of representation, even among the other Presidencies, in the Executive and Legislative Councils, it will be advisable that the Governor-general should have the power of appointing a sixth legislative councillor. The Government of India, therefore, would consist of the Governor-general, with five executive councillors, and six legislative councillors, being 12 in all. I conceive that the functions of the Government so constituted, should be, first, the legislation of the whole of India; next, the diplomacy of the whole of India; next, the finance of the whole of India; next, the post-office of the whole of India; next, the external customs of the whole of India. On all those points the functions of the Supreme Government should be direct and immediate, but carried on through the subordinate Governments; and the Supreme Government should also exercise a very close and active supervision over the judicial and police system, the land revenue system, the abkarry or excise, and every other part of the Indian system. I also think that all appointments in all the Presidencies to the Sudder Courts and the Sudder Boards of Revenue,

Revenue, and all other appointments of that superior class, should be made subject to the approval of the Governor-general. The officers should be nominated by the local Governors, but should be approved by the Governor-general. I think the Government of each of the Presidencies of India should be carried on by a Governor, selected by the Governor-general from the entire civil and military service of India, and from the Queen's judges, without any council; and that the correspondence of the subordinate Governors with the Court of Directors should be confined to a simple abstract of all their correspondence and proceedings, which should be constantly sent home, in order to keep the Home Government currently informed of all that was in progress. I also think they should continue to furnish similar abstracts to the Supreme Government, and that the detailed correspondence of the subordinate Governments should be conducted entirely with the Governor-general; and that the correspondence of the Court of Directors should be also with the Governor-general. I will not say that they should not send out special directions on matters of executive detail; there are some matters of routine, on which it may be advisable that the Court at home should have the power of sending out instructions to Bombay; matters connected with the steam-fleet, and so on; but all the serious correspondence of the Court of Directors with the Government of India, I think should be entirely with the Governor-general; and their correspondence with the subordinate Presidencies, should pass through the medium, and be subject to the revision of the Governor-general. I would recommend that the subordinate Governments should not report everything in detail even to the Governor-general; they should not send complete copies of their correspondence and proceedings as they do at present to the Court of Directors, but they should confine themselves to sending to the Governor-general a transcript of the index or diary of all their proceedings which they would send to the Court of Directors if my proposals were adopted; their separate correspondence with the Governor-general being confined to matters of real importance, to new cases, and to old cases which require special consideration. According to the usual practice of a subordinate Government, their correspondence with their superior Government should be confined to matters of real importance. I would also propose that the Supreme Court at each of the Presidencies should be consolidated with the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut; that the Chief Justice, appointed by the Queen, should be the President of the united Court; that a sufficient number of Puisne Judges should be appointed, to sit on an entire equality with the Puisne Judges appointed by the Government of India from the Civil Service; that the Court so constituted should be a Supreme Court of Appeal for each Presidency, with a power to send special commissions to any part of the country where a local trial by a judge of the court might appear to be required, or where any local investigation into any matter connected with the judicial system might require to be carried on. I think that all British subjects should be placed under the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the local courts, supervised by this Supreme Court, and that immediate steps should be taken to codify the laws of India in the following order: First, a criminal law for the whole of India, and for all classes of people in India; next, a code of procedure, civil and criminal (including a provision for the examination of the parties to a case, and for the substitution of oral for written pleadings in small civil suits), for the whole of India, and all classes of people in India. Next, a complete body of civil law for the East Indians, the Armenians, foreign Europeans, and those classes who have at present no civil law; and that this body of law so framed should be the foundation of a civil law for the whole of India, and should apply to all other classes, in common with those above-mentioned, except on points connected with the religious system of the Mahomedans and the Hindoos. The last step of all would be to define and digest those parts of the Mahomedan and Hindoo law, which must be maintained as excepted cases. My belief is, that when the matter is gone into, it will be found that those cases are extremely limited, and that several parts of the Hindoo and Mahomedan law which have hitherto been supposed to be of a peculiar religious character, will be found capable of being incorporated in the general body of civil law for India; and that if this great work is carried out with proper means and proper judgment, it will result in a body of civil and criminal law, applicable to the whole of India, and with very limited exceptions to all classes of people in India, and will be a permanent charter of right and justice to all future generations of the people of India. For the purpose of carrying out this

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great work, I would recommend that a commission should be appointed in England of those gentlemen who have of late years given such a remarkable degree of attention to Indian legislation. It happens fortunately, that the subject of Indian jurisprudence, in all its main points, has recently received an unusual degree of consideration, and that there are several gentlemen in this country returned from India who are quite competent to carry out a work of this kind within a reasonable time. I would propose this, because it can hardly be expected that the Government of India, with all the other claims upon it, will be able to treat the subject *de novo* as successfully as those gentlemen who will have no other occupation, and who have already given such a degree of attention to it; and also, because it has been shown by experience that the introduction of an equal system of law in India, applicable to British subjects as well as natives, will require the strong hand of the Home Government to carry it out; lastly, I would propose, that in each Presidency there should be a local court, on the footing of the ordinary local courts in other parts of the country; a Civil and Sessions Judges Court, for instance, in which, at the commencement of the system, it would probably be advisable that a Queen's judge should sit with a Company's judge. All this last part of my plan will be subject to some modification in reference to Agra, where it should be carried out in principle, and to the necessary extent, but it will probably not be necessary to carry it out there according to the full model which I have suggested. On the fullest consideration, this scheme appears to me to include all the modifications of the present system, which are required by the altered circumstances of the present time. I beg to guard myself from being supposed to claim all that I have proposed as my own suggestion, a great deal of it being adopted from the suggestions of others; but I have thought it advisable to bring forward in one point of view all I have to recommend.

5102. Sir C. Wood.] From your knowledge of India, are you prepared to yourself recommend the adoption of the scheme you have now detailed to the Committee?—Yes; I have read the greater part of the evidence, and have carefully considered it, with all the light which my experience of India and my reflection on Indian subjects have afforded me, and the conclusion at which I have arrived is that the best scheme of government for India is what I have proposed.

5103. Chairman.] In the beginning of your evidence you stated that the Government of India must be conducted in India itself; by that expression do you mean that further independent powers ought to be given to the Governor-general in Council than exist under the present system?—By no means; I meant to guard against an erroneous opinion which appears to me to have gained ground of late, namely, that the Government of India mainly depends upon the administration of the affairs of India in this country; that notion seems to me to tend to a neglect of the main part of the subject, the Government as it is to be conducted in India.

5104. You would leave the present system of instructions from the Government at home to the Governor-general, on the same footing as it now stands; that is to say, the Supreme Government would still be in this country controlling the Government in India?—Unquestionably. It will always be a most important function of the Home Government of India to maintain the connexion with the Supreme Authority of the Queen's Government, and to exercise an effective supervision over the local Government of India, aiding it by all the enlarged views and extensive experience which the Government at home will be able to bring to bear upon the subject.

5105. Would that system reduce the number of occasions which now exist for reference from the Governor-general home to the Government here for instructions and advice, or would that remain on the same footing as it now is?—Speaking generally, it would not reduce it; but I have certain other improvements to suggest, which it will be convenient, probably, that I should submit to the Committee, under the heads of finance, the press, and education; and, except so far as it may be modified by any specific proposals, which I have made or may hereafter make, I contemplate the correspondence of the Home Government being conducted with the Supreme Government as at present.

5106. From your statement, you appear to consider that the control of the Governor-general over the Governments of the subordinate Presidencies ought rather to be increased than diminished?—Yes; I think that there is a great call, at the present stage of our Indian progress, for increasing the centralisation of the Government in India, not in the sense of diminishing the discretion of the local

local Governments, for on the contrary, on some very essential points, I would enlarge that discretion, and give them more full powers than they have at present, but in the sense of bringing the influence of the Supreme Government to bear upon the administration of the local Governments on those points which properly belong to the controlling functions of the Supreme Government. We have now four Governments in the Agra, the Bengal, the Madras, and the Bombay Presidencies, besides the great territories of the Punjab and Scinde, and the Eastern Territories, including Pegu. Every branch of Indian administration has for a number of years past been tested in every variety of way in those different Presidencies and territories; but no effective system has hitherto been arranged for bringing the experience of the whole to bear upon the improvement of each particular part. I will instance a single point. We have three different systems of land revenue prevailing concurrently in different parts of the country, the land revenue being a point of most vital importance in India. In Bengal we have the permanent settlement; in Madras and Bombay we have the ryotwar settlement, and in the North-western Provinces we have the village settlement. The great problem of Indian land revenue has been successfully solved in the Western Provinces by the adoption of a system of land revenue founded upon the ancient and valuable institution of village communities, but nothing effective has yet been done towards applying the experience so obtained to the improvement of the system of land revenue in the other provinces. I mention that as a single instance of the advantage of a Supreme Government for the purpose of collecting the experience of the whole of India, and applying it to the improvement of the different parts. Another very important reason for increasing the strength of the Central Government at the present time is this. We can constitute one strong and elevated Government in India. We know, by experience, that we have the means of doing that. That being so, it seems very desirable that we should obtain the full benefit of a Government so constituted, for the supervision of all the different Presidencies. I will instance the case of Bombay. Whatever the cause may be, it is evident that the administration of the Bombay Presidency has fallen into a great degree of confusion and insubordination; and I fear that the standard of public morality has, within certain limits and subject to certain qualifications, fallen in the Bombay Presidency much below the general standard of India. I conceive that could not have happened if the Bombay Presidency had been directly under the Supreme Government. The Baroda Residency would have been immediately under the administration of the Supreme Government. Now, nothing can be more pure and honourable than the administration of the political functions in every other part of India, conducted under the direct supervision of the Supreme Government; and so it would have been at Baroda, no doubt, if Baroda had been under the Supreme Government. As regards some more recent circumstances at Bombay, if the Supreme Government had been responsible for the well-being of the Bombay Presidency, and the discipline of that Presidency had depended upon the Supreme Government, a great deal of what has lately taken place at Bombay in reference to the Sudder Court, and other circumstances, either would not have happened, or if anything of the sort had occurred, it would have been immediately inquired into and set right.

5107. You would leave, of course, the appointment of the Governor-general as it now is, in the hands of the Crown?—Entirely as it now is.

5108. You would leave to the Governor-general the power he now possesses of overruling the decisions of his councils?—Yes; and he should have a veto upon the passing of laws in India.

5109. The Governors of all the subordinate Presidencies would be without councils?—Yes.

5110. Do you consider that those Presidencies would be better governed by centralizing the power and the administration in the hands of a Governor-general, who must be, from his previous position, not so well conversant with the affairs of India as Residents in India are?—I consider that they would be in several ways better governed. The Governor-general, although he has had no personal experience of the affairs of India, is always selected from among our best and ablest statesmen, and he has the assistance of the ablest men whom India can afford. I consider the advantages of the mode of governing the subordinate Presidencies, which I propose, to be as follow. The Government would be conducted on the principle of individual responsibility. The Governors would be better selected.

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At present, the Governors of the subordinate Presidencies appointed by the Crown, although very able and honourable men, are not selected merely because they are the fittest persons to be Governors. Whatever other qualifications they may have, the reason of their appointment to be Governors of the subordinate Indian Presidencies is, generally speaking, not because they are the best qualified persons for those high functions. They often have no Indian experience whatever; whereas if the Governor-general selected and appointed the Governors, he would select them from the whole body of the Indian service, which would afford the very best possible field for the selection of such officers. The official qualifications and character of every person in India are known and understood to a very remarkable degree. Every Indian officer of long standing has been seen, and tried, and proved in a variety of different situations; and all his good and bad qualities, all his weaknesses, all his abilities, are thoroughly known and appreciated. It would be a very unlikely thing, indeed, that the Governor-general would appoint a person who was not well qualified; he would have the strongest possible motive to appoint the best qualified person, because the success of his own administration in India would mainly depend upon his selection of the Governors of the subordinate Presidencies. He would select persons in his confidence. When he selected a person to be Governor, he would do so because he knew that he was well fitted for the situation, and therefore he would give him his confidence; and that would to a great extent remove the objections which have been so much felt in regard to the trammels in which the subordinate Presidencies have been continually kept.

5111. Sir G. Grey.] Would you confine the selection to Indian servants actually in the service at the time, to the exclusion of men who had been long in India, but who had retired from the service, and were then resident in England?—In case the Governor-general should select officers who had retired from the service, he should send his nomination to the Home Government, and the appointment should be subject to their approval. By the scheme of government which I propose, the appointments to seats in the Executive and Legislative Councils and the Governorships, all highly responsible and important situations, the selection for which would be made by merit and qualification only, would be substituted for the appointments to the councils of the subordinate Presidencies to which the civil servants of the subordinate Presidencies are at present eligible, and I consider that, independently of its other advantages, this substitution would have a very happy effect upon the efficiency of the Indian service. The appointments to the councils are at present made in a great degree on the ground of seniority. The ablest and the fittest men in the different Presidencies are not habitually selected to be members of council, whereas, according to the plan I propose, the ablest and fittest men must almost necessarily be selected. Owing to the progress of events in India, such as the increased education and employment of the natives, the bringing Europeans under the jurisdiction of the local courts and other circumstances, it is highly important to increase the efficiency of the civil service, and to maintain its relative superiority; and I consider that so to arrange your prizes that they shall act entirely as rewards of merit, and shall have their full influence and value in calling forth the energy and emulation of the services, would have a very happy effect on the general government of India.

5112. Chairman.] I understood you to say, that you would render it necessary that all the superior appointments, such as those of the Governors of the subordinate Presidencies should receive the approbation of the Governor-general; that the correspondence should not be between the Governors of the subordinate Presidencies and the Government at home, as heretofore, but should be between those Governors and the Governor-general, and that they should only send an abstract of their proceedings, receiving their orders from the Governor-general, and that all orders for the subordinate Presidencies should go from home to the Governor-general. Further, you stated, that in some respects you would increase the powers of the Governors of the subordinate Presidencies. Inasmuch as the plan which you have mentioned appears to reduce the authority of the Governors of the subordinate Presidencies, and to diminish their independent action, in what way do you intend to increase their independent powers?—I consider that it would very much tend to giving an enlarged discretion and greater freedom to the subordinate Governors if they were selected by the Governor-general from among persons in his own confidence, and whom he thoroughly knew. The power of the Governor-general to trust a subordinate officer must depend mainly upon his knowledge

knowledge of him; and if he selects a person in his own confidence, he is more likely to trust him. The main circumstance however, on which I rely, for giving that increased discretion to the Governors of the subordinate Presidencies, which it is desirable they should have, is connected with the improvements I have to suggest in the financial system.

5113. Would not serious inconvenience occasionally arise from the routine which you recommend, that all orders from home to Bombay and Madras must go first to the Governor-general, and through him be sent to those Presidencies? —I think not; the communication between India and England has been so much accelerated, that except in rare instances no practical inconvenience would ensue, and any slight inconvenience which might be felt would be far more than compensated by the advantage of obtaining the interposition of the great authority and experience of the Supreme Government. But if any case of extreme emergency arose, such as an European war, or preparation for hostilities in the East, in which the speedy and immediate communication of instructions to the subordinate Presidencies was necessary, an exception might be made, and the Home Government might at its own discretion send copies of the orders to the subordinate Presidencies, with directions to carry them into immediate effect, sending the original instructions to Calcutta, as usual. It must be remembered that the administration in India is an executive administration. Now an executive administration requires promptness. Whereas the administration at home is, in the main, except in rare cases, such as the China war or an European war, an administration of supervision. It rarely happens that the mere revision of the proceedings of a local Government requires extraordinary haste.

5114. Is not it possible, though it may not be probable, that a case like this might occur. The Governor of the subordinate Presidency having no council, and being allowed to send home what diary of his proceedings he pleases, and taking his orders from the Governor-general, it must depend upon those two branches of the Government how the Presidency shall be conducted. Might not the Home Government, if there was any disposition in those two high officers to conceal their proceedings, be left without any statement of what was really occurring? —I think that that is a case which is in no way to be anticipated or supposed; it is an impossible case. We must trust to the personal honour of the highest functionaries of our Indian Government. I would have entire reliance upon it. Besides, it would not depend only upon them, because there are many other very high functionaries who would be concerned in the correspondence; and if an attempt at concealment were made, it must be perfectly well known, and would soon come to light, and bring disgrace upon the authors of it.

5115. Sir G. Grey.] Do you propose that the Governors of the subordinate Presidencies should be appointed by the Governor-general alone without the advice of his Executive Council?—No; I propose that they should be appointed as all appointments are now made by the Governor-general: that he should submit the nomination to the Council, and that the votes of the Council should be taken. The appointment would be made on his sole responsibility only in the extreme case provided by the existing law, of his determining to overrule the opinion of his Council.

5116. In the case of the extraordinary member both of the Executive and the Legislative Councils, do you propose that he should be appointed, as he now is, from the bar in England?—Precisely as at present; with this difference in his position, that instead of voting only on matters of legislation, and sitting in matters of executive business without voting, he should both sit and vote in matters of executive as well as legislative business.

5117. In recommending the consolidation of the two Courts at the different Presidencies, you propose that the Chief Justice appointed by the Crown should be President of the combined Court; do you propose that there should be no other judge but the Chief Justice appointed from England, and that the others should all be judges appointed from the Civil Service in India?—I mentioned that a certain number of Puisne Judges should be appointed by the Crown to sit on a footing of equality with the Judges to be appointed by the Company.

5118. How many Judges do you propose should constitute the Court, including the Chief Justice?—As many as may be required. In Bengal a larger number would be required; probably two Queen's Puisne Judges, besides the Chief Justice, and as many Company's Judges as may be necessary.

5119. Then there would be no diminution in the aggregate number by the consolidation?—

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consolidation?—It would have a tendency to diminution, but that would not be the necessary result.

5120. Do you propose to make any change with reference to the distinction which now exists in the armies of the different Presidencies?—Not at present. I consider that the tendency of the increased centralization of the Government of India will be to a consolidation of the armies, but it is by no means necessary to the plan I propose that the armies should be united.

5121. Sir C. Wood.] Do you think it desirable?—There are advantages and disadvantages on both sides.

5122. Sir T. H. Maddock.] There is only one army for the two Presidencies of Bengal and Agra, and for the Punjaub; there is no inconvenience arising, is there, from there being only one army for those great divisions of our Indian territory?—No; happily no serious inconvenience has ensued from the circumstance of our having only one army for the entire valley of the Ganges and the country of the Five Rivers.

5123. Sir J. W. Hogg.] Were not Bengal and Agra rather one Presidency divided into two?—Yes; that was the cause of there being one army. At the same time, in the course of our Indian experience, it has been felt to have been an advantage to have had separate armies, and that there should not be an entire sympathy between the armies of the different Presidencies.

5124. Sir G. Grey.] To recur to the question of the appointments of the Governors of the subordinate Presidencies, do not you think that the course you have recommended, of vesting those appointments absolutely in the Governor-general of India, would tend practically to limit the selection to men serving in India at the time, to the exclusion of men whose long experience in India would render them probably the fittest persons to execute the office of Governor of those Presidencies?—It might have that tendency to a certain degree; but it should be remembered that the great body of officers likely to be qualified for the government of the subordinate Presidencies, is the body of officers, civil, military and judicial serving in India; and if the appointment of the subordinate Governors rested with the Governor-general, that would have a tendency to prevent officers who aspired to the government of the subordinate Presidencies going home till they had exhausted their chance.

5125. Do not you think it would be rather an advantage, that a man with great Indian experience should come home and obtain some English ideas before he was vested exclusively with the government of one of those large Presidencies?—It would be an advantage to a certain extent.

5126. Would not the abolition of the Councils at those Presidencies necessarily require, in whosever hands the appointments might be, the selection of men conversant with Indian affairs, whether the appointments were vested in the local Government or in the Home Government?—It would to a great degree; but there would be this difference, that the Governor-general has much greater advantages for selecting the best qualified person than the Government at home. It by no means follows because an Indian servant is selected from among those who have retired, and who are in England, that therefore he is the fittest person. I mean no reflection upon those who have been so appointed, but it must not be assumed that because an old Indian servant is selected at home by the Home Government, therefore he is the fittest person who could be selected.

5127. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Do not you think it is possible that a Governor-general, having a particular knowledge and acquaintance with the officers of that Presidency in which he resided, and a comparatively small knowledge of the character of the officers in the other Presidencies, would be rather too much inclined to select from among those with whom he was most acquainted?—I do not think that is the experience of the Supreme Government; and their opportunities of becoming acquainted with the character and abilities of all the leading Indian officers in all the Presidencies would be very much increased if the general system which I recommend, were adopted. As it is, there is a most extensive knowledge diffused throughout India of the character of all the leading functionaries. Their positions are so prominent, and their functions so important, that they are known to the Supreme Government; and as a proof of that, the Supreme Government at present makes appointments from and to all parts of India. It appoints to the two Gangetic Presidencies, to the Punjaub, to all the Residencies, including Hyderabad and Nagpore; and there never has been any difficulty in selecting the ablest men for those great appointments from the services of all the Presidencies.

Presidencies. I may give an instance, which I am happy to say is likely to occur immediately. I hear that Colonel Lowe, a Madras officer, after having held several distinguished appointments, the last of which has been the Residency of Hyderabad, has been selected by the Home Government to be a Member of the Executive Council of India. If the Home Government has been led to make so proper an appointment, still more so would the Supreme Government in India be likely to do so.

5128. Evidence has been given to this Committee, that in case of substituting a Governor without a council at the subordinate Presidencies, that Governor without a council being appointed by the Crown, great difficulties are supposed to be likely to arise from the Commander-in-chief of the forces of the Presidency being placed in a subordinate situation to such a Governor. If those objections have any weight, probably they would be still greater if the Governor of each of those Presidencies were appointed only by the Governor-general?—I do not anticipate any such difficulty. According to my view, a Governor selected by the Governor-general would be likely to be, on an average, an abler man than the Governors at present selected by the Crown, and therefore, would have more personal authority with the Commanders-in-chief of the different Presidencies. It must be remembered that a Governor selected and appointed as I propose, would be an officer in the personal confidence of the Governor-general, the highest authority in India, and in daily communication with him; and those means of communication are increasing every day. We are introducing railroads and electric telegraphs, which greatly facilitates the means of communication. And then we may refer to the experience of our British colonies. Civil Governors are constantly appointed to the colonies by the Crown, and they are found to act in perfect harmony with the military commanders.

5129. Sir *G. Grey*.] They are appointed by the Crown?—Yes. According to my view that would make no difference; the Governors appointed by the Governor-general would, as it appears to me, have equal authority with those appointed by the Crown, as far as regards the mode of their appointment, and they would have superior authority, so far as regards their personal qualifications. I consider that the confidence of the Governor-general would be a greater element of strength than the mere fact of the Governor being appointed by the Crown.

5130. You do not propose that the Commander-in-chief at the Presidency should be appointed by the Governor-general?—No.

5131. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] But you contemplate that the army of each Presidency should be absolutely subordinate to the Governor of the Presidency?—Yes, as at present; that the Governor of the Presidency, appointed by the Governor-general, should step into the functions of the Governor in Council, as at present appointed.

5132. Will you be so good as to explain your reason for proposing that the Commander-in-chief of the forces should still be a member of Council, although it is probable that he would hardly ever take his seat in the Council?—I think that although the principle of our Indian Government is to be sought for elsewhere than in military power, yet the military element in the present state of our Indian progress is extremely important, and the army of India has been accustomed to see the Commander-in-chief of India in the Supreme Government, and it will therefore be advisable to maintain him there for the present; I see some advantage in it, and I see no sort of objection; it may be said that he never takes an active part in the business of Government, except in military affairs.

5133. Has it occurred to you whether any alteration should take place in the subordination of the Indian navy, which at present can scarcely be said to be at all under the direct authority of the Supreme Government?—I think probably it would be convenient that it should continue to be immediately administered by the Government of Bombay, which is our principal naval station, but in subordination to the Government of India; I see no reason for making any change.

5134. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] Is not the naval service of India, as at present administered by the Government of Bombay, in the same subordination to the Supreme Government as every other branch of the public service?—Unquestionably; I would not propose to make any difference in respect to the Indian navy; so long as it is convenient that the head-quarters of the Indian navy should be at Bombay, it will be convenient that it should be administered under the immediate directions of the Government of Bombay, in the same way as the Bombay army is.

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5135. Mr. *Hume*.] Are you aware that there is a navy at Calcutta, not under the discipline or orders of the Indian navy?—Yes, there are a few vessels there.

5136. Do you consider that those ships, the officers not having Her Majesty's commission, nor being authorised to interfere in case of war, ought to be allowed to continue as at present?—I think it is merely a matter of administrative convenience. The functions of the Indian navy have reference to the whole of India; as such it would seem more properly to belong to the direct functions of the Supreme Government; but circumstances of local convenience appear to make it proper that it should be under the immediate directions of the Bombay Government. For the same reason the local marine in the Hoogly, being merely for local purposes, should be under the immediate directions of the Government of Bengal; this, however, is a matter of administrative arrangement, and it is possible that the Supreme Government might suggest an improvement.

5137. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] The reason for the question which I asked is this: the Indian navy is, in its present position, directly subordinate to the Bombay Government, which communicates everything connected with it direct to the home authorities, and not to the Supreme Government. If, according to your plan, the Governor of Bombay should become directly subordinate to the Governor-general, would not it then be proper that it should refer everything connected with the Indian navy to the Governor-general in the first instance?—I think the Indian navy should be on the same footing as the Indian army, subject to the authority of the Governor-general. I alluded in a former part of my evidence to the possible convenience of the Court of Directors sending out detailed instructions to Bombay on matters relating to stores. I am aware that the nature of the business of the Indian navy brings it more into connection with England; its stores are principally sent out from this country, and it has a great deal in common with England. It would be convenient, probably, that the Court of Directors should carry on a separate correspondence with the Bombay Government, relating to the Indian navy, so far as local convenience required; but on all main points of authority, the equipment and employment of the force, it should be under the Supreme Government.

5138. You have alluded to certain trammels that the subordinate Governments are at present under in their relation to the Supreme Government, which would be removed by the system which you recommend; what peculiar trammels do you refer to?—I particularly alluded to financial restrictions. That forms a separate part of my evidence, which I will enter on when the Committee think proper.

5139. Mr. *Elliot*.] You have mentioned that it is advisable to continue the Commander-in-chief in Bengal a member of Council; do not you think that the arguments you have urged for doing so, equally apply to the Commander-in-chief in Madras being in the Council?—No, I think not; I think the exigency of the case is sufficiently met by having the Commander-in-chief of the whole of India in Council; the military authority in India will be represented in the Government of India by the Commander-in-chief of India. The Commanders-in-chief of the subordinate Presidencies would occupy a very important and authoritative place in direct communication with the Governors. I do not conceive that their real position would be at all impaired.

5140. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] The two principal objects which you appear to be desirous to impress upon the attention of the Committee in reference to the future Government of India are centralisation and uniformity. Have the Committee collected accurately your principal views?—Yes; that is the bare statement of them.

5141. You have specially referred to the expediency of reducing into a code the criminal law of India?—Yes.

5142. Will you state to the Committee whether you concur in the evidence given before the Committee that the population of India, subject to British rule, or influence is about 150,000,000?—Yes, including the native states.

5143. Can you state to the Committee how many languages are spoken by that mixed multitude?—Substantially, one language embraces two thirds of India. The Bengalee is spoken by 30,000,000 and Hindi or its cognate, Hindostanee, is spoken by all the inhabitants of Bahar, Benares, the Ceded Territories, Lucknow, the whole of Rajpootana, the Punjaub, Scinde, Malwa and the Deccan, as far as Bejapore.

5144. The question is not what the number of cognate languages may be, but what

what is practically the number of vernacular languages spoken by the 150,000,000 in India?—The language I have mentioned is the most general language of India; then the Tamul and Telegoo are also spoken extensively in the South of India. Not only, however, are the people who speak the different dialects of that great language which is derived directly from the Sanscrit, easily understood by each other, but there is a common language, a sort of Lingua Franca, the Hindoostanee, which extends over the whole of India; in the South of India and in the Bengal Provinces, and to a certain extent in the upper country, English is becoming the Lingua Franca also.

5145. If it be stated that there are 30 languages, vernacular, in India, each of which is spoken by some who understand not any other, would you concur in that statement or disagree with it?—I should disagree with it; I have had personal experience of many of those languages; I worked hard at Sanscrit, at Haileybury, and that gave me a great advantage; it gave me, in fact, the key to all those languages; I passed in Hindi in less than a month, without having looked at a Hindi book before I went to Calcutta. I went from one province where the Sanscrit class of languages was spoken to another, and after the first few weeks I never felt any difficulty either in making myself understood by the people or in understanding them.

5146. The question is not what an able and intelligent man, with European education, may acquire in a month or two months, or six months, but practically are there not many millions in India who understand one language, and do not understand any other?—Yes.

5147. Then it follows that a code of criminal judicature which may be fit for one class of people may not always equally be fit for another?—This is a subject on which I speak with great reserve; but I believe the opinion of the most experienced jurists, and certainly my own experience entirely concurs with it, is that criminal legislation is a branch of legislation which is capable of being extended with little or no alteration to great varieties of people.

5148. With respect to religion, it was stated by the late Dr. Francis Buchanan that there were about 300 different sects in the one great division of Brahminical religion?—I dare say there are as many; it branches out into an infinite variety of sects.

5149. Would a code of laws which might be fitted for a Musselman in the Upper Provinces be equally applicable, intelligible and useful to a native of the south of India professing a totally different religion, brought up in totally different usages, and accustomed to a totally different system of law?—I think it would be equally applicable; for instance, I think it would be equally suitable in Upper India, and in the Madras Presidency, that when a person had committed a murder, he should be hanged; and that when he had committed a petty larceny, he should be imprisoned for six months, and so on; I mention those as instances. I conceive that the rules of criminal law are capable of very general application.

5150. Do not the rules of criminal law, as interpreted and enforced in England, provide for the interposition of a jury in all criminal cases?—Yes.

5151. Does it follow, from your general views of the subject, that you would introduce or exclude either the English jury or the punchayat in every part of the British dominions in India?—Hitherto I have understood your questions to refer to the bare corpus of the criminal law; I now understand you to refer to a code of criminal procedure. Certainly, as regards the English institution of the jury, it would be necessary that that should be specially considered.

5152. Does not criminal judicature necessarily imply the consideration of the organisation by which it is to be applied, whether by the single fiat of a judge or by the intervention of a jury; whether such jury shall consist of 12 or five, and whether its verdicts shall be unanimous or by a majority; are you prepared to recommend one uniform system of criminal judicature as fitted to the 150,000,000 of India?—I am prepared to recommend one code of criminal law; the code of procedure may require certain exceptions. In the peculiar case of the jury, it will be necessary to consider how far it may be proper to give to British subjects, who have been accustomed to the institution of a jury, either the original institution as it exists in England, or some modification of it which will be more consistent with the true principles of criminal jurisprudence and with local circumstances; and how far either that modification of the jury system, or any other modification of it, should be extended to natives. The English system of jury, as it exists in England, prevails in the Presidency towns, and

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is applied to British subjects all over the country, through the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Certain modifications of the punchayat system, which is also a jury system, exist in the Company's courts. This will be a point for the consideration of the commission to whom will be entrusted the codification of the laws of India.

5153. To whom it would be entrusted according to your suggestion?—Yes.

5154. You would not suppose that a code which might be well adapted to a professor of the Brahminical religion would be equally well adapted to Musselmen or Christians?—I am not prepared to say that it would not; I think that even on the peculiar point of the jury and punchayat system, it is possible that a modification of the two may be generally established, which will be common to all classes. The inclination of my opinion decidedly is, that such a modification may be generally established.

5155. Are the Committee to understand you to say, whether the term codifying be used or not, it is your suggestion that everything connected with legislation, with finance, with the post-office, with external customs, with judicial and police administration, with land revenue, and with the excise, should separately be reduced throughout the whole of India to one code or one system?—I have been misunderstood. I do not intend that the codification which I suggest should go beyond a codification or digest, subject to such revision as circumstances may require, of the existing civil and criminal law of India; that is the English law as administered in India, the law of the Company's regulations; the procedure of the Company's courts; and the Hindoo and Mahomedan civil law. Those are the laws which I proposed should be codified. The different branches of taxation, including the great question of the land revenue, should be the subject of separate arrangements, either by legislation or otherwise, as the case may require.

5156. Practically you see no difficulty in applying to a population equal to three-fifths of the population of Europe, comprehending many different races, different languages and different creeds, and who hitherto have been brought up under different systems, some one exclusive and commanding system?—No; I see no difficulty, subject to the limited exception of those parts of the Mahomedan and Hindoo law which are identified with their religion.

5157. So far with respect to the uniformity which the Committee understand to be one of the objects which you specially recommend to their consideration. Now with respect to centralisation, which the Committee understand to be not less one of your objects; are the Committee to understand you that the Governor-general, the Commander-in-chief, and the legislative member of the Supreme Council, shall be the only three persons necessarily members of that Council whom it may be lawful henceforth to send out from England?—No, I propose also that the three ordinary members shall be nominated in England, as at present. I have confined my statement to those points in which I propose alterations.

5158. At present are the members of Council nominated in England by any other authority than that of the Court of Directors. Has the Crown any vote or any power of intervention whatever in such nominations?—No; and I propose that the three ordinary members of the executive council should be appointed as at present by the Court of Directors, with this difference: that instead of being in the great majority of cases taken only from the Bengal and Agra Presidencies, there should be a real selection from the entire Indian service, civil and military.

5159. You assume, as the basis of your suggestion, that the Government shall be constructed, as at present, partly at home, by the intervention of the Court of Directors, partly by the Crown, as represented by the India Board, and partly by the Governor-general, who is to be the nominee of the Crown?—Yes; the Home Government forms an entirely separate branch of the subject; it would probably be convenient that I should be examined upon that separately.

5160. Your last answer implies the existence of the power of the Court of Directors?—Yes; subject to certain modifications, which I have to suggest, in the Home Government.

5161. The greater part of your recommendations, with reference to centralisation, has been founded on the assumption that the Governor-general will always exercise a better discretion in selecting Governors for the subordinate Presidencies than has been exercised of late; and you have used the expression, that the ablest and most fitting men must necessarily be selected for the Governors of the subordinate Presidencies, if the selection were made by the Governor-general; will you

you be pleased to state to the Committee how that will necessarily follow the appointment by A rather than the appointment by B?—By necessity, I mean a practical, or perhaps a moral necessity. In the first place, the Governor-general would be very free from any influence which would divert him from appointing the fittest person; he would be confined to the Indian service and the high judicial officers appointed by the Crown, including, if that proposal be adopted, those who had retired from the service, in that case subject to the approval of the Home authorities. And while he would be free from any such injurious influence, he would have every possible motive to select the best men. The sole interest he would have in the matter would be to make his administration as successful as possible, and in order to effect that he must select the fittest men; for it must never be forgotten, in discussing this subject, that the selection of the Governors is a vital point; everything hinges upon it; everything else is of inferior importance compared with the selection of Governors, upon whom everything depends; make what laws you will, still everything will depend upon the character of the Governor. The Governor-general will have such opportunities for selecting the best men, from the experience which he and his colleagues in the Executive Council will possess of the entire Indian service in all its scope, as no Government at home can possess.

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5162. By whom was the selection made of Mr. Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, Sir George Clerk, and Sir George Arthur?—By the Home Government.

5163. Do you find fault with the selection of those men?—No; they were good appointments. But whatever excellent qualities Governors who have been appointed from home may have possessed, they have not, as a general rule, been selected because they were the fittest persons to be Governors of the subordinate Presidencies of India.

5164. You have referred to the communications made, and to be made, between the subordinate Presidencies and the Governor-general. You have suggested that, instead of those minutes being minutes *in extenso*, they should be minutes in abstract; do you wish the Committee to understand that the Governor-general is to exercise any supervision over cases decided by the subordinate Presidencies?—Yes; if anything contained in those abstracts of correspondence appears to him to demand further inquiry, he will call for the papers, and for such explanations as the case requires, and will give such orders as he may think fit.

5165. Without stating how far an abstract may or may not be so made as to deprive the person to whom it is transmitted of any fair opportunity of judging of the case, will you state whether it has not been alleged, as one great argument in favour of the existing system, that now the supreme responsibility being either with the Court of Directors, for instance, or with the Governor-general, as the case may be, each of those authorities has the same means of deciding on appeal, or by reference, as the subordinate authority had of deciding in the first instance?—Yes; I attach great value to that subordination of authority which allows of cases being decided on appeal, and on revision, not only by the Supreme Government, but by the Home Government; and I also attach great value to the mode of conducting business by writing; but I conceive it to be quite unnecessary, in order to obtain those important ends, that the whole of the correspondence should be copied *in extenso*, and should also be reduced into the form of general letters. I conceive that there is no saving so important as the saving of the time and labour of highly qualified men; and by making the change which I propose, a saving of that sort will be effected to an extraordinary extent. There will be a great saving at each of the Presidencies. There will be a great saving at the Court of Directors; and there will be a great saving at the Board of Control. The correspondence will be confined, if my plan be adopted, to an abstract of the whole of the proceedings, so as to give a key to them all to the superior authorities, and to enable them to call for any explanation which they may require. Judging from my experience of Indian administration, I should say that an abstract of that sort is quite sufficient to enable the Supreme Government to control the proceedings of the subordinate Governments. The Committee may not be aware that the subordinate Governments at this moment furnish abstracts of that kind. When the last renewal of the Charter took place, a further step towards the centralisation of the Government of India was taken to this extent, that whereas previously to that there had been no regular correspondence between the Supreme and the subordinate Governments, the subordinate Governments were required

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required to furnish abstracts of the whole of their proceedings, which they do to this day. And these abstracts are found quite sufficient to enable the Supreme Government to exercise a supervision over the subordinate Governments. In the same way Lord William Bentinck established a system of reporting the whole of the proceedings of the officers of the diplomatic department, the Residents, and the Agents. One of my first employments at Delhi was keeping the diary, as it was called, of the Delhi Residency. Each English and Native letter, each proceeding in whatever language, went into the diary, in such a form as was practically found to be sufficient to enable the Supreme Government to exercise the most effective control over the Delhi Residency; and again and again we received calls for explanation from Calcutta. In the same way, the diaries of all the agencies subordinate to the Delhi Residency were sent to the Residency. One of my duties was to revise them, and every day I used to call for explanations, so that that diary was found to be a very effective instrument of supervision. Then, also, I can give the Committee some English experience. I have lately been engaged with other gentlemen in the revision of the establishment of the Board of Trade. The Board of Trade consisted of a number of disjointed establishments which had been tacked on to it at different times, for different purposes, for the execution of Acts of Parliament passed from time to time; and one of the reforms which has been introduced at the recommendation of the committee of which I was a member, was that the whole of the correspondence of the Board of Trade, both in-coming and out-going, should be entered in short, much in the same manner which I suggest for these Indian diaries, in a register, and that a transcript of the register of the preceding day should be laid upon the table of the President of the Board of Trade on the following morning, whereby he would obtain a current knowledge of all that was in progress in every department of the office; so that if he saw anything of which he disapproved, or doubted, or which he did not understand, he might immediately call for explanation. We have also made a very important reform of a somewhat analogous kind in the Treasury. One of our most important records is what is called our Fair Minutes. Formerly every paper whatever used to be placed on the Fair Minutes; the consequence of which was that everything of whatever kind, important or unimportant, went into the Fair Minutes, including, of course, a great amount of what in the present sense was mere rubbish, and what was really important was buried under a great heap of this unnecessary matter. The change we introduced was, that all those matters which are decided as matters of course, under the ordinary rules of proceeding at the Treasury, should be excluded from the Fair Minutes, and that the Fair Minutes should be confined to those cases which are of real importance; new cases, or extraordinary cases belonging to an existing class. The result is, that whereas formerly we used to bind up a thick volume every month, we have now only a moderately sized volume every quarter; and our Fair Minutes, instead of being a sort of labyrinth, where it was difficult to find what was really important, are reduced to a manageable summary of precedents and important decisions.

5166. Will the Committee understand correctly the conclusion which you wish them to draw from your last illustration, if they say that in the one instance, that of the Board of Trade, a reference is made from the Board of Trade to the Treasury, the supreme authority in the matter, and the reference of the Fair Minutes of the Treasury is made practically from the Secretaries of the Treasury to the Board of Treasury, all parties being within 100 yards of each other?—I described the system of the Board of Trade merely with reference to the internal organisation of the Board of Trade, with the object of showing that the President, by this simple contrivance of a diary, obtains a check over the whole of the current proceedings of his office. No doubt the proceedings of the President of the Board of Trade are subject to the revision of the Treasury in matters relating to finance.

5167. In fact, all the parties are in Whitehall?—It is so; but I think that is not the point. The real question is, whether by a simple expedient of this sort, the superintending officer can be placed in possession of a current check over the proceedings of his subordinates, wherever they may be. I think I have shown in the case of the Board of Trade that he can.

5168. Will you state to the Committee whether there is any analogy between the cases you have mentioned, and cases where the Governor-general may be at Simla or at Lahore, at a distance of 1,000 miles from the Presidency of Bombay?

—I think

—I think the distance would make no difference at all; the only difference between the cases is, that in the one case an explanation has to be written for to a distance, and in the other, it may be obtained next door.

5169. The Committee understand one of your main objections to be the expense of money, to say nothing of the expense of time, incident to the transmission of minutes *in extenso*?—I have not yet even mentioned the expense of money; it is however very important, because, if, at a rough guess, the correspondence of the Indian and the Home Governments is reduced to one-tenth or one-twentieth of its present amount, there will be a great saving both in India and in England, and that saving may be applied to public works and other useful objects. But the main thing is the saving of time and labour, and leaving those highly-qualified officers free for the purpose of grappling with really important questions; at present they are so overwhelmed with a heap of detail, that they have not time for what is really important.

5170. You have already stated that the Governor-general has to exercise some supervision; supposing you had, individually, a case of appeal, would you be satisfied with an abstract of your case made by a man who had already decided against you?—I am not speaking of cases of judicial appeals; the whole judicial administration of the country would go on separately.

7171. You have referred to the case of Baroda; would you think an abstract of the proceedings in the Baroda case as satisfactory a mode of enabling the Governor-general or the Court of Directors, or the Crown at home, to deal with the case as the transmission of the minutes?—I think it quite as satisfactory in 99 cases of 100; when the hundredth, the important case, occurred, the Resident at Baroda would make it the subject of a special correspondence. Part of my plan is, that every subject of importance, every subject which really requires the revision of superior authority, shall form the subject of a special correspondence. If he does not do so, it may be detected in the diary, or, if it is not detected in the diary, then if anybody is injured, the Governor-general is accessible to all complaints. That is the great check of all, and that will remain.

5172. You have said that the system of land tenure in the North Western Provinces seemed to solve the difficult question connected with landed property in India; can you recommend to this Committee for adoption any plan which should give a uniform system of land tenure in every part of British India?—No; highly as I think of that western settlement, and thoroughly as I think it places the subject on its right foundation, I am by no means prepared, after all that has taken place in the Madras and the Bombay Presidencies, to say that it should be at once introduced without alteration. All I suggest is, that the experience acquired in the North Western Provinces of the right mode of dealing with this great question should be applied to those other Presidencies, so as to determine which will be the best arrangement, under existing circumstances, for those Presidencies.

5173. Mr. Elliot.] You could not adopt that system in Bengal, for instance?—Certainly not. There is one great general principle of land revenue which ought to be extended, in substance, with such modifications as may be required, to the whole of India, which is, to fix the demand of the Government, and thereby to establish the principle of private property, which is the foundation of all social improvement. That great principle has been fully established in Bengal, though under certain disadvantages which have at last nearly worked themselves clear.

5174. With regard to the perpetual settlement, you could not interfere with that in any way, with a view of introducing a better system of land tenure?—No; but that applies to only 30,000,000 of inhabitants, the whole being 150,000,000.

5175. Sir T. H. Maddock.] With respect to the abridgement of labour in the matter of correspondence, is the Committee to understand that you are of opinion that if the system of diaries which exists in India between the subordinate Governments and the Supreme Government is sufficient for the purposes of control, and if it enables the Supreme Government to send for papers *in extenso* upon every point that they may think necessary from the perusal of the diary, the same system would be sufficient for the correspondence between the subordinate Governments and the Supreme Government and the authorities in England?—I think so, with the subsidiary aids which I have described, namely, the voluntary special correspondence; for it will be the duty of the subordinate Governments to make every case which requires the decision of the Supreme Government the subject of a special reference, just as a Resident would do with

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respect to every important question. The Residents and many other high officers, as is well known, do not send copies of all their correspondence to the Supreme Government; they merely send their diaries, and they correspond specially on important subjects, which appear to them to require the intervention of the Supreme Government. The control of the Supreme Government over the diplomatic officers is very complete.

5176. As far as your information enables you to speak confidently upon the subject, the control exercised by the Supreme Government over the subordinate Governments, under this system, is complete?—It is complete for the purpose of carrying on such control as the Supreme Government has thought proper to exercise, and it is capable of being applied to any degree of control.

5177. Does not it render it impossible that any important proceedings of the subordinate Governments should be completed without the Supreme Government having a knowledge of them, and being able to control them forthwith?—I consider that, according to the system I propose, the security would be complete; that the Supreme Government would have knowledge and cognizance of every important case whatever. In the first place, it would have the fact that it was the duty of the subordinate Governments specially to refer every case of importance to the Supreme Government; in the next place, it would have the diary; in the next place, it would have the power which every individual who is aggrieved or interested has, of making representations; and last of all, it would have the press, which is also a very important element in the Indian system.

5178. It does exist at present, and is in full force in India, is not it?—It is not in full force; the elements of it all exist, but it has not been systematically applied.

5179. In what respects has not it been applied?—The Supreme Government has not given its attention to the exercise of that more complete control over the proceedings of the subordinate Governments which I contemplate.

5180. Has not it of late years been the constant practice of the Supreme Government on looking over the diaries of the proceedings of the subordinate Governments, to send for full reports and copies of all papers in any cases in which they required further information?—Unquestionably it has; the Supreme Government has exercised an increasing superintendence over the subordinate Governments. I perfectly well recollect the commencement of that increased superintendence on the occasion of the last renewal of the Charter, and it has been growing ever since; and quite enough has taken place to show that a control may be exercised, through the means which I have described, over the subordinate Governments, to any extent that the public interests may require.

5181. It is your opinion that a similar mode of control by the authorities in England will be sufficient?—It is.

5182. Mr. *Hume*.] In proposing that the appointment of the Governors of Madras and Bombay should be by the Governor-general, did you or did you not intend to throw the responsibility of the Government generally upon the Governor-general?—I did. The Governor-general, even with his present imperfect control over the Presidencies, is responsible to a great extent for the due administration of the whole of India. I would make him more responsible, and I would give him increased means of meeting that responsibility; and I would especially hold him responsible in this respect, that if anything goes wrong in any part of India, he should be able to show that it was not from any neglect or inattention of his.

5183. *Chairman*.] The Committee, for their own convenience, are anxious to direct their investigation to the question of the machinery of the Government, reserving other topics for future occasions of examination; having heard your opinion upon the subject of the Government in India, they will proceed to the Home Government, and ask your opinion as to the desirableness of maintaining its present construction, or what changes you would introduce?—I would propose that all first appointments, both civil and military, should be subjected to the public competition of the whole country. I have considered this subject very carefully, and I am convinced that it would not only be very advisable, if practicable, but that it is also quite practicable and manageable. The other great function of the Home Government, the revision of the proceedings of the Indian Government, I would maintain very much as at present; it should all be in writing, but abbreviated in the manner which I propose. All the mere routine business, all that largest proportion of the correspondence which is quite of course, should be disposed of by means of those abstracts; and the attention of the
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Government of India and the Home Authorities should be concentrated on that, which is of real importance. I consider that the governing body in this country should be so constituted as to secure three great principles; first, such ample experience of Indian administration as will prevent the adoption of crude or premature plans, and will preserve a consistent and harmonious course of action. This is especially necessary in the case of Indian administration, which depends upon circumstances so entirely different from the state of society in Great Britain and the colonies, as to make it a separate profession. The object has been substantially accomplished by the present arrangement, and the firm establishment of our dominion in India is mainly to be attributed to it. I consider that the Home Government should exercise, in respect to the Government of India, very much the sort of function which the House of Lords exercises in regard to our own home administration, as a check upon hasty and ill-digested schemes, and a means of securing consideration and discussion. Notwithstanding the advantage of colonial assemblies in most of the colonies, our colonial administration has suffered from the want of a similar provision. I could mention two instances of the most analogous kind, in reference to the colonial administration of Ceylon, which would be illustrations of that point. Further, I consider that the Court of Directors may be improved by introducing into it a certain number of the most distinguished of the retired servants of the Company, to be selected by the Crown, expressly on the ground of their superior qualifications. This will have the additional advantage of supplying that great desideratum, an appropriate termination to the career of Indian servants, and furnishing them with suitable employment in the public service after their return, thereby preventing them from feeling so sensibly the loss of their former occupations and positions. Secondly, I think the Home Government should be so constituted that the public interests of India should not be unduly postponed, or treated as secondary to the public interests of England. The peculiar arrangement under which the President of the Board of Control is able to send out any order he pleases upon certain subjects through the secret committee, destroys this security on the point on which it is most required. The exercise of this power has been greatly extended of late years, so as to include the civil administration of whole provinces for a series of years together. The power of sending out despatches through the secret committee must, no doubt, be retained to meet the exigencies of European warfare, when the Company might be called upon to make secret preparations; but now that our supremacy has been fully established in India, there is no reason why everything that relates to Indian political and military administration, should not undergo the usual sifting and discussion by the Court of Directors. Nobody can read Lord Ellenborough's evidence before the Committee on Indian Territories, and Lord Broughton's (then Sir John Hobhouse) evidence before the Committee on Official Salaries, without being convinced that some change is necessary in this respect. Lord Broughton (then Sir John Hobhouse) was asked this question: "Take the case of the Affghan war; was not that a political move by the Government, rather than by the East India Company?" His answer was, "It was done by myself; that is to say, I was the person responsible for it, and the Court of Directors had nothing to do with it, except the secret committee signing despatches to send to India." Lord Ellenborough was asked this question: "Is not that a mere mockery as to check or control? Does not the President always conduct the whole business, and is it not the case that the other members of the Board never do attend?" The answer is, "Never. When I was President of the Board, upon all matters of difficulty I always went to the Duke of Wellington, who was at the head of the Government, because I knew that he had not only a practical, but an intuitive knowledge of everything connected with India; and whatever I know, or whatever I think upon the subject of India, has been very much brought into my mind by constant communication with him. But I never went to Sir Robert Peel, when he was at the head of the Government, to consult him upon any matter." This is too despotic and arbitrary a power to be vested in any man, or any body of men: viz., the power of pronouncing a fiat of peace or war, or other most important transactions, without even hearing a contrary opinion, and without their comparative ignorance of Indian interests being aided by the superior local knowledge of experienced Indian officers. The remedies which I would suggest for this particular defect, are, first, a return to the original constitution of the Board of Control, which originally consisted, and in fact still consists in form, and to some extent in substance, of a committee of certain of the great officers

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of State. Therefore I would suggest that whenever the Cabinet determined to send an order through the secret committee, the First Lord of the Treasury, and one of the Secretaries of State should certify under their signatures that the case is one in which the public interests, in their opinion, require that the correspondence should be conducted through the secret committee. I would also suggest that the chairman and deputy chairman, and any others of the Court of Directors who may be members of the secret committee, should have the power which is possessed by the members of the Council of India, of recording their dissent, the Cabinet and the President of the Board of Control retaining the full power of over-ruling their opinion. Thirdly and lastly, it is most essential that the governing body in India and England shall not be subject to party influences. This object also has been satisfactorily attained. There is an entire absence of party feeling in India; everything is decided on its own merits. The only question asked is, what is just or expedient; and when this has been determined, the execution follows as a matter of course. It is a most gratifying and satisfactory circumstance that during the political crises which have been so frequent of late years, India has been as completely sheltered as if she had been an independent state. Whatever faults the Court of Proprietors may have, it has furnished an independent basis for the Government of India. Deriving their power from a separate source, the Directors have not been influenced by political changes. They are taken from the best and most substantial portion of the middle class. They include a fair representation of the important middle classes, of bankers, merchants, and persons in business generally; they belong neither to the political aristocracy nor to the class of Parliamentary politicians; they have the English element without any objectionable admixture of English party spirit. It is not the practice for them to take office under the Queen's Government. It is eminently a government of the middle classes, and of the best portion of them. Their independence, also, in a secondary degree, rests upon their local position in the city of London, instead of their being at Westminster, and also upon their number being considerable. I consider that there would be very great public danger in putting the Government of India immediately under the Government of England. Take, for instance, the power of voting pensions and grants of money out of the Indian revenue. The House of Commons, representing the interests of this country, being familiar with the interests of this country, and being under an effective responsibility for the administration of the interests of this country, may be trusted to vote away the money of the people of this country, but it could not be trusted to vote away the money of the people of India. The subject-matter at stake is a great revenue, less only than the revenues of France and England, and superior to those of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. I may allude to certain cases, into the details of which, however, I will not enter, which indicate the sort of abuse of which the constitution of the Indian Government, to which I object, would be capable, even supposing the patronage to be taken away: I refer to the case of the Lucknow bankers, when the honest, independent stand made by the Company prevented the monied interests of the kingdom of Lucknow from being brought within the scope of the Home Government, notwithstanding a mandamus against the Company was moved for in the Court of Queen's Bench by the President of the Board of Control. I will also refer to the Hyderabad claims, when the revenue of the subsidiary Government of Hyderabad was saved from being sucked into the same vortex by the independent and honourable stand made by Sir Charles Metcalfe. I will also refer to the system of abuse which has grown up here in railroads, which will be one of the most important parts of the Indian administration for a series of years to come. These are a few instances; but where the will and the power exist, it is impossible to say what new channels a principle of this kind might strike out. We must not judge from the present exceptional state of public feeling relating to India, but from the habitual apathy with which Indian subjects are regarded. It is gratifying to find the extent of interest with which the well-being of India is now regarded in this country; but that interest, laudable as it is, is to a great degree very uninformed. The country is now happily roused to a lively attention to Indian affairs, but we cannot calculate on this lasting long. As a general rule, a single Legislature can attend only to the affairs of a single country; the affairs of this great country and its colonies are so weighty and extensive, that Parliament finds full occupation in the transaction of its own business. If a Bill for the reform of the franchise, or even some other measure of less interest relating to

our home affairs were brought forward next year, India and its affairs would be likely to be lost sight of. Even now, if the real detailed administrative business of India in all its departments of land revenue, judicial, political, &c., were brought before Parliament, it would be seen that this burden, in addition to what already falls upon Parliament, would be altogether too great; and the great majority of the Members of Parliament are quite unqualified by their previous experience to come to a correct decision upon Indian questions. It will be remembered, that one of the principal points in the last periodical settlement of the Government of India was, that for every writership which had to be filled up, four candidates should be presented for examination. This passed with everybody's approval except that of the Court of Directors, who, very soon after, finding that the public attention had been diverted to other objects, got a Bill passed through Parliament rescinding this regulation. Of those who voted against the claims of the Rajah of Sattarah, how many had made themselves acquainted with the subject, so as to be able to form an intelligent opinion upon it? It so happened that, as I believe, in this case no harm was done, but it might have been far otherwise. Owing to the prevailing ignorance and indifference, the votes on Indian questions would almost always be given according to party or personal views. That evil principle which is known under many forms and many names, party, patronage, favouritism, jobbing, seems inherent in the constitution of free Governments. It is even worse in the United States than it is here. The Executive Government depends for its political existence and success upon the House of Commons. Each individual Member of the House of Commons depends for his political existence and success upon his constituents. Even in ordinary times the Executive Government and individual Members of Parliament find it difficult to refuse favours which it is in their power to grant, however strong the reasons may be against granting them; and when parties are evenly balanced, or great questions have to be carried, or a Government has to be maintained in power, or an opposition has to be lifted into place, things are done in this country, in the face of our active public opinion, and free press, and freedom of exposure in Parliament, which show how much greater the evil would be if India were brought within the direct action of our party politics. I can mention instances in support of this view which everybody will admit, instances of a large and general character, which cannot be questioned.

5184. Applicable to India, do you mean?—No; but showing that in its present state the Parliamentary Government of England is not a safe depository for the direct and immediate administration of the Government of India. The conclusion at which I arrive is this, that the English Executive Government and Parliament are not, in the existing state of public feeling, to be trusted with a direct, immediate, and ordinary action upon the administration of India. But it may be hoped that the state of public feeling in this country will improve; society appears to be putting forth a remedial power, and measures are, I hope, being taken to cut up this corruption by the roots. The character of the Court of Directors will improve with the absence of patronage, and the new infusion of the first-class of retired Indian servants; and the improved mode of appointing to writerships and cadetships, the increased inducement to exertion from the number of effective superior appointments which will be thrown open to the Indian services, and the gradual development of the native character, under all the means taken for its improvement, will, it may be hoped, by the time the Court of Proprietors comes to an end, by the paying off of their stock on the occasion of the next renewal of the charter, lead to such an advanced and improved and more secure state of things, that further changes may be made which, at the present time, would be altogether unsafe and inexpedient.

5185. You mentioned one advantage as derived from the number of the Directors; will you state what you mean by that?—I do not mean to limit my opinion to the present number; what I think is, that there should be a sufficient number to give a fair prospect of their maintaining the character of an independent body. The present number, 24 active Directors, is, I think, too many; I would considerably reduce it as regards the elected members.

5186. Sir C. Wood. Are you to be understood to say that in your opinion the Court of Directors ought to be maintained?—Yes.

5187. Of whom a certain portion should be elected and the others appointed, in some way or other, from the old servants of the East India Company?—Yes; appointed

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appointed by the Crown, on the responsibility of a Member of the Government of the Crown, from the body of retired Indian officers, including the Queen's judges.

5188. You propose, having thus in your opinion improved the Court of Directors, to leave the Government of India in its hands, subject, as at present, to the Board of Control?—Yes.

5189. Is that, in your opinion, the best form of Government, under present circumstances, for India?—In my opinion, very decidedly, it is the best; a Government constituted on that *quasi* independent principle is the only safe form of Government; and I think, besides, and independently of that, it is the best at present, I limit my opinion to the next 20 years, for I consider it is one of our most valuable Anglo-Indian institutions, that every 20 years the system of Indian Government undergoes a thorough revision.

5190. Does any great inconvenience in the mode of conducting the Government arise from the existence of the Court of Directors as well as the Board of Control?—I think not; as I formerly said, this is not an Executive Government at home; it is a Government of supervision, and for laying down principles; so that it does not matter, generally speaking, whether an immediate answer is returned, or whether an answer is returned after a lapse of a few weeks, or even a few months; but wherever prompt action is required, it should be applied, and in my belief it is applied. As far as I have ever been able to see the working of the Home Government, whenever a case occurs requiring prompt action immediate measures are taken; and if the plan I propose of confining the detailed correspondence to really important points is adopted, that prompt and speedy action will be still more easy.

5191. With regard to the detailed administration, even as carried on at present, are immediate answers of any consequence at all as regards a large portion of correspondence?—The bulk of the correspondence consists of what are called general letters. I have had to prepare a great many of them, and special letters too. I have often had a pile of correspondence brought into my room by several messengers which, when it was all put together, was several feet high. I had to turn all that into a general letter. Certainly, for all purposes of control, ninety-nine hundredths of it was the merest rubbish; they were mere ordinary transactions, of which the great bulk of the business of every Government consists; things which are as certain and regular as getting up in the morning and going to bed at night. All that would be got rid of, and you would have instead of it a general summary of the correspondence, which would give considerable power of calling for explanation, and of seeing the course things had taken; and the Indian Governments would act under the ordinary responsibility of every subordinate officer; that is, of not deciding off his own back those things which ought to be submitted to his superior officer, and of reporting those things which he is obliged to decide upon his own responsibility.

5192. Whatever the amount of correspondence which comes home upon general subjects, is not the object of the Home Government not to give orders for execution, but to see that the general principles which have been laid down for the guidance of the Government in India are adhered to in those particular instances?—Undoubtedly it is; there is hardly any subject of Indian administration which has not been reduced to rule, either by special regulation or by precedents applicable to analogous cases. The main business of the Home Government, no doubt, is to see that the Government of India is carried on according to those general rules. Now and then cases of an executive character occur, but comparatively very rarely, and in those cases an immediate answer is sent.

5193. Mr. Elliot.] Are not the paragraphs in the general letter as concise as they can possibly be made?—Yes. I do not know of what value my time was considered; but it was taken up for weeks and weeks together in reading all this correspondence, which must be all read over again by an intelligent person, and digested into this general letter. The time of many other junior civil servants was similarly absorbed at all the Presidencies, and an infinity of clerks employed, men who spun their brains from morning to night in copying those innumerable enclosures, things that any subordinate office in England or in India would not think of reporting in detail. No class of officers exercise a more responsible power than the Residents and Governor-general's agents in India; but if the Governor-general's agent in Rajpootanah, or the Resident at Hyderabad, was to send copies of all the correspondence he carries on with everybody to the Governor-general, he would be considered to have lost his wits. The Supreme Government

Government exercises a most effective control over everybody in India, without requiring transcripts of all their proceedings; and so it will be with the Supreme Government in its relation to the subordinate Governments, and the Home Government in its relation to the Supreme Government.

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5194. I understand you propose to make abstracts of the correspondence, and to send them home; in making those abstracts, will not it be equally necessary that some one should read over those voluminous documents?—No, it should be more like the docket of a letter; a concise statement of the object of the letter. It should rest upon the responsibility of the responsible officer, whether a correspondence should be treated in that way by an index, or whether it should be treated separately, as the subject of a special communication.

5195. You propose to nominate certain of the Directors through the Government; you have expressed a great desire to keep everything connected with India free from political influence; would not it be a better plan, that those Directors whom you propose to have nominated, should be nominated by the Directors themselves rather than by the Government, in which case you would keep free from the political influence which you yourself deprecate?—No, I think a new class of objections then arises; there is a great general objection to any body perpetuating itself. The infusion of a new element from without is necessary; and when it is considered that the selection will be confined to retired Indian servants, the most distinguished men among whom are perfectly well known, so that it is known perfectly by everybody who has given his attention to the subject, who are the fittest men in the United Kingdom to be appointed to those new places, and it is remembered under what serious responsibility the Queen's Government would act, and that those selected officers would hold their places for a certain fixed period, I do not think there is any fear of the invasion of that evil principle of patronage and jobbing; Indian servants generally are quite free from it; it forms decidedly one of the happy circumstances of their position that they are so.

5196. Mr. *Mangles*.] What is your opinion of the general effect upon the well-being of the people of India of the British Government as it has subsisted?—My opinion is very favourable. Considering the extraordinary difficulties arising from the difference of language, religion, and social habits, and the very little assistance which the Government has received from the natives of India, I am astonished at the progress which we have made. There is the great fact, that the Company has acquired our Indian dominion; there is the great fact, that it has so far conciliated the natives that for a long time past there has been no serious rebellion, and there is no probability of one. It is also a great fact, that although we have made several considerable mistakes, yet we have acquired such an amount of experience that we perfectly see our way to the remedy of those mistakes. I consider that the British character appears fairer in its relation to India and to the Indian services than in any other relation in which it can be viewed.

5197. What is your opinion of the character of the British Government in comparison with that of any native Government?—There is this great difference between the Anglo-Indian and the native Governments, that though we have made mistakes, and may make them again, our intentions are good. The Anglo-Indian Government and its servants, are actuated by an honest desire of doing the best they can for the country; so that it is an improving Government; there is a constant progress being made, and that is seen on a comparison of the present state of British India with its former state, and on comparing its state at any given time with the condition of the native states. I have had as much experience of the native states as I have had of our own internal administration; and my decided opinion is, that our administration not only holds out a promise for the future, which, speaking generally, the native states do not, but that it is also actually the best at this moment.

5198. Do you believe that at any period India has been so well governed as it has been under the British Government?—Never; I am quite sure of that, as far as I can judge from history, and from the opinion of the natives themselves. It was my delight to converse with natives of all ranks and persuasions, and I can vouch for that being the prevailing opinion. There may be some peculiar classes who have suffered from the introduction of our administration, but even they are fast disappearing; and there can be no doubt that the prevailing sentiment of the native population is that our Government is the Government for them. My firm opinion

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opinion is, that if a poll of the whole of the people of British India were taken by universal suffrage, the great majority would be in favour of the continuance of the Anglo-Indian Government.

5199. Mr. *Hume*.] Are the Committee to understand that in giving to the Crown, through its Minister, the nomination of a certain portion of the Court of Directors, you would, nevertheless, limit its choice to officers of the Company's service, or the Queen's judicial service?—I would during the next period, for it is a change, and there is always danger in changes, and we ought to guard them effectually.

Jovis, 2^a die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Spooner.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Clive.

Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Bankes.
Mr. Cobden.
Mr. Ellice.
Mr. Newdegate.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

John Sullivan, Esq., called in ; and further Examined.

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5551. *Chairman*.] ARE there any portions of your previous evidence that you wish to correct or explain?—I am very anxious to have an opportunity of explaining that, in advocating the admission of natives to all offices for which they may be qualified in the civil department, I merely aim to give effect to the principle that was laid down in the Act of the 3rd and 4th of William the Fourth, which runs as follows: "And be it enacted, that no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of his Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company." Now this enactment has been a dead letter for the last 20 years, and every attempt to give it effect has been systematically defeated. It was at the instance of Lord William Bentinck, when he was Governor-general, that this clause was inserted in the Act, and he never ceased to recommend it; but he complained that there had been no machinery provided for carrying it out. His remark is this: "By that enactment a very important principle was declared; still no provision was made for carrying it out, and as far as is known, the enactment has remained a dead letter to this day."

5552. When was that observation made?—That was in the evidence he gave in the House of Commons in the year 1836 or 1837. The object I had in view in my former evidence was to give effect to this principle, to show that it was not carried out, and that it could only be carried out in the first place by admitting natives to situations now held by covenanted civil servants, and by stopping the supply of those servants. I am anxious also to free this proposition from certain consequences which have been attached to it. It was said that if this proposition was carried out to its fullest extent, it would involve the transfer of the whole government to the natives. I was asked whether I seriously contemplated the appointment of a native to be governor. In answering that question in the negative, I might illustrate my meaning by a reference to Roman Catholics and Jews at home. We admit them to almost every office under the Government here, but there are certain offices from which we debar them at this moment. We admit Jews to certain offices, but we do not admit them to all the privileges of the constitution, and therefore it would be just as easy to the Government in India to draw a line, and to say how far the natives should be admitted, and from what offices they should be excluded; and I find that Sir Thomas Munro and Mr. Elphinstone, upon whose authority I am always happy to fall back,

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in their recommendations upon this subject, do draw a line. These are the remarks of Sir Thomas Munro, in a letter addressed to Mr. Canning, when he was President of the Board of Control in 1821. He says, "All that we can give the natives, without endangering our own ascendancy, should be given. All real military power must be kept in our own hands; but they might with advantage hereafter be made eligible to every civil office under that of a member of the Government. The change should be gradual, because they are not yet fit to discharge properly the duties of a high civil employment, according to our rules and ideas; but the sphere of their employment should be extended in proportion as we find that they become capable of filling properly higher situations." Those were his opinions in 1821. Three years afterwards, in 1824, in a minute which he recorded upon that occasion, he says, "Various measures might be suggested which might all probably be more or less useful to improve their character, but no one appears to me so well calculated to insure success as that of endeavouring to give them a higher opinion of themselves, by placing more confidence in them, by employing them in important situations, and perhaps by rendering them eligible to almost every office under the Government. It is not necessary at present to define the exact limit to which their eligibility should be carried; but there seems to be no reason why they should be excluded from any office, for which they were qualified without danger to the preservation of our ascendancy." And a few months only before his death in the year 1827, he recorded another minute in which he expressed himself thus, "We ought," he says, "to look forward to a time when natives may be employed in almost every office, however high, and we ought to prepare them gradually for such a change by entrusting them with higher duties from time to time in proportion as experience may prove their being qualified to discharge them." So that Sir Thomas Munro does draw a line. He says that, in his opinion, they should be admitted to all offices under that of a member of the Government. That is one consequence drawn from the plan I suggested, from which it appears to me to be free. Another objection was, that under the proposed plan there would be no school for the training of Europeans in the civil administration. But I only contemplated a gradual expansion of this principle, so that for many years there would be a mixed administration of Europeans and natives. There are now 200 civil servants in the Madras Presidency, so that provision is made for many years to come for the regular training of European servants for the administration. I proposed that if more Europeans should be required, they should be taken from the military ranks. The persons so taken, would of course have the same sort of training that civilians have at this moment; and will the Committee allow me to remark, that military men have one advantage over civilians in obtaining those qualifications which are necessary for administration, inasmuch as a civil servant is necessarily confined to his own Presidency, and perhaps to one particular locality in his own Presidency. That was my own case. I was 14 years in the same district, and seldom or ever left it, and I had no acquaintance with the Northern Provinces of my own Presidency. But a military officer in the Madras Presidency, for example, in the course of his service, visits every locality in his own Presidency; and not only so, but he visits the stations in the Bombay Territories, and in the Bengal Territories, and in the Territories of the Native Princes. There are two Madras regiments now occupying stations in the Bombay Territories and in the Bengal Territories; and in Hyderabad, the subsidiary forces are entirely occupied by Madras troops. The officers, therefore, have opportunities of acquiring a much more extended knowledge of the language, character, manners, and customs of the people than a civilian has who is tied always to the same spot. As instances of the manner in which those military men take advantage of those opportunities and those advantages, I may mention that, after the first Mysore war in 1792, Lord Cornwallis made a selection of a captain and three lieutenants, whom he placed at the head of the Territory, which was then ceded by Tippoo, and they proved most distinguished administrators. Sir Thomas Munro was one of them. And so Mr. Elphinstone, after the Mahratta war in 1817, selected a body of military men and placed them at the head of the districts: Sir Henry Pottinger, Colonel Sykes, General Briggs, and others, all very distinguished men, who had acquired their training as officers in the military ranks. At this moment there is General Cubbon, who is in charge of the kingdom of Mysore, who was taken from the military ranks.

J. Sullivan, Esq.

2 June 1853.

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2 June 1853.

ranks. It was charged again upon the plan that, if we elevated the natives as civilians, it would be necessary to raise them as military men to the same elevation. I am sorry that I gave an answer to that question less distinct and decided upon the subject than I intended to have done, and one not quite consonant to my own published opinions. I should have said, that we might raise the natives in the military service as far as we could consistently with our own ascendancy, but that we could not elevate them to the same degree as in the civil service, without an entire re-construction of the army. But there are certain situations that we might open to them with great advantage; I mentioned two situations: commandants of forts, and the commandants of pension establishments. Also, it is generally understood that our regular cavalry is much less efficient than the irregular horse; and the natives might, I conceive, without any danger whatever, be entrusted with the command of regiments of native cavalry. If the Committee will permit me, I will state two facts. One is, that in our earlier wars in the Carnatic, our sepoys were entirely commanded by a native who met the French very often in the field, and who was the companion of Lawrence and Clive, and whose military deeds are chronicled with theirs. He was a man of the highest reputation, and bore the highest character. Here is the evidence given by the Duke of Wellington to the character of an officer who commanded a body of 3,000 or 4,000 horse under him in the Mahratta war of 1805. He says, "In the course of the campaign I have frequently had occasion to mention to your Excellency the services of the Mysore Horse, which I found upon every occasion to be of the greatest use. I attribute the alacrity and cordiality with which their services were afforded, the regularity of the troops, the strict obedience of orders, and the consequent dependence which I could place upon them, to the measures taken by the Government of Mysore to ensure their regular payment, and to the excellent character and disposition of their commander, Bistnapah Pundit. This officer was high in the service of the late Hyder Aly and Tippoo Sultaun. Upon the death of the latter, he was one of the first who joined General Harris, and he was the person who negotiated the return of the present Dewan to Seringapatam. Since that period, upon every occasion in which the British troops in Mysore have been employed, he has acted with them in command of a body of the Rajah's troops; and he has always conducted himself in such a manner as to gain my applause and repeated recommendations to the Government of Mysore, and the esteem of every officer of the British army. In this last campaign, in particular, in which his situation was naturally very delicate, his discretion in refraining from all communications or connection with the Mahrattoo chiefs who have frequently applied to him to exert the influence he was supposed to have, to carry their sinister objects, has been equally satisfactory to me with his military conduct." Now, a man whose character and conduct are thus described by the Duke of Wellington, and who commanded our sepoys in the early wars of Clive and Lawrence can find no position in our army higher than the command of a company of sepoys, in which he is as much below the youngest ensign as the youngest ensign is below the Commander-in-chief. Now that is a *régime*, upon the very face of it, so unwholesome as to make it, in my opinion, necessary that there should be a revision of it. I may add that the Mahomedan sovereigns, the Moguls, always employed Hindoos without any exception whatever in very high commands, and that the Hindoos employed in the command of armies under the Mogul sovereigns were faithful to their colours, when those colours were deserted by the Mahomedans themselves. There is only one other point which I desire to explain; a long string of questions was put to me with respect to the degree of interference that I would allow, or whether I would allow any interference at all, in the event of a reconstruction of the native states; and the inference drawn from my answers was, that it would open the door to convulsions and civil wars, and all sorts of horrors. Now I might have saved the Committee the trouble of asking a good many questions, and allayed their apprehensions, if I had had the treaty with the native princes to quote from at the moment. This is an article which stands in our treaty with the Rajah of Nagpore, who is one of those sovereigns whose dominions were restored to him: "It shall be competent to the British Government, through its local representative, to offer advice to the Maha Raja, his heirs, and successors, on all important matters, whether relating to the internal administration of the Nagpore territory, or its local concerns, and his Highness shall be bound to act in conformity thereto. If, which God forbid,

gross

gross and systematic oppression, anarchy, and misrule, should hereafter at any time prevail in neglect of repeated advice, and remonstrance, seriously endangering the public tranquillity, and placing in jeopardy the resources whence his Highness discharges his obligations to the Honourable Company, the British Government reserves to itself the right of re-appointing its own officers to the management of such district or districts of the Nagpore territory, in his Highness's name, and for so long a period as it may deem necessary." So that here is complete provision made for that contingency which is supposed to arise out of the plan of restoring the native states. I wish to mention that this plan of restoring territory which we have unjustly taken, or territory which is not beneficial to us, is no crotchet of mine; it was contemplated as long ago as the year 1806, when the Home Government desired the Government of India to consider the propriety of restoring some of the conquests which they had then recently made from the Mahratta power. That proposition was rejected upon grounds which have no longer any validity. But in 1818, the plan was proposed again by General Walker, a man of the highest authority in everything regarding the politics of India. He stated it so succinctly, and with such perspicuity and strength, that I would refer the Committee to his letter which is contained in the Papers laid before Parliament in 1833. I was asked whether I contemplated farming the revenues of the districts, and I find that I appeared to assent. But nothing could be further from my intention. No difference could be greater than between farming a district and restoring the district to its ancient owner, who is vitally interested in its prosperity. Farming a district implies rack-renting to a stranger who has no interest in its prosperity; but restoring the sovereignty to its ancient sovereign is a totally distinct thing; therefore I wish to correct that answer. I was also asked, "Whether I contemplated restoring the Mahratta territory?" I said, "No." I should wish to qualify that answer. There are some principalities in the Mahratta territory, particularly Colaba, Madavee, and the Jaghires generally, which we have taken unjustly, in my opinion, and which I should be glad to see restored. I also gave an absurd answer to a question put to me about Haileybury. I was asked whether I saw any obstacle to the admission of the natives to Haileybury College; I said that there were no objections. But of course the objections are insuperable, arising from climate and religion and distance; a Mahomedan or Hindoo could not by any means find his position in a Christian college in England.

5553. You mean that the objection would be on the part of the natives?— Yes; another point I wish to mention is this: I said that the restoration of the territories to the natives would depend entirely upon the feeling and opinion of the people, which I said, in my opinion, there would be no difficulty in collecting. If the Committee will allow me, I will read a few lines which I find in a Bombay newspaper. It says, "The first effect of our administration of the Poonah territory was increase of cultivation, and appearance of increased prosperity. This, perhaps, arose in some degree from the additional protection afforded to the people from a slight accumulation of capital in the hands of the cultivating classes who escaped the exactions of the Mahratta Government in the last year of its rule, and were not to the full extent subjected to those of their new masters for the first few years after the change; cultivation increases in India more rapidly than population. This had an injurious effect on prices, whilst the demands of Government continued to increase with increased cultivation. Capital was rapidly drawn out of the country; and notwithstanding constant remissions, and the utmost anxiety on the part of the British Government to uphold prosperity, there is little doubt that the whole of the Mahratta country was, at the end of the fifth or sixth year, reduced to a degree of poverty which it had not known under its former rulers." There was no employment, and little provision for the upper classes. The manufacturers of rich kinkabs, cloths, and other things which the expenditure of the native government and of these classes formerly went to support, disappeared with them, and I suppose that few who were employed in that country, or knew the sentiments of its inhabitants, will deny that the thoughts and prayers of all were turned towards Bajee Rao, the re-establishment of those whose rule, it was believed, could alone restore them to their former prosperity."

5554. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] You have expressed an opinion that the Government would sustain no loss of revenue from restoring the conquered territories to the

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families who formerly ruled over them, demanding from them a tribute; are you aware that, in almost all the states of India which are in that very position in which you would desire to place a certain portion of the remaining territory that we have conquered (for example, in the states of Rajpootana, where we have left them subject to a much less tribute than they paid to the former dynasties), we have found a difficulty in collecting even those moderate tributes, consisting perhaps of a per centage of from 5 to 10 per cent. of the revenues; and that in consequence of the irritation which has followed the state of constant arrears of this tribute, and the increasing demands of the British officers for its realization, the mutual position of the Government and of those States has become so unsatisfactory that it has been found desirable in many instances to induce the States to cede a portion of the territories, in order to relieve themselves from the imposition of the tribute?—I was not aware of the fact that they had fallen into arrear, but I know that when that tribute was fixed, it was always said to be fixed at too high a rate, and that it would press very severely upon the people; and I believe it would be very desirable for the British Government either to reduce it or to relinquish it altogether. There is the principality of Sattara, which we have attached, which under the native government was most admirably managed. Both the Rajahs of Sattara saved money. One of them contrived, during 26 years of his administration, to put into his privy purse 30 or 40 lacs of rupees, and the second put 10 lacs of rupees, the whole country being in the highest state of prosperity; and after one year's administration of the country by the British Government, there is a defalcation of three lacs of rupees.

5555. You are perhaps aware that the whole revenue of the Nagpore estate was assumed to amount to 49 lacs of rupees, and that the tribute payable by the Rajah of Nagpore to the British Government was eight lacs of rupees, and that in a few years after the tribute was fixed there has been a difficulty in raising it, and there have been constant applications from the Rajah to have it reduced, Such being the case there, as well as in the State of Rajpootana, do you think that it would be desirable to create such a system of perpetual irritation between the different native States and the British Government as would be produced by adopting the course which you have suggested?—My idea is, that it would allay irritation. I assume that there is very great irritation now caused by our having illegally and unjustly taken possession of that territory, and it is with a view to allay that irritation that I propose to restore the territory and to exact a tribute from it.

5556. But you are not personally aware of those difficulties?—No, but I am aware of this fact, that up to the time of the assumption of the territory of Mysore, up to 1832, Mysore was bound to pay in a very heavy tribute indeed, amounting to about 32 lacs of rupees, and upon no occasion did that tribute fall one month into arrear.

THIRD
REPORT
FROM THE
SELECT COMMITTEE
ON
INDIAN TERRITORIES;
WITH THE
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
2 June 1853.*

[*Price 8d.*]

556.

Under 12 oz.

F O U R T H
R E P O R T
FROM THE
SELECT COMMITTEE
ON
INDIAN TERRITORIES;
TOGETHER WITH THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE,
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE,
AND APPENDIX.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
30 June 1853.

Lunæ, 15^o die Novembris, 1852.

Ordered, THAT a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the Operation of the Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 85, for effecting an Arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories till the 30th day of April 1854.

Martis, 16^o die Novembris, 1852.

Committee nominated of—

Mr. Herries.	Mr. Milner Gibson.
Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.	Mr. Mangles.
Lord John Russell.	Sir James Hogg.
Mr. Baring.	Mr. Hume.
Sir Charles Wood.	Mr. Bankes.
Mr. Baillie.	Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Gladstone.	Mr. Robert Hildyard.
Mr. Newdegate.	Mr. James Wilson.
Mr. Labouchere.	Mr. Spooner.
Sir James Graham.	Mr. Keogh.
Mr. Alderman Thompson.	Mr. Macaulay.
Sir William Molesworth.	Lord Stanley.
Sir Robert Harry Inglis.	Mr. Robert Clive.
Viscount Jocelyn.	Mr. Edward Ellice.
Mr. Cobden.	Viscount Palmerston.
Mr. Hardinge.	

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to send for Persons, Papers, and Records.

Ordered, THAT Five be the Quorum of the said Committee.

Veneris, 18^o die Februarii, 1853.

Ordered, THAT Mr. Wilson be discharged from further attendance on the Committee, and that Lord John Russell, Sir Charles Wood, Sir George Grey, Sir Thomas Maddock, Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. John Elliot, and Mr. Lowe be added thereto.

Martis, 22^o die Februarii, 1853.

Ordered, THAT Mr. Chichester Fortescue be discharged from further attendance on the Committee, and that Mr. John Fitzgerald be added thereto.

Jovis, 28^o die Aprilis, 1853.

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to Report the Minutes of Evidence taken before them, from time to time, to The House.

Lunæ, 2^o die Maii, 1853.

Ordered, THAT the Report of the Select Committee on Indian Territories of last Session, and copy of the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the same subject (communicated 1st December) be referred to the Committee.

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FOURTH REPORT.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to inquire into the Operation of the Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 85, for effecting an Arrangement with the EAST INDIA COMPANY, and for the better Government of Her Majesty's INDIAN TERRITORIES till the 30th day of April 1854, and to whom several Petitions, and the Report of the Committee on Indian Territories of last Session, and also the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords on the same subject, were referred, and who were empowered to Report the MINUTES OF EVIDENCE taken before them, from time to time, to The HOUSE :

HAVE made further progress in the Matters to them referred, and have agreed to make a Fourth Report of the Minutes of Evidence taken before them.

30 June 1853.

 PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE.

Martis, 7^o die Decembris, 1852.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. Herries.
 Sir Charles Wood.
 Sir James Hogg.
 Mr. Bankes.
 Mr. R. Hildyard.
 Mr. Spooner.
 Mr. Macaulay.
 Sir R. H. Inglis.

Mr. Baillie.
 Mr. Hardinge.
 Mr. Mangles.
 Mr. Vernon Smith.
 Mr. James Wilson.
 Mr. Keogh.
 Lord Stanley.

Sir R. H. INGLIS called to the Chair.

Committee deliberated on their course of proceeding.

[Adjourned till Tuesday next, at One o'clock.]

Martis, 14^a die Decembris, 1852.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Sir R. H. INGLIS in the Chair.

Mr. Hardinge.
 Mr. Edward Ellice.
 Mr. Herries.
 Mr. Bankes.
 Mr. Baillie.
 Mr. Vernon Smith.
 Mr. R. H. Clive.

Lord Stanley.
 Mr. Spooner.
 Mr. R. Hildyard.
 Sir James Hogg.
 Mr. Mangles.
 Mr. Keogh.

Mr. *Philip Melvill* examined.

[Adjourned.]

Jovis, 24^o die Februarii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Sir R. H. INGLIS in the Chair.

Mr. Disraeli.
 Mr. Baring.
 Mr. Elliot.
 Mr. R. H. Clive.
 Sir James W. Hogg.
 Lord Stanley.
 Sir T. Herbert Maddock.
 Mr. Hardinge.

Sir Charles Wood.
 Mr. Labouchere.
 Mr. Vernon Smith.
 Mr. Lowe.
 Sir George Grey.
 Mr. Hume.
 Sir R. H. Inglis.

Sir R. H. Inglis, having at the commencement of the sitting this day vacated the Chair of the Committee, moved that Thomas Baring, Esq., do take the Chair.

Question put and agreed to.

Mr. Baring accordingly took the Chair.

Lieutenant-general Sir *Willoughby Cotton* examined.

Sir *Thomas M' Mahon* examined.

[Adjourned till Monday next, at One o'clock.]

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN TERRITORIES.

Lunæ, 28^o die Februarii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Sir C. Wood.
Sir James W. Hogg.
Sir Thomas H. Maddock.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Mr. Edward Ellice.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. Hume.

Mr. Hardinge.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Lowe.
Lord Stanley.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Cobden.

Sir *George Pollock* examined.
Colonel *Montgomery* examined.
Colonel *Abbott* examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, at One o'clock.]

Veneris, 4^o die Martii, 1853.

Mem.—The Committee met this day pursuant to a postponement from Thursday.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Mangles.
Sir T. Herbert Maddock.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. John Fitzgerald.
Sir Charles Wood.
Mr. Disraeli.
Mr. Milner Gibson.
Mr. R. H. Clive.

Sir James W. Hogg.
Mr. Edward Ellice.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. R. Hildyard.
Mr. Bankes.
Mr. Baillie.
Lord Stanley.
Mr. Cobden.
Mr. Herries.

Colonel *Burlton* examined.
Colonel *Hawkins* examined.

[Adjourned till Monday next, at One o'clock.]

Lunæ, 7^o die Martii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Elliot.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. John Fitzgerald.
Mr. Disraeli.
Mr. R. Hildyard.
Mr. Baillie.

Sir J. W. Hogg.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Sir Charles Wood.
Lord Jocelyn.
Mr. Edward Ellice.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Cobden.

Mr. *Cosmo Melvill*, Esq., examined.
Captain *F. T. Powell*, Indian Navy, examined.
Captain *W. H. Hall*, R. N., examined.
Mr. *Ardasseer Cursetjee* examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, at One o'clock.]

Jovis, 10^o die Martii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Spooner.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Herries.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Labouchere.
Mr. Cobden.
Lord John Russell.
Mr. Disraeli.
Mr. Baillie.

Sir James W. Hogg.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Mangles.
Sir George Grey.
Sir Charles Wood.
Lord Jocelyn.
Mr. Bankes.
Mr. R. Hildyard.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Lowe.

Mr. *David Hill* examined.

Mr. *F. Millet* examined.

Mr. *Halliday* examined.

[Adjourned till Monday, at One o'clock

Lunæ, 14^o die Martii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Spooner.
Sir James W. Hogg.
Mr. Labouchere.
Sir Charles Wood.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Edward Ellice.
Mr. Cobden.
Mr. Newdegate.
Viscount Jocelyn.
Mr. Disraeli.

Mr. R. Hildgood.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Elliot.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. J. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Baillie.
Mr. Milner Gibson.

Viscount *Gough* examined.

Colonel *P. Grant* examined.

Mr. *Halliday* further examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, at One o'clock

Jovis, 17^o die Martii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Hume.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Elliot.
Sir Charles Wood.
Viscount Jocelyn.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Labouchere.
Lord Stanley.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. R. Hildyard.
Mr. Disraeli.

Sir James W. Hogg.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Edward Ellice.
Mr. Baillie.
Lord John Russell.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Cobden.
Mr. J. Fitzgerald.

Mr. *Halliday* further examined; withdrew.

Committee deliberated.

Motion made (Mr. *Hume*), and question proposed, "That it is the opinion of this Committee that further evidence shall be called for from India, in support and explanation of the complaints in the petitions presented from India to the House."

Amendment proposed, (Sir *Charles Wood*), To leave out all the words after the first word "That," in order to add the following words: "This Committee are ready to hear the evidence of the appointed agent of the Madras Native Association, whose petition has been referred to this Committee, as well as of any other witness, European or native, who may be produced before this Committee, and who may be supposed to represent the opinions and interests of the natives of India; but that, as it is impossible to procure the attendance of any witnesses from India before the probable termination of the present Session, the Committee will continue to proceed with such evidence as may be available in this country."

Question, That the words proposed to be left out, stand part of the question, put.

Committee divided:—

Ayes, 3.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Cobden.
Mr. Hume.

Noes, 15.
Lord John Russell.
Sir Charles Wood.
Mr. Baillie.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. Labouchere.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Mangles.
Sir W. Hogg.
Mr. R. Hildyard.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Mr. Edward Ellice.
Sir George Grey.

Words added.

Main question, as amended, put and agreed to.

Resolved,—This Committee are ready to hear the evidence of the appointed agent of the Madras Native Association, whose petition has been referred to this Committee, as well as of any other witness, European or native, who may be produced before this Committee, and who may be supposed to represent the opinions and interests of the natives of India; but that, as it is impossible to procure the attendance of any witnesses from India before the probable termination of the present Session, the Committee will continue to proceed with such evidence as may be available in this country.

[Adjourned till To-morrow, at One o'clock.

Veneris, 18^o die Martii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. R. H. Clive.
Sir James W. Hogg.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Hume.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. J. Fitzgerald.

Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Edward Ellice.
Sir Charles Wood.
Lord Stanley.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Cobden.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Baillie.
Mr. Labouchere.

Mr. *Halliday* further examined.

Sir *Edward Ryan* examined.

[Adjourned till Tuesday, 5 April, at One.

Martis, 5^o die Aprilis, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Hume.
Mr. Herries.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Elliot.
Sir Charles Wood,
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Edward Ellice.
Mr. Newdegate.
Mr. Bankes.

Sir James W. Hogg.
Mr. Cobden.
Mr. Macaulay.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Viscount Jocelyn.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Labouchere.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Fitzgerald.

The Chairman read a letter from Sir Thomas M'Mahon, conveying, as desired by the Committee, a paper of suggestions, with a view to improve the efficiency of the Army and the same was ordered to be printed, and to follow his Evidence.

Sir *George Clerk* examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, Quarter before One.]

Jovis, 7^o die Aprilis, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Macaulay.
Mr. Cobden.
Mr. Elliot.
Sir Charles Wood.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Edward Ellice.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Milner Gibson.
Lord Stanley.
Mr. Labouchere.
Mr. R. H. Clive.

Sir James W. Hogg.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Bankes.
Mr. Newdegate.
Mr. Spooner.

Sir *Erskine Perry* examined.

[Adjourned till Monday next, at a Quarter before One.]

Lunæ, 11^o die Aprilis, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Macaulay.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. J. Fitzgerald.
Sir Charles Wood.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Labouchere.

Sir James W. Hogg.
Mr. Cobden.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. Edward Ellice.
Mr. Hardinge.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Vernon Smith.

Sir *Edward Ryan* further examined.Sir *Erskine Perry* further examined.Sir *Edward Gambier* examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday, Quarter before One.]

Jovis, 14^a die Aprilis, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Macaulay.	Mr. Spooner.
Sir T. H. Maddock.	Mr. R. H. Clive.
Mr. Elliot.	Sir Charles Wood.
Sir James W. Hogg.	Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Vernon Smith.	Viscount Jocelyn.
Mr. Hildyard.	Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Lowe.	Lord Stanley.
Mr. Hume.	Mr. Disraeli.
Mr. Edward Ellice.	

Mr. *Cameron* examined.

Mr. *Lewin* examined.

An objection being taken to an answer of the Witness to a question put by Sir James W. Hogg,

Room cleared.

Motion made (Mr. *Vernon Smith*), and question proposed, "That the following question, 'Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] Without saying who was right, or who was wrong, is not it the fact, that while you were a judge of the Sudder, you and the Government of the day took very different views upon most matters relating to public duty and the conduct of public servants?' and the next succeeding one, and the answers thereto, be expunged from the Minutes."

The Speaker being announced to be at prayers,

[Adjourned till Monday, Quarter before One o'clock.

Lunæ, 18^a die Aprilis, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Sir James W. Hogg.	Mr. Spooner.
Sir T. H. Maddock.	Mr. R. H. Clive.
Mr. Hume.	Mr. Elliot.
Sir R. H. Inglis.	Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Hardinge.	Mr. J. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Baillie.	Mr. Hildyard.
Mr. Cobden.	Lord Stanley.
Mr. Vernon Smith.	Mr. Macaulay.
Viscount Jocelyn.	Sir George Grey.
Mr. Herries.	Mr. Newdegate.
Mr. Milner Gibson.	Mr. Labouchere.
Sir Charles Wood.	

Question, "That the following question, 'Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] Without saying who was right, or who was wrong, is not it the fact, that while you were a judge of the Sudder, you and the Government of the day took very different views upon most matters relating to public duty and the conduct of public servants?' and the next succeeding one, and the answers thereto, be expunged from the Minutes," put, and negatived.

Mr. *Lewin* again examined.

Mr. *Leith* examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, Quarter before One.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE

Jovis, 21^o die Aprilis, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. Macaulay.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir James W. Hogg.
Sir Charles Wood.
Mr. J. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Milner Gibson.
Mr. Labouchere.

Sir T. H. Maddock.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Edward Ellice.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Mr. Newdegate.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Cobden.

Mr. *Leith* further examined.

[Adjourned till Monday, Quarter before One.]

Lunæ, 25^o die Aprilis, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Elliot.
Sir Charles Wood.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Sir James W. Hogg.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Baillie.
Mr. Lowe.
Viscount Jocelyn.

Mr. Edward Ellice.
Mr. Mangles.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Mr. J. Fitzgerald.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Hildyard.
Mr. Labouchere.

Mr. *Leith* further examined.

Mr. *John C. Marshman* examined.

Mr. *B. E. Baillie* examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday, Quarter before One.]

Jovis, 28^o die Aprilis, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Spooner.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Edward Ellice.
Sir Charles Wood.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Labouchere.
Mr. Cobden.
Mr. Macaulay.
Mr. Baillie.

Mr. Hume.
Viscount Jocelyn.
Mr. Newdegate.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Milner Gibson.
Sir James W. Hogg.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Mr. J. Fitzgerald.

Mr. *Marshman* further examined ; withdrew.

Motion made, and question proposed (Mr. *Edward Ellice*), " That after the examination of the witnesses already summoned, the evidence taken in this Session on the Military and Naval Services, and also on the Judicial Establishments, and the Administration of Justice in India, be reported to The House."

Amendment

Amendment proposed (Mr. Hume), To leave out all the words after "That," in order to add the words, "The Committee do report the evidence taken up to the present time."

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question," put. Committee divided :—

Ayes, 18.
 Sir Charles Wood.
 Mr. Baillie.
 Mr. Elliot.
 Mr. Newdegate.
 Mr. Labouchere.
 Sir T. H. Maddock.
 Mr. Cobden.
 Sir George Grey.
 Sir R. H. Inglis.
 Viscount Jocelyn.
 Mr. Hardinge.
 Mr. Mangles.
 Sir James W. Hogg.
 Mr. Spooner.
 Mr. Lowe.
 Mr. Macaulay.
 Mr. R. H. Clive.
 Mr. Edward Ellice.

Noes, 3.
 Mr. Milner Gibson.
 Mr. Hume.
 Mr. Vernon Smith.

Main question put, and agreed to.

The Chairman was instructed to move The House for leave to report the evidence from time to time.

Mr. *Marshman* again called in, and further examined.

Mr. *C. Caldecott* examined.

Mr. *Deane* examined.

[Adjourned till Monday next, at a Quarter before One.

Lunæ, 2^o die Maii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Hume.
 Mr. Cobden.
 Mr. R. H. Clive.
 Sir R. H. Inglis.
 Mr. Vernon Smith.
 Mr. Banks.
 Mr. J. Fitzgerald.
 Mr. Labouchere.
 Mr. Hildyard.

Sir J. W. Hogg.
 Sir T. H. Maddock.
 Mr. Elliot.
 Sir Charles Wood.
 Mr. Edward Ellice.
 Mr. Mangles.
 Sir George Grey.
 Mr. Lowe.

Mr. *Deane* further examined.

Mr. *Jevanje Pestonjee* examined ; withdrew.

Chairman instructed to report the Minutes of Evidence taken up to the present time to The House.

[Adjourned till Thursday, Quarter before One.

Jovis, 5^o die Maii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Sir Charles Wood.
Mr. Spooner.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. J. Fitzgerald.
Sir James W. Hogg.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Labouchere.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Cobden.

Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Edward Ellice.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Mr. Hildyard.

Mr. *Jevanjee Pestonjee* further examined.

Mr. *Halliday* further examined.

Ordered, "That there be laid before this Committee all papers relating to the removal of Mr. Lewin from the office of Judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and also from his provisional appointment to Council."

[Adjourned till Monday next, at Quarter before One.]

Lunæ, 9^o die Maii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Spooner.
Sir James W. Hogg.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Hildyard.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Cobden.

Mr. Elliot.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir Charles Wood.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Labouchere.

Mr. *Halliday* further examined.

Mr. *Marshman* further examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, Quarter before One.]

Jovis, 12^o die Maii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Cobden.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Hardinge.
Sir James W. Hogg.
Viscount Jocelyn.
Sir Charles Wood.
Mr. Vernon Smith.

Sir George Grey.
Mr. Elliot.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Labouchere.
Mr. R. H. Clive.

Mr. *Marshman* further examined.

The Chairman was instructed to report the Evidence up to the present time (Second Report).

[Adjourned till Monday, 23d, at Quarter before One.]

Lunæ, 23^o die Maii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Spooner.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Hardinge.
Sir C. Wood.
Mr. Cobden.
Sir James W. Hogg.

Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. J. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Hildyard.
Mr. Lowe.

Mr. *Sullivan* examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, at Quarter before One.

Jovis, 26^o die Maii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. R. H. Clive.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Sir George Grey.
Sir Charles Wood.
Sir James W. Hogg.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Lowe.

Mr. Elliot.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. J. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Newdegate.
Mr. Cobden.

:Sir *Charles Trevelyan*, K. C. B., examined.

[Adjourned till Monday next, at Quarter before One

Lunæ, 30^o die Maii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Mr. Hardinge.
Sir James W. Hogg.
Mr. Cobden.
Mr. J. Fitzgerald.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

Mr. Elliot.
Sir George Grey.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Edward Ellice.
Sir Charles Wood.
Mr. Newdegate.
Mr. Alderman Thompson.

Mr. *Prideaux* examined.Mr. *Halliday* further examined.Mr. *Rustomjee Viccajee* examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, Quarter before One.

Jovis, 2^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Hardinge,
Mr. Cobden.
Mr. Bankes.
Mr. R. H. Clive.

Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Newdegate.
Mr. Ellice.

Mr. *Sullivan* further examined.

Mr. *Rustomjee Viccajee* further examined.

Mr. *Bird* examined.

The Chairman was instructed to report the evidence of Mr. Sullivan, of 23d of May, and his explanatory evidence of this day, and also the evidence of Sir Charles Trevelyan of 26th May (Third Report).

[Adjourned till Monday, 6th, at Quarter before One.

Lunæ, 6^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Ellice.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. J. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Alderman Thompson.
Mr. Hume.

Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Sir C. Wood.
Mr. Milner Gibson.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Bankes.
Mr. Lowe.

Mr. *Turner* examined.

Mr. *Moore* examined.

Mr. *White* examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, at Quarter before Twelve.

Jovis, 9^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Elliot.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Sir J. W. Hogg.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Labouchere.
Mr. Ellice.

Mr. Hume.
Mr. Mangles.
Sir George Grey.
Sir C. Wood.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Milner Gibson.
Mr. J. Fitzgerald.

Mr. *Moore* further examined.

Dr. *Royle* examined.

Mr. *Mangles*, M. P., examined.

[Adjourned till Monday, 13th, at Quarter before One.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN TERRITORIES.

vx

Lunæ, 13^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Sir James W. Hogg.
Sir T. H. Maddock,
Mr R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Labouchere.

Mr. Mangles,
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Sir C. Wood.
Mr. Ellice.

Mr. *Mangles*, M. P., further examined.

Mr. *Robinson* examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, Quarter before One.

Jovis, 16^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Herries.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. J. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Hardinge.
Sir C. Wood.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Lowe.

Mr. Spooner,
Mr. Elliot.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Baillie.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Sir J. W. Hogg.
Mr. Ellice.
Mr. Milner Gibson.
Mr. Newdegate.
Mr. Labouchere.

Mr. *J. W. B. Dykes*, examined; withdrew.

Committee deliberated,

Motion made (Sir *C. Wood*), and question, "That the Chairman be requested to communicate with the chairmen who presided at the public meetings at the great commercial towns, whose petitions have been referred to this Committee, to ascertain if they wish to suggest the names of any witnesses personally acquainted with the state and condition of India, to be examined before this Committee," put, and agreed to.

Mr. *Dykes* again called, and examined.

[Adjourned till Monday next, Quarter before One.

Lunæ, 20^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Spooner.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Hardinge.
Sir C. Wood.
Mr. Ellice.
Sir T. H. Maddock.

Mr. Elliot.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Lowe.

Mr. *Goldfinch* examined.

Mr. *Edwards* examined.

Mr. *Aylwin* examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, Quarter before One.

Jovis, 23^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Spooner.
Mr. J. Fitzgerald.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Mr. Bankes.
Sir C. Wood.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Newdegate.

Sir J. W. Hogg.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. Ellice.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Labouchere.
Mr. Lowe.

Mr. *Aylwin* further examined.

Mr. *Worthington* examined.

Mr. *Dykes* further examined.

Mr. *Prideaux* examined.

[Adjourned till Monday next, Quarter before One.]

Lunæ, 27^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Sir J. W. Hogg.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir C. Wood.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. J. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Lowe.

Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Ellice.
Sir George Grey.

Mr. *Prideaux* further examined.

Lieutenant *Green* examined.

Mr. *Brodie* examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, Quarter before One.]

Jovis, 30^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Hardinge.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Mangles.
Sir C. Wood.
Mr. Ellice.
Mr. Elliot.

Sir George Grey.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Herries.
Mr. Lowe.
Sir J. W. Hogg.

Mr. *Halliday* further examined.

Mr. *Prideaux* further examined.

The Chairman was instructed to make a further Report of the Evidence, including that of Mr. Halliday and Mr. Prideaux, of this day, and also to Report the Proceedings of the Committee to the same time. (Fourth Report).

Another Witness was examined; see next Report.

[Adjourned till Monday next, at a Quarter before One.]

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

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 MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

Lunæ, 30^o die Maii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.
 Sir George Grey.
 Mr. Mangles.
 Mr. R. H. Clive.
 Mr. Spooner.
 Mr. Elliot.
 Sir T. H. Maddock.
 Mr. Hardinge.

Sir J. W. Hogg.
 Mr. Cobden.
 Mr. Fitzgerald.
 Sir R. H. Inglis.
 Mr. Ellice.
 Sir Charles Wood.
 Mr. Newdegate.
 Mr. Alderman Thompson.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Francis William Prideaux, Esq., called in; and Examined.

5200. *Chairman.*] WILL you state what situation you occupy at the India House?—I am an Assistant to the Examiner of India Correspondence.

*F. W. Prideaux,
 Esq.*

5201. Your duties have probably brought under your consideration the subject of the revenue of India?—I am in charge of the Revenue Department.

30 May 1853.

5202. Will you state to the Committee what the sources of revenue are?—The principal source, which constitutes about three-fifths of it, is the land revenue, and there are salt, opium, sea customs, stamps, excise, and some other smaller sources.

5203. With regard to the land revenue, what amount of the whole revenue do you say proceeds from the land?—I think about three-fifths of the whole revenue.

5204. Will you state to the Committee the principles on which that land revenue is based?—Of late years the attempt has always been made in revisious of the revenue administration, to fix it, as far as possible, upon the rent of the land; to take it as a proportion of the rent, and not of the gross produce, as was formerly the case.

5205. That was not the case under the native rule, was it?—Originally, I believe, there was always a division of the gross produce; subsequently money settlements were frequently made by converting the Government portion of the grain into money at the price of the day.

5206. What proportion was taken under the native rule?—I believe it is impossible to say what proportion actually was taken. There were proportions laid down; I believe the proportion laid down, according to the Hindoo law, was one-sixth in time of peace, and one-fourth in time of war, but there is no evidence to show that these proportions were adhered to.

5207. Under the Mahomedan government, was there any change made in the system of revenue?—I believe they continued the same practice.

5208. Will you state what the system adopted under the British rule in Bengal is?—The system which has been in force for the last 60 years in Bengal has been a fixed, permanent, unalterable settlement with the land-holders. No change can be made in the amount of revenue which each estate is liable to pay.

5209. That is under the permanent settlement?—Yes.

5210. That revenue is derived from the zemindars, or principal land-holders, is not it?—The zemindars are the great land-holders who pay direct to the Government.

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5211. What

F. W. Prideaux,
Esq.

30 May 1853.

5211. What is supposed to be the proportion borne by the assessment to the rent?—At the present time it is difficult to say; I believe, from inquiries which were made by Mr. Mangles, when he was in India, he was led to believe that the present amount of assessment is about half the amount of the rent which the zemindars receive. Others consider that it is rather a larger proportion. Certainly it is a very considerable proportion of the rent, perhaps somewhat above half.

5212. Is it supposed that while the assessment by the Government remains the same the rent imposed by the zemindar varies?—I believe his undertenants have no means of redress against any raising of the rent; their rights are supposed to be protected by law, but they are not practically so, I believe.

5213. The Government under this settlement obtain no increase of revenue from an increase of rent?—None whatever.

5214. What are the modes of realising this land revenue in Bengal?—In Bengal the mode is a very simple one. If the instalment is not paid within a certain period, the estate is advertised for sale, and must be brought to the hammer; there is no discretion whatever; the law is perfectly stringent.

5215. What is the whole amount of the land revenue in Bengal?—£. 3,500,000 in round numbers.

5216. To what extent have arrears accrued in the collection of that revenue?—To no considerable amount.

5217. Have you any other observation to make as to the mode of collecting the land revenue in Bengal?—I am not aware of any.

5218. In the North-western Provinces what is the mode adopted?—In the North-western Provinces a general settlement of the revenue was completed about ten years ago; a very minute inquiry was made into the rights of all the parties having any share in the village. The settlement is made there generally with the villages, all those rights being regarded. The actual amount to be paid for the whole village, the shares being arranged among themselves, is fixed for 30 years. Any improvements which they can make by sinking wells or bringing waste land into cultivation would be to the advantage of the villagers, and not of the Government. At the end of 30 years, that settlement will be liable to revision with reference to the particular circumstances of the country then.

5219. Is the mode of realising the revenue the same as in Bengal?—No. Sales very seldom take place there. The revenue officers have not the power of selling there, except for particular reasons, and with the sanction of the Board of Revenue. As the stability of the settlement depends almost entirely upon maintaining the integrity of the village constitution, it would be endangered by admitting strangers into the co-partnership.

5220. Therefore there is very seldom any transfer of property?—There is very seldom. The revenue authorities always avoid, if possible, having recourse to sale; they rather desire to settle any disputes which may exist in the village, or get the share transferred to another person in the same brotherhood. Under decisions of the civil courts, the sales take place as they do elsewhere.

5221. In the case, both in Bengal and the North-western Provinces, of a very unfavourable season, is the Government in the habit of allowing a remission?—Certainly not in Bengal, and it would be under very peculiar circumstances that it would be given in the North-western Provinces; only in case of the absolute inability of the people to pay; it forms no part of the system.

5222. In the North-western Provinces, as in Bengal, the arrears are very inconsiderable?—Very inconsiderable, certainly.

5223. Is it at all known what proportion the assessment in the North-western Provinces bears to the rent?—It cannot be told with much accuracy, so little land is actually under lease; but the officers concerned in the settlement consider that about two-thirds of the rent is taken for the revenue.

5224. There is full liberty given to the cultivators of the soil to grow whatever they please?—Yes; no inquiry whatever is made.

5225. Sir *T. H. Maddock.*] Do you recollect what instructions were given to the settling officers, as to the proportion of Government revenue to the gross produce of the villages which they should demand?—The attempt is not to take it at all on the gross produce. The assessment is, of course, dependent upon the nature of the land; but they seek to ascertain, as far as possible, what would be considered the rent, and to take that as their guide.

5226. *Chairman.*] Who are the persons employed to collect the revenue in Bengal

Bengal and the North-western Provinces?—The chief European officer in each district is called the collector; he is subject to the Commissioner of Revenue; the Commissioner of Revenue again to the Sudder Board of Revenue, and that is directly under the Government.

F. W. Prideaux,
Esq.

30 May 1853.

5227. Those are all covenanted officers?—Those are all covenanted officers.

5228. Will you state what uncovenanted officers are employed?—The collector has covenanted assistants, if necessary. There are also uncovenanted deputy collectors, besides, of course, a large staff of native servants of different grades. The tehsildar is the head officer of the district into which the collectorates are divided; the revenue would be paid from the villagers into his hands, and by him into the collector's treasury.

5229. Will you state the difference which exists between the mode of collection in the North-western Provinces and that which is adopted in Bengal?—In Bengal, I apprehend, the zemindars who have to pay the revenue to the Government, pay it directly into the collector's treasury; in the North-western Provinces it is collected by the native officer of each district, the head native officer being the tehsildar, and by him paid into the collector's treasury; there is a grade of native collectors below the covenanted officers.

5230. Sir *T. H. Maddock.*] In Bengal are not there a great number of deputy collectors who collect particularly from the small estates?—Yes.

5231. *Chairman.*] Will you state what the system in the Presidency of Madras is?—The general system in the Presidency of Madras is, to make a settlement directly with each proprietor or ryot, each ryot having a property in the land, without the intervention of any middleman, such as the zemindar; the rate for each quality of land is fixed, and remains unchanged so long as the land itself remains in that condition; the great difference being between land which is capable of irrigation and land which is not. If land on which what is called a wet rate has been fixed, were not any longer capable of irrigation by the decay of the sources of irrigation, it would only be assessed as if it had been originally dry land, though it might remain unaltered in the accounts, and the difference would appear as a remission.

5232. How often is that assessment varied?—The rate is permanent; but there is an annual inquiry as to what lands have been under cultivation. Land which is not cultivated is not subject to the payment of revenue, so that an annual inquiry has to be made as to the extent of land which each cultivator has engaged for, and also as to claims for remission either in consequence of a failure of the crops, or from the want of the means of irrigation.

5233. The system in Bombay is different from that in the other Presidencies, is it not?—The whole of Bombay is now undergoing a revision. In those districts which have not yet been revised, the system varies very much, and is very little more than the system we found there, with some modifications. Under the present system, all the fields are in the first instance accurately measured; the land is then classified, and then a general rate for each class of land is fixed for the district, which, by being applied to each field, gives a fixed rent for the field, which is unalterable for 30 years.

5234. In the newly-acquired territories, the Punjaub, Scinde, and Sattara, what are the systems adopted?—The system in the Punjaub is very much the same as that which is adopted in the North-western Provinces, with the exception, I think, that in the Punjaub the settlements have always been made with the villages, and frequently in the North-western Provinces the settlement has been made with a person in the condition of a zemindar, who is generally called a talookdar, but a sub-settlement has also been made with the villages. It differs from Bengal, where a zemindar or a superior landlord exists. In Bengal no settlement whatever was made with the sub-tenants; their rights were not fixed in any way. In the North-western Provinces the same sort of settlement is made with them as there is where they pay directly to the Government, though they pay through a talookdar.

5235. A similar system, you say, is adopted in the Punjaub?—Yes; with the exception that there are no intermediate proprietors of land there, the settlement being direct between the villages and the Government.

5236. In Scinde, what is the system?—The system that we found in operation in Scinde, which I believe remains very much the same to the present day, was, for the most part, a division of the crop between the Government and the cultivator. Money was so very scarce there that it was found impossible to make a money settlement;

F. W. Pridoux,
Esq.

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settlement; and the system which we found there was continued at first, but in instructions have been sent to change it as soon as the people have the means of paying money rates.

5237. Payment is now made in kind, is it not?—It is still made in kind to a great extent.

5238. In Sattara, what is the system?—In Sattara it is the ryotwar settlement; Sattara was always considered to have been very well managed under the late Rajah, and I remember Mr. Frere, shortly after he took charge, said that the management had been so good by the Rajah that though the people had been more heavily taxed than they were in our districts, yet they seemed to bear the taxation better. On being called on afterwards for an explanation, he said he considered it to be because being a small territory the Rajah could manage it more as a gentleman manages a large estate, by paying attention to the condition and special circumstances of each farm. It was stated in a recent despatch, which is before the Committee, that the acquisition of Sattara had caused a deficit; but I find that it is not so; it was only the estimated revenue that was given there. The actual returns of the year show that instead of there being a deficit, as was there stated, of three lacs and a half, the actual out turn of the year presents some increase. The receipts and charges of Sattara for 1850-51, given in paragraph 65 of the India Financial Despatch of the 18th of June 1852, are estimates only. The actual accounts have been recently received, and give the following result: total receipts 35,17,725 rupees. At the beginning of the year there was a cash balance of 6,23,815 rupees, which deducted from the total amount, leaves the actual receipts of the year 28,93,910 rupees; whilst the total charges were 28,09,348 rupees, leaving an actual surplus on the year of 84,562 rupees.

5239. Mr. Mangles.] Does that statement show how much of the expenditure consisted of pensions paid to the family of the late Rajah and their retainers and servants?—The statement I have given does not, but I think that the amount is three lacs and a half.

5240. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Are you aware whether those charges include any part of the military expense?—I should imagine not.

5241. The Sattara principality is not charged with any proportion of the military expenses of the Bombay Government?—I imagine not; in this case the account is given as it would be from any collectorate.

5242. Though there is a small surplus shown there, there would be a deficit if you were to charge to the revenues of Sattara the expense of any British troops?—I am not aware that the annexation of Sattara has led to any increase in the army.

5243. It has led to the employment of troops from the Bombay army in the principality?—No doubt it has.

5244. Mr. Elliot.] You mentioned in the beginning of your evidence that a zemindar had security against any increase of rent being called for from him?—Yes.

5245. But that the undertenants have no such security?—If they have any, it is only a paper security. There are the words of the Regulation, but practically it is inoperative.

5246. Are not you aware that all undertenants have a special agreement in writing as to the rent which they are to pay, and that the zemindar cannot levy from them any more than the exact amount which is in the agreement?—In the agreement between themselves and the zemindar that is so, no doubt. I was not speaking of the intermediate tenants; I referred to the cultivating ryots.

5247. With regard to the ryots themselves, they are all entitled to have a pottah from the tenant from whom they take their land, and they give in return for that an agreement to pay that amount of rent; if they choose to take that pottah, and if they choose to give that agreement, the zemindar can never make them pay more than that amount; is not that the case?—Yes.

5248. Are not you aware that the zemindar has the power of instituting a summary suit for the recovery of his rent, and that the ryot has also the power of instituting a counter suit to stay that process, which is stayed till he has an opportunity of producing his pottah?—Yes, I am aware of that, where a pottah exists. What I meant was this. In the Regulations it is stated that the ryot shall always be entitled to continue to hold at pergunnah rates. Nobody, I believe, has yet been able to ascertain what those rates mean, and there is nothing, as far as

I know,

I know, to prevent any zemindar increasing the rent which the ryot has been accustomed to pay.

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5249. If the ryot takes his pottah, he is not liable to have his rent raised as long as he can produce that pottah, and show the stipulated rent?—If the pottah exists, that may be so; but I am not aware that it generally does exist.

5250. Has not the ryot the power, if he pleases, of insisting upon having a pottah from the zemindar, or from the tenant from whom he holds?—I do not know. It is very likely he has the power, but I believe in practice the thing does not exist.

5251. Is not it in fact the case, that there is great difficulty in many instances, in prevailing upon the ryots to take pottahs, because they think it binds them to a particular amount?—Very probably there is.

5252. In that case, there being no written agreement between the parties, it is necessary to take some well-known rate in order to fix the rent of any ryot which may be in dispute?—Where a pottah exists, there the ryot is in the condition of a leaseholder in this country; but my apprehension is, that speaking generally, they are simple tenants at will, and though their rights are preserved in the words of the Regulation, the means which they would have to adopt to enforce them render them quite valueless.

5253. Are you not aware that no person letting land to a ryot can do so without giving him a pottah, provided he asks for one?—It may be so.

5254. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Reverting to your former answer with regard to this connexion between the ryot and the zemindar, if the zemindar is liable to pay 1,000 rupees a year for his estate to the Government, he can sublet that to the ryots for 3,000, or 4,000, or 5,000 rupees, can he not?—So I apprehend.

5255. Are you aware, from your experience of the revenue transactions of Bengal, what proportion of the estates in Bengal have been brought to sale for Government arrears during the last ten years, and what was the proportion brought to sale in the previous ten years?—I do not bear it in mind. I should imagine that in the last ten years the number of estates which have been brought to sale, or at all events which have been put up to sale, was very much reduced, in consequence of the operation of the recent law of sale.

5256. You spoke of this permanent settlement being of such a nature that it was never altered nor alterable; are you aware that when an estate is brought to sale, and is purchased by the Government, the Government would have full authority to break it up into smaller parcels, and to let it at any advanced or any reduced rate they may please?—I am quite aware of that; the Government is under precise orders from home to make no more permanent settlements. When the Government obtains the zemindary right it is extinguished.

5257. Thereby the revenue, though it is called a permanent settlement, must be liable to future diminution or increase?—Yes; all I meant to say was, that so long as the estate remained in the hands of the parties with whom the original settlement was made, the Government had no power to increase the revenue. When the estate is sold, and purchased by the Government, the zemindary right passes into the hands of the Government, which can then do as it pleases with it.

5258. From what you have seen of the usual progress of sales of estates in Bengal, are not you of opinion that in a sufficient length of time a great portion of the whole estates of Bengal may be supposed to be likely to come into the possession of the Government, to re-settle them upon any principle they may please?—It must be a very long process, and a very expensive one, if the value of estates is so large as I imagine it to be. The estates which the Government purchase are generally those which have become deteriorated, or were originally burdened with a heavy assessment.

5259. Mr. Elliot.] The estates which have been re-settled by the Government, have been generally those which have deteriorated?—I apprehend so.

5260. Do you know the general cause of the apparent deterioration?—No doubt there were mistakes made in the permanent settlement originally.

5261. Are you aware of the cause of the apparent deterioration of the estates in a great part of Bengal; has not it generally arisen from a great quantity of land having been alienated from the class of rent-paying land, and being fraudulently turned into rent-free land?—There is no doubt that that has been the case in many instances.

5262. A portion of the estate having been so alienated, the estate has then fallen

F. W. Prideaux; fallen into arrear for the first time?—I have no doubt that that is the case in many instances.
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5263. And when the Government come to settle that estate, they are obliged to settle it at a less amount than it originally yielded?—Where the Government purchase an estate, if those grants have been made since the date of the permanent settlement, they would all be rendered null by the purchase.

5264. Provided you could prove a fraud?—If you could prove a fraud.

5265. If you cannot prove a fraud, the Government loses the whole amount, does not it?—Yes, it does.

5266. Are you not aware that the Government have lost enormously in that way?—I have no doubt it is so; I am not certain of the fact, but I have no doubt of it.

5267. Are not you aware, that in many cases collusions have taken place between the zemindars and the la-khirajdars (persons paying revenue and persons holding land rent free), by which large portions of the estates have been separated from the rent-paying land and turned over to the rent-free land; that accounts have been kept separately in the villages for some years, so as to show that those lands which have been separated were rent lands; that causes have been instituted between the zemindar and the la-khirajdar, for the purpose of recovering those lands, and that, by a collusion, the courts have been led to decree in favour of the rent-free holder; and that even those cases have been carried to appeal, in order that this might be made a more certain arrangement, and that after that has taken place, and all the deeds upon which the rent-free land was supposed to be held had been produced in court, the estate has been allowed to go to sale, when it was impossible for the Government ever to rebut all those proofs which were brought before the court by the zemindar against the la-khirajdar, so that the land has been perfectly alienated from the Government?—I am quite aware that such cases have occurred; and other cases have occurred, where applications have been made for the division of a permanent estate, and the adjustment of the revenue payable upon it, upon those two portions. By collusion with the native officer half the estate perhaps, which contains the more valuable land, has had half the revenue attached to it, and the other, which was worth much less, has had the other half, and has shortly fallen into arrear, and been allowed to go to sale purposely.

5268. Did not those frauds to which you have alluded render it absolutely necessary for the Government to take stringent measures for the resumption of lands held, or professing to be held, rent free?—No doubt stringent measures were taken, and it was discovered that such things had occurred, and that large quantities of land were held without payment of revenue on fraudulent and invalid titles.

5269. If those measures had not been taken, would not the Government have been annually great losers of revenue?—No doubt they would. Every year that was allowed to pass added to the prescription.

5270. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Has the revenue survey of the Bombay territories been concluded?—No.

5271. What proportion of the territory has been reported on?—The only portions reported on as completed are the southern collectorates.

5272. Are you aware what the result, in a financial point of view, has been of this survey; has it led to an increase or a diminution in the net revenue of the district surveyed?—The immediate result has been a decrease; it has caused a reduction of the rates of assessment; the ultimate result is expected to be a considerable increase, by bringing land which has long been waste under cultivation; that is gradually showing itself now.

5273. Do the engagements made with villages respecting the tracts of land include land which is fully cultivated, and also land which is waste?—The process is to fix the sum upon each field. The time binding against the Government is 30 years; the cultivator may change his cultivation as often he pleases.

5274. Are the Committee to understand that the waste land is assessed on this valuation?—Yes, the waste land is assessed in the same way; it is divided into fields and assessed.

5275. At what rate can waste land which produces nothing be assessed?—The mode of assessment there is by an examination of the soil. It seems to have worked well hitherto, but it is a very complicated mode. The classifier examines the depth and nature of the soil; in a large field he might dig in four or five places.

places. He would come perhaps to a bed of stone; that has a bad mark; other things have a good mark, and he classifies the soil, whether cultivated or not; this has no reference to what it produces, nor to whether it is cultivated or uncultivated land.

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5276. Are the Committee to understand that a revenue is absolutely demanded in the present year from land which is now producing nothing?—No revenue is demanded; the field has a rent placed upon it; if any ryot chooses to go to the village officer and say he will cultivate that field, he can at once ascertain what it stands at in the village books, and that is the rate that it will stand at for the next thirty years. No revenue is payable upon any field which is not cultivated.

5277. Are you aware whether, when a ryot applies for a lease of uncultivated land, he has a lease given to him at an even rate of assessment for the whole thirty years, or is it a low rate to commence with, a progressive advance being made as the land becomes more valuable?—Both systems are very prevalent in Bombay; in the revised districts I think cowls are not given at all, but in all the old districts of Bombay the cowl system is very prevalent.

5278. My question applies to the lands which have been subject to this process of revenue survey?—There, I believe, cowls are never granted; if taken at all, the lands must be taken at the survey rent.

5279. Are you aware whether after the conclusion of the revenue survey, any attempt has been made in any of the districts to imitate the example of the North-western Provinces of Bengal, by making settlements for villages?—None, I believe; there has been a considerable amount of correspondence between the revenue officers of the two Governments; each, however, adheres to his own system as being the fittest for the particular part of the country where they are employed.

5280. Are you aware what was the original system in the Bombay Presidency before the territories fell under the British Government; was it a village arrangement, or an arrangement for assessing every field and every occupier of a field?—I do not know what was the precise system when it came into our hands; it was very much disorganised.

5281. Are you aware that village societies existed in the Bombay territories, with a complete organisation, when it fell under the British Government?—No doubt in some instances it was so.

5282. Are not you aware that the heads of the villages were themselves personally responsible to the Government for the revenue of the villages?—Yes.

5283. Does not it follow that it is the British administration which has subverted that ancient system, and substituted another in its place?—No doubt it has done so to a great extent, but I believe this system had been very much broken up when we came into possession of the country; and one of the great reasons which operated with our Government in breaking it up was the fear they entertained that the head man being personally responsible, and having great power in the village, he and the more influential ryots would favour themselves at the expense of the poorer ones.

5284. Is that the reasoning which has led the Bombay Revenue authorities to persevere in this plan of ryotwar settlement, in preference to adopting the plan in force in the North-western Provinces?—They say that the plan could not be introduced in the present state of the country; I doubt whether villages exist in sufficient perfection there. There is no question that in many parts of Madras, where the village system existed in very great perfection a century ago, there is scarcely a trace to be found of it now.

5285. Have you not still names existing, and offices existing, which indicate a continuance in some degree of the ancient system; have you desmooks and pattels, and all the rest of those Revenue authorities which existed before the introduction of the British administration?—Yes.

5286. Do you suppose that the whole system has disappeared from the face of the land?—In many places it has.

5287. Sir C. Wood.] Has it disappeared altogether?—Not altogether.

5288. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Can you state in brief what you believe to be the argument of the Bombay authorities for persisting in this ryotwar system, in preference to adopting a system similar to that now prevailing in the North-western Provinces, and more like that which prevailed 50 years ago in the territories of Bombay?

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Bombay?—I can hardly at once state the argument; as I said before, one of the reasons was, that they considered it more desirable that each cultivator should deal directly with the Government, and not through the medium of a middleman of any sort, either the head of the village or a zemindar.

5289. As far as your experience goes, is it not the fact that the Bombay authorities, perhaps following the example of the Madras authorities, have striven to introduce to the greatest possible extent, this ryotwar system in preference to the opposite system?—No doubt of it; the system they have striven to introduce has been that of an individual system of dealing with each cultivator.

5290. *Mr. Hardinge.*] With regard to the sale of lands for arrears of revenue, has not a certain time been allowed to the zemindar to make arrangements to meet his engagements before the estate has been put up to auction?—I believe the great fault which was found with the former system was, that the zemindar would fall into arrear purposely, and then was able to stop the sale at any time previously to its coming on by paying the arrears; in order to get rid of that the system is now absolutely imperative; the Revenue authorities have no discretion whatever in the matter; if, on a certain day after the instalment is due, that instalment is not paid, the estate must be advertised, and must be sold; the zemindar may buy back the estate, but no payment of arrears in the interim between the advertisement and the sale can stop the sale.

5291. *Mr. Elliot.*] May not he pay at any time between the advertisement and the sale?—No; that is not the present rule.

5292. *Mr. Hardinge.*] When was that alteration made?—I think about six years ago.

5293. Has the number of sales of land for arrears of revenue increased or decreased of late years?—My impression is, that they have considerably decreased, and certainly the quantity of land advertised for sale has very materially decreased.

5294. *Mr. Mangles.*] The old system was found to be one of very mistaken lenity, and operated to the injury of the zemindars themselves?—No doubt.

5295. *Sir C. Wood.*] And also had the effect to increase very much the quantity of land sold?—The quantity of land advertised for sale was increased, and I believe the quantity of land sold; it gave likewise a great deal of needless trouble; one main reason for the change was, that under the former system there was no possibility of finding purchasers; purchasers were not likely to attend a sale when, on the morning of the day of sale, the chances were that the agent of the zemindar might come in with a bag of rupees in his hand, and by paying the arrears stop the sale.

5296. *Mr. Elliot.*] Perhaps you are aware that almost every estate in Bengal was advertised at one time, though there was no intention whatever on the part of the zemindars not to pay the rent?—I am quite aware that it was so stated in the discussions which preceded the new sale law.

5297. Since that enactment, of course that has not been the case?—It has not been the case since that.

5298. Are you aware that one reason was the great difference in the rate of interest which was received by the Company on balances, and the rate of interest which the zemindar had to pay in the bazaar to raise money to pay his kist?—Yes, I am aware that there was that difference in the rate of interest.

5299. *Mr. Mangles.*] What is your opinion as to the pressure of the land revenue upon the people in the North-western Provinces, in Bombay, and in Madras respectively?—We have no means of knowing the general rate of assessment either in Bombay or in Madras; there would be no difficulty in getting at it approximately in each particular district, but I do not think we have any returns which will show it for all. In the North-western Provinces, the statistics being so exact, we can arrive at it.

5300. What is the rate per acre in the North-western Provinces?—In the North-western Provinces the average rate per acre on the total area, including the lands not subject to assessment, is about 1s. 9d., on the total land paying assessment it is 2s. 5½d., and on the total land cultivated 3s. 6d.

5301. Have you any similar statement with regard to any of the districts of the Madras or the Bombay Presidencies?—I have not. I can only give the rates for particular districts, and even there they are not averages.

5302. My question was of a more general nature, as to whether you believe that the land revenue in the North-western Provinces, in Madras or in Bombay is excessive?—I should imagine not. I have already stated what I apprehend

to be the proportion of revenue taken out of rent in Bengal and the North-western Provinces. With respect to Bombay, being desirous to ascertain it, I wrote to Mr. Goldsmid, the Revenue Secretary, he handed the inquiry on to Captain Wingate, the Survey Commissioner, who said it was impossible to state it with anything like accuracy, as you seldom knew what the money rents were, but he thought it would not be far from the truth if in all the revised districts we considered the assessment equalled from 50 to 75 per cent. upon the rent.

5303. Do you know what is the case in Madras?—In Madras it is still more difficult to ascertain. I can only judge there from occasional instances which occur where land is to be taken for Government or private purposes. I know in Coimbatore, when the cotton experiments were going on, the Government officers could not obtain land for less than the assessment, with the addition of half as rent. I have also seen it stated by some of the cotton planters who established themselves in Tinnevely, that they can only get land suitable for their purposes from the ryots, by paying twice the amount which the Government demanded; so that it is quite clear that there the ryots consider that it is worth a rent in addition to the Government demand.

5304. What do you suppose, from your researches, to be the main causes of the alleged difficulty of obtaining cotton from India?—Of course the main cause is, that the price which can be obtained for it here is not such as to make it worth while for people to import it from India. There is no difficulty in getting it there in any quantities. One great difficulty which is experienced no doubt is, that while the manufacturers here want cotton of the American variety, that does not suit so well the Indian spinners; and unless they have a ready market, the cultivators are very unwilling to grow it.

5305. Do not you suppose that one, at any rate, of the main reasons, if not the main reason, is that the ryots find it more profitable to cultivate other articles of produce?—I have no doubt they do find it more profitable, but I think if there were persons on the spot willing to give them better prices, there would be no difficulty in getting a large supply in many parts of India.

5306. That has not been the case?—It has not.

5307. Those who have called out for cotton have contented themselves with calling out, and have not gone out to India, or placed themselves in such a relation to the ryots as would enable them to raise and purchase it?—They are doing that to some extent; but the last notice I saw of the proceedings of the gentlemen who have gone out from Manchester was, that they had settled themselves in Tinnevely, and wanted the collector to offer the ryots a certain price for any quantity of American cotton that they would grow. But the collector said, "If you want American cotton, you had better pay the price for it yourself; it is not for the Government to encourage cotton of a particular description, by offering a higher price for it than it will fetch in the market."

5308. *Chairman.*] Has not the Government been buying up all the cotton, at a given price, for the last three years?—At a given price.

5309. Are you aware that the Government have been buying it at a certain price fixed by those gentlemen?—They have done so for a time in Tinnevely.

5310. Do you know to what extent those purchases by the Government have been carried?—Large quantities of cotton have been bought, varying in different years. The object of the Court of Directors has been, to place before the Manchester people such quantities of cotton as can be produced, with the hope of stimulating the manufacturers themselves to give orders for the transmission of cotton to this country; large quantities, to the extent of 3,000 to 4,000 bales within the year, have been received and sent to Manchester, and sold there, frequently at remunerating prices; the object has been to let the manufacturers see what India can produce under proper management.

5311. Is the cost of transport from the place of cultivation to the port of shipment a great impediment to the increase of the production of cotton in India?—In some parts I have no doubt it is, but generally speaking, the cotton districts are near the coast, or have water carriage; the great cotton district, on the western side of India, in Broach, is near the coast. I recollect some two years ago speaking to a gentleman who has established a large cotton cleaning factory there; I asked him if anything could be done by the Government to introduce the cultivation of cotton there; he said he was aware of nothing whatever; I told him that one of the general complaints here was the want of roads; he said, in that particular district it is true there is no road, and it would be the most useless

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expenditure to lay out money in making one. During the dry season there is no difficulty in passing through the district from one end to another, and in the wet season no one thinks of moving; all that was requisite, was simply to straighten the tracks; not to lay down any sort of stone or metal.

5312. *Mr. Mangles.*] Supposing cotton bore a price which rendered it profitable to the ryot to raise it in relation to the price of other agricultural products, and supposing equal pains were taken to obtain cotton as have been taken on the other side of India to obtain indigo, do you apprehend there would be any difficulty in obtaining as much cotton as could possibly be wanted in this country?—I should apprehend not, taking the whole of India; in many parts, I believe, already as much cotton is grown as can be produced; in Broach, for example, according to the rotation of crops which has existed there, cotton ought to be grown once only in three years, but I find from the cultivation returns, that more than one-third of the district is under cotton.

5313. *Mr. Hardinge.*] How is cotton conveyed now from the cotton district to the coast?—To a great extent on bullocks, I believe; in many parts in carts.

5314. Would not an Indian merchant get a better price in China for his cotton than in this country?—Generally speaking, for Indian cotton he would.

5315. Does a large quantity go to China?—A very large quantity.

5316. What proportion?—The proportion varies; the import into this country depends entirely upon the price of American cotton.

5317. *Mr. Newdegate.*] The Indian staple is rather shorter than the American staple, is not it?—It is.

5318. Could that be remedied by changing the plant?—The principal efforts of late years have been to substitute the American for the Indian plant.

5319. Have they been effectual in increasing the staple?—I believe the quality of the produce of the American plant in India is quite as good as in America itself.

5320. The system of cleaning and picking the cotton in India has hitherto been very inferior to that practised in America, has not it?—It has been very inferior; it has been found impossible to induce the people to pick it without a mixture of dirt and leaves.

5321. Would it be possible to introduce an improved system?—No doubt, by care, in time it would.

5322. *Mr. Mangles.*] Is not it the case that there is not, in fact, any effective demand for Indian cotton in this country, when the crop has been good in America, and bears a low price?—The demand then, I believe, is very small. The manufacturers have certain tables, by which they know what price they can afford to give for the average run of Indian cotton, in proportion to the price of cotton from New Orleans. It is a simple question of price. If Indian cotton in tolerable quantities could be sold in this country at a penny or three halfpence a pound lower than the American cotton, the manufacturers would buy it.

5323. Supposing there had been a number of successive years of good crops in America, and consequently very little demand for Indian cotton; if in any year the crop in America fails, is it reasonable to complain that there is a difficulty in that year in getting a large quantity of Indian cotton?—If there were a steady demand, there would be a steady supply to any extent.

5324. And the demand is not steady?—Certainly not.

5325. Which will account for there not being a sufficient supply at the moment it is called for?—Not at the moment it is called for.

5326. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] In speaking of the want of roads not being so great an obstacle as has been imagined in this country, are you aware whether at the present period much of the cotton produce of Berar is exported from Bombay?—A considerable quantity is. I restricted my answer, in speaking of the want of roads, to the province of Broach, and the information given me by the gentleman to whom I alluded. I have no doubt that the want of roads does interfere with the production of cotton in some parts of India.

5327. Is not that Oomrawuttee cotton the best which is grown in India?—I believe it is.

5328. If there were a railway or any other easy mode of conveyance from Berar to the coast, large quantities of that cotton would find their way to the coast, and to England, would they not?—No doubt large quantities would.

5329. *Mr. Hardinge.*] On what principle are the land assessments made in the Non-regulation Provinces; take Assam, for instance?—I can hardly speak positively on that subject.

5330. They

5330. They are not long leases, but they are engagements from year to year, are they not?—Engagements from year to year, generally speaking.

5331. Is not the general principle of the Government assessment to take two-thirds of the net, and not the gross produce?—Of the net produce.

5332. Has that principle been carried out in the new land assessment in the Punjaub?—I believe so. That was certainly the general principle that was to be adopted in the North-western Provinces, and the settlements in the Punjaub have been mostly conducted by officers who gained their experience in the North-western Provinces.

5333. They are generally 30 years' leases, are not they, in the Punjaub?—In the North-western Provinces they are 30 years' leases.

5334. Are not they equally long leases in the Punjaub?—No.

5335. I see there is a marked increase of the estimate in 1847 and 1848 in Agra and the North-western Provinces; is that in consequence of the receipts and expenditure in the Punjaub?—I do not know how this account was made up.

5336. *Chairman.*] Will you state to the Committee how the salt revenue is raised in Bengal?—In Bengal it is raised partly by a system of Government sale, and partly by customs. The salt is manufactured on account of the Government at certain fixed rates; it is stored in warehouses, and from them it is issued at the actual cost price to the Government, added to a fixed duty, which duty at present is two and a half rupees per maund. That is the same as the customs duty levied on the import of salt.

5337. The profit upon the manufacture is estimated at the same rate as the customs duty upon the import of salt from abroad?—It is fixed at the same rate; the actual cost price to the Government is calculated, and to that is added two and a half rupees per maund, which is equivalent to the customs duty. In point of fact, the salt manufactured in Bengal competes freely with the manufacture of every other country in the market of Bengal.

5338. What is the estimated cost of the manufacture in Bengal?—It varies in different agencies; it is about 1 s. 6 d. a maund, I think.

5339. The profit is two and a half rupees a maund?—Yes.

5340. *Sir C. Wood.*] Is there not also one private establishment which manufactures salt on payment of an excise duty?—Yes, there is one such establishment.

5341. *Chairman.*] In what mode is the salt revenue raised in the North-western Provinces?—In the North-western Provinces the salt revenue is raised altogether by a customs duty on crossing the line into the North-western Provinces; the salt is produced to the westward, and it pays two rupees a maund on passing the frontier line, and a further duty of eight annas on passing Allahabad; there it meets the Bengal sea salt. In the Punjaub the salt duty is raised by a duty of two rupees levied at the mouth of the salt mines.

5342. In Madras, how is it raised?—In Madras the salt is manufactured on the part of the Government, and sold by the Government at a price, including the duty, of one rupee a maund. Some years ago the Government of India ordered the salt to be sold at a rupee and a half a maund, instead of the former price of 105 rupees a garce, which is equal to 120 maunds; but orders were sent from home that the price should not be raised above one rupee a maund.

5343. Will you state to the Committee the reason of the different price which exists in Madras and Bengal?—The salt is of a different quality; the Bengal salt is a salt produced by boiling, and is much more expensive in its manufacture. The Madras salt is formed by solar evaporation on the margin of the sea.

5344. In the one case the Government obtains a profit of two and a half rupees per maund, and in the other case less than a rupee per maund?—Yes.

5345. In Bombay, how is the salt revenue levied?—There it is a system of excise; the salt there, on being taken from the pans, pays a duty of 12 annas, or 1 s. 6 d. a maund, to the Government; then it may be removed anywhere under passes.

5346. *Mr. Elliot.*] Supposing salt is shipped from Madras and carried to Bengal, is there any additional charge upon it on landing in Bengal?—A quantity of Madras salt is sent to Bengal to be sold on the Government account, but if purchased by private merchants, and sent to Bengal, it would be subject to the same duty as other salt. Bombay salt is also sent round by private merchants to Bengal; then it would pay the customs duty, minus a drawback of the excise duty previously paid.

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5347. *Mr. Hardinge.*] Have not there been large reductions in the salt duty in Bengal of late years?—Formerly the salt revenue in Bengal was raised exclusively by the system of auction sales. In 1836, at the time that a Committee of the House of Commons was sitting on the subject, that system was changed for a system of sales at fixed prices. The duty at that time was three rupees and four annas; that has been reduced at three different periods to three rupees, to two rupees and 12 annas, and now it is two rupees and eight annas.

5348. Have there been large quantities of salt imported in consequence of that reduction?—No, not in consequence of that reduction, I think.

5349. Has not the imported salt, to a great extent, superseded the Government salt?—Yes; half the salt consumed in Bengal is now supplied from the port of Liverpool.

5350. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Is the consumption increasing or diminishing in Bengal?—The consumption of salt is undoubtedly increasing.

5351. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] The first two reductions of the duty I believe caused a considerable increase in the consumption?—They did.

5352. But the last reduction has not caused much increase, if any?—It has caused an increase in the consumption and an increase in the gross revenue, but a decrease in the net revenue.

5353. But not much increase in the consumption, has it?—Not so much as the two former reductions.

5354. *Chairman.*] How is the revenue from opium raised in Bengal?—In Bengal the cultivation of the poppy is prohibited, except for the purpose of selling the juice to the Government officers at a fixed price at which it is received. Any cultivators wishing to engage in the cultivation of opium are permitted to do so, and they deliver the juice to the Government officers at a fixed price. By them it is sent up to the two principal factories; there is one at Patna and another in the Province of Benares. There it is manufactured into opium and sent down to Calcutta, where it is sold by auction, the Government revenue consisting of the difference between the price it has already cost the Government and the price which is realised for it by the merchants, who export it to China. The auction price, of course, is variable.

5355. The cultivation of opium is only allowed on condition that the juice shall be delivered to the Government?—Only on that condition.

5356. Therefore the Government has a monopoly of the manufacture of opium?—A strict monopoly of the manufacture.

5357. Engaging to take any quantity of juice produced by the cultivators?—Yes, at a fixed price.

5358. What is that price now?—The price differs in the two agencies, but I think it is about 1*s.* 6*d.* for two pounds of juice.

5359. Is the price for the juice variable according to the decision of the Government, or is it a fixed price?—It is a fixed price.

5360. Which has not varied?—It may have varied from time to time. The cultivator contracts at a fixed price, and no change is made, except after a lapse of years, when circumstances may have changed.

5361. Has that price been sufficient to stimulate an increase of production?—A very large increase of production.

5362. Is the revenue raised in the same way in Bombay?—The opium revenue in Bombay is derived from the opium produced in the native states of Malwa. The plan which has been adopted for many years is, that the Resident at Indore is applied to by merchants who wish to send opium to the Port of Bombay; he gives a pass to the person sending it, at 400 rupees for each chest. Before the acquisition of Scinde, the Malwa opium used to find its way through Scinde by the Port of Kurrachee, and so escape duty altogether. But now, as it has no longer that means of passing out of the country, it comes direct to Bombay under the cover of this pass, for which the present charge is 400 rupees.

5363. So that the Government of India pays a certain price to the native producer for the manufactured articles?—Not the Government of India; it is entirely in the hands of merchants.

5364. The sole revenue that the Government derives is upon the pass for the opium produced by the native growers to the port of shipment?—For the privilege of passing through the British territory from the place of growth to the place of export.

5365. That

5365. That is, at the rate of 400 rupees a chest?—Four hundred rupees a chest; a chest containing 140 lbs.

5366. In Madras no opium is produced?—No opium is produced in Madras.

5367. Mr. *Elliot*.] You may perhaps have observed that it has been stated in some publications which have appeared of late, as a grievance on the part of the ryots, that they have been compelled against their wishes to cultivate opium?—I have often seen it stated.

5368. Is there any truth in such a statement?—Not the slightest; it is a cultivation which they consider to be highly remunerative, and they are extremely anxious to engage in it.

5369. *Chairman*.] Will you state to the Committee what is the general system pursued with regard to the revenue derived from sea customs?—A considerable amount of revenue is derived from import and export duties; the usual rate of import duties being at present five per cent., and the export duties three per cent. on the value.

5370. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Have you the tariff with you?—I have not.

5371. *Chairman*.] Are the differential duties on foreign bottoms abolished?—Yes.

5372. Are there differential duties on foreign produce?—Most articles of foreign produce pay a double duty.

5373. Is any portion of the sea customs revenue derived from the coasting traffic between the Presidencies?—The three Presidencies used to be treated as distinct countries. Until about three or four years ago, duties were payable on exports and imports between the Presidencies as between foreign countries, but that has been done away with, and the coasting trade is now quite free, and is open to foreign as well as British ships.

5374. So that no portion of the revenue is derived from that source?—None from the coasting trade.

5375. With regard to land customs, they are abolished, are not they?—Land customs were abolished in Bengal in 1836; in Bombay, in 1838; and in Madras, in 1846. The only land customs still existing are on the line of frontier; there are no transit duties through the British territories.

5376. The frontier duties still exist?—Yes.

5377. Are they levied on all articles?—The principal frontier duties are levied on the north-west frontier of the Bengal Provinces; there they are confined entirely to the import of salt, which I have already mentioned, to the import of cotton, and to the export of sugar; all other articles pass free.

5378. What excise duties exist in India?—There are duties on the sale of intoxicating liquors and drugs, which are commonly known under the name of "abkarry;" they are principally raised by means of licences, and sometimes by the privilege of selling being let to a farmer, frequently by auction.

5379. The duties on intoxicating liquors and drugs are the only excise duties?—Those are the only excise duties.

5380. Of what character is the revenue from stamp duties?—The principal portion of the revenue derived from stamp duties is on stamps required for judicial proceedings; there are also stamps on contracts, particularly at the Presidency towns; some amount is raised in that way, but it is mostly derived from the stamps required in the different stages of judicial proceedings.

5381. How long have those stamp duties existed?—They have existed for a very considerable time; I cannot give the date exactly.

5382. At the same rate as at present?—They have varied; there have been modifications within a few years; I cannot precisely state what the modifications are.

5383. Have the modifications been of a tendency to raise them, or reduce them?—To reduce them; to render documents which formerly required stamps valid without them.

5384. Where are the taxes on trades still existing?—They have not existed in Bengal for a very considerable number of years, though they are mentioned in an early regulation; they still continue to exist in Madras, but they do not exist in Bengal or Bombay.

5385. In what mode are they levied in Madras?—We have very little information on the subject; they are levied only according to ancient custom, and not according to any particular regulation.

5386. Are they levied in the shape of licences for carrying on certain trades?—

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In some places they assume the shape of a licence to use a particular tool ; a carpenter, for instance, would be taxed for his chisel ; in other cases a sum is fixed upon the body, and the individual traders settle the proportion among themselves ; that sum is fixed between the whole body of traders and the Government-officer, as to what amount should be paid for a given number of years, they arranging the proportion among themselves.

5387. Do merchants and traders of all grades downwards pay?—No, it is according to the custom of each district, or each small subdivision of a district.

5388. Sir *T. H. Maddock.*] Can you state to the Committee what is the total amount collected from the moturpha and other taxes of a similar nature in Madras?—Somewhat exceeding 100,000 *l.* sterling annually.

5389. There have been numerous complaints made against the continuance of those taxes, have there not?—Very numerous.

5390. Has there been any reason for not complying with the applications of the people to be relieved from those taxes, other than the financial consideration of the loss of revenue which, it would cause?—The special complaints, I believe, have been from the weavers ; but it was felt that the whole subject required consideration. The question was referred from the Court of Directors to the Government of India, and the Madras Government were directed to take the whole subject into consideration, and to prepare a general report, showing the actual state of the moturpha throughout their territories. That report was to be submitted to the Government of India, with a view to their interfering, by legislation, to correct any evils which might appear to exist.

5391. My question was whether any other reason existed at Madras, or in this country, for not relieving the people from those taxes, excepting considerations of a financial nature?—I am not aware of any other reason.

5392. *Chairman.*] The monopoly of tobacco does not exist any longer, does it?—No, it was abolished some little time since ; it only affected two districts, Malabar and Canara, and produced about 70,000 *l.* a year.

5393. Are you acquainted with the other minor sources of revenue which exist in India?—I know them by name, as appearing in the accounts ; none of them fall into what is called with us the Revenue Department.

5394. Will you state what they are?—They are the mint duties, the profits in the Marine Department, the receipts of the Post-office, which I believe are far below the charges, and subsidies from native princes. All those appear in the accounts, but are hardly items of revenue.

Frederick James Halliday, Esq., called in ; and further Examined.

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5395. *Chairman.*] ON the subject of the Indian revenue, I believe you can speak from your own experience as regards Bengal?—My experience has been chiefly confined to Bengal ; of late years entirely.

5396. Do you consider that the mode in which the land revenue is levied in Bengal is regarded by the natives as oppressive, and does it impede the improved cultivation, or the extension of the cultivation of the soil?—I do not think it is regarded by the natives as at all oppressive ; and looking to the manner in which cultivation has extended under my own eye during the time I have been in India, it is impossible to say that it can have impeded cultivation, which has gone on very rapidly.

5397. Any increased rent falls to the profit of the zemindars or the middlemen?—The land revenue being fixed, of course any increased rent goes to the zemindar or the middleman, as the case may be, under agreement between them. It does not go to the Government at all events.

5398. Does not the fixed settlement in reality operate to check the increase of cultivation?—No ; I do not think that it is likely to have that effect. Practically it does not appear to have had that effect. Cultivation has very largely increased, and is going on increasing. I do not immediately see why it should have that effect.

5399. If the zemindars or middlemen were very exorbitant in their demands, would not it do so?—That would check cultivation, of course ; but any exorbitancy or oppression on the part of the zemindars would not be the necessary consequence of fixing the revenue payable to the Government. It has been considered an error in the system, that when the revenue payment was fixed, mea-
sures

asures were not taken to ascertain more distinctly the liabilities of the under tenants down to the lowest cultivators, and to insure them against exorbitant demands, and against oppression. That was not done at the time, and it is a difficulty against which we have been struggling ever since with greater or less success; but it is not a necessary consequence of fixing the Government revenue as payable by the zemindar. That might have been fixed, and the zemindar might perhaps have been prevented from oppressing his tenants.

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5400. Any reduction of the fixed rate now settled would go into the pockets of the zemindar, and not benefit the mass of the cultivators?—Entirely.

5401. Does property by any means lapse into the hands of the Government?—It does occasionally, but rarely. The lapses are almost entirely deteriorated estates; estates which were perhaps originally over assessed, or which, from accidental causes, have become unequal to the payment of the revenue. Here and there I have known cases of estates falling into the hands of the Government, owing to the quarrels and mismanagement of the shareholders; but those are rare instances. I do not think there is any general tendency by any means for estates to fall into the hands of the Government by sale.

5402. When they do fall into the hands of the Government, what course is pursued?—When they fall into the hands of the Government they are measured and surveyed, and a re-settlement is made with the persons who are found cultivating or holding tenures of different descriptions on the land itself; the permanent settlement ceases; it lapses altogether as regards that particular estate.

5403. The re-settlement has not been carried into effect to any great extent?—No, nor is it likely to be.

5404. That settlement being a question of good faith, is there any means which you can suggest for increasing the land revenue of Bengal?—You cannot touch that settlement of course; that is fixed in perpetuity, and I am not therefore aware of any means by which the land revenue of Bengal could be increased. There has been an increase in Bengal of the land revenue, owing to the resumption of rent-free tenures, amounting to between 30 and 40 lacs of rupees, but that is probably the limit; it is not likely to go beyond that. I think there is no particular expectation of an increase in the land revenue of Bengal as matters at present stand, nor am I able to suggest any method in which it could be increased.

5405. With respect to the other sources of revenue in Bengal, take for example the salt revenue, is the rate at which it is levied considered burdensome to the population of Bengal?—I do not think it is burdensome in the sense of the population generally complaining of it. They have been long used to it, and they are very patient of taxation which they have been used to, though they are very impatient of novelties of that kind. Of course, the tax levied on salt by the Government is a very considerable addition to the price which the people have to pay for their salt, and so far it must be considered as a grievance to them.

5406. The real question which arises of course is, whether, supposing the same amount of revenue must be raised, there could be any other taxes imposed less burdensome to the population of Bengal than those which are now levied?—I am not able to suggest any of which they would be likely to complain so little as they do now of the salt tax.

5407. There is no complaint of the mode of raising the revenue from opium?—None whatever.

5408. As the customs are very much reduced now, there is no complaint about them probably?—None at all.

5409. The excise is very trifling; there is no complaint of that, is there?—No, I have never heard any complaint of that; I have heard it alleged that the excise is so managed as to increase the consumption of liquors and intoxicating drugs, instead of diminishing it. I do not, however, believe it is so, though I have heard that complaint made by persons not, I think, very well-informed upon the subject. With respect to the weight of such taxation, or there being anything oppressive in it, no complaint is made that I am aware of.

5410. The excise duty would tend to raise the price of intoxicating liquors?—No doubt.

5411. How then could it increase the consumption?—I do not say that it does; I have heard it alleged against the management of the excise, that the collectors have pressed persons to take out licences, and to establish shops where no shops were established before, and that they have thus spread a taste for intoxicating liquors and drugs where that taste did not previously exist; that is the sort of

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complaint which I have heard alleged against the system ; I do not believe it is well founded.

5412. Mr. *Elliot*.] Was not it, at one time, rather supposed that the Board of Revenue estimated the goodness or badness of a collector by the state of his abkarry revenue?—I have heard that, in former times, more stress was laid upon that than has been the case of late years ; but that dates from a period almost before my time.

5413. That led to great exertions being made by the collector to increase that particular branch of the revenue, and the consequence probably was, the feeling which you have described?—Yes ; but even where those exertions were made, as far as my knowledge goes, they had not that effect ; the only difference was, that the collector levied the tax upon licences in cases where sales were going on before without licences ; that whereas there was a great deal of consumption which paid no revenue to the Government, the collector found it out and taxed it. I do not believe it was true, even in those cases, that the collector spread in his district a taste for those things.

5414. *Chairman*.] With regard to the stamp duties, are those considered burdensome to the people?—I think, perhaps, the stamp duties may be more complained of ; they add to the expense of litigation. I think about half of the whole revenue from stamps arises from stamps upon law proceedings ; and no doubt they are felt as a burden by the people who have to go to law, the people of India being very fond of going to law. In those respects I think, perhaps, they do feel it, though I cannot say that there is any very great complaint about it. Except that these stamp duties are taxes upon law proceedings, which I should object to, independently of any complaint of the natives, I have nothing particular to allege against them.

5415. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Has the tax had any effect in checking litigation?—I do not think it has.

5416. *Chairman*.] Supposing the same amount of revenue to be required, is there any substitute which you would recommend for the purpose of enabling the Government to relieve the people from the payment of the stamp duties?—No. It has been suggested that the tax which is now levied before the case is decided should be levied afterwards, and from the losing party, which no doubt would be a very good thing ; but the chances are that in a great many cases you would fail to recover the tax. The experiment, I think, is not worth trying at present in a financial point of view.

5417. Mr. *Elliot*.] When you came to substitute another tax, would not you be very much puzzled to find any new tax, that you could establish without great danger of creating a commotion in the country?—Yes, unless it were an increase of the customs duties, which cannot be called a new tax.

5418. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] Do the natives of India like novelty in the way of taxation?—Not at all ; as I have said, they bear with the greatest possible patience taxation of the kind they are accustomed to, but are very impatient of new taxes.

5419. Do you believe they would bear a tax to which they had been long accustomed more patiently than they would bear a new tax, even though it was less onerous than the other one?—I do thoroughly believe it.

5420. *Chairman*.] From your knowledge of other parts of India besides Bengal, will you favour the Committee with your opinion as to the mode of raising the land revenue ; would it be possible to make any alteration in the present system?—I am very incompetent to speak about the Madras system ; I have a prejudice against it, and am probably very slightly informed upon the subject ; as I have understood it to work, it does not seem to me to be a good system. The system at Bombay I am told works extremely well, but I should not have imagined beforehand that a plan of valuing every particular bit of a field according to the nature of the soil, and then fixing beforehand a rent upon it arbitrarily to last for thirty years, which every man who took that field must pay to the collector's treasury, was likely to succeed ; I am told, however, that it does succeed. The system in the North-western Provinces is more generally approved, and has hitherto found more favour perhaps than any other system which we have adopted in any part of our territories ; but as I understand it, it is open to this great objection, that it is not compatible with an advance in civilisation. It can only be upheld by keeping the people in the same primitive state in which they are at present ; I am speaking only from hearsay, but I am told that

that it is impossible to allow land to be used as a security for money, or to pass from hand to hand, as it ought to pass and must pass as the nation advances, because the moment that it is allowed in any village settlement in the North-western Provinces, the village settlement of necessity breaks down, and the whole system falls to the ground. If that be the case the village system is incompatible with a state of improvement and advancement; so that as far as I understand it, which is, however, only at second or third hand, not having seen it actually at work, the system which certainly has been considered the best has a very serious impediment to its continued good working lurking in its vitals.

5421. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Do you mean to say that a village, the rental of which was 1,000 rupees a year, could not have money raised upon it to the amount of 2,000 or 3,000 rupees?—No, I have not said so; but I have heard persons who advocate very strongly that village system of the North-western Provinces, say that it was absolutely impossible that each separate proprietor should be allowed to raise money upon his land in the village, or that his property in the village should be allowed to pass from his hands to the hands of any person not belonging to the brotherhood, and that the interference of the courts to enforce any debt, or any transfer upon those principles, was very much to be deprecated, and ought to be prohibited by law. If that be the case, it is in the judgment of those who know more of the system than I do, and who advocate it, founded on the principle that the possession of land and its transfer must be confined to the brotherhood of each village, and therefore the land cannot be used as a security, and cannot pass from hand to hand.

5422. Is not that the case partially only, and not universally?—I am not personally aware. What I desire to say is, that if that is the case, it is an objection to the system in my view.

5423. *Chairman*.] Your opinion is, that a system like that cannot be permanent in a country which is gradually advancing in civilisation?—I cannot comprehend how it is possible that it should be.

5424. Supposing the arrangement of the land revenue could be made *de novo*, what would you consider the best mode of levying the land revenue?—It is much more easy to find fault with an existing system than to suggest a better; I do not think I could do so.

5425. I understand you to consider that the permanent settlement in Bengal is in fact disadvantageous to the Government and the country?—No, I have not said it was disadvantageous to the country; it is disadvantageous to the Government in general not to allow the Government to participate in any increase of the rents of the landlords, and I have said that it has had this peculiar disadvantage, not dependent upon the system of permanent settlement, but dependent upon the particular manner in which it was carried into effect, that the rights of the under-tenants were not at that time provided for.

5426. Those, no doubt, are two great objections?—Those are two great objections to the permanent settlement as it has existed in Bengal. I am not quite certain, however, whether the first is an objection. It is a speculative matter upon which one is a little afraid to enter, but it may be that the creation of a great class of landed proprietors, a wealthy body of that kind able to profit by the increasing civilisation of the country, and to receive the lights of improvement and education, may be an advantage worth paying for by limiting for ever the claim of the Government to a portion of the rent. I have a suspicion in my own mind that it is so, and that the Government may well look to an increase of taxation hereafter from other sources, direct and indirect, but chiefly indirect taxation, as the wealth of the country advances.

5427. What source of revenue would you look to, supposing it were desirable to increase the revenue for the purposes of public improvement and public works?—There are no immediate sources of revenue to which you can look. In a case of that sort you can only look to the gradually increasing wealth of the country, to enable you to lay on by degrees indirect taxes, to an increase of the customs, and the increase of taxation from existing indirect sources.

5428. If I understand you rightly, there would be a strong objection on the part of the natives to submit to any new taxes; in what way, then, do you think an increased revenue, supposing the country to increase in wealth, might be derived by the Government?—There is a strong objection on the part of the natives to submit to any new direct taxation. I do not know that there is any strong objection on their part to submit to any new indirect taxation; they have never

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never objected to the system of sea customs; they have never objected to our system of stamps, which is quite a novelty. They have never objected to our excise, which is in a great measure a novelty also. Those indirect taxes they have never objected to; and they seem peculiarly suited to a people who do make a great objection to novelties in the way of taxation of a direct kind, but who may gradually be reconciled to a system of paying revenue indirectly, without their feeling it much at first.

5429. In your opinion, is it desirable to introduce the permanent settlement into Madras or Bombay?—I do not know that I am prepared to go as far as that; looking at the difficulties of all the systems which now exist, and perhaps biassed by a long connexion with the permanent settlement, I have a leaning towards the permanent settlement rather than to any other which I see at present existing; I see that the best settlement of any other kind, that I am aware of, is open to that great objection which has occurred to me.

5430. Would not the objection to the other systems be avoided by making the settlement for a term of years, as has been proposed in the other Presidencies, say for 30 years, allowing the tenants to have any advantage of improvements, and then making a fresh settlement?—No doubt; that is actually done in the North-western Provinces, but that does not remove the difficulties, which I find arising out of the nature of the settlement itself, and which render the settlement entirely dependent upon the continuance of the people in the primitive state in which they now exist. That objection would not be in the least removed by the settlement being made for 30 years.

5431. The two are not inseparably united; a settlement might be made, though not a village settlement, for 30 years, might not it?—The settlement might be made with the zemindar for 30 years, but the great feature in the settlement of the North-western Provinces is, that it is a village settlement. The Government ascertain the amount that the village is expected to pay, and the village itself settles what each shareholder shall contribute.

5432. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Is it not the case that a great number of villages in the North-western Provinces are settled with the patell of the village, and that no other cultivators in the village have any concern whatever with his contract with the Government?—I understand that to be quite a rare instance; indeed I did not know that the word "patell" was in use in the North-western Provinces.

5433. Are you of opinion that the breaking up of the large talooks, of which there are a great number in the North-western Provinces, has been a system fraught with evil to the future prosperity of the country?—No, I desire to say nothing of that kind; I do not know enough of the settlement of the North-western Provinces to pass any such censure upon it, and nothing which I have said, or intended to say, is capable of that application.

5434. I understood you to say that you considered the system of village holdings as prevailing in the North-western Provinces to be inconsistent with any advance in the prosperity of the country?—For the particular reason which I gave.

5435. Would the possession of 200, or 300, or 400 villages by one talookdar, with the power to dispose of the whole as his property, a state of things which formerly prevailed in the North-western Provinces, be alike inconsistent with any advance in civilisation?—That state would obviate the objection of which I have spoken, but it might introduce many others of which I know nothing; that I object to the one, does not render it necessary that I should advocate the other.

5436. In this country, or any other country, does the division of the land and its possession by small tenant farmers and yeoman interfere at all with the general advance of the prosperity of the country?—No; but I apprehend that there is nothing in this country in the most distant degree representing the village system of the North-western Provinces.

5437. In the North-western Provinces, and all other parts of India, looking to what the classes are that rise to eminence and to wealth, would you not say that they rise to eminence and wealth without any reference to the tenure of landed property?—The question would rather be, whether the zemindars under this system rise to eminence and wealth; perhaps we have had scarcely time enough to judge of that, but my impression is, that there is not that tendency.

5438. Is it necessary to the general prosperity of a country that the small farmer should rise to wealth?—I cannot exactly answer that question; but I would say

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say that these are not small farmers, in the English sense of the word. The persons of whom I am speaking are proprietors, owners of shares in the village; and I should say that their rise to wealth would have great influence in the general prosperity of the country, they being the largest portion of the population.

5439. Do you think they pay, on the average, so much as 10*l.* a year rent?—I do not know enough of the details of the system to be able to say; I do not know what the extent of their shares may be; my knowledge of the North-western Provinces is quite a second-hand knowledge.

5440. Mr. Mangles.] In the state of society existing, and in the tenure of land existing in the North-western Provinces, whatever the ulterior effects of such a settlement might be apprehended to be, would it have been possible, without great injustice to those parties, to have made the settlement in any other way?—Perhaps it might have been impossible; I am not sufficiently cognizant of the circumstances to be able to say; I am merely stating what appears to me to be a very serious objection to the system itself, and one which will prevent its being ultimately successful, or permanent.

5441. Is not that an objection residing in the nature of things in the state of circumstances in the country, and therefore unavoidable?—It would require a greater knowledge of the circumstances of the country at the time of that settlement than I possess, to answer that; I can imagine that it was absolutely indispensable to make it in that way.

5442. Are not those men actual coparceners in the ownership of the soil; were not the settlements made with them on the ground that they were the *bonâ fide* proprietors of the soil of those villages?—Quite so.

5443. Would it have been proper, whatever ulterior and remote disadvantages might have been contemplated from such a state of things, to have done otherwise than we did?—Perhaps not.

5444. Was not that the case with respect to the ryotwar settlement in Madras; did not Sir Thomas Munro say that he found those parties there as owners of the soil, with no person above them, except the Government collector, who had no proprietary rights, and he therefore felt bound, whatever the result might be, to make the settlement with those parties?—I believe that was the case; they had been ground down to that condition by previous oppression under the native rule.

5445. If it has been alleged, do you believe it to be true, that in any part of India under the British Government, the land is absolutely going out of cultivation and the jungle increasing, in consequence of the severity of our land assessment?—Not in any part of India with which I am acquainted; the reverse is the case.

5446. It is not so in any part of India with which you are personally acquainted; is it so in any part of which you have any knowledge?—Not in any part of which I have any knowledge at all.

5447. If it has been stated that the jungle is increasing and encroaching upon the cultivation in any part of India, you should not be disposed to believe it?—Certainly not.

5448. Is the Sunderbund jungle increasing, for example?—No, the Sunderbund jungle has diminished enormously.

5449. The jungle along the Tyrese?—That I do not know so much of personally, but I believe that has diminished very largely also.

5450. Are not there very great complaints among sportsmen that they do not find the tigers and wild boars that they used to find?—Yes, that is the complaint all over India.

5451. Is not it the case that the jungle is decreasing everywhere?—Yes.

5452. Mr. Prideaux, a previous witness, said that he believed it had been estimated that the rent of the zemindars, taking the average throughout the permanently settled provinces, was double the Government revenue; do you believe that to be the case?—We have so very little statistical information in Bengal, that I am very loath to venture upon any statement of the kind. I have seen calculations made which seem to show that the amount received by the zemindar appropriable to himself, equalled that which he paid to the Government; it may be so; I will not commit myself to any decided opinion upon the subject.

5453. At any rate their incomes are very large?—Yes, they are, and the estates are very valuable.

5454. Has not that arisen in a great measure from the increase of cultivation under

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under the permanent settlement?—No doubt, and also from the increase of the rent. I believe the rents have greatly increased. The zemindars have undoubtedly taken advantage of their position to increase the rents upon their ryots, and in many instances to lay on rents where the lands were rent-free before.

5455. Supposing the ryots in any particular case have no permanent rights, either by law or prescription, is not it reasonable and fair that the landlord should be allowed to increase his rents?—As an abstract question, it is; but looking to the riches and power of the one party, and the great poverty and depression of the other, one fears that the ryots have not quite fair play in the matter; they are kept to one place; they cannot travel far away from the place where they are brought up; they must take the land, and submit to a great deal of exaction, no doubt. It is right that those things should be settled, where there is no special right or privilege, by the principle of demand and supply; but I should be glad that the ryots should have a more easy and prompt means of redress through some court or other tribunal, in cases where they may be oppressed by their zemindars and those who are over them.

5456. Is not that opinion rather a primitive one, and therefore opposed to your opinion, with regard to the state of things in the North-western Provinces, where you do not wish to maintain such a state of things?—That opinion arises out of my knowledge of things as they are. This morning I looked into an old memorandum book, and picked out a little note that I had taken down of a conversation with a zemindar in October 1851, when I had no idea of appearing here. He is a very well known man in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. It will show, from the evidence of a zemindar, what is the sort of relation between landlord and tenant. He is a very large zemindar, a man of great intelligence, and of rather more than the usual cultivation and knowledge. He is a man who understands English, and is so far advanced that he has established schools upon his zemindary, and assists the Government on all occasions to promote the education both of males and of females, and in many respects shows himself to be beyond his fellows; at the same time he is notorious as a grasping, unscrupulous zemindar, with regard to his neighbours and his ryots. This was his own account to me in the course of a conversation which, as was my habit, I took down immediately after he went, and which I found by mere accident this morning: "As for leases and contracts between landlord and tenant, there is an insuperable prejudice against them on both sides, such as cannot be legislated against until the people are better informed; it is vain to attempt it; all classes prey upon one another; if a zemindar spare his ryot, he is thought a fool, and the gomashlah, or agent, will manage to put the difference into his own pocket." He then gave me several instances he had known, showing that this was the actual fact; and he said, "It is within my knowledge that they, the gomashlahs, the zemindar's agents, league with the police to extort money from the ryots, which the zemindar has failed to take from them, the agents sharing the spoil with the police." Then he went on to say, "They all connive at robberies; at this moment robberies are frequent on the river between Calcutta and Hoogley, and every village on the bank is concerned more or less; what in such a state of things can be done by a poor magistrate or two stationed here or there?" His comment upon it is curious, seeing that he admitted that he was art and part in that sort of proceeding: "All legislation is useless in such a state of society; education is the only thing that can avail, and this must be not only through English taught to the better classes, but by a wide diffusion of vernacular education; the case is urgent and extreme, and calls for strong and speedy remedies; we cannot wait for the slow education which will be diffused by means of English, but we are well aware of its value; both kinds of education should be prosecuted."

5457. Is not it the case sometimes that the men, by combination, are too much for the zemindars?—There are occasional instances of that kind, but not so much the case with the ryots, though I have known instances where the ryots have successfully combined against zemindars; but it is more generally the case with talookdars, who are more powerful men than mere ryots.

5458. Do you know a Mr. John Elias, an Armenian gentleman?—I know who he is.

5459. Did you ever hear him complain that his ryots combined against him?—I have heard that he complained of it.

5460. And

5460. And that he had to institute a thousand suits for the recovery of the revenue?—Yes.

5461. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Do you know the neighbourhood of Dacca?—Yes; I know something of the country.

5462. Is the jungle there increasing or decreasing?—The jungle in the immediate neighbourhood of the city is certainly not decreasing; the probability is, it is not actually advancing, but it is stationary.

5463. Is that to be attributed in any way to the unhealthiness of that district, that people are not inclined to clear the land?—This is a particularly wild jungle, close round the city, which has been long uncultivated, and may not be worth cultivating; it is of no great extent in point of distance from the city.

5464. Has not the unhealthiness of the jungle districts proved a bar to the clearing of the jungles?—It has not proved a bar to the clearing of the Sunderbund.

5465. It has proved a bar to the clearing of Tyrese?—It has proved a difficulty in many instances, but not an actual bar. There can be no jungle more unhealthy than the Sunderbund, but that is certainly disappearing by degrees.

5466. Mr. *Mangles*.] Is not there a falling off in the population of Dacca?—Since former days, when it was the capital of Mahomedan Government, there may have been a great falling off. I am not aware of any falling off in our day.

5467. Not since Manchester was too strong for the muslin manufactures?—No doubt since the muslins were ruined at Dacca there has been a falling off.

5468. Mr. *Newdegate*.] Do not some districts suffer very much from the want of irrigation?—Not in Bengal generally. There is no want of irrigation in Bengal. In Madras there is a great want of irrigation, and in the North-western Provinces.

5469. Has cultivation receded lately owing to the inferior supply of irrigation?—Not that I am aware of.

5470. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] The neglect of a very few years in a hot country, with abundant moisture, will probably bring up a jungle, wherever it may be?—Certainly.

5471. One of the ancient capitals of Bengal, Gour, is now in the middle of a jungle, is not it?—It is being rapidly brought under cultivation, and the jungle is fast disappearing in consequence; but it was and is still, to a certain extent, a mere jungle.

5472. In short, when it ceased to be the capital it became jungle?—Yes; that will happen before one's own eyes in a gentleman's garden.

5473. Mr. *Mangles*.] A great deal of obloquy has been thrown upon the Government of Bengal, and of India generally, with respect to the resumption regulations; what is your opinion with regard to that question?—I think the resumption was perfectly right and sound in principle; I am inclined to think it was pushed a little too far perhaps, but as soon as that was perceived by the Government the remedy was immediately applied; as to the soundness of the principle I can have no doubt.

5474. There had been a large number of fraudulent alienations?—There had been a very great number.

5475. Do you believe that under the native governments those grants were ever made in perpetuity, or that whatever the wording of the sunuds may be, they were intended to be perpetual?—I dare say some of those grants might have been intended to be permanent; I do not believe that others were practically so; they were always known to be held at the pleasure of the next ruler.

5476. Though in the sunud or grant the term might be used "as long as the sun and moon endure," and so on; in fact, each successive monarch assumed the right to grant, and each successive monarchy the right to resume?—Yes.

5477. I have seen a minute of Lord Hastings upon the question of resumption, which he ends by saying, "Our legislation, in regard to resumption in Bengal, gave occasion to admire quite as much our simplicity as our good faith;" do you agree in that opinion?—I think it is a great pity that when we passed this Regulation of 1793, or before that, at the time of the permanent settlement, we did not except generally all such grants.

5478. The fact is, by the wording of the permanent settlement, all rent-free land was excepted, and left to be dealt with by the Government, was not it?—It was; but a difficulty was thrown upon the Government by the mode of proof

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and proceeding required, which difficulty was felt up to quite a recent period, when special measures were adopted for carrying the principle into effect.

5479. Are you aware of the state of affairs with respect to rent-free lands in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies?—I know very little about them, except that in Bombay there is a very large amount of rent-free lands; I have heard the value stated at 80 lacs of rupees, into which they are now prosecuting inquiries.

5480. Do you think it just to the people in general that a particular class of persons should be allowed to enjoy all the benefits of good government, all the benefits of protection, all the benefits of the courts of justice, and all the benefits of the police, who contribute nothing to their expenses?—It is clearly wrong in principle; that is what I meant by saying that the principle of resumption is quite sound.

5481. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] The Government are considered to be to blame, are not they, for allowing 30 years to elapse without taking any steps to assert their own rights, thereby affording facilities to anybody who chose to alienate his land?—No doubt that was very much to be lamented.

5482. Therefore, perhaps, the Government should have acted with more than ordinary leniency?—There was room for more leniency than was at first applied, but it was applied in time, I think.

5483. Mr. *Mangles*.] Do you consider with respect to any abuse so gross as the evasion of the public revenue, and the deprivation of a great body of the people of their rights, any lapse of time should be a bar to the imposition of the revenue which has been fraudulently evaded?—I am not prepared to say that. I should have dealt with such cases as leniently as possible, and the Government did deal as leniently as possible with those who, owing to the neglect of the Government so long to enforce their own rights, had been led into the supposition that they were not going to enforce them at all.

5484. Mr. *Ellice*.] Do you know the time for which a person having held an estate in this country is secure in that possession?—No.

5485. Are you not aware that it is 20 years?—I am but little acquainted with the state of things in this country.

5486. Mr. *Mangles*.] Is it suggesting a parallel case to put on one side the right of property, and on the other the claim to exemption from taxation?—No; but they were very much mixed up together; in this instance they are not strictly parallel.

5487. Is not it necessarily an injustice to the body of tax-payers if any class is allowed to be exempt?—No doubt it is.

5488. Is not the land revenue of India almost the only tax which exists?—It is a very large proportion of the taxes.

5489. And in fact a man who has land which pays no land revenue pays comparatively no taxes at all?—He is exempt from a very large share of taxation.

5490. Do you believe if India were to become a country governed like this country, mainly by the people, they would suffer those exemptions?—Not if they saw the injustice of it; but I do not think the people of India did see it in many instances. The loss of these rent-free estates was felt quite as much by the neighbours who were not holding rent-free as by those who were. I do not think the people themselves were aware that there was any injustice to them in the exemption of the rent-free farmers round them.

5491. Was it not a case in which it behoved the Government, being more enlightened, and acting as the trustees for the people, to enforce an equal payment of revenue by all?—I do not doubt the justice of the principle.

5492. Mr. *Ellice*.] You may be aware that there are tithe-free estates in this country and others which are subject to the tithe. Is not there considerable analogy between the case of a person who has been in possession of an estate for a long period of years in India not subject to a tax, and the case of a person in this country who is in possession of an estate which has not been subject for a long series of years to tithes?—They do at first sight seem analogous cases, no doubt.

5493. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Do you believe that the resumption regulations have had any effect in deterring Europeans from settling in the country?—None whatever.

5494. Mr.

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5494. Mr. *Elliot*.] With respect to the present state of settled estates in Bengal, which have not been surveyed, is there any security now that the same alienation shall not take place again?—I am not quite sure that it might not take place. The case would be very embarrassing, no doubt.

5495. Supposing two estates, one an estate paying revenue, and the other rent-free, adjoining each other, and the proprietors of those two estates join to commit a fraud, would not it be quite possible, by keeping the accounts of those estates in such a manner as to include in the rent-free estate a large portion of that which ought to pay revenue in a few years, to make it appear that the property should be placed in that position?—Yes, such things have actually been done.

5496. Was not that the course which was pursued for many years with many estates in Bengal?—I do not know whether it has been the case with many estates; such things have been done. I cannot say that I think they have been done to any very serious extent; I have myself seen instances in which estates have actually disappeared, and nobody could find them.

5497. Have not you found, as collector, that on the sale of an estate you have been called upon to give possession, and you have not been able to find one or two of the villages belonging to that estate?—Constantly there has been great difficulty in finding them.

5498. Mr. *Cobden*.] The customs duties are very low in India, are not they?—Yes, very moderate.

5499. They are the same upon goods of all countries, are not they?—No; double duties are paid upon the goods of foreign countries.

5500. Is that the case at present?—I think it is.

5501. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] Formerly, in addition to that double duty on foreign goods, was not there a double duty upon foreign bottoms?—Yes.

5502. That has been remedied?—That has been abolished.

5503. But the other discriminating duty on foreign goods continues?—It does.

5504. Mr. *Cobden*.] Is it contemplated to equalize the duties?—I do not know.

5505. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Would it be desirable to equalize them?—I have scarcely thought enough upon the subject to be able to say.

5506. Mr. *Cobden*.] Upon some articles, as in the case of salt, there is a heavy duty?—There is.

5507. That is a countervailing duty, I presume, to meet the excise which is imposed upon the interior production?—What may be called the excise; there is not in fact, properly speaking, an excise on salt; it is a monopoly.

5508. Are you aware that there is a movement in this country, at present, for the purpose of obtaining a reduction of the duty on salt?—I was not aware of it.

5509. The effect of that would be a considerable reduction in the Indian revenue, would not it?—It would seem so, because the duty has been reduced on three successive occasions; the last reduction being to 2½ rupees a maund, which, although it was followed by an increase of consumption, was not followed by such an increase as to make up the difference of revenue.

5510. Did it replace a part of the reduction?—It did replace a part of it; but the revenue has fallen off since that.

5511. What other excise duties are there in India besides the excise on spirits?—There is an excise on all intoxicating liquors and drugs.

5512. How is the excise duty upon spirits levied?—By a system of licences.

5513. On the sale?—Yes.

5514. Not on the distillation?—There is a duty levied on the distiller too, but it is chiefly by a system of licences on retail sales that the duty is levied.

5515. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] The customs duty on salt is exactly equivalent to the Government tax, meaning thereby the sum for which the salt is sold in excess of the cost of production?—Exactly.

5516. So that practically and theoretically there is a free trade in salt in India?—Completely so.

5517. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Then the term "monopoly" is not strictly to be applied to it?—No; moreover, the imported salt is underselling the salt made in the country.

5518. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] So that it is a struggle whether the home production

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or the imported article shall gain the mastery?—It is a struggle in which, as far as we can see, the home production is going to the wall.

5519. And the consumption of imported salt is greatly increasing?—It is.

5520. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] When the first reductions were made in the duty on salt there was not only a great increase of the consumption, but there was an absolute increase in the receipts in the Exchequer?—There was.

5521. You have now stated that although the last reduction of duty to 2½ rupees a maund, has been attended with a slight increase of consumption, that increase of consumption has not been sufficient to bring up the revenue to its former amount?—It is so.

5522. To what do you attribute that falling off in the revenue?—It would almost seem as if the supply at present was equal to the demand.

5523. Supposing any agitation which may be raised in this country for the purpose of diminishing very considerably the duty upon salt to the extent of one half to be successful, what do you suppose would be the effect upon the revenue of the Government of Bengal?—I should be very much afraid that the revenue would fall off greatly.

5524. Upon what data do you found that opinion that the revenue would fall off?—Because it has fallen off in consequence of the last reduction; the demand has not risen up sufficiently to meet the reduction.

5525. Do you recollect what was the amount of the salt revenue last year?—I do not.

5526. Do you think, with the probability before us of the loss of a great part of our income from opium, we can afford to lose any portion of those salt duties?—Of course not; I should be very much afraid to try the experiment just now.

5527. *Mr. Mangles.*] Do you believe that the ryots upon the rent-free estates are any better off than the ryots upon estates which pay revenue?—No, I have no reason to know that they are.

5528. *Mr. Fitzgerald.*] Is there anything in the law of India to prevent the holder of a rent-free estate selling it?—No.

5529. Do you consider, supposing the original holder of a rent-free estate had sold it, you could upon any principle defend the Government resuming such an estate from the purchaser?—The Government does not resume an estate at any time; it merely claims the right of laying a tax upon the rent. I can conceive cases in which it might be quite justifiable.

5530. Although the purchaser acting upon the belief that it was a rent-free estate had purchased it, and paid for it as such?—I think a great many cases might be imagined in which it would be quite justifiable.

5531. *Mr. Mangles.*] Do you believe that the fee-simple price was ever paid for a rent-free estate?—I think that very likely it was not. It would depend upon the knowledge that the party had of the validity of the title, and also upon the extent of the notion that the Government were going to interfere with such titles. If it was ever the case, the holders of those estates had satisfied themselves that no inquiry would be made into the validity of the titles.

5532. Do you recollect, at the time when discussions were going on in Calcutta about it, a challenge being frequently made to those who opposed it to bring forward any case where a rent-free estate had been sold at the real fee-simple price, and that they failed to do so?—No such case was brought forward.

5533. *Chairman.*] For what period were you Secretary to the Revenue Board?—I was Secretary to the Board of Revenue between one and two years, and afterwards Secretary to the Government, in which department I had among other things the control of the revenue for eleven or twelve years.

5534. Have you had any opportunity of ascertaining the situation of the land revenue in the states under the native princes?—No.

5535. You do not know what is the relative position of the cultivators of the soil there?—No, I have had no opportunity of knowing anything about it.

5536. *Mr. Hardinge.*] How is the present Board of Revenue in Calcutta constituted?—There are three members, officers of the Civil Service, and there are two secretaries.

5537. There were formerly two members, were not there?—There were; there were formerly two Boards of Revenue; the Board of Land Revenue and the

the Board of Customs, salt and opium; those two Boards have been combined and placed under three members and two secretaries.

5538. Have advantageous results arisen from that combination?—As far as we can see at present, the results have been advantageous.

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Rustomjee Viccajee, Esq., called in; and Examined.

5539. *Chairman.*] IN what part of India have you resided?—I have resided at Hyderabad, in the Nizam's country. Formerly I resided at Bombay.

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5540. With regard to the revenue of Bombay, can you inform the Committee whether the present mode of assessment and collection of the revenue in that part of the country is satisfactory to the ryots, and conducive to their improvement and prosperity?—No, I think it is not. My connexion with several members of my family residing in the Bombay Presidency, particularly in the Northern Concan, enables me to say it is not so; there are great grievances complained of, particularly affecting the mode of realising the revenue.

5541. Will you state those grievances?—First of all, formerly in the native States, under the Government which preceded the British Government, they used to take the share of Government in kind. Now under the British Government they take the tax in money. They have now reduced it into a land rent; it was formerly on the principle of an income tax. I believe the latter mode was far preferable and convenient to the ryots. The way of realising those taxes is by certain instalments; before the ryots are able to pay those instalments, the tax is exacted; therefore they are obliged either to go to bankers, who generally charge usurious interest, or to sell off the produce of the fields, in order to pay the revenue. By having to go to the banker, of course they are very much injured; and in selling their produce at the beginning of the season they do not get a fair price for it, and therefore they are injured in that respect also.

5542. Will you explain to the Committee whether the injury arises from the time at which the demand is made upon them, or what do you mean by stating that the money is required when they are unable to pay it?—The first objection is on account of the money; the second is on account of the time; the ryots have no capital at all from which they can pay the revenue. Whatever they have to pay they must pay from the produce they make in their fields. If the tax is exacted in the beginning of the season in money, they are obliged to borrow money, or to sell off the produce.

5543. How many instalments do they pay?—All together there are four instalments.

5544. Formerly they used to pay the instalments in kind, did not they?—They used to pay in kind generally speaking, but not in instalments. I am not quite sure whether they used to pay all of it at once; but I believe when they used to pay in kind it was at once, and not by instalments. Another grievance is, where the ryots require a remission. Sometimes there is a plague among their cattle, or there is a scarcity of rain, and the produce is not sufficient to enable them to pay the revenue, then they require a remission, and they generally apply for it. In such cases, if the collector were to inquire personally into how much remission ought to be granted, or whether a remission is required or not, it would be more satisfactorily done; but at present, generally, the duty has devolved upon subordinates, and the ryots generally fall victims to them. If the collector were to inquire personally into the circumstances, he might make a proper remission; but generally the subordinates are dependent for their pay upon the Government, and they have therefore very little care for the interests of the ryots. Sometimes they order them to keep the harvest on the ground without reaping it till the inquiry is made. While they keep the harvest without reaping it, sometimes the rain falls and the crop is injured, so that when the ryot goes to seek a remission in one respect, he is more injured than ever in other respects; therefore in many cases they forego the remission. A third grievance is with regard to the advances which the Government make. Formerly they used not to give advances, but now they do give them, and that advance the Government exact as soon as possible; I believe in the same year and in the first instalment. If they make advances, and exact a repayment of them in the same year, that injures the ryots also. Before they make those advances, the Government make inquiries whether the ryot requires an advance or not. This duty also devolves upon the subordinates, who have very little care

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for the interests of the ryots, in order to improve them by means of advances when the ryots are injured. However, if the advance is made, and the repayment is to be made in the same year, they are sometimes obliged to sell off their produce, as they do for the fixed taxes, therefore they suffer injury from that also. Their grievances are not so much inquired into by the authorities as they ought to be. The collector has three assistants. It is impossible for the collectors to make inquiries into all those grievances in the district, however personally competent they may be. The duty therefore generally devolves upon the subordinates to make inquiries. They are underpaid, and therefore it is possible they may not be men equal to the duty of making such inquiries. With regard to those grievances, one of the collectors, Mr. Marriat, in the Northern Concan, respecting which I am speaking, gave evidence before a Committee of Parliament in 1848. He was asked, "What is the general condition of the cultivators in those parts of India with which you are familiar?" He says, "Very much depressed; greatly depressed, and I believe declining; they were declining when I was in India, and I think have done so from the commencement." I therefore think that if you were to introduce a system such as prevails in the Nizam's country, which was the suggestion of Lord Metcalfe, it would be desirable. Formerly, they used to assign the district by farms. After Lord Metcalfe's residence there, they gave it on commission. If you were to introduce that system, and employ natives who are well acquainted with the enlightened views of the British Government, and at the same time with the habits and customs of their own countrymen, the ryots, perhaps you would by that agency be able to ameliorate the condition of the ryots more than you could directly do yourselves.

5545. Your recommendation would not be to farm out the district?—No. A system of leases has been suggested, such as exists in the Northern Provinces. If you were to farm, perhaps you would adopt that principle; but I should prefer the system of giving it upon commission. By that means you would not prejudice the collectors; you would keep them just as they are, but at the same time you would have the assistance of those native agents; I speak of respectable agents, talookdars.

5546. You would give them a per centage upon the revenue?—Yes; of course under the same rules and regulations which prevail in the Company's territories at present; you would not prejudice the European collector by that means, while, at the same time, you would satisfy the people, and also satisfy many of the natives who are now aspiring to some share in the administration.

5547. You would give the native collectors a per centage upon whatever amount they might produce; you would not fix the amount which was to be levied, but you would pay them a per centage upon the amount they collected?—I should wish to combine the interests of those who realise the revenue with the interests of those who pay the revenue. If the interests of those who pay the revenue are injured, the interests of those who realise the revenue must also be affected. If this system were carried out, I think it would save the ryots from oppression.

5548. Would not it be the interest of the collectors to get as much as they could from the ryots in order to obtain a larger per centage commission?—It should be under certain rules. There should be a certain amount fixed, and they should not take more; they might take less than that, but they should not assess the land at more than that.

5549. The collectors would have a maximum fixed, beyond which they could not go, but it should be subject to their discretion to diminish the amount if they thought it necessary?—Yes.

5550. Do you mean a maximum upon each property, or a minimum upon the whole district?—Upon each village. I would keep the system as a village system, but at the same time I would not allow the zemindars to fix the tax themselves. I would make them settle the amount in the presence of the talookdar.

Jovis, 2^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS, PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.
Sir T. H. Maddock,
Mr. Spooner.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Clive.

Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Bankes.
Mr. Cobden.
Mr. Ellice.
Mr. Newdegate.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Rustomjee Viccajee, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

5557. *Chairman.*] WILL you state to the Committee your opinion as to the operation of the salt tax?—The salt tax oppresses the poor people a great deal; it is a great grievance. Latterly some of the poor ryots have petitioned, when the Government wanted to tax them on some other articles; they stated that they could not even pay the present taxes, and that therefore the Government should take into consideration to relieve them, and in that petition they speak about the salt tax, saying how much they are burdened by it. It is a petition to the Bombay Government, dated the 26th of November 1852, and in one passage they say, “Whether it is known to your Honourable Board or not, your humble petitioners are not aware, but it is perfectly in the knowledge of the collector and his subordinates that they cultivate the land also; and in order to be enabled to pay the ‘jummabundy,’ or ‘revenues,’ a portion of the gains from wood-cutting, limited as it is, goes towards it. It is well known, also, that they realise scarcely anything, in some cases nothing, by the sale of their ‘bhat’ (corn), as they are necessitated to retain the whole, or almost the whole of it, for their own individual consumption, which, after all, lasts them only eight months in the year. During the four remaining or monsoon months, they subsist upon the roots of the bamboo and a kind of bhajee or vegetable, which they season with chillies, and salt when the latter was free of duty; but when it was made subject to duty, they were obliged to forego even this poor comfort. This is a sad feature, and your Lordship in Council will scarcely credit the assertion, but it is nevertheless true, and will challenge contradiction, as your Lordship may at any time ascertain upon inquiry, if necessary.” Now, this tax drives these ryots from this poor comfort. I believe that if some measure were devised to relieve them and decrease this tax, and perhaps to make up the revenue by some other tax, it would be advisable.

5558. What other tax would you suggest?—They must make inquiry there together with the natives of the Presidency as well as Europeans. They might appoint a commission, and devise some measure so as to decrease the salt tax, and make those pay who can afford to pay, and not the poor people. It is quite a monopoly there; some landholders are prohibited from manufacturing salt in the Bombay Presidency. Three Parsee gentlemen, Sorabjee Jehangur Arda-seer and his two brothers, had certain villages in the collectorate of Tanna, and they had granted some pottahs to some of their own ryots to manufacture salt. The ryots were prevented by the collector, and as the interest of the landholders was injured they petitioned the Government, and about two or three months afterwards an Act was passed that no one should manufacture salt without the sanction of the Government, and also that if their interests were injured they should have no compensation for it; so that this Act affects the interests of the landlords. They have petitioned upon the subject also to the Court of Directors.

5559. Have you turned your attention at all to the probable increase in the supply of cotton in India?—I think that if you were to decrease the assessment there would be some increase in the cultivation of valuable articles. Now, at present the ryots are so much in want of capital that they will always try to cultivate and raise those articles which are cheap; but if the assessment was low,

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Rustomjee Vicrajee, Esq. perhaps they might save some capital and increase the articles which are valuable. From Berar also you could get a great deal of cotton. There are about 200,000 bullock loads coming from Berar and the Nizam's country altogether. The exaction of transit duties in the Nizam's country throws many impediments and obstructions in the way of the increase of the cultivation of cotton. From Oomrawatee to the frontier there are two roads, and on the lines of those two roads there are many villages, given in grant by the Nizam's government. Some of the jaghires belong to the Nizam's own officers, and the talookdars are under the Nizam's own control. Those jaghiredars and talookdars exact transit duties upon a distance of even five miles or ten miles. For that reason the transit is so much obstructed that the cotton sometimes is delayed so much in its transit, that it hardly reaches Bombay before the rainy season sets in. With respect to these transit duties, I have read in the Report made by the Committee on the Cotton Cultivation in the year 1848, that the British Government could not compel the Nizam to abolish the transit duty; but I saw in the treaty of 1802 that there is an article especially providing that the transit duties in the mutual territories should be abolished, and that a duty of five per cent. in its stead should be fixed, to be taken only once, and at one place. Now, since the British Government have abolished the transit duties in their own territories, if they were to press the Nizam also to abolish his, perhaps that would remove a great deal of the obstruction in the way of the transit; and it is my impression also that, if they were to abolish transit duties, the Nizam's government, instead of suffering any loss, would find its resources increased; because, by the facility which would be afforded by the abolition of the transit duties, purchasers would come forward, and of course the production of the article would be increased by the demand for it.

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5560. Is the treaty which you spoke of a treaty between the Indian Government and the Nizam?—Yes; I believe treaties were made in 1802 with all the native States. It is called a commercial treaty for the security of commerce and trade. It stipulated that all transit duties should be abolished in the mutual territories, and that a duty of five per cent. should be fixed, and realised at one place only.

5561. *Mr. Newdegate.*] You have stated that the transit duties are an obstruction to the growth of cotton in the Nizam's territories. But there are other parts of India which are adapted to the growth of cotton, are there not?—Yes, there are.

5562. Do not the cultivators find other crops more lucrative than cotton?—I do not believe that they do. I think they would find cotton just as remunerative as other crops.

5563. Do you expect to see the cultivation of cotton extended?—If there is a demand it will be extended.

5564. Supposing an adequate price is offered for it?—Yes.

5565. *Mr. Hardinge.*] What is the condition of the ryots in the Nizam's territories?—At present there is nothing but anarchy prevailing in the country, and of course there is much oppression and injustice; but when good government is restored, I believe the condition of the ryots in the Nizam's country will be just as good as in any other native State.

5566. You would say that at present the condition of the ryots in the Nizam's territory is infinitely worse than the condition of the ryots in the British provinces?—Only owing to the anarchy prevailing in that country, not to any other cause. If good government is restored, prosperity will follow it.

5567. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Can you suggest to the Committee any tax that might be imposed in place of the salt duties if they were either abolished or considerably diminished?—I do not feel myself competent to speak upon that subject. However, I would throw out this suggestion: I think if you were to make an abatement in the assessment, and if to the extent that you made that abatement, in the same proportion you were to fix a duty upon the exportation of the article from the place where it is produced, perhaps that would relieve the immediate cultivators, and cause the duty to be paid by other persons who are better off than the cultivators. At the same time, I think the price of those articles would be just the same, whether you realise the revenue by a high assessment or whether you realise it by a duty and low assessment; such a measure would gradually increase the cultivation, and thereby the revenue, to a great extent.

5568. Are you aware what taxes and impositions have been removed of late years by the British Government?—No, I am not aware about that.

5569. Are

5569. Are you aware that the British Government has abolished the transit duties?—Yes, throughout all the Presidencies.

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5570. Have the British Government abolished the duties upon shops?—I am not aware about that, because I have not lived in the British territories a long time; but I think they have abolished the moturpha in Bombay, which included the duties upon shops of all trades.

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5571. The people have been relieved from a great number of petty annoying taxes of late years?—Yes.

5572. Do you think that the reimposition of those taxes would be less burdensome than the present duty upon salt?—I believe if the reimposition of those taxes were restricted only to those articles which are valuable, and if the salt-tax were abolished, perhaps it would be advisable; but there should not be a duty upon those articles which are consumed by the poor, for instance, jowaree, bajere, &c., and salt, but upon wheat, all sorts of peas, cotton, and other valuable articles.

Robert M. Bird, Esq., called in; and Examined.

5573. *Chairman.*] WILL you be kind enough to state what were the situations you occupied in India?—From the year 1812 to the year 1842, for 30 years, with very little exception, I was employed, first as judicial officer in the Benares province, and then as a revenue officer in the Benares province, and in the North-western Provinces.

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5574. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] What office did you hold at the conclusion?—What is called the First Member of the Sudder Board of Revenue.

5575. *Chairman.*] Will you state in what position you found the land revenue in those provinces, and what alterations you carried into effect?—The thing which first attracted my attention was the apparent continual deterioration of the revenue in the province of Benares, and the constant sale of the properties on account of arrears of revenue. When I began to look into the state of the territory, I became convinced that the revenue was in itself very moderate, and that it must be some incongruity between the laws and the habits and institutions of the people which caused that state of things, and therefore I set myself diligently to investigate that. I was employed I think I may say about 16 years in that investigation, constantly among the people, and using my utmost endeavours to ascertain the nature of their tenure, and the causes of the difficulty under which they laboured. And at the end of that time I was employed in endeavouring to set the matter to rights throughout the length and breadth of those provinces.

5576. Will you state to the Committee what course you pursued?—I found that the laws, which were on a similar principle to those which had been formerly established in Bengal, as far as the province of Benares was concerned, referred to a state of things totally distinct from that which existed among the people; that the properties were considered very much like English properties; that the person whose name was entered in the Government records was considered as the owner of that property, and to possess all authority and all responsibility regarding it. But I found that the people there do not hold property in any manner known to the laws of England. They are neither joint nor common tenants, nor co-parceners, as we call it, although the land is possessed by very extensive families, who may properly be called tribes, who hold separate portions of land within the common boundary, each man being master of his own portion, responsible for the revenue to the Government, and managing it in his own manner, and in a certain degree independent of his brethren, though connected with them; and according to the habit of the people themselves and their institutions, as they prevailed before our time, a person whose name was on record in the Government books was a headman or agent on the part of the rest of the community, to transact the business between them and the Government, but with no stronger right of property than every one of those persons possessed, and holding his own piece of land or his own number of fields just in the same manner in which other persons interested in the village held their land, each quite separately from all the other properties. This state of things not having been investigated or attended to in our system, the consequence was, that when an arrear of revenue took place, or when a suit was brought by any party, or when there was a question of sale or transfer of any property, there

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was an absolute impossibility, for want of knowledge, either to find out where the loss of revenue had occurred, or how the party who had brought a suit, and had got a decree upon his suit (without any intimation having been given to those who were really in possession of the land which he sought for), there was no way of finding out how the decree was to be executed. The consequence of that was a state of infinite confusion, constant loss, and a deterioration, and a raising up of all manner of feuds and quarrels, which, among an armed and high-spirited people, led to the greatest injury to the police, and had the most demoralising effect upon the people themselves.

5577. What were the changes which you introduced?—I first of all proceeded to make a survey of all the land; in beginning to do that I found that the boundaries were all unsettled, and that was one very constant source of dispute and of bloodshed; consequently we proceeded first by fixing all the boundaries; for that purpose we employed throughout the country officers to settle the boundaries, and whenever a dispute occurred about a boundary, they were authorised to summon a jury and to decide it, and to mark it off. I think it will explain it better to the Committee if I show them a copy of one of the surveys (*producing the same*). If the Committee will look at the document I hand in, they will see the nature of the boundary survey that was made of all the villages. Our first process was fixing the boundaries, setting up the marks at each angle, and measuring a line between the angles. The next process was to make a map, including every field, exactly in the same manner as the English tithe commutation maps. Those maps are all numbered, and are entered then upon the register, with the name of the possessor of each field written against it, and when that process had taken place a ledger was drawn out in which every man's name was set down in alphabetical order, and the numbers of the fields of all sorts were attached to his name. Then the next thing was the professional survey of the boundary, made by an educated officer; that shows the cultivated and the uncultivated land, and the real shape of the village, as taken by a regular survey. When we had obtained surveys of a considerable number of those villages, say to the extent of an English hundred, so as to give us a good extent for averages, they were then roughly put together by an English surveyor in a map of that tract, and sent to the officers employed in the arrangements. The boundaries were then settled, the fields were measured, the possession was ascertained, and with respect to all those points where there was any dispute, it was done by the verdicts of juries summoned for that purpose. We then proceeded to investigate the assessment of the Government land tax upon that tract, finding out as we best could from the previous payments and from the statements of the people themselves, from the nature of the crop and the nature of the soil, and such various means as experience furnished to us, what might be considered a fair demand for the Government to lay upon it; and as soon as that was ascertained, we fixed the amount of the Government tax that we should require upon the whole of that tract, and then we proceeded to set down the amount that we should require upon each village. That was made known to them, and each village was required to pay such amount of revenue set upon it. The people then came forward and met the collector. They generally met, as is our way of doing business in India, under the shade of a tree, or in an open field, where all the population that were interested were able to collect, and the officer making the arrangement met them there. He then gave out to the head man of each village the amount of revenue intended to be demanded. In many instances objections were made; they said, "This is too high; my village will not pay this; it is a poor village." They were then told that we intended to have that amount of revenue from the whole tract, and that therefore if there was any objection regarding that village, they must point out who could pay more; and this set them to discuss the matter amongst themselves. At first there was a great deal of difficulty in it, because they did not understand it; they thought that we were desiring to screw them. After a little while they found that there was no such object, and they themselves came forward and pointed out where there were real inequalities; and thus the demands upon those villages were altered, according to the statement which they furnished. The assessment upon the whole tract was not strictly maintained; it was not our object to do so; we were ready to reduce it, if we found cause to do so, but the object of demanding this first in a lump was to induce them to look into their separate concerns, and to come to such an adjustment as they should find to be satisfactory. After they had been accustomed to this for some time,

time, when the plan had gone on for months and years, the people came forward themselves with the greatest readiness, and assisted very much in fixing the amount of revenue to be demanded. The next process after this, for the purpose of meeting the difficulty which I have mentioned of the discrepancy of the law with their habits, was to have a statement drawn out of the property possessed by each person who held land within the boundaries of that village, and what were his rights with respect to sale or mortgage or transfer of any kind, and what interest he had, or what vote he possessed among the general body in the arrangement of the concerns of the village, and whom he chose to point out as his agent from among his brethren, to transact the business on the part of the Government, because of course the Government could never have collected from 50 or 100, or as in some villages even 10,000 separate proprietors in one boundary; but they chose their own headman. They were generally allowed to choose two headmen for every 1,000 rupees or every 100 L. of revenue, whose names were inserted in the Government book, and who transacted the business between the payers of that portion of the revenue and the Government. When this was done they then met together, and determined in conclave the general system of management of the village, and the way in which any dispute was to be settled among them, and the way in which the headman was to be chosen and to be removed in case of misconduct, and the manner in which the accounts were to be kept, and the times at which the revenue was to be paid. In determining these matters of general interest in the village, each man had an equal right; no man had more authority over the rest than the others, but each had his own distinct right to a voice in the management of the affairs of the community. It had been customary before to have the revenue paid in nine instalments, and the effect of that was, that many of those instalments were obliged to be paid in before they had any means of disposing of their crops, and they were obliged to go to the bankers to raise money at high interest, which very much added to the pressure of the revenue, sometimes to a ruinous extent. We changed that to four instalments for the whole, so fixed in respect of time as to fall due after each different kind of crop had come in, and after they had had an opportunity of disposing of it; so that they had the money in hand before they were called upon to pay it. That had been very much objected to by many persons previously, because they supposed that as soon as the people had sold the crops they would embezzle the money. But I met that by making the tenure so valuable to them that they were totally unwilling to lose their property by withholding the revenue when it was due; and it was consequently very regularly paid, and has been to this time. It was by giving a value to their tenure that that effect was produced. When they had arranged these affairs among themselves, if necessary, by calling in the aid of other headmen, if they could not agree among themselves; then a system of accounts was adopted; it was merely the native system of accounts; it was, in fact, the system of accounts which had been first arranged by the Hindoo chancellor of the exchequer of the great emperor Akbur. Each native collector, of whom numbers are stationed in different parts of the district, had his set of accounts; and the principle was, not that every man should pay his money to the headman, and that he should pay it to the Government, which might tempt him to fraud and chicanery; but every one of the owners had his separate entry in the banker's book (if I may so call it) of the native collector. The amount due from each party was placed at the head of the page, and the payments made on his account were inserted below in each page, and he was at liberty to go and pay the money in as "paid by himself" to be entered in the name of the headman, not in his own name; and when the time came for ascertaining whether the payments had been duly made or not, it was perfectly easy to ascertain who it was that was in default, if there was any defaulter at all. With respect to the system of coercing payment in case of default, there were various methods adopted. I am not sure whether I stated that although all those tenures are so entirely separate, and the possession is entirely separate, the responsibility is joint; so that the whole village is, in fact, responsible for the whole revenue due from it, and may in case of necessity be brought to sale by the Government to pay that revenue. But there were other methods adopted, because it sometimes would happen that a particular shareholder was lax in payment while the others would pay regularly, and there were systems adopted of duress against the individual; one system of duress was that which we have in England, that of seizing

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and selling the cattle of the person who did not pay, but we found that that led to injury and oppression on the part of the native collecting officer; and consequently the system was, when it was established that a particular man was in arrear, to require him to pay at a certain time or else to offer the tenure to some other of the brethren. Generally speaking, the mere threat of this measure was sufficient to cause him to pay up the arrear; but if not, that was actually carried into effect. One of the sharers, who was inclined to come forward, would pay up the arrear and received a lease of the property for a certain number of years, according to the amount of the arrear which he had paid up, and the former possessor of the property was for a time ousted and turned out, unless, as was generally the case, the person who took the farm allowed him a certain portion of land to cultivate for his subsistence in the meantime. In some cases, if the arrear was large, it was taken possession of and mortgaged for a term of years, and the excess of the proceeds was employed to liquidate the mortgage, so that at the end of the term it came out clear. In other cases it was actually sold to one of the brethren; the amount of the Government arrear was repaid, and the remaining sum was given over to the party who had been in default. It was our particular object to have it carried on among the brethren, or the tribe themselves, because the bringing in a stranger generally produces mischief among them; but we have power to do so if it had been thought necessary. But the mere threat of introducing a stranger, if none of them came forward, was, in every instance that I met with, quite sufficient to recover the arrear, and there was no necessity for having recourse to that measure. I do not recollect any instance, except one or two, in which it was necessary to bring the whole property to sale; and then it was that the tribe who held the land were an exceedingly difficult tribe to manage; they had always had a tendency to create disturbances; and many of them were robbers of cattle, and persons of that sort; and the property was sold with the view of making an example, and showing them that it was in the power of the Government to set them aside if they combined with one another, with the object of defeating our only purpose of raising a moderate revenue for the Government, in such a manner as to keep their institutions intact, and to make them as comfortable in their condition as we could do.

5578. Mr. Cobden.] In case of the defalcation of any individuals to pay their taxes, were the others responsible for the deficiency?—I have stated that there was a general responsibility.

5579. Mr. Hardinge.] But application is first made to the individual shareholder?—Yes.

5580. Chairman.] Did you consider that the headman was individually responsible to the collector?—No; he was not considered individually responsible for the whole, but as an agent and means of intercourse between the collector and this large body of men; I think in general they paid in the way I have stated; they sent their own money up with a little note to the native collector, saying, "Enter this as sent by such a person to be credited to the headman of such a property."

5581. He was considered more as an agent than as a responsible representative?—Yes, they call him there Durbarree; he merely attends the collector's office to attend to the interest of his village, and to discuss any question that may arise between the Government and the people.

5582. Can you give the Committee any idea what was the rate at which each village was assessed to the revenue in proportion to the net produce?—That was a question which I considered very much, and if I had been aware that I should have had the honour of being called here now, I would have brought with me my notes and papers which I have at Torquay, and which are very full upon that subject; but my general impression is that it was not above a tenth of the produce that the Government had in these provinces.

5583. Was that more or less than the rate of revenue that was paid previously to the dominion of the East India Company?—It was decidedly less than that, because our increase of revenue was upon the increase of the cultivation; you would scarcely find a spot in those provinces now which is capable of cultivation that is not fully cultivated; it is only some of the large sandy wastes or parts under forest where there is no population that are now uncultivated, and even there, where there is sufficient healthfulness to admit of cultivation, it is making progress. To illustrate the progress of cultivation, I may mention that after having settled the district of Goruckpore, I was away for three or four years before

before I visited it again; when I went to see it again the Resident Collector requested me to go with him a tour through the northern part of the district towards the mountains, and in doing so I came upon some territory that I was utterly unacquainted with. We drove about twenty miles through one of the richest countries I ever saw, full of valuable products—wheat, cotton, sugar-cane, hemp, and various articles (cotton is not cultivated there). Upon asking him where it was, he said, "You left this forest; it has been since brought into the state you now see it."

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5584. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Was that during the period that the Pindarees were settled in that quarter?—No; it was long after that; it was between 1833 and 1835.

5585. *Chairman.*] For what length of time did you make the assessment?—For 30 years.

5586. Were the people themselves quite satisfied with that term?—Quite; their expression regarding it was, "That it is perpetuity as far as we are concerned."

5587. Do you think it desirable to establish perpetual assessment?—I should say not. It appears to me always an error in a government to cut themselves off from the means of obtaining a larger revenue, if it should be at any time absolutely required; but at the same time many of the central districts are so highly cultivated, and so highly assessed comparatively, that I think it would be a great mistake to exact anything additional from them until, by the increase of cultivation, the produce of all the other districts had been brought up to the same point. On all these points I wrote a very distinct and detailed opinion with reference to the state of each district, and furnished it to the Government before I left India.

5588. Is there ample facility for obtaining the necessary capital for improved cultivation?—I think in the present condition of the people they have the means of obtaining capital. The tenures are rather small, as the Committee must perceive from what I have stated of the number of separate holders in each boundary; but they assist each other. For instance, where there is a canal in the neighbourhood, they subscribe to bring water to make a cut from the canal into their fields. Immediately the settlement was completed, I saw in a great many villages individuals digging small tanks, and sinking wells at their own expense, and using all those measures which are found to be most conducive to increase the produce in India.

5589. You were understood to say that when the payments of revenue were split into nine instalments, it was necessary to borrow money from the bankers for the purpose of making those payments. Is that their ordinary method of obtaining capital for any purpose?—Doubtless they might borrow capital from the village bankers; there are bankers in every neighbourhood, but the rate of interest is so very high that I think it would seldom pay.

5590. Will you state the rate of interest which was current when you were there?—It is exceedingly difficult to state the rate of interest, because, of course, it depends in a great degree upon the responsibility of the party. There is no law of interest observed among them. There is a rate of interest of 12 per cent. fixed by the Government, but the people do not feel that at all binding upon themselves.

5591. That is the maximum?—That is the maximum fixed by the Government, but 25 per cent. is a much more common sum to be paid by a poor man, but the large owners, the rajahs and others, can often borrow money at 6 per cent.

5592. Can money be borrowed upon the system of the mortgage of lands?—Yes, it is so borrowed constantly.

5593. In the case of a mortgage of land to a European, and non-payment, could the mortgage be foreclosed?—Yes.

5594. And the European would become possessed of that land?—Yes.

5595. And liable for the previous assessment?—Yes, entering upon all the liabilities and enjoying all the privileges.

5596. Have instances of that kind occurred?—I can hardly say that, for this reason, that mistakes very great have often been made by Europeans. I am sorry to say that the English are not fond of taking the trouble to inquire into the state of things as they ought to do in a country like that, but they go forth with large sums of money in their hands, and make an arrangement with the first person

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willing to make one with them, and it often happens that properties are mortgaged to them which in fact were the property of 500 persons, and they are mortgaged only by one; having paid their money they considered that they had a right to take possession of the land, and did their utmost to do so, but they were resisted by all the rest of the owners, who had no intention of being turned out of the land; and hence would arise a tremendous affray and disturbance, and generally fighting on both sides in the first instance, and after that a recourse to the court and a good deal of ruin to both parties; but if they took the land from a person who was the real and sole proprietor of the land, there was nothing to prevent their holding it, and in some instances they did so. In Bengal that is much more common, because there, under Lord Cornwallis's proceedings, many persons are actually the sole owners of large tracts of country.

5597. There is no limit fixed by the Government to the number of crops, or the rotation of crops?—Not the least; they are at perfect liberty to grow what is most to their own advantage. The only crop that is prohibited is opium; that being a monopoly is prohibited, unless it be grown with the knowledge of the collector and the Board.

5598. You said that in the portion of India of which you have spoken, cotton was not cultivated to any extent?—Not in that particular district of which I spoke, as having come so rapidly into fine cultivation; but cotton is grown in the whole province of Bundelcund, and it is grown in Allahabad, and throughout the extent of territory between the Ganges and the Jumna, and it is grown in Benares. I think what is grown is principally used on the spot; I do not think much is exported from there. Bundelcund was the great exporting country.

5599. Sir T. H. Maddock.] And in the country to the south?—And in all the country to the south.

5600. Chairman.] Is there any check to the increased produce of cotton arising from the revenue system which the Government have adopted?—Not the least in the world. The settlement was made upon the land, not upon the crop, and the people cultivated what they thought was most for their interests. I did not exactly understand the evidence of the Parsee gentleman who was examined before me to-day; but if cotton was a more remunerative crop than wheat, or opium, or rice, or hemp, or anything else, you may be sure it would be grown abundantly.

5601. But being a bulky article, of course the transit to the place of shipment enhances the price very much?—Very much indeed upon cotton.

5602. What is the state of the communications in that part of India?—They are in a very indifferent state. There is, in fact, but one road through our territories, which is the great trunk road from Calcutta to Delhi, now having gone on as far as Loodianah. That is a good road; but there is a very great difficulty in making good communications, for there is no metal to be found, except at great distances. The expense of roads is very great indeed. The magistrates are greatly employed now in making cross roads throughout the district, in every direction, and 1 per cent. upon the revenue was raised for the purpose of making those roads, and the management of that is vested in a committee, of which the magistrate is an *ex officio* member and chairman; and some of the principal native persons of the district, men who are most willing to come forward to assist, and who are the most intelligent and capable, are members of the committee; and this committee sit at fixed times, and arrange the different roads to be made, and make contracts for their construction. That has been going on now for many years.

5603. Mr. Hardinge.] There is a fund for ferries, too, is there not?—Yes, the tax upon ferries was made over for that purpose, but that has been several times used for other purposes. Lord William Bentinck availed himself of it very largely, in spite of our outcry upon the subject, and it has been applied to the making of bridges and other more costly matters.

5604. Chairman.] Is that one per cent. of which you speak levied upon all the revenue of the North-western Provinces?—It is; and, if I am not mistaken, upon the whole country, as far as Benares.

5605. Is it applied to the part of the territory from which it is raised?—Yes, it is applied to the part of the territory from which it is raised.

5606. To each village?—Not to each village, but to each group of villages.

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The object is to have the roads laid out in such a direction as to be of most use in going to market, and to ports of export.

5607. Then the Committee are to understand that that 1 per cent. of the revenue is applied to local objects?—Yes.

5608. What is the state and prospects of the water communication?—The water communication does not afford the advantages that might be expected from the noble appearance of the rivers. The Ganges, during the rains, is a very rushing and dangerous river; the losses upon it are something quite enormous; the losses of boats and floats are very great indeed. In the dry weather the Ganges down to the sea almost is a small stream, winding through a large plain of sand, and in many places extremely rapid and very shallow, and the delay in getting up it is very great; it can only be done by dragging the boat up against the stream, at a rate of nine or ten miles a day, by a course which is fully twice as long as the road, giving 800 miles for 400; which causes such extreme delay that people who have any valuable goods for sale almost always send them by land.

5609. Will railways be very beneficial in that country?—They will be most beneficial, and they will afford the amplest remuneration. The quantity of travelling among the natives in the North-western Provinces is something surprising. The one great road which exists is like a fair always, all the day long, at the time of year when people travel.

5610. Do you consider that the present system of depending mainly for the revenue in India upon payments from the land is injurious to the population of the country?—No, I cannot say that it is injurious to the population of the country, because it appears to me that it does not, in any degree, or at least if at all, only as a question of time, affect their prosperity. The real difficulty of India at the present time is the want of manufactures. We have superseded them all, so that almost all the people are obliged to have recourse to labouring on the land for support. And the practice of the universal division of the father's property among the heirs is a beggar-making system. They go on increasing in such numbers that there is not sufficient land for them, and the produce after a time hardly pays the expense of cultivation.

5611. After the death of the father, is the land equally divided amongst the children?—Not divided; but it belongs alike to each; they hold it in common amongst themselves in that way, but it may be equally divided; they can claim a division if they think fit.

5612. So that, supposing a certain amount of revenue has to be raised, you do not think that the land is an unsuitable source from whence to raise it?—I think the land is as suitable and desirable a source of revenue as any that can be found, and that it is as easily collected and as free from injury to the population as anything that can be devised.

5613. You do not think that the poverty of the people is to be attributed to the mode of raising the revenue?—I should be inclined to say *Nego minorem*. There are no doubt very poor people among the people of India, and there are very poor people in almost every country; but let any one go through the Western Provinces and see the good appearance of the people; he will see a fine, noble, well developed race of men, possessing great ingenuity, talent, eloquence, and independence, and as comfortable in their condition as a people can be.

5614. Do you consider that the system of raising revenue chiefly from land, is as applicable to other parts of India as it is to the Western Provinces?—As far as I know of other parts of India I have no doubt that it would. I believe that generally throughout other parts of India the landed tenure is much the same as it is in our provinces; it is Hindoo tenure, and I believe it is much the same where it has not been overthrown by external violence. I mean, that the native way of holding land among themselves is the same.

5615. I alluded to the system of raising revenue from land. Would the circumstances of other parts of India, and the character and habits of the natives, in your opinion, justify the introduction of that system, and render it as advantageous in other parts as it has been found to be in the Western Provinces?—I think quite. In Madras and other places it is a matter notorious now, that the error is, that the revenue was fixed too high at the beginning, and therefore impoverished the people. There is one territory in our quarter which was entirely ruined by an undue demand of revenue, which is the province of Bundelcund. When first it came into our hands it was a very wealthy province; it produced cotton for export, and manufactured cotton cloths to a great extent; and

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and it produced the finest grain, wheat of an excellent quality; rice which was sent to Delhi for the king's table in former times, and sugar to a great extent, and opium, and all the very best productions. At that time the whole of the territory round it was in a state of anarchy; and there were vast armies marching across and destroying it; and when first it came under our rule we proceeded to fix an assessment upon it, and the people themselves were as much deceived as our officers; they thought that they could not pay too high; they thought that the demand was moderate, and they were perfectly satisfied with it. But after the war, when the territory round was in a state of quietness and pacification; when the people came under our rule; when a large amount of produce was raised of all sorts, and when the large armies which had given a ready money market for the produce at a high price were withdrawn; the circumstances around changed, and then the Bundelcund people found that they had agreed to pay a tax which they could not pay. But there being an unwillingness to lower the demand, the demand was not lowered till the people were ruined, and now it is one of the lowest districts in the country. We were obliged to cut down the tax to the lowest point in order to save them.

5616. What would be the effect if the Government were greatly to reduce the amount of revenue derived from the land, or to abolish it altogether?—In the first place, they would get no money to pay anybody. That would be rather inconvenient, to have the Government treasury empty in case of any disturbance. In the next place, in a short time, it would make no difference to the people; they would be after a short time just where they are now. In practice I know of no lands so wretchedly cultivated as those which have been exempted by former Governments from the payment of land revenue, and still continue so. There is no stimulus to urge the owners to aim at the increase of the surplus produce for their own profit, after defraying the revenue of Government. There is also no check upon their grinding and exacting from the cultivators, arising out of the necessity for keeping the cultivators in heart, and the land well and fully cultivated, in order to meet the yearly demand of Government. In such cases you constantly see the soil impoverished, and the cultivators driven away. Ignorant and self-indulgent, they want that far-seeing view of their own real interest which has power to restrain man from grasping at a present advantage; and there is no external pressure to force this on their minds. The fear of losing their property for want of assets to meet the Government demand next year, if they should dishearten and drive away their cultivators this year, would furnish just assessments.

5617. Supposing the Government should be deprived by any circumstances of the revenue at present raised from opium, can you suggest any other mode of raising the necessary amount of revenue?—We have found it necessary to remove a vast number of annoying and distressing petty demands and duties. We have taken away all the internal Custom Houses, leaving them only on the frontier, so that the people are as free as they are in England, and rather more free, because they are not fixed to any parish, but they are perfectly free to employ themselves in the way most conducive to their own interest throughout the whole country. But I do not know of anything upon which an additional revenue could be raised that would at all compensate for the loss of the opium revenue.

5618. Do you suppose that a reduction of the revenue upon land would practically increase the cultivation of cotton?—Certainly not; if it be the pleasure of the gentlemen of Manchester to make the people of India pay for their raw cotton, they may do so by saying that land employed in the cultivation of cotton shall pay no revenue, and that everything else shall; but at the same time, if the revenue were removed upon land producing cotton, without a stringent rule that wherever the revenue was taken off nothing but cotton should be planted, the people would not plant cotton upon that land, because there are so many other things more profitable that they would take to. The people of India are very acute; they always take to that which will pay them best.

5619. Irrigation is of course very important in India?—Irrigation is of the utmost importance. No one who has not seen the state of things can have any idea of the labour spent upon irrigation in India. The whole of the wheat crop is irrigated year by year, from the time that it is six inches above the ground till within a few weeks of its being cut; and as they have no machinery, nor any means of irrigation but wells (except in some favoured places like Goruck-

pore);

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pore) : the whole of the water is drawn in the rudest manner from the wells to water every inch of the wheat fields, the opium fields, and the sugar cane fields, round in rotation, throughout that whole portion of the year, from the beginning of November to about the beginning of March.

5620. Have the Government of the country done anything to increase the means of irrigation?—The former Government made some canals, which had fallen to waste, but which our Government have restored and repaired, and they are making others. There is one extensive and magnificent work now going forward in the North-western Provinces, for bringing water down from the Ganges, at the foot of the Himalayas to the junction of the Jumna and the Ganges at Allahabad, a distance of upwards of four hundred miles. That is going exactly through the country where the drought in 1837, caused such fearful calamity. The peculiarity of that country is this: there is no subsoil all the way from the sea till you come within a short distance of the Himalayas; there is nothing solid below the soil.

5621. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Is it all alluvial?—You may call it alluvial; but it is not alluvial in the usual sense of the word, as having been brought from the river, but it has been washed down from the mountains. The rivers rise thirty-three feet in the rains. The rise of the river, from the nature of the subsoil, causes the water to percolate through every part of the country, and to raise the wells, and so to give a sufficient supply of moisture to furnish this irrigation, which goes on during the dry season. But in the year 1837, the rains were so very small in extent, that in some places there were not more than four or five inches, and in Allahabad district, which escaped the actual drought, only 12 inches fell instead of 34, which is the common amount of fall there; and in consequence of the river not rising, the country was not supplied with water. The people, with the few showers that fell, ploughed their fields as they best might, and sowed them as they best might; but in many instances the grain never sprung, and in many, as soon as it sprung up, it withered altogether. Things went on from bad to worse, till the people came into the deepest distress. The population of the country fled to the sides of the river, where they thought they could find water and food. The Government did everything in their power; there was no limit to the amount which the officers were allowed to pay out of the treasury for assisting the people to get food where they could; but everybody knows what it is to get food for four or five hundred thousand persons, from the difficulty of establishing a commissariat to bring grain from a distance, in such a state of the communications. The destruction was very great indeed, and there was of course an immense loss to the revenue; but that was not a thing that anybody thought of comparatively. Since that time it has been always in contemplation to bring a canal from the upper part of the Ganges to that point, so as to be able to irrigate the whole of that territory which had suffered from the drought, and that is now almost effected, and it will effectually meet the evil. It is a very profitable outlay on the part of the Government. I think in many instances it has been found to give so large a return as 20 per cent.; and that is the way in which the Government would obtain an increase in the land revenue from those districts, because the people are always ready to pay a water rent, which is so much added to the revenue.

5622. How do they get an increased revenue; is it from land not previously cultivated being brought into cultivation, or is it from this water rent?—There are some districts in which their payment to the revenue is as high as they can bear at present. Any increase of their produce must be from outlay of capital, which would make it unfair to add anything to the amount demanded from them at present. But there are other districts, such as that of Goruckpore, where the cultivation is being greatly extended. And in those districts, wherever you found that more land was in cultivation at the time the next settlement was made, you would have a perfect right to tax that land at the usual rate at the next settlement. In the district of Goruckpore, which is on the frontier, I added 300 per cent. to the revenue there; but it was put so low that it did not amount to above 1 s. an acre upon the cultivated land when I had done it. But as an improvement took place, the Government would be entitled to tax it as high as any district in the neighbourhood; that is, about 5 s. an acre. So that by degrees they might get a very large increase of revenue; but it must be done by degrees, that it may not be distressing to the people.

5623. I understand, then, from your evidence that you consider that the revenue from land cannot be dispensed with, and that the mode of collection

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which is now administered in the South-western Provinces is the best mode which your experience can suggest?—Certainly, it is the best mode that my experience can suggest; it is the result of many years' labour and experience.

5624. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Taking the general state of the population of India, as far as your experience enables you to give an opinion to the Committee, do you or do you not consider that they are better off than they were before the British rule?—I must limit my reply to those parts of the country with which I am familiar. Certainly, in the North-western Provinces, they are very much better off than they were, in all respects.

5625. Not merely in the absence of any external danger from war and invasion, but in the quiet enjoyment of their property?—In the quiet enjoyment of their social condition, and in the security they have for the enjoyment of their property, and the fruits of their industry, and in the benefits they have derived from the endeavours which have been made to diffuse amongst them the advantages of education.

5626. Was there much immigration in the districts under your charge?—There was an immense immigration into the Goruckpore district, where there is a great deal of land to be had; the immigration was especially from Oude. On one occasion I had been encamped on the banks of the Gogra while transacting my business in Goruckpore, and I saw signs of smoke arising in various directions on the opposite shore. I sent to inquire what was the matter, and I found that one of the tasildars of the King of Oude was passing through the district burning the villages, and seizing and imprisoning the people, because they did not pay him the revenue he demanded; and as soon as they found that I was making inquiry, I was told that a number of the principal zemindars of Oude had come into Goruckpore, and that, if I liked, some of them would come and speak to me. While this was going on, I received a letter from the commanding officer of the English detachment who had been sent upon the most painful duty of supporting the Nabob's troops in these violences of theirs; he said that the Oude authority had applied to him to request me to seize all those zemindars, and to send them over. They came to me and said, "We have done nothing wrong; we can show you our papers; it was fixed at the beginning of the year that we were to pay such a sum for this year's revenue (the revenue is always fixed there year by year), and now there happens to be a fine crop, they are asking half as much again; and it is because we will not pay that, that we are treated in this manner, and we hope that you will not send us over, or that if you send us, that you will send some one whom you can trust to see what is done." I said, "I shall not send you; they have no right to demand of me to send you; I have nothing to do with it." They then said, "How very ill, in reality, you English treat us!" I said, "What do you mean? I have not treated you ill that I am aware of." "No," he said; "if you would take us under your own management, and manage as you manage the district of Goruckpore, we should be perfectly satisfied and happy; or if you would let us alone, and let us manage our own affairs, we should be perfectly satisfied and happy. We are quite equal to deal with this Mahomedan Prince; we can protect our own rights; but when you send out a detachment of troops to aid him and to support him, they are allowed to do what they please with us, and then we consider that we owe many of the evils we suffer to you in supporting them in such injustice."

5627. In what year did that occur?—It must have been in the year 1827; because very shortly after Lord William Bentinck came into the Goruckpore district, and I mentioned those circumstances to him, and he said, "Well, Mr. Bird, what answer did you make to that remark?" I said that it was not my duty to make any answer; that I left that to his Lordship.

5628. You wish the Committee to understand that, within your knowledge, in the year 1827, a British force was actually employed to enforce the demands of the King of Oude upon his own subjects?—Yes, in support of the native force.

5629. You have stated that there was considerable immigration into the territory of Goruckpore during your administration?—Yes.

5630. Was there to your knowledge any emigration from that district, or from any of the adjacent districts?—Not from that district, because the demand for labour was so great that every man could find full employment.

5631. You wish the Committee to understand that, during your administration of Goruckpore, the revenue was raised 300 per cent, and that it may be still further

further increased 500 per cent.; that the people were happy and contented, and that many came into that district from other regions, and especially from the kingdom of Oude?—Yes, that is quite correct; but I do not wish it to be put exactly as having been during my administration, because it would have been just the same during any other administration, so far as I am aware.

5632. Without asking your opinion as to what may or may not be the best tenure of land, is it your opinion that any one tenure of land could be made applicable to the whole territory of India?—I cannot answer that question; I have not information; I should suppose it hardly could be possible that it should be so. It must be done as I did it; they must investigate into the tenures of each part of the country, and act upon them, I should say.

5633. You think that a system of land tenure that may be applicable in Goruckpore, may not necessarily be applicable in the south of India, or the extreme north-west?—In the extreme north-west it is applicable, because there I have tried it.

5634. Would it be applicable in the north-east?—With respect to the north-east I do not know; I am not acquainted with it; probably it would not be applicable there.

5635. Will you favour the Committee with your opinion, whether any general system of judicature could be adopted for the whole of India?—There are certain broad principles of jurisprudence which I suppose would be suited to every clime, every country, and all circumstances; but with respect to the details of law, I should think the only way would be to record what was found to be the prevailing system upon the spot, and to act upon it.

5636. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Are there any considerable varieties of tenure of land in the North-western Provinces?—There are great varieties of tenure, but they all go very much upon one principle. In all those cases we always took up the tenure, whatever it was that we found in the place. We never put it into a Procrustes' bed, and stretched the one or shortened the other, but we took the tenure of each village as we found it, giving the people the right to make their own rules of government and management, and so forth, so that each village had its own private system.

5637. Do you think there would be any great difficulty in introducing as uniform a system of land tenure in the Bombay Presidency as that which now exists in the North-western Provinces?—I should say not, if the people were duly consulted in the arrangements. The want of that appears to me to have been the error; wherever there has been an error, a system has been laid upon them, derived, *aliunde*, without due consideration of their prejudices, feelings, and wishes, and their own system of land tenure has been overthrown.

5638. As far as we are aware, the village communities that existed a very few years ago in the Bombay territories were formed very much upon the same system as the village communities in the parts of India with which you have been most conversant; and if that is the case, even though there may have been of late years a different system, what is called the Ryotwaree Settlement, adopted, is it your opinion that there would be any insurmountable difficulty in introducing a similar system to that which is now established in the North-western Provinces?—If I were ten years younger, I should not hesitate to undertake it.

5639. Do you recollect what was the loss of revenue sustained in the year of the famine, 1837?—My recollection of it is rather obscure now, because I have not looked at my notes; it was a very large sum.

5640. Was it a considerable portion of one year's revenue?—Not of the whole territory; but I apprehend it was above a million sterling. The loss could not be less than a crore of rupees.

5641. Do you recollect any calculation that was made of the loss of life during the famine?—It was impossible to calculate the loss of life. There were some circumstances which occurred which afforded evidence of the way in which persons had perished. There was one particular circumstance, that, before that time, it was never known in the North-western Provinces that wolves would attack grown men or women. After that time persons were continually attacked, and in great danger of their lives from wolves; which showed that the wolves had been in the habit of prevailing over the weakened wanderers from place to place, and destroying them.

5642. When the canal which you have mentioned shall have been completed, the

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the irrigation that will be obtained from it will, to a considerable degree, diminish the possibility of the recurrence of such a calamity?—Entirely so, because there is never a want of water in the Ganges up to that point.

5643. When the time comes that a railway will be run up from Allahabad to the northern extremity of the territory, there will be great facility for the transport of food and other articles?—Very great; and consequently a great increase of cheapness of all articles, manufactured and unmanufactured.

5644. If, during the famine in 1837, there had been any possibility of obtaining grain and other food from Bengal and Benares in time, the famine would have been prevented?—Yes, the famine would have been obviated, and many lives would have been saved.

5645. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Has the cultivation of the land in the North-western Provinces increased of late years?—Very greatly indeed. There is very little indeed that is not cultivated now. It is only where there is some peculiar cause of barrenness, where the expense of cultivation was so great as not to make it worth while at present prices.

5646. Has not jungle almost disappeared?—The jungle has entirely disappeared within the central provinces. There is a belt of forest at the foot of the Himalayas, as to which I do not venture to say when it will disappear; it is so exceedingly insalubrious that it is almost impossible for persons to settle there.

5647. Do you think that the statements which we sometimes hear made of the abject poverty of the natives of India are exaggerated or otherwise?—I am perfectly certain that they are invented, not exaggerated, speaking of the people with whom I am acquainted.

5648. Do you think that the fiscal measures of the Government of India have tended in any way to restrict the cultivation of sugar or cotton?—Certainly not.

5649. Have not they encouraged such cultivation by keeping the assessment of lands so cultivated at an equitable valuation?—There is no assessment upon land so cultivated; that is to say, all the land is assessed alike, at the rate which that kind of land ought to pay in a certain state, and after that the people cultivate upon it what they please.

5650. Are not the wages of labour in India much higher than they used to be?—It is a difficult question; the wages of skilled labour certainly are.

5651.—Agricultural labour?—I do not think I can answer the question; it is so difficult to form a real idea of the value of agricultural labour, because the wages are not paid in money.

5652. You have alluded to the Ganges canal; are you aware what the cost of that canal will be when finished?—I ought to know, but I cannot answer at this moment; I think it was said to be about 400,000 l.

5653. Is not it upwards of a million and a half?—I cannot say.

5654. With regard to the salt duty, do you consider that the salt duty is as oppressive as it is represented to be?—That is a difficult question, rather, for me to answer, for I do not know how oppressive it is represented to be; but that it is a very severe duty there is no doubt whatever. It is a duty of very nearly 300 per cent., or perhaps 250 per cent. upon the cost of production of the article, but it is only levied on the frontier. When Lord Auckland came up to the Western Provinces, as he was in the habit of doing, to discuss with me all the operations I was engaged in, he spoke to me about this, and said that great complaints were made about the hardships inflicted upon the people as regarded the salt duty, especially the ill effect produced and the disrepute brought upon the Government by the palanquins of females, in which females are carried across the frontier, being searched for salt. I immediately asked his Lordship if he were prepared to give up the salt revenue, and that if he were, I would recommend the putting a tax of eight annas a maund upon it, and that then there would be no difficulty at all in levying it, but that if he chose to have a tax of two rupees upon that which was only in value eight annas, it was impossible to avoid the utmost severity in enforcing it; that you would have men in large gangs from foreign territories endeavouring to break through, and that it was frequently necessary to resist them by force; that they will endeavour to break through to bring salt into our territory, and to store it there beyond the limit of the frontier line, so as to get it passed through beyond the boundary where it could not be inquired

inquired into; and that with respect to the palanquins of females, I could only say, that if they were not to be searched, we should have more Lot's wives brought into the Western Provinces than you ever saw in any country; that every woman's palanquin would be filled with salt from the top to the bottom.

5655. Are you aware how much a labourer in India generally pays for salt for himself and his household per head?—No; I have seen many calculations, but I could not say of my own knowledge that I know accurately; it is something very much smaller than has been generally stated, but I do not know what it is. In "The Friend of India" those statistics are very frequently stated.

5656. You are not aware how many days labour it amounts to?—No, because those are two unknown quantities, there is no such thing as a known amount of a day's wages there. You cannot say as you do here, that a man gets 10 s. a week; he gets grain, and he gets a cloth both at a certain time of the year, and he gets the right of feeding his cow upon the common.

5657. Cannot you strike an average?—I do not think I could, I think I should only mislead the Committee.

5658. You are aware that there have been great reductions in the salt duty of late years, that there has been so much Liverpool salt imported that it has quite superseded the Government salt?—I am aware of it.

5659. *Chairman.*] Supposing the salt tax were done away with, and the same revenue were required to be made up in some other way, is there any tax that you can suggest that might be substituted for it, that would be less obnoxious?—I do not know of any increased tax that could be put upon Indian produce that would not increase the annoyances to which they would be subjected; we have to deal with an unscrupulous people. The habits of the officers of Government for centuries have always been to plunder for themselves more than they collected for the Government, and that was the reason why we got rid of all the town duties; the duties levied at the gates of towns and all internal transit duties, and all those things; because it was found that the people paid twice or three times as much as the Government got by them; therefore the whole of those have been given up altogether. We have nothing now but those great articles of taxation, the frontier duties and the land tax, and the opium. I consider the salt as one of the frontier duties.

5660. *Mr. Bankes.*] Was the salt tax an original tax which we found there?—Yes.

5661. Has it been raised in amount, or otherwise, by us?—That I cannot state, because I do not know what the old tax was. It is very difficult to answer a question respecting any Indian tax, because we have no accurate means of ascertaining what the amount was formerly.

5662. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Are you of opinion that it would be preferable to retain the salt tax, rather than abolishing it to increase the rent of the land?—Decidedly; it would be ruin to increase the rent of the land.

5663. A very intelligent witness has given it as his opinion that, contrasting the system of Revenue Settlement in the North-western Provinces with that prevailing in other quarters, in consequence of the small tenures prevailing in the North-western Provinces, that system is unfavourable to the development of national prosperity. In answer to Question 5420, Mr. Halliday says, "The system in the North-western Provinces is more generally approved, and has hitherto found more favour perhaps than any other system which we have adopted in any part of our territories. But, as I understand it, it is open to this great objection, that it is not compatible with an advance in civilisation. It can only be upheld by keeping the people in the same primitive state in which they are at present. I am speaking only from hearsay, but I am told that it is impossible to allow land to be used as a security for money, or to pass from hand to hand as it ought to pass, and must pass as the nation advances; because the moment that it is allowed in any village settlement in the North-western Provinces, the village settlement of necessity breaks down, and the whole system falls to the ground. If that be the case, the village system is incompatible with a state of improvement and advancement; so that, as far as I understand it, which is, however, only at second or third hand, not having seen it actually at work, the system which certainly has been considered the best has a very serious impediment to its continued good working lurking in its vitals." Can you give the Committee any explanation upon that subject?—All that has been done or intended to be done, by the stringent rules laid down by the North-western Settlement

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tlement in that respect, is to prevent the officers of the Government from interfering and breaking up the community by their interruptive proceedings. It merely checks the officers of the Government; but so far from its having any tendency to check the sale of land, I consider that, by enabling every man to give a clear title to his land, it facilitates the sale of land to a degree which never existed before. The establishment of such a system of registry as to facilitate the giving a good title, and removing the obstacles to voluntary transfers of land, was one of my great objects.

5664. Are you aware whether at the former periods in India the advancement and civilisation of the country was much dependent upon the position of the kōormee, the cultivating class, rather than upon the position which the military and Brahminical classes might be in, as well as the Mahomedan part of the population?—No, I am not; but the kōormee is far from being the only cultivating class now; all the Rajpoots are cultivators; they all cultivate their own land.

5665. Cannot the civilisation and advancement of the nation proceed, even supposing that the cultivators are kept in the situation in which they must be according to the present tenure of land?—I suppose it may; my understanding of the real want of India at present, and that which keeps it back, is the want of employment except in agriculture. Our manufactures have all been superseded by the manufactures of Great Britain, and there is no outlet for the population except that which has now ceased, viz, in war, by entering into the armies on every side. The high-spirited Rajpoots used to go off from the village by tens and twenties, and join the Sikh armies and the Nepal armies; they always found an outlet for their numerous families in foreign warfare; now that has ceased, and that appears to me to form the difficulty of India, that there has not been introduced any plan which can collect men and capital into masses.

5666. Do you consider that, if a system of railways were completely established in India, it would be practicable to introduce manufactures into the populous part of the country that we are now considering, the North-western Provinces, and that they would work successfully there?—I do not see why it might not be done; I do not know any reason why manufactures should not be carried on there as well as in England or America, or among the continental nations; the people are perfectly equal to working them. It would require, in the first instance, a considerable amount of capital, and a degree of knowledge and experience which they do not possess; but if any English capitalists, and persons acquainted with the management and use of machinery, were to go forth there and set up any manufactures there of silk or cotton, I cannot see why they should not succeed. There is one thing to be considered, they are limited in one respect by the great want of fuel; that is a very important matter.

5667. If railways were established, that want would be very much removed;—Yes, that want would be in a great degree removed if there were a general system of railways; but I have always observed that manufactures are established where the fuel is found. In Staffordshire, for instance, the potteries are placed where coal is readily obtainable; the clay is brought from Dorsetshire and Wales. The bulky nature of cotton, and difficulty of bringing it from inland districts, and the injury it sustains in transit, may cause the establishment of the manufacture where the material is grown, and the transport of fuel. But it seems to me very questionable.

5668. Are you of opinion that in the North-western Provinces there is an absolute deficiency of accumulated capital in the hands of the natives?—No, there is a great deal of accumulated capital in the hands of the natives in many parts of the North-western Provinces; they speculate very largely in many articles. Mirzapore is a notoriously wealthy place, and so is Benares. And as to Agra, I never saw stronger symptoms of a wealthy thriving condition of a town than there are at Agra; but they do not apply their capital in any of those places to manufactures to any extent.

5669. What amount have you heard as being the supposed capital of some of the wealthy natives in the North-western Provinces?—I do not think I could mention any sum.

5670. Have you heard of the amount of four millions sterling?—I cannot say that I have; yet I would not say that I have not. Some of the Benares merchants were supposed to possess as much as that. Many of the old merchants of India have been able to pay off a crore of rupees immediately.

5671. You

5671. You have heard of the house of Mutty Rum?—Yes.

5672. And the house of the Sahs of Lucknow?—Yes.

5673. Mr. *Bankes*.] What is the nature of the trade from which they derive these large fortunes?—Formerly there was a great deal of lending money to the governments, and taking assignments of land in return; that, of course, is not in the British territory. But there are many houses still making large sums of money in that way in what are called the foreign territories; in the Nizam's and other territories. That is the chief great way in which money is made; by lending money at a high interest to the Government, and getting assignments of land in return. But at Agra, I think the trade has been in sugar, cotton, and drugs and metals, and a great variety of different articles.

5674. Then are those firms large holders of land?—Some of the banking firms, not in our territory, but out of it, are large holders of land. Some of those within our territory are considerable holders of lands from private individuals.

5675. Mr. *Newdegate*.] You were understood to state that in some places a kind of water rate was included in the collection of the revenue, to pay the expenditure upon the irrigation?—I said that we put a higher rate upon land that is watered, and that is included in the amount of the revenue; but where subsequently to fixing the Government demand of revenue a Government work of irrigation is introduced, there an additional rent would be laid on for the use of the water.

5676. Did you find that the people paid willingly an increase of revenue taxation if it were occasioned by expenditure for giving a supply of water?—Certainly, most cheerfully.

5677. Is it your opinion that the Government might encourage the outlay of private capital in works of irrigation by which the revenue might be benefited as well as the people?—That requires some explanation. The Government might, and undoubtedly willingly would, encourage the expenditure of private capital upon works of irrigation, if they could secure that those works would be carried on with sufficient science and skill and right management to do good and not mischief, by proper arrangements being made regarding them. If, therefore, an English Company, for instance, were to show itself, and to employ skilful engineers to conduct a canal in any part of the country, I am satisfied the Government would willingly permit and encourage that to be done. But I do not think they would allow the natives to run canals in every direction they pleased, without skill and without science, by which they might flood their neighbour's lands under the notion of improving their own.

5678. But you think that, if properly organised, such a system of investment of capital, under due restrictions and regulations, might be rendered profitable both to the country and to the revenue?—I think so.

5679. Mr. *Bankes*.] Are the wells of which you spoke private property?—They are all private property.

5680. Is there any great expense in sinking wells?—In those parts of the country where they are obliged to line the wells with brick, the expense is very considerable; but in many parts of the country they only sink a well in the dry season, and it falls in in the wet season, and they make another the next.

5681. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] There is no want of iron in different parts of India?—No, there is abundance of very fine iron and very fine steel.

5682. Has any encouragement been given by the Government for the working of iron mines?—The iron mines are in the Himalayas. As far as I know, in the North-western territories iron is not worked anywhere except in the Himalayas. I do not know of any particular encouragement that is given to it; openings are to be seen on every side of you in those districts, and all the people are at work to produce the iron, for which there is a demand apparently.

5683. Is there not a district on the south of the Jumna and the Ganges which is full of iron?—Yes, all the way down to Beerbhoom; but that has not been investigated much yet; the latest geological investigations of that nature have been, for the search of coal; it is difficult to do anything till you can find coal.

5684. Mr. *Spooner*.] You said that there was very fine steel in India, do they manufacture the steel?—Yes, it is very fine steel; they manufacture it into sword blades and other things.

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5685. Have they large manufactories for that purpose?—No; all the Indian manufactures are done by a man with a hammer.

5686. Do they work the steel with charcoal?—They work it principally with charcoal.

5687. Is there any export of steel from India?—There is an import of Indian steel into England. They have exported pig iron from Madras.

5688. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Besides the work of irrigation that you have mentioned, there are the East and West Jumna canals?—Yes, those are canals formed by the Government. As an illustration of the immense benefits of irrigation in India, I would take the canal on the right bank of the Jumna, which parts from it just at the foot of the hills, and runs into the desert. The country there is one waste of sand. Looking from the parapet of the Fort of Hissar, to the best of my recollection, except in the town and the fort itself, there was not one single tree in sight. The whole country round was a sea of sand, with no object to be perceived but a string of camels here and there wending their way across the desert. The blowing of the west wind across that desert has heaped vast quantities of that sand over the whole territory, nearly as far as the Jumna; but since the introduction of the canal, wherever the canal has gone, there has been a most abundant and excellent soil formed. It is supposed that various articles, vegetable, animal, and other matters, have continued imbedded in the sand for a series of years, and that the approach of water has brought them forth, so as to act as a kind of manure upon the vegetation, and the fertility is something wonderful. Drought is more frequent there than elsewhere, for the absence of all trees has diminished the quantity of rain which falls there; but the banks of that canal have been thriving in the most successful manner during the whole of that time, and have afforded a resource for those people who were driven out of their dried up possessions; they came and cultivated on the banks of the canal, and raised the finest crops there. There is one very singular circumstance which attended the opening of that canal. In the first instance it flowed only a certain distance, I think about a hundred miles, and then it was lost in the desert. The next year it flowed a few miles more, and the third year the people came to the collector and told him that they had got water in all their wells, and in successive years the length to which the canal has flowed has increased as the soil has become saturated with water, and it now passes through the district of Hansi, and goes on to some extent towards Hissar.

5689. Was it not apprehended that malaria would result from that?—Yes, and it was supposed that it did. I do not think the people found it on the banks, but the cantonment of Kurnaul was stated to have been made very unhealthy by the flow of the canal. But they said that there was periodical unhealthiness there before,

5690. But they infinitely prefer having abundance of water, even at the risk of disease?—Infinitely.

5691. Is there any want of irrigation in Lower Bengal?—I am not familiar with Lower Bengal, but I should think it not possible, for that whole country is a network of rivers; they have too much water there. The rice-swamps extend over whole tracts of country. One year I came, in the month of December, from Calcutta, across from Rajmahal to Goamalty, near the river of old Gowr, in a carriage, and in August of the same year I came across that same tract in a boat that drew about seven feet of water.

5692. Nearly the whole of that province is very richly cultivated?—It was always called the Paradise of Nations.

Lunæ, 6^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Clive.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Ellice.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Sir Charles Wood.

Mr. Elliot.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Alderman Thompson.
Mr. Bankes.
Mr. Lowe.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Thomas Jacob Turner, Esq., called in; and Examined.

5693. *Chairman.*] WILL you state at what time you were in India, and what situations you occupied there?—I went to India in 1817, and in the beginning of 1820 I went to the Upper Provinces, and remained there till I left India in February 1850. The situations I held were always in the Revenue Department. Latterly I was the senior member of the Sudder Board of Revenue.

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5694. The information you are enabled to give to the Committee will apply chiefly to the North-Western Provinces?—That is the country to which my experience is limited personally.

5695. You succeeded Mr. Bird?—Yes, I was a colleague with him, and when he left office I became the senior member.

5696. Upon arriving in the North-Western Provinces, occupying that position, did you find the land revenue in a satisfactory state?—I had been connected with the land revenue previously to my entering the Board. It has been progressing favourably from the time that I first went to the Upper Provinces. The first steps towards improvement were taken by Mr. Holt Mackenzie, under Regulation VII, of 1822.

5697. Did you continue the same system which you found had been introduced by Mr. Bird, or did you introduce any alterations?—We went on entirely with that system, occasionally making a few alterations, where we found there was anything to correct.

5698. Did you find that that system was considered oppressive by the natives?—Far from it. There cannot be a doubt that that settlement operated, as the greatest benefit to the people as well as to the Government.

5699. Did cultivation increase during the period you were there?—Wonderfully, from the time I first recollect those provinces. Immediately after the settlement, there was scarcely a bit of waste land to be seen anywhere that was fit for cultivation. The whole appearance of the country became greatly changed in a very few years after the introduction of the settlement.

5700. Do you consider that the population was in a state of great poverty in that country?—Certainly not.

5701. Was their social condition improving, or the contrary?—It was very greatly improved, indeed. There are two things which have done an immense deal of good in the North-Western Provinces; in the first place, the introduction of schools; and in the next place, the introduction of dispensaries, which are invaluable to the people, where they can get medical aid and attendance without any cost to themselves.

5702. What was the state of the means of communication between the period when you first went there and the time when you left; had the means of communication increased and improved or not?—Certainly they had; there never was at any time any difficulty about communication, because the country is a perfect level. It is free from swamps; there is no natural difficulty in the way;

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all that requires to be done is here and there to metal the lines of road; and where they can get stone to do that with it is done; but in some parts, of course, it is very difficult to do that; but the great trunk road from Calcutta to Delhi, and to Umballa, has been made at the expense of the Government.

5703. Do you consider that Government has supplied a sufficient portion of its revenue to the improvement of the means of communication and to public works?—I do not mean to say but that more might be done; but in the Upper Provinces it is wonderful what has been done, when we look at the numerous canals that have been opened, and at that very important work that is now going on, the Ganges Canal, which, I suppose, will be opened immediately. And bridges have been constructed at the expense of the Government in many parts of the provinces.

5704. You do not consider that the system on which the land revenue is levied in the North-Western Provinces is injurious to the advancement of the social condition of the people?—Most certainly not; far from it.

5705. Nor to the increase of cultivation there?—Cultivation has gone on increasing until there is scarcely room for it to increase more.

5706. Do you think that it affords any check to the production of cotton in the portions of the country in which cotton could be produced?—Certainly not.

5707. Is there any observation that you would wish to make to the Committee as to any improved system of land revenue, or are you of opinion that the system adopted in the North-Western Provinces could be advantageously applied to other parts of India?—The advantages of the system introduced into the North-Western Provinces is simply this, that it has obtained for the people an equitable assessment. It has secured the rights of the people as well as the rights of the Government by marking the boundaries of each estate separately, and by ascertaining and recording the rights of all the parties interested in the occupation of the lands. Therefore I should say that the same system is, generally speaking, applicable to other parts of India.

5708. Mr. *Ellice*.] What proportion do you suppose that the rent paid to the Government bears to the value of the gross produce of the land?—In the North-Western Provinces for a long time back we have gone entirely upon the rentals, and we have done our best to ascertain what is the gross rent of an estate. The regulation says that 20 per cent. of the annual profit shall be left to the proprietor, and then, over and above that, we always leave from 10 to 15 more for the expenses of collecting the revenue, and to meet bad seasons.

5709. Do you mean that 20 per cent. is allowed in your calculation to the superior of the land?—Yes; the regulation says that it shall not be less than 20 per cent.

5710. Sir *C. Wood*.] Is not the direction given to the parties who have to settle the rent, that the amount to be paid to the Government shall be two-thirds of the net rental?—No, there is no distinct order to that effect; we go by the regulation.

5711. Mr. *Ellice*.] How do you calculate the net rental?—In the first place, we have a survey of the whole of the land, and then we have an abstract, showing what quantity of land is held by each individual cultivator, and what is the rent he pays upon it. In that way we have before us the complete rental of the estate, so far as it chances to be occupied at the time of the survey.

5712. Is that rental the rental actually paid at the time of the survey, or is it an estimated rental?—It is what they themselves put upon record as that which they are accustomed to pay.

5713. That is the rental paid to the superior landlord?—To the superior landlord.

5714. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Is that rent ascertained from the village accounts, in which you place perfect confidence?—Certainly not from the village accounts only, or we might be misled.

5715. Sir *C. Wood*.] When did you leave the North-Western Provinces?—In February 1850.

5716. Are not you aware that it is a rule applicable to the North-Western Provinces, that the rent to be paid to the Government is two-thirds of the net produce after making due allowance for the expenses of cultivation?—I cannot tax my memory at the moment to say whether that is the rule, but the practice has had very much that effect. I go of course by what the regulation requires. Taking 100 rupees of rental, 20 rupees are taken out for the net profit of the zemindar

zemindar, and from 10 to 15 per cent. over and above that to meet the village expenses, and to meet any casual loss from bad seasons. That makes it about from 30 to 35 per cent. of the gross rent.

5717. Mr. *Ellice*.] Can you favour the Committee with an opinion what proportion the gross rent bears to the produce of the soil?—That would be quite impossible, because the soil varies so much in its productive power. An acre in one place will yield so much, and in another place it will yield a different quantity. We often tried to ascertain what the produce was, but we found that it involved us in so much difficulty and led to no practical result that we gave it up. I recollect Lord William Bentinck telling me that he never could ascertain satisfactorily to himself what proportion the rent in England bore to the gross produce.

5718. Does not the rent vary according to the nature and the productiveness of the soil?—The rent does of course.

5719. *Chairman*.] During the period that you had the direction of the revenue of the North-Western Provinces were there many arrears in the payment of the assessment?—None at all. Latterly they amounted to a mere fraction per cent.

5720. With regard to the mode of assessment, the system there was to assess for 30 years?—Yes.

5721. Could that system of making an assessment for a certain period of time and assessing by villages be introduced into other parts of India?—Undoubtedly I should think it might, but where that kind of assessment does not obtain, I would not give very long leases at the commencement. The people themselves in a new undertaking like that would not like so long a lease until they become aware of its advantages to them.

5722. In Bengal it could not be done, the permanent settlement would prevent it?—Yes, the permanent settlement prevents it.

5723. But you think that in other parts of India it might be introduced with advantage?—I should think, wherever the ryotwaree settlement obtains, it might be introduced with very great advantage.

5724. Sir *C. Wood*.] How would you set about it?—Just in the same way as we did in the North-Western Provinces, by measuring the lands and ascertaining the comparative value, and then leasing the lands to the individual who has the best right to hold immediately from the Government.

5725. Is it not the case that in the ryotwaree system all the cultivators have an equal right to occupy the portion of ground which they have occupied for years?—Generally speaking, the right of occupancy is in all the ryots; but there are cases which are somewhat different. Some are mere tenants at will, going on from year to year; others cultivate at fixed rates, which rates cannot be altered during the term of the settlement.

5726. But in a village settlement upon the ryotwaree system, is there any other person who has a better right to occupy any portion of land than the man who has the actual occupation?—You cannot disturb the occupation of the old established ryots.

5727. Then how would you proceed in the case of a village settled upon the ryotwaree system, in which each ryot has the same right to occupy his portion of land, so long as he pays the rent, without being disturbed: would you reduce that settlement to a village settlement, as it is called?—The first thing that I should do would be to ascertain from the ryots themselves whom they would like to choose as their manager, as the party to manage on their part with the Government. Then they, having selected their own party, I should fix the revenue with that individual who engages with the Government on their behalf. After that, the next process would be to ascertain what were the rentals that were paid by the individual ryots, and to have those put upon record as well as the quantity of land held by each occupant, so that the lessee of the Government should not disturb those rights.

5728. Do you conceive that at present, in a village settled upon the ryotwaree system, the actual amount of land which each person is entitled to occupy is clearly defined?—Undoubtedly; but the system has this disadvantage, that none of the ryots have any capital of their own, generally speaking.

5729. In order to carry out your view would not the consent of each individual ryot in the village be necessary in order that they might concur in choosing one person to be put over them as lessee between them and the Crown?—I should

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not think it necessary to have the consent of each individual person. In making the settlement with a whole village community, I should attend to the wishes of the majority of the people; I should think that quite sufficient; I should not attend to individual objections on the part of a small portion of them.

5730. The preliminary step is to obtain the concurrence of the great majority of the ryots, in a village settled upon the ryotwaree system, in order to the introduction of the mode now adopted in the North-Western Provinces of arranging with one or two persons on behalf of the whole?—Yes.

5731. *Chairman.*] Do you think that would be generally a popular change?—I think it would, for this reason, that one year with another, the ryots being mostly without capital, they break down every now and then from loss of cattle, or not being able to obtain seed, and from other causes; and the consequence is that their lands are thrown out of cultivation. Then so much of the ryotwaree settlement, or revenue demand, is omitted from the next year's rental, and there is no account taken of it again till the same land comes to be taken up; but if you let the whole village in one lease, then the lessee would have to make other arrangements to occupy the lands which had been thrown up during the past year, or to assist the distressed ryot to retain his land. This being the usual course.

5732. *Sir C. Wood.*] Are the persons to whom the land is let in the North-Western Provinces, generally persons of some capital?—Yes, always. They are the rightful occupants of the estate for which they engage; the village is their own property.

5733. The ryots under them have all well-defined rights of occupancy, in which they cannot be disturbed?—Yes, they cannot be disturbed in those rights.

5734. Can the leaseholder raise the rents of those ryots?—No, not of the old established ryots, but of those who hold only from year to year he can; or if any of the old ryots were to take up any lands not previously in their occupation he might put what rents he pleased upon those lands.

5735. *Chairman.*] What would be the result, in your opinion, of such a change from the ryotwaree system to the system adopted in the North-Western Provinces, as it regards the revenue derived by the Government; would it increase or diminish the revenue?—I should imagine that it must have the effect of protecting the Government revenue, and of rendering it more secure.

5736. Do you think it would produce an increase or not?—It would be more certain, but I do not think you would get much increase by it.

5737. *Sir C. Wood.*] Would not the first step be a reduction?—It would; because you have to make certain reductions to meet the profits of the lessee, and his expenses of cultivation; but you would do with a much smaller establishment on the part of the revenue officers.

5738. The system is, in fact, creating a middleman between the Government and the occupiers?—It is.

5739. *Mr. Clive.*] Would it not put the occupier of the land in a better position, by enabling him to pay the revenue direct to the Government?—Respectable landholders often make a request to the collector that they may be allowed to pay to him direct. They consider it a little kind of privilege; it is a matter that gives them a little self-importance; it is more for that reason than any other that they value it.

5740. *Mr. Elliot.*] Are there any pottahs given by the heads of the villages to the ryots?—No; that system is quite exploded. There is a record made of all tenures of land, and that record is altered from year to year, as any alterations in the occupancy of the lands take place.

5741. Then do you record every ryot's jumma?—Yes.

5742. And, consequently, the head of the village cannot extort more from the individual ryot than the amount which stands in those books?—No; nor can he take any of his fields away from him.

5743. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Have you found any disadvantages which have attended the system which has been introduced into the North-Western Provinces?—I know of many advantages; but I know of no disadvantages.

5744. Has the number of sales of estates been increased or diminished since this new settlement?—They have greatly decreased since the settlement.

5745. Do you recollect in what proportion?—I should not be able to state the proportion with any degree of exactness; but I would say that not more than one sale takes place now for 10 that used to take place.

5746. Do

5746. Do you think it was advantageous to the general prosperity of the country to break up those considerable talooks which formerly existed, containing sometimes two, three, or four hundred villages, held by one great proprietor, which constituted the persons holding them a superior class in the general society?—I consider, generally speaking, that it has been productive of great benefit to the individual owners of those estates that that talookdarry system has been broken up, for if the talookdar himself was a harsh kind of man, those people fared very ill indeed.

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5747. Do you think it is conducive to the general prosperity of the country that that superior class of proprietors should be altogether extinguished?—I do not think you can say that those men have been extinguished by it, because those men are allowed 18 per cent. upon the Government rental of those estates which form their talook, and therefore, although their profits are not so great as they were when they held their estates of the Government, still there is a very considerable allowance left to them.

5748. Has not the breaking up of those talooks led to the destruction of a middle class, between the Government and the ryots, which it was formerly considered very desirable, and very conducive to the strength of the Government to maintain?—Under the former Governments, the native princes used to find it suit their convenience to appoint talookdars; for instance, here was a large community of Goojurs residing in one particular part of the country; then, by selecting the most influential man of that Goojur tribe, and making him responsible to the ruling Government of the day for the revenue of the estate, they got it a great deal better and cheaper for themselves than they could have done if they had made detailed settlements with the different village communities; and I believe that is what led principally to the formation of those talookdarries in former times.

5749. But as far as relates to the landed interests in the North-Western Provinces, is there now actually anybody between the cultivator of the soil and the Government?—Certainly; in every estate there is the zemindar.

5750. A small zemindar, who is a cultivator?—No; I look upon the zemindar as a person quite distinct from the cultivator. The cultivator is a person who merely holds at a rental the lands which he occupies. He has no right to alienate those lands, but so long as he likes to occupy them, he has the advantage of paying for them a fixed rental; but the zemindar is a person who can sell the whole of the zemindary property at any time he pleases.

5751. What do you suppose to be the average rental of each estate in the North-Western Provinces?—I should say the average rental in the North-Western Provinces is about 600 or 700 rupees a village.

5752. What proportion of that belongs to the headman, which you consider as his income?—As I mentioned before, he has 20 per cent. clear profit for himself left to him, according to the regulations.

5753. Twenty per cent. upon 600 rupees?—Yes; and independently of that, there were lands that were lying waste at the time of the settlement; he has the profit of all those; if he likes to bring them into cultivation, the profit is entirely his own.

5754. He is a man of an income of 100 or 150 rupees a year?—At least that; and he has other advantages. He has some lands which he cultivates himself.

5755. Between this class of persons, who have an income of 150 rupees a year, that is 10*l.* or 15*l.* a year, and the Government, there is no class whatever interposed?—None whatever; where they hold their leases direct from the Government.

5756. Do you think it is likely to be conducive to the permanent prosperity of the country that there should be such a very wide demarcation between the Government and the principal and most valuable portion of its subjects?—It is rather a difficult question to answer, how far it is well to blot out those men who held large properties before, because although you do something to maintain his position for him, and give him what is called the talookdarry allowance, still a great portion of the talookdar's influence is lost over the people.

5757. Has not the practical effect of that system in the last 15 years, been to blot out this particular class of persons possessing influence, and standing in a position between the occupiers of the land and the Government?—I think not; though by excluding him from the settlement and giving him merely a money allowance, you certainly have reduced his position, and I am afraid the Government

latterly

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latterly has not kept faith with these people, and that when the talookdar, who was in possession of the property at the time of the settlement dies, his heir does not always get the full amount of the talook allowance which was agreed to at the settlement; why that has been the case, I cannot pretend to say, but the revenue authorities have always protested against it, and recommended to the Government that the talook allowance which was assigned to the talookdar at the time of the settlement should be continued to his heirs and successors without alteration.

5758. Was it your opinion that it was politically expedient to destroy the influence of this class of persons?—In many cases it has been attended with very great advantage?—Many of those villagers who had as good rights as any other villagers, were excluded from the enjoyment of those rights, and by leasing their estates directly to them, instead of indirectly under the talookdar, they are benefited, and as they are only restored to the possession of their own rights, I do not see how they could have done otherwise under the existing settlement; Regulation VII. of 1822 was framed for that express purpose, that every individual rightful owner should, as far as possible, be put into quiet possession of his rights.

5759. Inasmuch as you have suppressed this important class of persons interested in the land, have you not departed from the practice which prevailed in that part of the Indian provinces at the time of our accession to the territory, and which has prevailed, as far as we know from the historical records, in all parts of India at all times?—We have certainly departed from that by doing so; but there is no reason to suppose that the former rulers of the country would not have done the same thing if they had found it to be to their advantage.

5760. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Is the rate of landed revenue now levied more or less than the rate that was paid previously to the rule of the company?—I should say that we derive a larger revenue from the country that we hold than the former rulers did; but at the same time I should not say that that is accompanied by any oppression. The revenue that we do obtain is obtained probably more easily from the people than what the former Governments took, although it was less in amount.

5761. Is the assessment lighter?—The assessment is decidedly lighter.

5762. As to the condition of the ryots, do you consider that that is better than it was formerly?—Much better; their rights are so well secured now.

5763. As regards the comparative state of the ryots in our provinces and in the native states; how is that?—In the native states the ryots' rights are not secured to him in any way. He may be either better or worse off, just according to the caprice of the individual holder immediately above him; but I should say, speaking of them as a body, that the ryots in our provinces are much better off than those in the native states.

5764. Have you ever been in Oude?—Yes.

5765. What is the condition of the people there?—The condition of the people there is a very fluctuating one. In some places the people are tolerably well off; but at times there comes a sweeping calamity caused by some act of the Government, which ruins the whole estate the next year.

5766. Can a member of a village community in the North-Western Provinces sell his land to a stranger without the consent of the community?—Under the law, if a shareholder wishes to sell his individual share in a village which is held by a large community, he ought to offer to his own brethren the right of purchase in the first instance. The brethren are considered to have the right of pre-emption. If they decline buying it, then of course it is optional with him to sell it to whom he likes.

5767. Would not his selling it to a stranger occasion great inconvenience in the community?—It might very likely have that effect; but it is not a desirable tenure for a person to purchase, and therefore you will not find many purchasers for it.

5768. Sir *C. Wood*.] You are aware of the purport of the 52d section of the directions to the revenue officers of the North-Western Provinces?—Yes, I am perfectly aware that such an order was issued.

5769. Will you have the goodness to state the purport of that order as to the proportion of the net rent to be paid to the Government?—“It is desirable that the Government should not demand more than two-thirds of what may be expected to be the net produce to the proprietor during the period of settlement, leaving

leaving to the proprietor one-third as his profits and to cover the cost of collection. By 'net produce' is meant the surplus which the estate may yield after deducting expenses of cultivation." T. J. Turner, Esq.

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5770. Are there any cases in which, under the village system, the lease is given to more than one individual?—Undoubtedly where there are many proprietors of the same estate the chances are that there may be three or four persons put forward to engage with the Government for the property.

5771. What is the greatest number of persons you have ever known included in a lease of a village under that settlement?—As a village is divided into five different putties, there will be one representative on the part of each of those putties; then again, under each putty there may be 20 or 50, or even 100 shareholders. This is only one particular tenure that I am speaking of.

5772. If under this system any one of those persons fails to pay the stipulated portion of rent, what happens?—Then the other brethren have an opportunity of taking this defaulting putty, on paying the balance, which they generally do. If they do not take it we then endeavour to bring in a farmer unconnected with that village; rather than a stranger should be brought in, they will almost always come forward and pay the money themselves; but if they do not we put in a stranger to farm that part of the estate which has not paid its revenue.

5773. Is the stranger so put in any party to the general lease?—No; he is quite a stranger to that.

5774. Is the settlement with him then the same settlement as with an individual ryot?—The settlement he obtains is for a certain term of years, sufficient to remunerate him for the balance which he pays for the privilege of coming in.

5775. Would not he stand in precisely the same situation as a ryot, under the system of the Bombay Government, with no lease?—No, he is quite distinct from a ryot; he supplies the place of the defaulting proprietor who is displaced. He may have possibly to cultivate a portion of the lands himself to which he succeeds; the rest would be cultivated by the occupying ryots, paying him a rent upon it.

5776. In that case is there not an end of the village settlement, that is to say, of the whole village being leased to one party, or one set of parties?—The village settlement is so far altered as affects the rights of that one individual defaulting proprietor, but no further.

5777. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Would not the name of this person, who is inserted in the place of the defaulting proprietor, be inserted in the village papers and accounts?—Yes.

5778. He would, in fact, take the place of the defaulter in his liabilities to the Government?—Yes, enjoying all his advantages, and coming under his liabilities.

5779. Sir *C. Wood*.] Is not the principle of joint liability put an end to by the introduction of that system of settlement?—No, I do not consider that it is so; because, in the first instance, you give the general brethren an opportunity of coming forward to pay the revenue that is in arrear from that individual defaulter. If they will not do that, of course you must collect the balance by some other means. The usual means taken to do so is that of letting it to a stranger.

5780. Does not the introduction of a stranger put an end to the joint liability for the village?—The estate under the original lease is in whole and in every part responsible to the Government for the revenue. So long as we collect the revenue from each party, we do not interfere with the whole; but if any part of it breaks down, and you cannot collect it, you must then make the whole estate responsible; but we do not call upon the responsibility of the whole estate so long as the responsibility of each separate part can be made sufficient.

5781. When a new party is introduced in the manner in which you have described, can you subsequently call upon the joint responsibility of the remainder of the lessees?—Certainly, because the stranger who is introduced stands precisely in the shoes of the individual who was displaced to make way for him. It does not at all alter the other responsibilities of the remaining part of the village.

5782. Does he take upon himself the portion of the joint responsibility that belonged to the person displaced?—Yes.

5783. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] How many years were occupied in the formation of

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of the present thirty years' settlement in the North-Western Provinces?—We commenced in Mr. Holt Mackenzie's time, in 1823, but it went on very slowly; and when Lord William Bentinck found that the progress was not sufficiently great, then a more expeditious system, under Mr. Bird, was introduced, and that terminated about 10 years ago; that would make it about 20 years.

5784. A great part of the leases have already run from 10 to 20 years?—Yes, about 10 years.

5785. Supposing that before a large portion of these leases fall in the Doab Canal is finished, so as to afford every possible advantage of irrigation, and supposing a system of railways to be completely introduced throughout the whole of that magnificent valley between the Ganges and the Jumna, what is your opinion of the ratio of increase which the revenue of the North-Western Provinces will yield when they come to be re-assessed?—I do not think that on those grounds it would admit of any enhancement.

5786. Would not the fertility of the lands be increased by the facilities of irrigation?—I spoke with reference to railways. If you speak with reference to canals, undoubtedly the advantage afforded by taking water will greatly increase the productive powers of the land; but then the system has always been to let the water out at so much a cubic foot; they pay for it in that way.

5787. But, independently of the toll paid for the water, will not the effect of the irrigation be the cultivation of a great deal of land with valuable crops, which now produces nothing but the lightest sort of grain, and pays very little revenue?—Undoubtedly it will have that effect.

5788. And therefore the village, under such circumstances, would be enabled to pay a greater amount of revenue?—I do not anticipate that there would be any greatly increased amount. Some trifling increase might be obtained, no doubt, in the course of time.

5789. Do not you imagine that the facilities for intercommunication, and for disposing of the produce of the soil, and for introducing the produce of other countries, which will follow the establishment of railways, will increase the general wealth, and the means of paying rent of all the people in that district?—Certainly, it is but fair to suppose that such would be the effect of it.

5790. Mr. Clive.] Would not the payment for the use of the water be a sufficient demand on the part of the Government, without an increased rental?—Speaking as a revenue officer, I think so.

5791. Chairman.] Is there sufficient capital for effecting improvements in the cultivation of land in the North-Western Provinces?—Yes, there is; it is customary for the Government at all times to advance money, for any improvements that the people like to undertake themselves, on loan.

5792. What rate of interest does the Government charge?—They charge no interest; they allow them to repay the money by convenient instalments, extending over a few years.

5793. What security do they take?—Their land; for instance, a zemindar wants to build half-a-dozen new wells in order to increase the irrigation of his property, and he comes to the collector, and requests that an advance of 1,200 rupees may be made him on the part of the Government, engaging on his part to pay it off in three years; it is always customary to agree to those applications, and to sanction them.

5794. Are those engagements generally held good by the borrowers of the money?—Always, most faithfully.

5795. Has private capital also been brought to bear upon those improvements in those provinces?—Yes; private capital is also brought to bear; but capitalists are glad to avail themselves of a loan of money from the Government.

5796. A capitalist would charge a very high rate of interest, while the Government charges nothing?—Yes; and capitalists themselves might like to employ their capital to greater advantage when they find that the Government will come forward and assist them.

5797. What was the rate of interest for money borrowed upon land when you were in the country?—It would vary very much according to circumstances; if a man is known to be a respectable man, and likely to fulfil his engagements, from 12 to 16 per cent. I dare say will always procure him money; if he was a man on whom much dependence could not be placed, it might be up to 20 per cent., or it might be up to any nominal sum; but that per-centage is taken by a native

native banker, not under the expectation of ever realizing it, but of making the most of it, getting as much out of him as he can. T. J. Turner, Esq.

5798. Do you wish to convey to the Committee the impression that there is no check to improvement or to increased cultivation from want of capital in that country?—Certainly not.

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5799. With regard to the revenue raised by the salt duty, is that considered oppressive in the North-Western Provinces?—Certainly not. There is only one point probably on which the people feel a little sore; there are two kinds of salt; there is the alimentary salt which is used by all the people in their food, and there is another kind, a common refuse kind, which is called kharee; this is used for the cattle, and it very often happens that when this inferior kind of salt crosses any of the Customs lines, the Customs officers want to bring it under the tax, and very often the people are made to pay it; and that becomes a great hardship to the people.

5800. Do the revenue officers pay in the amount of the tax obtained from that salt to the Government revenue, or do they take it themselves?—It is brought into the exchequer.

5801. Is there no power of appeal in such cases?—I do not think the Government or the superior authorities always view those things with sufficient liberality. Probably they are inclined, in order to protect the revenue on salt, to make everything that comes under that name subject to the duty, although it is not so by the regulations.

5802. The regulations would exclude this coarse salt of which you speak from paying duty?—Decidedly; it is only the alimentary salt that by law is liable to the tax.

5803. Is the smuggling of salt very great?—Certainly not; but it of course depends altogether upon the efficiency of your establishments. If the Customs Department were to be neglected for a year or two, smuggling would soon increase to a great extent; but supposing that department is efficiently controlled, the smuggling is a mere nothing. Salt is a bulky article, and cannot be easily concealed.

5804. Do you consider that it would be a loss to the revenue to reduce the duty upon salt?—Most decidedly.

5805. Would not the consumption so increase as to enable the revenue to regain the loss?—I think not, because each individual only wants but a very small portion of salt. If salt were much cheaper than it is, each individual would not increase his consumption much; he might possibly give his cattle a little more than at present.

5806. Has it ever occurred to you whether, supposing that tax to be considered arbitrary and injudicious, there is any other tax that could replace it?—I know of none; I do not think there is any that could replace it.

5807. Is it not nearly the only tax put upon articles of consumption?—They are limited to very few indeed now; I do not exactly recollect what they are, but there are only two or three articles in the North-Western Provinces that are subject to Customs duties.

5808. Your impression is, that the salt tax is not much complained of in the North-Western Provinces?—It is not at all complained of; I never heard anything like a complaint made against it, except so far as I stated with regard to inferior salt. The people say that it amounts to a prohibition of that; that the way in which the Custom-house officers treat that inferior salt when it is brought in, almost deprives them of the use of it.

5809. With regard to the stamp tax, are there any great complaints of the stamp tax?—I know of none. Whether the suitors before the courts are in the habit of making complaints, I am not aware, but they have never reached me if they are made.

5810. Do you consider the population of the North-Western Provinces to be a highly taxed population?—Certainly not. I do not suppose that the North-Western Provinces were ever at any time in so favourable a condition as they are at the present moment.

5811. Taking their position not only with reference to what it was at former periods, but as compared with the population of other countries, should you say that they have the same social comforts that are found in other countries?—I think they have quite as large a share of the comforts of life as the lower orders

T. J. Turner, Esq. in England, taking the labouring classes in England, and the labouring classes of India.

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5812. Their occupations are not much interfered with?—Not in the slightest degree; a man may take his labour wherever he pleases; there is no restriction upon it.

5813. And their position is not going down in the world?—Certainly not; all the lower classes of people are, I think, increasing in prosperity under our rule; it is the higher classes who are not so well off; being deprived of Government situations, being naturally a thriftless set of people, and having no means of recruiting their property, they have fallen off in condition, decidedly; they are the only class of people that have fallen off under our rule.

5814. What condition do they fall into; what do they become?—When they fall into trouble and difficulty, the first thing is that they sell off their household property, and then their zemindaries go, and at last they become distressed for money.

5815. Do they then fall into the class of general labourers?—No, not quite so bad as that; but still they are no longer affluent; they are no longer well off; they are straitened in circumstances, but not so much as to be reduced to manual labour.

5816. How many hours a day must a man labour in that country to obtain a livelihood?—It depends upon what kind of employment it is; there are people employed in every walk of life; those who follow the plough are out during the early part of the day and in the evening; they do not generally carry it on through the heat of the day, except at particular seasons of the year.

5817. Can you give the Committee any idea of the number of hours upon the average that a man works at the plough?—It is very much as it is in England; if the land is just in a favourable state for ploughing they will work as long as their oxen are capable of toiling; if they think it necessary, even from morning till night; generally, a man can work as long as his oxen.

5818. A previous witness mentioned that it has been a cause of injury to the population of that country, that whilst the population has been increasing, other employment, besides agricultural, has diminished; that is to say, that their manufactures have been destroyed to a great extent, and that there is no other outlet for the population beyond agricultural labour, except by having recourse to the army. Does that appear to you to be the case?—In the North-Western Provinces there never were any manufactures, except that among many of the large Mahomedan populations they made very coarse cloths in small quantities. Of course, I do not speak of the large manufacturing towns of Benares or Dacca; but I mean, that taking the Upper Provinces generally, there were no manufactures to interfere with much in that part of the world.

5819. *Mr. Elliot.*] Is not a great cause of the decreasing wealth of the upper classes the Hindoo law, which subdivides the property upon each succession?—That was always the case. I am not aware that it affects their condition more now than it did at any previous time. There are plenty of employments open to the people. In the first place, there is the army, which takes up a great number of the people; then there are the different public departments of the State, the Revenue, the Police, and the Customs; there is scarcely any family of respectability that has not one or two of their sons engaged in some one of the departments of the State.

5820. Are those offices in the Upper Provinces filled by persons of good families?—The superior offices in those departments sometimes are.

5821. Did you find that any people of rank were willing to take that sort of situation under the Government?—I found some years ago that people of rank were very averse to take situations in the police department. When I was collector and magistrate of a district, I sent for one of the chief men in the district, and told him that I wanted his nephew to fill a police office; he excused himself to me in the first instance, by saying that he considered it derogatory to his family to hold a police situation; I said, "Why so?" he said, "Why, sir, if my son was to be a police officer, you would not receive him and give him a chair when he came into your presence, as you do now;" I said, "I beg your pardon, I certainly should as long as he behaved himself respectably; as a man of good family, I should make no difference whether he is a Government officer or not; of course he would receive a chair, and his becoming a public officer could make no difference. At last I induced him to give me the services of his nephew,

nephew, and I always found that by employing men of good family I was able to carry on the police duties of my district more to my satisfaction than I could with any other class of people.

5822. Still, is there not a prejudice against us among the higher class of families?—I am sorry to say that I am afraid they are not always treated with sufficient respect by the European officers.

5823. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Is there amongst the members of those families generally in India a feeling of disaffection towards the Government, which has reduced them to their present position?—Undoubtedly; at the same time, without any reason, as in the case of the late Nawab Zulf-Kar Ali Khan, a man who received, I think, four lacs of rupees a year pension from the Government; yet that man was always plotting against the Government.

5824. But he was not one of the class of those decayed gentry who have fallen into distress in consequence of the system adopted by the British Government?—I know no instances in that class of people in which they may be said to be disaffected towards the Government; because they do not blame the Government for their position, but they blame themselves for their own extravagance.

5825. There is no open manifestation of disaffection?—None.

5826. But there must be some suppressed feeling of dissatisfaction with a Government which has produced such a state of things?—I dare say they might wish for better times; it is very natural to do so when people are distressed.

5827. Did not the Nawab of Rampore hold for some time a situation under you as a deputy collector?—He did.

5828. Do you know many persons who belong to families of high rank in the North-Western Provinces so employed?—Yes; I employed men of good family whenever I could.

5829. And you obtained from them as zealous and efficient service as from persons of ordinary rank in life?—I consider better; I always made it a point, so far as I could, to pick out men of good family to put into Government situations, and I never saw any reason to regret having done so, but the contrary. In my opinion, they served the Government better than any other class of people.

5830. Is there a general desire on the part of the British functionaries in the North-Western Provinces to follow your example of giving employment to this class of people?—I do not think so much as might be done.

5831. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Is there any tax which you think might be substituted for the salt tax, and which would be less obnoxious to the people?—None whatever.

5832. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Is there any article of great consumption which, in your opinion, would bear a tax; such, for example, as sugar?—There is sugar; sugar would bear a tax undoubtedly. I am not quite sure whether it does bear a tax at the present moment. I have no papers to refer to, but I think not.

5833. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Do not the natives give salt to their oxen in large quantities?—Not in very large quantities. If they could get an inferior kind of salt, I suppose they would do so.

5834. Would they do so if they felt the price of salt to be so exceedingly dear?—I dare say that if salt became cheaper, they would give their cattle more salt than they do at present; but what they want is, to have a permanent supply of that inferior salt which is not dutiable salt.

5835. Mr. *Clive*.] Have the natives any way of purifying that inferior salt?—Yes, they have.

5836. Is not that possibly the reason why they desire so much to have it?—Yes, it may be so. It never can be made very pure, good salt; but still it is often a substitute for the other.

5837. Mr. *Fitzgerald*.] You said that there had been no complaint against the stamp laws; have you heard any complaints against the expenses of legal proceedings?—No, I have not; I was not in the way of hearing complaints of that description.

5838. Do you yourself approve of raising a tax upon the administration of justice by means of stamps?—They are a very litigious race of people; I consider that it is not an objectionable tax.

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5839. You think it tends to check litigation?—I think it may possibly induce them to consider before they enter upon a suit.
5840. Would not you consider that it would be a sufficient check upon undue litigation to make the unsuccessful party pay his adversary's expenses, as is the case in our courts here?—You would find, if the other mode was given up, that your revenue would suffer.
5841. Without now regarding the matter of revenue, but looking at it merely as a means of checking litigation, would not that be a sufficient check upon undue litigation?—I dare say it might be sufficient on that score.
5842. You agree in Bentham's opinion with respect to taxes on the administration of justice?—Of course they are objectionable.
5843. *Chairman.*] Do you think it would be desirable to substitute a tax upon sugar in lieu of the tax upon salt?—Certainly not; and it would not be nearly so productive.
5844. Would it be more popular?—Certainly not.
5845. *Sir C. Wood.*] Have they not a great objection in India to any new tax?—Very great indeed; a new tax has, once or twice, driven the people into revolt.
5846. *Mr. Elliot.*] Do not you think that the people would rather submit to an old tax, which was rather more oppressive, than to a new tax which was more favourable?—Decidedly they would rather have the old one.

Ralph Moore, Esq., called in; and Examined.

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5847. *Chairman.*] WILL you state to the Committee in what way you were employed in India, and for what period?—I first went to India in 1824; I went to join my friends, who were engaged in commerce. I have likewise, at different periods of my life, held lands immediately from the Government. Subsequently I came home, and studied for the medical profession. I am now, and have been for some years, a member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. At the time we were engaged in war with the Sikhs, I volunteered for both campaigns; I held the medical charge of one of the largest districts in Bengal, Midnapore. I was also surgeon for a short time in the Marine Department of the service; and some years since, I was appointed by Sir Herbert Maddock, who was then Deputy Governor of Bengal, to the charge of a tributary chief, the Rajah of Cooch Behar. This was at first only a temporary employment. With him I went to Benares, and there, in the presence of his principal officers, the Rajah intimated his intention to leave his nephew and heir to my charge. He died at Benares, and then I was appointed physician and tutor to the present minor Rajah. I came home sick, upon leave of absence from the Regent for two years. I did not derive any pecuniary benefit from the Government. I held the Rajah responsible for my salary. Since my return, though I reported my intention of coming to this country to the Government of India a month before I embarked from Calcutta, my salary has been stopped. I appealed to the Court of Directors in vain. No objection has been made, nor is there an iota of charge against me, yet they have thought proper to stop my emoluments.
5848. When did you come back first; when did you come home to study your profession?—In 1842.
5849. And you went back to India when?—I went back to India again in the commencement of 1846, and remained till April 1851.
5850. What is the whole length of the time that you have been in India?—About 20 years. During that long period I had intercourse with every class of people, from the peer to the peasant. I was conversant with the languages of the country. In fact, I have lived where a white man has rarely come. I was the only European in Cooch Behar.
5851. Have you directed your attention to the particular subject now under the consideration of the Committee, the question of revenue?—I have, having held lands from the Government for some years. I was offered a recommendation by the late Deputy Surveyor-General of Bengal, Major Robert Wroughton (to whom the success of the settlement of the North-Western Provinces was in a great measure due) to Mr. R. M. Bird, who had the control of that undertaking, which I declined.

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5852. Will you state what the result of your observation has been as to the policy of continuing the land revenue upon its present system in that part of the country in which you were resident?—Prior to the settlement the leases were short, hence the lands were not nearly so valuable as they are at present. When the settlement took place the value of landed property went up considerably.

5853. Of what part of India are you now speaking?—Of the country lying between the Ganges and the Jumna. I think that the settlement of the North-Western Provinces is the greatest work that has ever been carried out by our Government in India. There were some defects in it, the principal of which I can point out. When the work was commenced each surveying party measured about 1,200 or 1,300 square miles very accurately. Subsequently a much larger area was required from each party. At this time I think Mr. Bird's health began to fail, and he wished to come home. There was still a great deal to be done, and every man who knew what a theodolite was was pressed into the service; and many of those settlements have in consequence since broken down. But on the whole, it was a very great improvement indeed, and has done immense good, with perhaps one exception, the breaking down of the higher class of people, for it certainly had a depressing effect upon them.

5854. But to other classes you do not think the settlement has been injurious?—I think that it has had a beneficial effect upon other classes.

5855. Is it considered by the inhabitants, in its present system, oppressive?—I think not.

5856. Upon that subject have you any improvement to suggest?—I think that attention should be given to works of irrigation. What the last witness has said is very true; that advances are made to the landholders, for the purpose of constructing wells. But I think there is one work that might be carried out in the Doab, which would be a great improvement to the country, and would cost very little. There is a river that takes its rise in the lower range of hills and runs into the Ganges, just above the ancient city of Kanouje. I think that that might not only be made navigable, but that it might be made to serve the purposes of irrigation. In fact, at present, the natives of several villages on its banks are in the habit, in the dry season, of assembling together and forming temporary dams across it, for the purpose of irrigating their villages.

5857. What is the name of the river?—It is the Kalinderee. It joins the Ganges on the right bank.

5858. Would the benefit from that improvement be very considerable to a large tract of country?—Very considerable indeed; it would not only enable the ryots to irrigate the land, but to convey their bulky produce to market. I was in that part of the country during the whole of the famine in 1837 and 1838, and then I witnessed the dire effects of not being able to get the food from one part of the country to another.

5859. Have you directed your attention to the subject of a prospective increase in the production of cotton in India?—Cotton used to be very considerably cultivated in that part of the country; we used to deal in it. In many parts, the cotton crop pays the entire revenue of the land. In a conversation I had some time ago with Dr. Royle, at the India House, upon this question, I mentioned to him that I had proposed a plan of irrigation to the Court of Directors, for which I received their thanks through their secretary. He was of opinion that if artificial irrigation could be applied to cotton when our rains cease, which they do very suddenly, being close to that immense range of mountains (the Himalayas), the cotton cultivation might be very greatly improved. When an American cotton planter saw our cotton luxuriating in the finest soil and climate, he thought nothing could be better; but the rains suddenly cease and the plant collapses. You must have something to supply the want of rain. I think irrigation would in a great measure do it. I may state, the cotton produced in some parts of the North-Western Provinces is not only very silky, but it is of very good staple. I do not think the cotton you got from America 30 years ago was better, at least so Mr. Chapman says, and he is authority.

5860. Has American seed been tried in that portion of the land that is irrigated?—It was tried in Bundelcund, but I do not think those who had charge of the experiment were proper men to carry it out. If you want to make any improvements in India, you must respect the prejudices and feelings of the natives. You must speak their language. A man coming fresh from another

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country, and wanting to carry out his own views, will not succeed in doing it. You must never be violent with a native, for he takes alarm at once. I do not think the natives are more prejudiced than other people, but they are as capable of forming correct opinions as we are.

5861. Are you able to give an opinion as to the relative cost of American and of Indian cotton; could cotton grown in the North-Western Provinces be landed at Liverpool so as to compete with cotton grown in the United States?—I am hardly competent to state that, but I think if we had improved communications we might be able to compete with America. But everything almost in India depends upon having proper European superintendence; for instance, in the case of indigo made by the natives, the natives will not take the same trouble and pains in working for a native that they will for a European, who works indeed himself; the value of indigo manufactured by a native is always from 35 to 40 per cent. less than that of Indigo made by a European; the value of their saltpetre is considerably less; the value of their silk is considerably less; in fact everything that is superintended or controlled, or looked after by a European, is much increased in value. I am speaking of articles that come to England, not of articles of manufacture used among the people themselves. The last witness I think forgot to state that we have considerable manufactures in the North-Western Provinces. The beautiful silks of Benares every Honourable Member must have seen at the Exhibition; look at the embroidery of Delhi; look at the leather manufactures of Cawnpore; the furniture of Bareilly; the carpets of Mirzapore; the cutlery and swords of Agra; glass even is manufactured in those provinces; it is not of the same beautiful quality you have here, but it is manufactured, and might be improved.

5862. What do you suppose is the reason why the cultivation succeeds under the supervision of Europeans, when it does not under the supervision of the natives?—The higher classes of natives are not so industrious as Europeans; a superior native will not work so hard for money as an Englishman, not even in that climate.

5863. Does that apply to the cultivation of land as well as to other employments?—Decidedly.

5864. When you were resident there, did the growth of cotton pay better than the growth of other produce?—It did at one time when there was a very considerable trade with China; but there was a good deal of difficulty in sending it down. There were two modes of sending it down; one in what is termed loose bales, and then there was a great deal lost; it was dirtied, and a great deal of it abstracted; another mode was termed half-screwed bales; I think that paid well when there was a good trade with China. The natives send considerable quantities of it down now in loose bales; the trade at present is almost entirely in their hands.

5865. You mean that it paid when there were high prices in China?—Yes. Formerly there was a large trade carried on with this country; Mr. Turnbull of Mirzapore traded very extensively, I should think to the extent of not less than two or three hundred thousand pounds a year.

5866. Why was that given up?—The American cotton, I suppose, beat ours out of the market.

5867. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Mr. Turnbull's export was principally to China, was it not?—A great deal to this country; he lost his money by the failure of the market here.

5868. He traded also in lac dye and indigo?—He did. The best lac dye in India is produced at Mirzapore; it is a very valuable dye; it supplies in a great measure the cochineal.

5869. Sir C. Wood.] Do not the natives of India grow cotton themselves pretty well?—Yes, they grow cotton themselves pretty well; but it is sown in the rains, and left very much to the mercy of the weather; they do not take much pains with the cotton crop; they do not take nearly so much pains with their cotton as they do with the cultivation of their wheat. The cotton belongs to the spring, and the wheat to the winter harvest.

5870. I understood your evidence to apply to the cultivation of cotton in the Bundelcund?—Yes; in the Dooab.

5871. Mr. Elliot.] Do not they in fact make a more certain profit, upon the average of years, by the cultivation of other things than by cotton?—The ryots are necessitous people, generally speaking, and consequently they look for something

something that may be eaten. To get food at once is their principal aim and object.

5872. Sir *C. Wood*.] Are there not portions of that district now irrigated?—There are. But in a conversation which I had with the chairman of the Court of Directors, I stated that the canals did not answer the purposes of irrigation generally.

5873. Can cotton be successfully grown in the portions of that district which are now irrigated?—Yes.

5874. Have they found it profitable to do so?—I think they have; but in some parts they cannot succeed, the water is so far from the surface. The cotton of that district was so good formerly, that the spinners of Manchester could not desire better of its kind. If it had not been for the duty England placed upon our cloths, I doubt whether Manchester would have beaten us. India was crushed in the first instance by a duty of 60 or 70 per cent. having being put upon the goods which she sent here; and that was the cause of the victory which the Manchester men gained over India, as much as anything else.

5875. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Is there any impediment to a gentleman like yourself settling in any part of India and carrying on cultivation or trade?—I was in India as a "covenanted free merchant"; there is no impediment now; there was during the last charter.

5876. There is no difficulty in carrying on any mercantile operation?—The difficulty is this: before I came home I was speaking to one of the most intelligent merchants in Calcutta with regard to this question, and his words were these: "We do not like to trust our capital out of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court."

5877. Does that imply that there is a want of confidence in the administration of justice in the Mofussil courts?—It is the uncertainty of the law that is complained of.

5878. It is not from any feeling of distrust of the administration of justice on the part of the judges?—I think the system is considered faulty, more than the men engaged in it. A question was put to a former witness, Mr. Halliday, whether the natives generally have the same opinion of the Queen's judges as they have of the Company's judges. I do not think they have the same opinion of the Company's judges that they have of the Crown judges, simply from the fact that they see everything in the Queen's courts publicly and openly argued, and they know that no money can prevail there; whereas they have not that opinion of the Company's courts. Within my own knowledge, large sums of money are remitted by people in the country to their agents in Calcutta, thinking that money will help them in those courts. History only gives one instance of a corrupt King's judge since we have had India; that was the tool of Warren Hastings, Impey. Now there have been many cases of corruption among the Company's judges.

5879. Mr. *Mangles*.] What is the comparative number of the two?—The number of the Company's judges is considerable, certainly; but still there is only one single instance of a Crown judge in India having been accused of corruption.

5880. How do you reconcile your opinion as to the unwillingness of Englishmen to invest their money in the Company's territories with the fact of the enormous sums which Englishmen have invested in indigo factories throughout Bengal, Behar, and the North-Western Provinces?—The amount is exceedingly trifling compared with what it would be otherwise.

5881. Is it not a very large amount?—It is a considerable sum, but it would be very much more if the law were better defined.

5882. Is not that a sort of argument which it is very difficult to answer, because supposing the amount were ten times as large, you might easily say that it would be much larger under other circumstances; is it not the fact that a sum amounting to several millions is now invested in indigo factories throughout Bengal, Behar, and the North-Western Provinces?—It is, because they are obliged to do it; but the moment a man can get quit of it, he never leaves a single sixpence in the country if he can avoid it.

5883. How are they obliged to do it?—They do it, because they are carrying on a profitable trade; but the very instant that they can get quit of it, they go away themselves, and take everything that they can out of the country.

5884. Is not that the case with every European in the Company's service; as

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soon as he has made a competency, does not he return to England?—He leaves his money in the Company's Funds. Before I left India, I could have got 12 per cent. for my money upon a land mortgage, but deemed it more prudent to take five per cent. from the Company.

5885. In what district?—In Bengal.

5886. Is it not the case at this moment that many Englishmen have very large sums invested upon mortgage of indigo factories in India?—Some have.

5887. Without any apprehension of losing their money?—I think the rates of money lent on mortgage would be much higher than the Company's rates. No man would lend his money upon a mortgage of an indigo factory unless he got much more than in the Company's funds.

5888. But not more than the usual private rate of interest of money in India?—Yes, I think it would be higher than that.

5889. Do not people get 12 per cent. for their money within the jurisdiction of the Queen's courts?—Not that I am aware.

5890. *Mr. Elliot.*] Are there not other causes of distrust, besides what you mentioned with respect to the courts in India. Are the agents that you are obliged to leave in charge of your money and your affairs always to be trusted?—I think now are there a great many men of high respectability who are left in charge of such things.

5891. But with the experience of past years of the houses of agency in Calcutta, and the occurrences which have taken place there, and the fortunes which have been lost through those houses, do not you think that some apprehension may exist in the minds of persons, that by leaving their property in charge of parties in India they may be liable to a repetition of similar losses?—I do not think that many persons leave their money there now since those dreadful visitations.

5892. I understand you to say that people will not leave their money in India, because they have not confidence in the courts; may not that want of confidence apply to the persons whom they would be obliged to employ in the way of agency, as well as to the courts?—No; I think that it is want of confidence in the law principally.

5893. You are aware that there never were people possessing a higher degree of respectability than the old firms in Calcutta, whom you may recollect in former days?—Yes, I do perfectly.

5894. But the result was the ruin of a great number of persons who trusted their money in their hands?—Yes; but they themselves were part and parcel of the speculation. They must have been convinced when they placed their money there upon high interest, that, as those gentlemen stated, they could not keep it in an iron box.

5895. Do not you think that those circumstances have created a feeling of distrust in the public mind with regard to leaving their money in the charge of persons in India?—There may be something in that; but I think it is the state of the law that is the chief cause.

5896. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Are the Committee to understand from a former reply that you gave, that a European gentleman is free to go and settle in any part of India, and to engage in agriculture, or manufacture, or trade, without any let or hindrance, and without asking the permission of any authority?—He is now of late years, since 1833.

5897. *Mr. Fitzgerald.*] You have spoken of the natives being in the habit of remitting large sums of money to their agents when engaged in litigation: have you ever heard what has become of those sums of money so remitted?—I cannot say what has become of them; it would be a very difficult thing to say that; I can only speak to the fact of their being remitted by the natives to their agents. Another thing is, that the native law officers of the courts are very badly paid; they live in a much greater style than their salaries can possibly cover. Few or none of them have any other means than what they receive from the State.

5898. Does the habit still continue to the present day amongst native suitors of remitting large sums of money to their agents, thinking it will advance their cause?—It does.

5899. Is the distrust you spoke of, distrust in the law as it exists, or in the capacity of the judges to administer the law?—I think it is in both.

5900. You have been asked about the indigo manufacturers in India investing their capital in their manufacture: I understand you to say, that as long as they

they continue to be manufacturers, and have their capital under their own control and direction, they let it remain there, but that when they cease to be manufacturers they will not leave it, but they sell it out?—Yes, they sell it out.

5901. Does that arise from distrust of the law?—I think so.

5902. And of the mode of enforcing their rights under the law?—I think so.

5903. *Chairman.*] With regard to the salt revenue, have you any observations to make upon that subject?—In the first place, the poorer people cannot get salt. Many people have supposed that diseases arise in consequence of the deficiency. They live on a vegetable diet altogether, and the cause of the cholera has been assigned by some to the want of salt. The people of India are essentially a sugar-eating people; the old man and the child are all fond of sugar. I think you might get a revenue much less onerous out of sugar than you are doing out of salt; the consumption of both is the same. It is supposed that each individual in India consumes 12 lbs. of salt annually, and the same quantity of sugar. Upon the export there is a duty now levied upon sugar when it passes the frontier.

5904. What duty would you put upon sugar per maund?—A halfpenny a pound. I have made a calculation. You might get nearly two millions and a half sterling. The entire revenue upon the salt is 2,700,000 *l.* By placing a halfpenny a pound upon sugar, you would get a revenue nearly equal to that derived from salt.

5905. How much would that be per maund?—It would be about 3 *s.* 6 *d.*

5906. How would you collect it?—You might collect it as you do the duty upon salt now. Any one may cultivate sugar; it is openly cultivated. The sugar is made, generally speaking, upon the spot where it is grown. A small native mill is set up, and it is made upon the very field where the cane is cultivated. I do not see that there would be much difficulty in collecting such a duty.

5907. You think there would be no difficulty in collecting it when the production of sugar is spread over a great portion of the country?—I have given a great deal of attention to it; I should think not.

5908. You think that the people of India would prefer to have a duty upon sugar rather than upon salt?—I think so. I think it would come upon a class better able to bear it than those who now pay the duty upon salt.

5909. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] At what period of the manufacture, or of the wholesale or retail disposal of the sugar would you manage to levy the duty of one halfpenny per pound?—It might be done upon ascertaining the amount of the produce, when the manufacture was complete, or an acreage duty imposed.

5910. Then you would assess this duty upon the sugar before it left the place of its original growth and manufacture?—It might be done so; I do not pretend to say how it should be done; I only just point out the article as one from which a revenue might be derived.

5911. *Mr. Elliot.*] Is not the land upon which the sugar is grown already assessed?—Of course it is.

5912. The sugar is assessed through the land assessment?—In that light it is, certainly.

5913. Then there is no coincidence at all in that respect between salt and sugar, because there is no assessment upon the salt in the earth before it is taken out to be manufactured, but the sugar is assessed in the land upon which it is cultivated?—The land is assessed upon which the sugar is grown; but I only point out this article as one upon which the duty would be less burdensome to the people than salt.

5914. *Mr. Clive.*] Did I rightly understand you to say that, speaking professionally, you are of opinion that cholera may arise from want of salt?—I think that any disease might. In fact, if I remember correctly, there is an old Dutch law that sentences certain classes of criminals to be confined and to have no salt in their food. They think that any one would very soon perish that had no salt, and particularly where the food is vegetable.

5915. Are you of the same opinion?—I would hardly go so far as to say that; but that salt is of great importance in preventing disease I have no doubt.

5916. *Mr. Elliot.*] Can you give any other example, except in the case of spirits, the produce of grain, in which the ground is first assessed and then a

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separate tax is put upon the produce of food which comes from that ground?—No, I am not aware of any.

5917. Then this would be a new description of tax altogether?—Merely a substitution of sugar for salt. If the natives found it less injurious and less burdensome than the salt tax, I do not see that they would object to it.

5918. If a native is now taxed for the cultivation of his land to the full extent he is able to bear, surely it would be a hardship to put any further tax upon the produce of his land?—It would be in the place of the salt tax, which is generally considered very oppressive upon the lower classes of people. I merely point out the article as one which I think you could get a revenue from.

5919. Do not you think that the natives of India are particularly averse to any new tax?—I think everybody is.

5920. Are not the natives of India particularly so?—Not more so than other people, if it were properly explained to them that this would be not more burdensome than the other.

5921. Has not it been often attended with serious consequences when a new tax has been attempted to be imposed?—Yes; there are two or three instances upon record in which tumults have arisen from attempting to impose a new tax.

5922. *Chairman.*] Is there anything else connected with this subject that you wish to state to the Committee?—With respect to irrigation, I think that if more attention were paid to irrigation in the North-Western Provinces, the condition of the people would be very much benefited; in fact, it amounts to this; it is a question of life or death in many instances. The water is so far from the surface that the people cannot get it, and the consequence was, the famine in 1837 and 1838. At present, the water is conveyed down an inclined plane, dragged down by bullocks, by which process, to cover an acre with water one inch deep, costs about 6s. 3d.; it might be done with mechanical means, such as I see here constantly, for certainly one-half the cost. I suggested the other day to the Court of Directors to use the pump. There is not a single pump in any barrack or cantonment in India that I have ever seen. Even the introduction of the common pump would be a vast improvement in India.

5923. *Mr. Mangles.*] Is it not the case that in the North-Western Provinces very great expenditure has taken place, and that very great works of irrigation have been carried out, and are being carried out?—Very great; in 1837 and 1838 you saved great numbers of people from destruction. Food to the value of two millions sterling was saved by those canals; but canals can only supply a certain part of the country; what I wish to see is, an improved system of irrigation, so that every man may irrigate properly his land as he depends entirely upon it.

5924. Is not it very difficult for the Government to do much for a people who are so unwilling to do anything for themselves?—The State has always carried out every great improvement in India; the people are so poor that they cannot do it themselves.

5925. Even in Bengal, where the permanent settlement exists, and the zemindars have a large surplus revenue, have there been any great works of irrigation carried on by the zemindars?—Irrigation is not so much required in Bengal.

5926. But it is in Behar, which is also a permanently settled district, where the zemindars have a large surplus income; have they there expended much money in such works?—In Bengal and Behar the fact is, that Government do not get sufficient from the land. If the cultivators received more, that would not be an evil; but as it is, the Government do not get sufficient revenue out of the land, and the ryots are in an infinitely worse state than in the North-Western Provinces.

5927. Is not it very difficult, in a country where the people will do so little for themselves, even those that have got the means, for the Government to do much for them?—It is; but wherever the Government have done it it has yielded a good return. I know no instance where the Government has expended money upon irrigation which has not been amply repaid.

5928. Is it possible for the Government to do everything in every place at once?—They have taken a very long while to make the trial. The canals might have been carried out long ago, especially where the Government derive a very handsome revenue from them. I suppose the canals are paid for by this time.

5929. Have

5929. Have you seen the Ganges Canal?—I have not.

5930. Are you aware of the extent of the work?—From reading.

5931. Will not that afford means of irrigation to an enormous tract of country?—It will; it will be a great benefit. But there is an order that no irrigation from a canal is to go on within five miles of a military cantonment, or within two or three miles of a large native town, because, where the canals cut off entirely the drainage of the country, it has been supposed that disease has been produced. Now, that would give a large area that you could not irrigate from canals. To show how little has been done, a native author says, "Of all the English that have carried away princely fortunes from this country, not one of them has ever thought of showing his gratitude to it by sinking a well, digging a pond, planting a public grove, raising a caravanserai, or building a bridge," and, I may add, in any way leaving any lasting remembrance behind him.

5932. How many years is it since the work you have quoted from was written?—It is applicable to the present day. It was written in 1786.

5933. Mr. Clive.] Does not the Great Ganges Canal show something?—Yes; that has been made by the Government of the country; but the other canals were in existence before we had the Government.

Robert Wight, Esq., M.D., called in; and Examined.

5934. *Chairman.*] YOU were employed in experiments in India for the cultivation of American cotton?—I was superintendent of the Coimbatore experiments, from February 1842 until February 1853.

5935. An account of those has been published in the Report of the Committee which sat upon the cotton culture some years ago, in the evidence of Mr. Petrie, who acted with you?—Yes, who acted under me.

5936. Up to 1847?—Up to 1847. He was with me for five years.

5937. Without going through the evidence as to that former period, will you state to the Committee with what success those experiments have met since that period?—Subsequently to Mr. Petrie's leaving, the experiment was continued for about a year, or a year and a half, precisely in the position in which he left it. In June 1849 the Government of Madras discontinued the experiment, and directed the farms to be broken up, and the machinery and everything appertaining to be immediately disposed of otherwise. Before, however, that was fully carried out, a representation which I had forwarded to the Government was sent to the Court of Directors, and on the strength of my views, the orders of the Government were directed to be held in abeyance until at least a year or year and a half should elapse, to allow the commercial world to be made aware of the circumstance, and to give time to make arrangements for the disposal of the machinery appertaining to the farms. Under the previous orders the whole of the cotton crop at that time in progress had already been distributed among the ryots from whom the lands had been rented, but under the condition that they were to cultivate the crop to maturity, with an assurance that the Company would purchase all the cotton that should be produced from that crop. The result was, that that season we purchased I think about 100 bales of cotton. It was purchased of course as seed-cotton, and the outturn was about 100 bales of clean cotton, a quantity greatly in excess of any previous purchases. The subsequent year, the natives being exceedingly well satisfied with this result, continued to cultivate for themselves the next year, but still under the promise that they were to receive as high prices for their cotton as they had received in the previous one: and to the best of my recollection, we purchased 170 or 180 bales of cotton that second year. The last year, that before my leaving India, the same process continuing under the same agreement, the quantity was augmented to upwards of 300 bales; and at the time I left, I was told that the extent of the ground actually under cultivation with American cotton was such as should, in the average run of seasons, produce I think from 500 to 600 bales of cotton. It was not realized of course up to the time that I left; but such was the representation made to me by individuals who were engaged in it themselves, and who had been making inquiry as to the extent of ground sown with American cotton seed. I, myself, had distributed probably 20,000 lbs. of seed amongst applicants requiring it for the purpose of cultivation.

5938. What induced the Government of India to discontinue the experiment

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of growing cotton?—The conviction that all had been done that was requisite; that their views had been completely carried out as far as proving to the natives that the cultivation of the exotic cotton was a perfectly feasible and profitable occupation of capital in India.

5939. With the long experience which you have had, do you think that it is more profitable for the natives to grow American cotton than native cotton?—Decidedly more profitable. The cost of cultivation is the same, but then the lands upon which the American cotton is most productive bear a lower assessment than those upon which the native cotton is most profitably cultivated, and the weight, acre for acre, is generally in excess, in the exotic, of what is produced on the best and most productive lands with native cotton, and the article produced fetches from 20 to 25 per cent. higher prices.

5940. Are there any measures, in your opinion, necessary to increase the production of American cotton, and if so, will you state what those measures are?—I should say simply an agency established upon the spot ready to purchase all that is offered.

5941. Might not that agency be undertaken by a private merchant having sufficient capital?—Yes, but the private merchant has not the requisite capital, and if he had, he would probably hesitate incurring the risk of investing the whole of his commercial capital on a single very fluctuating article of commerce. In India, I believe, it is usual for merchants to direct their capital into as many channels as they can, in the expectation that should one fail, another may succeed. But supposing a merchant starting with a capital of, say 10,000 rupees, intending to confine his transactions to cotton alone; his first object, I presume, would be to commence his purchases when prices in this country were high, and when he thought he could safely venture to pay liberal prices to the grower. The period which must elapse between the purchase in India and the sale in England is so considerable (rarely under from six to eight months) that the prices may, in the interval, have changed so much, that what promised to prove a lucrative speculation has become a very losing one. In such a case his future operations would be crippled for want of funds, and probably his energies damped by disappointment and loss. In the case of a joint stock company such a result is less likely to follow a first loss, for, each shareholder being but slightly affected, is less likely to be discouraged from trying his luck a second time. What I mean, therefore, by an agency, is simply the formation of such a company. The very existence of Manchester as a great and wealthy manufacturing community rests on its supply of the raw material being large and steady. This, in the ordinary course of events, can scarcely be calculated on while nearly wholly drawn from one country. The great fluctuations in the price of cotton proves this. It hence becomes the bounden duty of the manufacturers to guard both themselves and the millions dependent on the cotton trade against such a contingency by drawing their supplies, at almost any cost, from every accessible source, but more especially from India, the country which, next to America, can furnish the largest amount, and generally at prices even lower than America; capital and enterprise only being wanting to enable her to augment almost indefinitely the quantity produced. To provide the capital required to initiate effective measures, a joint stock fund might be formed by a few of the great manufacturers, men whose transactions are on so great a scale that their weekly accounts are reckoned not by tens but by thousands of pounds, contributing each 500 *l.* or 1,000 *l.*, sums which, even if lost, would hardly be missed, but which, if judiciously employed in the Indian cotton trade, would certainly return handsome profits. Provided with a fund of only 20,000 *l.*, an agency sufficiently extensive to include (at the outset) in its operations the three great cotton districts of Southern India; Coimbatore, Madura, and Tinnevely, might be formed, and thence extended as opportunities offered. That sum, owing to the quick returns, would, I believe, be found to provide an annually increasing fund, and prove sufficient to maintain the number of agents required to purchase all the American cotton produced, for the first few years, in those extensive provinces. Thus encouraged, I am satisfied the exotic would speedily, to a very great extent, supersede the indigenous plant now that the ryots are becoming aware that its culture is as easy, its returns as certain, and its produce from 20 to 25 per cent. more valuable to the grower.

5942. But that agent would only buy when the prices in England either ensured a profit or gave a prospect of a profit?—He should, using his judgment as a merchant, buy in all states of the market, fairly taking the risk which attaches

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to every mercantile speculation. Hitherto the Manchester people have objected to incurring risk, preferring to leave that to others; they, in the meanwhile, calling on the Government to help them. So many and loud, indeed, have been their appeals for Government aid, that they have literally placed themselves in the position of the man in the fable, whose cart had stuck in the mire. Let them put their own shoulders to the wheel, and all will go right. It is not enough on their side to say, "Send us cotton, and we shall buy it at the prices ruling in our markets;" they must themselves, at least as regards Indian-grown American cotton, give the trade its first impulse, by buying direct from the producer at such prices as will remunerate him, taking their chance of the home markets.

5943. There is nothing in the Government regulations or the Government police that prevents the establishment of such an agency?—Nothing whatever; on the contrary, the Government is anxious to give every assistance.

5944. There is no impediment thrown by the Government in the way of the production of cotton in the country?—None whatever; they are willing to assist and support it in every way.

5945. Is the want of means of communication a great impediment to bringing the cotton to the port of shipment?—Yes, that has been a very considerable impediment, but it is diminishing. When we first began to send cotton to Madras, the charge for a cart-load of cotton, which conveys 1,000 lbs., was 20 rupees from Coimbatore to Madras, and at that rate of course it could not in average seasons pay. When the Company sent orders to purchase cotton to be sent home, in order to ascertain experimentally the advantage or disadvantage of ginned or churka-cleaned cotton, I, to lessen that charge, sent it by Cochin. The first season I had to pay 7½ or 7¾ rupees for every cart going to Cariputnam, a cart-load being about 900 lbs. At the time that that was being done, it was represented that the badness of the roads was a very great impediment, and added considerably to the expense of sending. Measures were taken to remedy its defects; that part of the road which passed through the Rajah of Cochin's territory was first improved by the Rajah, and subsequently, the Company improved the road from Coimbatore to where it strikes into the Rajah's territory, and latterly, the cost per cart was reduced to six rupees, with the prospect of lowering it as the road improved. Up to the present time the road is still bad, for an immense traffic having been at once thrown upon it, cut it up faster than it could be kept in repair; but, in the course of a year or two, if carefully attended to, it will become an excellent and most valuable road. The improvement in the road will enable the exporter to diminish to some extent the cost of sending his cotton. But the diminished cost of carriage is a matter of secondary importance as compared with the saving of time, for at first it took 10, 15, or 20 days to take the cotton down to Cariputnam, whereas, latterly, they have taken it down there in about six or seven; eight days was considered a fair average for the carts to go from Coimbatore to Cariputnam in dry weather; there it is put on board boats, and arrives at Cochin in about another day.

5946. Is irrigation necessary for the cultivation of cotton in the district of which you are speaking?—We have not found it necessary; I have tried irrigation, but I hesitate giving an opinion upon the result, inasmuch as I do not think it got a fair trial; it requires to be more frequently repeated under different varieties of seasons. I had only two opportunities of trying it, and on neither of those occasions do I think it received fair play; in the first season we got the monsoon at an unusually early period; in the next the tanks ran dry, so that when most in want of it we had no water.

5947. Mr. Elliot.] Was the cotton much damaged in its way to the coast?—Not at all; because all our cotton, except one or two cart-loads, was half-pressed at Coimbatore; and this pressure, although not sufficient for the purposes of tonnage, was such that, on one occasion, the raft on which it was carried to Cochin was upset, and 10 or a dozen bales thrown into the water and sunk. The whole of it was finally recovered, and it was found that even the surface was not injured; all that was wanted was to put on a fresh packing.

5948. Were those bales transmitted by your own people, or by hired persons?—We transmitted them, but they were conveyed by hired carriages.

5949. Under the charge of a peon?—Under the charge of a peon. The agreement which I entered into with the proprietors of the screws at Cochin, was that I was to deposit the cotton at Cariputnam, and that they were to convey it thence to Cochin, to fully screw it and put it on board. After laying it down

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at Cariputnam I was to have no responsibility with regard to its further transmission and putting on board ship.

5950. That partial screwing beforehand would prevent the possibility of adulteration afterwards?—Yes, it also prevented the possibility of its being injured; I conceive it is impossible that it could be injured, as the result of those bales which were sunk in water for 24 hours proves.

5951. Do you think that any person having a proper agent on the spot, and taking those precautions, might be sure of having their cotton conveyed safely to the coast without adulteration or loss?—Decidedly.

5952. *Chairman.*] Can you give the Committee any estimate as to what price at Liverpool would pay the grower in Coimbatore for the production of this American kind of cotton, to give him a profit?—If this cotton sold for 4*d.* a pound in Liverpool, it would barely leave him a profit. The rate at which the growers were selling it when I left India, would admit of its being sold at that price.

5953. My question is not the price at which the grower is selling, but what price would remunerate the grower, taking into consideration the land tax which he pays, and all the expenses of cultivation for growing this kind of cotton?—From 15 to 17 rupees the candy. I paid more, but that was to encourage and establish the cultivation of a new article. When I left Coimbatore it was selling for 16 rupees, and the grower was well satisfied with that price.

5954. How much is a candy?—Five hundred pounds avoirdupois is the weight of the Coimbatore candy. I was authorised by the Government to proclaim a remuneration equal to twenty rupees a candy as an inducement for them to take the cultivation in hand; being at the same time perfectly satisfied that at that high rate it could never remunerate the merchant who embarked in it as a mercantile speculation. However, when the market ranged as high as 5*d.* or 5½*d.* a pound, it even at that rate gave a profit to the purchaser. When I came away I had much conversation with the natives, who had by this time taken in hand the cultivation upon a large scale, and who are perfectly certain of producing it. They told me that they were prepared to grow the new cotton, as far as their means and land extended, at 16 rupees a candy; that at 16 rupees a candy it allowed a profit of from two to three rupees an acre upon the cost and charges, and land assessment. At that price the purchaser can clean, bale, and lay the cotton down in Liverpool at about 4*d.* a pound.

5955. Can you tell the Committee with what kind of United States cotton that would rank; would it be equal to middling New Orleans, or to what kind of cotton would it be equal in value?—I think our “first sort” cotton was generally ranked as “fair” and “good fair.”

5956. At present prices, it would appear as if that would leave a large profit?—It leaves a large profit at present prices. I observe, by the Liverpool papers to-day, that cotton under that denomination is fetching in Liverpool from 5*d.* to 5½*d.*

5957. How do you explain that there is not English enterprise and English capital in that country for the production of cotton?—I cannot tell. The Manchester people, who are the parties more particularly concerned, will not incur the risk; they wish to throw that upon other people’s shoulders, who are not willing to incur it.

5958. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] If you give 16 rupees a candy for the seed cotton, at what rate should you require to sell it in the Liverpool market to remunerate you?—At 4*d.* 4½*d.*

5959. If you got 4*d.* that would afford a profit?—It would barely do so.

5960. What has been the average price of cotton in the Liverpool market since you first commenced to send the cotton home?—It has varied with the fluctuations of the American cotton; but ours has always borne nearly the same prices in Liverpool as American-grown cotton under the same denomination bore there.

5961. That is the denomination of good cotton?—Our better samples have generally passed as “good fair,” and all others “fair,” according to the quality. We, amongst ourselves, following the native mode of going to work, called it simply first and second sort. Our first sort has passed as “good fair” in the Liverpool market, and our second sort as something inferior to that.

5962. Is the extent of land on which this cotton can be cultivated very large?—I should say from a half to two-thirds of the whole peninsula.

5963. What is the description of land on which this cotton grows best?—Alluvial

Alluvial land. The largest crops that I have seen have been upon old paddy fields, grounds where, from the filling up or emptying of the tank, or from whatever other cause, the water having ceased to be supplied the land has become dry.

5964. When this experiment was first commenced, was there any prejudice on the part of the natives against entering into this new cultivation?—I believe there was. They would not take it up themselves; neither would they follow us.

5965. But that prejudice is now completely overcome?—It is. The impression that existed about Coimbatore was that they disliked it, and held back purposely, not that they had any doubt of the profitableness of engaging their capital in that kind of speculation, but they had some vague uncertain notion that the Company had some sinister object in view in asking them to do it; that Government wanted to raise the rent, or, they could not tell exactly what; but they were under the impression that there was something behind the scenes which they did not see; and therefore they held back, until they felt perfectly assured that there was nothing of the kind intended. They then took it up in earnest, and are now going on, quite satisfied that it is an infinitely more profitable article of cultivation than the native cotton.

5966. Does the ryotwara system prevail in that district?—Yes, but I believe under some modified form; it is so far modified that when the ryot, or any person gets a grant of land, a *puttah*, as it is called there, that it is equivalent to conferring upon him a fee, which cannot be taken from him except by his own act—restoring the *puttah*. So long as he continues to pay his assessments it is his land, and he can grow what he pleases on it.

5967. Are there any wealthy merchants or bankers who advance large sums to the cultivators in seed, cattle, and other things?—I cannot say that there are. There are one or two men there that carry on extensive banking business; but those who are engaged in the cotton trade are all men of second-rate means, who, I believe go to the larger bankers to obtain funds, and who again transact business with the cotton-growers, a sort of middlemen.

5968. There would be no difficulty in any of the wealthy natives entering into this speculation, any more than there would be a difficulty in a joint-stock company at Manchester?—Not the least.

5969. All that is required is a certain command of capital?—A certain command of capital.

5970. Mr. Alderman *Thompson*.] What is the shipping port for the cotton district respecting which you have been speaking?—Cochin; but Ponany and Calicut are both equally available.

5971. Do the ships which load the cotton there come direct to the United Kingdom, or do they convey it in small vessels to Madras or Calcutta?—They come direct. The usual practice which we followed was to engage tonnage in Bombay; those vessels came and touched at Cochin, where there are very considerable facilities for loading; they took in their cargo there, and then went on direct to England.

5972. What is the distance between Cochin and the cotton district you have been describing?—From the town of Coimbatore to Cochin it is about 150 or 160 miles.

5973. How many days does it require, by the present mode of conveyance, to get cotton from the place of growth to the port of shipment?—From Coimbatore to Cochin is about nine or ten days.

5974. If it is nine or ten days' journey, it follows, of course, that the roads must be very bad?—They are a good deal broken up, but they are every year improving; being new, the extensive traffic upon them cuts them up very rapidly; and it requires some years before a road, by perpetual repairs, acquires the firmness and stability which is required to constitute it a good one.

5975. Does not the charge of conveying cotton to the port of shipment form a very considerable item in the cost of the article?—The charge for the conveyance of cotton is not so great as the loss by the loss of time. The time is of much more consequence than the price of conveyance; for when you come to consider that a cart carries easily 900 lbs., and costs six rupees (some were beginning to accept five and a half), the charge per pound is very small, almost inappreciable. But the saving of time, the difference of five or six days on so short distance, is a matter of great importance, especially on a line of coast where the ports close at so early a period of the season.

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5976. By whom is the expense of repairing the roads, and making new roads, delayed?—By the Government.

5977. Have any measures been taken of late years by the Government to improve the roads?—Great measures have been taken for improving the roads, and four or five bridges have been built. Our greatest difficulty was the unbridged rivers which the road crossed. Some bridges had been built, and others were in the course of building, when I left India in February last.

5978. Then, in point of fact, the Indian Government are doing everything they can do to encourage the production of cotton in that particular district with which you are acquainted?—Unquestionably they are.

5979. I understood you to say that considerable facility would be given to the production of cotton, if there was an agency established in that district; cannot the owners of cotton get money advanced by the merchants in India upon the cotton before it is shipped to the United Kingdom?—I am not aware of any difficulty, but there is some risk. The merchant who purchases and embarks the cotton, can, I know, draw against his bill of lading.

5980. There is no agency established for the purchase of indigo at the place where indigo is produced; and that being so, what greater necessity can there exist for having an agency established in the country where cotton is produced?—It strikes me that it is not a parallel case, although it may appear to be so. There is a considerable difference in reality between the two. The indigo cultivation is almost entirely conducted by Europeans; it is conducted by men in connexion with large commercial houses. On the other hand, the cotton cultivation is entirely conducted by natives; those natives are men who live from hand to mouth.

5981. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Has the cotton experiment been tried in any part of Travancore?—I gave seed to several who asked for supplies to try it; but it has never been carried out systematically.

5982. Mr. Hume.] Can you supply the Committee with a statement of the prices at which the cottons to which you have referred can be shipped at Cochin for Liverpool?—The cotton purchased at 16 rupees the candy is cleaned and baled ready for transmission at about 3*d.* a pound; then a penny more conveys it to Liverpool.

5983. Is that price at all a steady market price upon which the producers of cotton can depend?—Yes; I think for the future it will be found one upon which they can generally depend. The fluctuations in the native cotton market are very great; I purchased a large quantity, when I first received the orders of Government upon the subject, at from 5½ to 5¾ rupees; subsequently, it was selling at 7 and 7½, and even 8 rupees.

5984. Mr. Mangles.] Supposing there were for the next three years very large crops in America, and consequently very low prices in America, do you suppose that there would be in that case any effective demand for the cotton of India?—To this extent there would, that so long as American cotton does not sink below 4*d.* in Liverpool, then India can compete with the American growers.

5985. Is it not the fact that the merchants and manufacturers of this country do not, generally speaking, resort to India for cotton, except when there is a failure of the American crop, or high prices in America?—I believe that is the fact.

5986. Is it reasonable that they should expect to have a steady supply from India just when they want it, if they have not been resorting to that country for a supply for several years before?—Decidedly not; they have no right to expect to get a steady supply unless they will themselves encourage it, taking the average of seasons; and that is the objection which is always raised by the merchants in India. They say, "The Manchester people are willing enough to purchase our cotton when laid down in England, but they will not incur any risk themselves by occasionally purchasing in a dear market, and consuming the article in a cheaper one. We cannot afford to incur that risk; they can, and, for their own sakes, ought to do so."

Jovis, 9^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. Baring.
Mr. Mangles,
Mr. Elliot,
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Labouchere,
Mr. Milner Gibson.

Mr. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Hume.
Sir G. Grey.
Sir J. W. Hogg.
Mr. Ellice.
Sir C. Wood.
Mr. Hardinge.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Ralph Moore, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

5987. *Chairman.*] IS there any portion of your former evidence which you wish to explain?—I wish to reply to a question of Sir Herbert Maddock, which I had not an opportunity on the last occasion of replying to in full. The question asked me by the Honourable Member was, No. 5875, "Is there any impediment to a gentleman like yourself settling in any part of India and carrying on cultivation or trade?" My answer was, "I was in India as a covenanted free merchant; there is no impediment now; there was then."

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5988. What do you wish to correct or explain in that answer?—There is no impediment, at least no open impediment to a European settling in the country, though a former witness, Mr. Leith, alluded to an antagonism between the indigo planters and the civil servants, caused, as he thought, by the latter now enjoying trade which the former possessed; but an Englishman has no redress from the servants of the Company when he settles in the interior. I will cite cases on that subject if I may be allowed. In 1849, the district judge of Pornea gagged a European gentleman, Mr. Cruise, in open court. I knew this gentleman's family in Ireland, and I know he obtained no redress; nothing was done to the judge; he was allowed to come home to this country with his pension. Again, a short time since, it was reported from India that an indigo planter had been imprisoned by a magistrate of the name of Woodcock. The country prisons are not fit to confine natives in, not to say Europeans; however, the latter are rarely seen within their walls.

5989. *Sir G. Grey.*] When did those occurrences take place?—Within the last few years; the first occurrence took place, as I said before, in 1849; the other during the last year.

5990. *Chairman.*] Are you aware what the cause of the imprisonment was?—I am not aware what the cause of imprisonment was, but I am aware that the Governor-general, Lord Dalhousie, removed the magistrate from his appointment. There was another case to which I can refer, the case of Mr. Hay. There has been a most excellent pamphlet published by Mr. Prinsep, late of the Bengal civil service, in which he states that he wishes civil servants to be tried, not upon their covenant, but like every other European. Mr. Melvill quite agrees with me in opinion, that it would give very great satisfaction if this were carried out. We do not know, when a civil servant commits any offence, that he is subjected to any trial at all; in fact, you have it in evidence from one of themselves, that "a civil servant may be corrupt with impunity." No European likes to settle in the interior when the laws are so uncertain, and there is so little judicial responsibility.

5991. *Mr. Hume.*] What would you suggest in order to remove the complaints which you say exist, and to encourage the settlement of Europeans in the country?—A reform of the laws, and of the mode of administering them. When we consider the benefits already conferred upon the country by the industry,

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energy, and intelligence of indigo planters in creating a monopoly in the article of indigo, which has superseded that of the Dutch, any legislative improvement tending to encourage the residence of Europeans in the Mofussil may be regarded as an object of importance in a mercantile and financial point of view.

5992. State the particulars of the reform which you would introduce?—I would introduce the English law as far as it is practicable. That is what we want; we do not wish to be tried by one law and the natives by another. No Englishman has any objection, if the law is fair, to be subject to it; but the argument used hitherto has been, that as soon as Europeans are oppressed by the law, they will exert themselves to effect its reform.

5993. Sir G. Grey.] Do you mean that your remedy would be the introduction throughout India of the English law?—I would not say altogether the English law, but a modification of it suitable to the country, and by which men can have justice.

5994. Mr. Hume.] You mean to say that an English settler in any of the districts in the interior is not tried in that manner, and does not receive that protection which you think ought to be awarded to him?—That is my decided opinion.

5995. And you have offered one or two instances which you think support that view?—Yes; as far as my humble judgment goes.

5996. Does not the fact of Lord Dalhousie having removed one public officer show that in that case at any rate the Government were sufficiently attentive to the complaints?—Sometimes a man is immolated at the shrine of public opinion, but this is of very rare occurrence indeed.

5997. What means would you adopt to secure that confidence, and to give that protection which you think are requisite to induce Europeans to settle in the country?—I think if English barristers were introduced throughout the country, and the courts were conducted upon the principle of our County Courts, justice might be cheaply and efficiently dispensed. Englishmen would then settle in the interior just as readily as they do now under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

5998. Chairman.] Do you think that that measure would be as satisfactory to the native population as it would be to the Europeans?—I think so.

5999. Though the English barrister of course must be ignorant of the language of the natives?—A year or two would enable an English barrister to acquire a competent knowledge of the language.

6000. Mr. Ellis.] Are the Committee to understand you to say that a civil servant is not subject to any law?—I think he is irresponsible to a very great extent.

6001. Do you mean to say that if a civil servant commits a crime he is not amenable to any law?—I do not think he is. The practice has been for one or two gentlemen of the same service to be deputed by the Government to try the case; the party is tried; he is suspended; but we do not know what he has done. He appeals to the Court of Directors, and if he has strong and powerful friends at home he is reinstated.

6002. You are now talking of misconduct committed as a public officer?—I am.

6003. I am speaking of a crime which a civilian may commit; if a civilian commits a crime is not he amenable to the same law as anybody else?—I do not think he is.

6004. Do you mean that if a civil servant were to commit a murder or a robbery, or any other crime of that kind, he would not be as amenable to the laws of the country as anybody else?—For those acts he certainly would.

6005. What you mean to say is this: that if he conducts himself in a manner which gives dissatisfaction to some person with whom he has to deal officially, there is no punishment for him except upon a reference to his superior officer?—There is no open court; the public know nothing of what he has been accused of, or anything else. In fact, you will find it so stated by a most distinguished officer, Mr. Prinsep, if you refer to page 29 of his pamphlet; he wishes this to be changed. That such a change would give great satisfaction to residents in India, both native and European, I am certain.

6006. When you say that a civil servant is not liable to any law, do you mean to say that he is not liable to be tried in a court of justice for malversation in his office,

office, or for misconduct as a public officer?—That is what I mean; he is tried by different laws to what the uncovenanted servants and others are.

6007. Is that what you mean by your expression?—I mean whenever he does anything wrong in his office the practice has been to send a commission into the interior to inquire into his conduct; there are instances where men have been found guilty by their peers; they have been suspended; and so frequently have they (on the case being referred home to the Court of Directors) been restored to the service, that we judge of a man's chance of escape or otherwise from the influence he may have in this country.

6008. Mr. *Hume*.] Do you complain that publicity is not given in cases where complaints are made and inquiries take place, and that you and the people of India have no means of knowing that any reversal of the sentence has been arrived at?—Yes.

6009. Then it is in the secrecy with which these matters are conducted that you think the principal evil lies?—Yes.

6010. Mr. *Mangles*.] Will you state an instance in which a civil servant has been committed in India, and suspended from the service, and the case having been sent home, the sentence has been reversed by the Court of Directors?—I will do so; I will not state names; but every one who has served in India, and the Honourable Member himself, must remember the case. The conduct of a certain individual had become notorious, and at last the Government were necessitated to take notice of it. Two gentlemen distinguished in the service, one since a member of Council, were sent up to try this man; he was suspended; he appealed to the Court of Directors; it so happened that this man's father was a dignitary of the Church, and could return the Member for the borough where his church was; a peremptory order came back to Lord William Bentinck; there were three persons present when the order arrived, the man himself, Mr. Pakenham the secretary, and Lord William Bentinck. His Lordship said, "Here is a peremptory order to restore you to the service; I will not do so, and I will place such a minute on record that no other man succeeding me shall dare to do so."

6011. That case under Lord William Bentinck must have taken place before the last Charter?—It did.

6012. Did it take place when Lord William Bentinck was Governor-general, or when he was Governor of Madras?—When he was Governor-general. I can state a case which is within the period of the last Charter; a judge was tried; he was found incapable of serving on the judicial bench any longer. The consequence was that he was appointed to one of the most lucrative offices in the service.

6013. By the Court of Directors?—I do not know by whom.

6014. In what year was that?—I cannot exactly state the year, it was in the time of Lord Auckland.

6015. Mr. *Elliot*.] Was that gentleman removed from his office for anything disgraceful in his conduct, or merely from being inefficient as a judge?—I think it was more than inefficiency.

6016. Do you know the facts?—It is exceedingly difficult to arrive at anything like the truth under a despotic form of government; it is only from the prevailing report of the time that we can gain any information.

6017. This evidence which you are now giving us is from the current report of the time?—I had this from a gentleman in the civil service.

6018. *Chairman*.] In what Presidency did this last case occur?—In Bengal.

6019. Mr. *Elliot*.] Are you aware that where an accusation is brought against a civil servant, and where it is determined to appoint a commission to investigate the case, the first step which is taken is to suspend him from his office?—I am aware of it.

6020. Having been suspended from his office, he is removed from his station, where the inquiry takes place, and the inquiry generally takes place in his absence?—That is not always the case. There is a case going on at this present moment in which a judge is being tried on the Bengal side of India; he is being tried in the station where he has been judge for many years.

6021. He is not holding office?—No.

6022. Mr. *Hume*.] Will you state what you mean by his being tried; is he being tried in open court or by a commission?—It is by a commission, and not in open court.

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6023. Is the complaint you make that publicity is not given, and the public are not made acquainted with what passes in those cases of inquiry?—I beg to say, it is not my individual complaint; it is the complaint of the community.

6024. *Chairman.*] Is there any other explanation which you wish to give?—With respect to the commercial character of the natives, they are very instrumental in the realisation of the revenue, and I wish to state one circumstance regarding them. They carry on large banking establishments in all parts of the country, and the trade and the collection of revenue of the country are very much facilitated by their means. There is a practice which they have which may convey, through my humble means, a lesson to this country. An Honourable Member stated the other day, the language in which their bills of exchange are generally drawn; they are drawn in a peculiar manner. Sometimes, in this country, a large sum is fraudulently substituted for a small one in bills of exchange; I have never seen a dishonoured bill of exchange in India, and they are remarkably rare. They are drawn thus:—"Please to pay A. B. or C. 100 L., half the sum of which is 50 L." If that form were adopted here, it would make the substitution of a large sum for a small one very difficult.

6025. *Mr. Hume.*] Have you had a great deal of intercourse with the natives?—Yes.

6026. What is your opinion of the natives, as to their capacity for business generally?—You would find very few men that would equal them, I imagine; I have seen as much of the native character as most living men.

6027. Taking them as commercial men, do you think they approximate in any degree to Europeans?—I do.

6028. Have you taken an opportunity of attending the courts of law where they sit as judges?—I have not had much opportunity of doing so.

6029. You are aware that they decide the greater portion of the suits in India?—I am.

6030. Have you heard many complaints against them of bribery, corruption, or improper proceedings?—On the contrary, I have heard many speak in their favour.

6031. Do you mean to say that you have not heard of perjury in the witnesses, and bribery in the judges, in the native courts of law?—I have heard of the perjury of witnesses, and I believe it to exist; I have heard of bribery in the case of some of the native judges, but I have no means of saying whether the charges were true or no.

6032. Would you place confidence in the proceedings and the judgment of a native moonsiff?—If he were better paid I should certainly place every confidence in him; at present, he is very badly paid.

6033. Do you consider that an improved amount of pay, commensurate with their station, would make them better judges, and more to be depended on?—Decidedly. With respect to the police, there are now 800,000 persons to one magistrate; and he has an area of 3,000 square miles. Now, if this area were divided into four or six circles, and a deputy magistrate were put in the centre of each of those circles, you would have justice brought to every man's door, and there would be a different state of affairs to that which exists now. There are many Europeans in the country acquainted with the language who would make very excellent deputy magistrates. There is another class of people to whom I would allude, that is the country-born population. They make most excellent servants. The Honourable Member, Mr. Mangles, may remember receiving a letter, when he was Secretary of Bengal, giving the case of one of those country-born judges, Mr. Ricketts, dying, and a great portion of the population of Gya, amounting to several thousands, followed his remains to the grave. The letter was written by Mr. Cuthbert, the district judge, and addressed to the Honourable Member.

6034. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Then it does appear that those people are occasionally employed?—Not so much as they ought to be; you would get rid of a great evil by employing them; they would remain in the country, whereas an Englishman, as soon as he scrapes together a sufficient amount of money to reside here, leaves it.

6035. *Mr. Elliot.*] Has not it been the custom of the Government to employ many persons not in the covenanted service of the Company?—Very few.

6036. Has not the number increased considerably?—The number has somewhat increased, but there are very few still.

6037. *Mr.*

6037. Mr. *Hume*.] Is it your opinion, that not only the natives but the half-caste population should be and could be more usefully employed than they hitherto have been?—The country-born population certainly might be employed; they have made excellent soldiers, good judges, and now do work which the civil servants used to do before. They write most of the despatches which come home to the Court of Directors, and many of them are uncovenanted assistants in the principal offices in Calcutta at the present moment.

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6038. Mr. *Elliot*.] Then there is no disinclination on the part of the Government to employ those persons?—Yes; if they employed those persons, the patronage of the Court of Directors would be thereby diminished.

6039. You said that many of the clerks in the office came from that range of society?—There are some few Europeans, but the greater proportion came from that class.

6040. Then there is no disinclination on the part of the Government to employ them?—They could not at the time get anybody else.

John Forbes Royle, Esq., M. D., called in; and Examined.

6041. *Chairman*.] AT what period were you in India, and what were your duties?—I was in the medical service of India, and in charge of one of the Company's Botanical Gardens in Saharunpore in the north-west of India.

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6042. During what period?—From 1823 to 1832; about nine years I had charge of the garden, and was altogether 12 years in India.

6043. What is your position now?—I have an office in the India House. I am consulted on subjects connected with any experimental culture which is going on in India, and when any scientific opinions are required regarding the vegetable kingdom; and upon the products of India in general.

✓ 6044. Have you turned your attention to the question of the cultivation of cotton, and can you explain the complaints which are made as to the deficient supplies of cotton from India?—The question ought to be divided between Indian cotton and American cotton; as irregularity of demand for Indian, and general unsuitableness of climate for the American kind of cotton, impede supplies. India is capable of supplying a large quantity of Indian cotton, if the people here want it; but only particular districts produce cotton fit for the general purposes of the manufacture here.

6045. The Indian cotton is inferior in quality to American cotton?—It is shorter in the staple and very difficult for the spinners here to use; there is great waste in spinning it, and it is little employed except when American cotton is very dear; therefore the irregularity in the demand is the great reason why more Indian cotton does not come here.

6046. That irregularity of demand is a question of price in the consuming markets, is not it?—It is a question of price. But the spinners here will not use it when American cotton is moderate in price or cheap; they only use it when American cotton is dear; then they use Indian cotton to keep their manufactories employed, and for the purpose of mixing also with American cotton.

6047. In the manufacture of cotton there is greater waste produced by the use of Indian cotton?—Much greater waste.

✓ 6048. Does your experience justify you in saying that there is any mode of improving the quality of the cotton grown in India?—I think Indian cotton in particular districts is good enough for general purposes. For example, the districts of Broach and Surat produce good cotton, which can be used here, but I believe, taking the Broach district, nearly one-third of it is cultivated already with cotton. That is all that can be cultivated, because in the rotation of crops cotton only comes in every third year. Bengal cotton, people here will not use; that is the cotton which comes from the North-western Provinces; it is too short in staple. But the cotton of Kandeish, of the South Mahratta country, and of the south of India, as well as of Central India, is good enough for many purposes. I think, if the natives paid more attention to keep the cotton in a clean state, much more of it would be used. The ryots are very careless in the mode of picking it, and they afterwards allow dirt to mix with it; then others systematically adulterate it. All these things prevent the larger employment of Indian cotton. All the expenses have to be paid as much upon dirty as upon clean cotton.

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cotton. A manufacturer here gives a proportionately less price for what he knows is adulterated, and therefore there is less profit for all parties. This also, to a great extent, impedes the use of the cotton.

6049. Does that arise from the ignorance of the natives how to prepare the cotton, or does it arise from the price not being sufficiently remunerative to induce them to take the trouble which is required?—I think there are too many hands between the cultivator and the exporter from Bombay, which is the chief exporting place at present, and some make up their profits by adulteration whenever there is a fall in price. The adulteration of Broach cotton is quite a systematic business; exposing it to the dews at night; after they have taken the seed out, scattering it in again; and other means of adulteration are systematically practised, and are described by all the persons who have been on the spot.

6050. Does not the sample show the quality of the cotton, and regulate the price accordingly at Bombay?—I do not think it does; dirty cotton seems to be bought there as readily as clean, when orders come from this country.

6051. Would not there be a proportionately higher price given for a better quality?—People say that the price is not in proportion to the goodness; those who have taken the trouble say that the proportionate price of clean cotton does not pay for the extra trouble, but that even more profit is to be got from dirty than from clean cotton. One gentleman, Mr. Landon, has established himself in the Broach district for the purpose of doing away with these very evils; he has established a steam apparatus for cleansing cotton; he buys cotton from the cultivators, cleans it, and ships it in large quantities to European China, and I believe is doing remarkably well; he was over here during the Exhibition, made no complaint, but said that in a few more years he should make his fortune.

6052. Are there any measures which can be suggested to be taken by the Government of India, which would improve the cultivation of cotton there?—I think they should punish systematic adulteration, and the Government have attempted to do so in two or three instances. Lately complaints were made that upon the cotton in Dharwar, in the southern part of the Bombay Presidency, getting into repute, the natives began to adulterate, and sent cotton from the Madras Presidency into the Bombay district. One of the last communications I saw contained a request to the Madras Government to prevent that adulteration in the district belonging to that government.

6053. Has that been successful?—I have not heard whether it has been successful or not.

6054. Are there more establishments besides that of Mr. Landon, of which you spoke?—I think there are; Messrs. Stuart & Ritchie, I believe, have an establishment in Kandeish.

6055. To what extent is cotton cultivated in India for the use of the natives themselves?—It is very difficult to say, the quantity grown is very large; it occupies many parts of the country to the extent of one-third, or one-fourth, of the whole cultivation in patches in different places. They use it for all their home purposes; their families spin it; perhaps the cultivator himself weaves it; they wear it for all their ordinary dresses; they use it for padding their winter clothing; their substitutes for blankets, which are calico cloths or counterpanes, are padded with cotton. For tents, ropes, and other purposes a large portion of cotton is used in India. For the purpose of padding, of course dirty cotton serves as well as clean.

6056. What is the state of the cultivation of cotton in the different Presidencies and in the centre of India?—In the West of India the cultivation is very good. They adopt the drill husbandry on that side of India; they cultivate it by itself, not intermixed with other crops. The natives often collect it in a sufficiently clean state, but they sell it to middlemen, who are the great adulterators of cotton in India. In Central India it is also good. On the side of India which I am personally acquainted with the cotton cultivation is extremely careless; it is intermixed with other cultivation, and the cotton is allowed to hang till the leaves get withered and it drops on the ground, and in that way it gets mixed with dirt; that is in the North-western Provinces, and also in Bundelcund, and in Oude. On all that side of India the cultivation of cotton is very imperfect.

6057. Does the cultivation of the American plant pay better than that of the indigenous plant?—In a climate suitable to the plant; it is, however, more difficult to rear in India; the difficulty arising from the nature of the climate.

Experiments

Experiments have been made down at Dacca, where none of the difficulties ordinarily alleged against the cultivation exist; there they have the permanent settlement; they have rivers running close to the farms, and the people are very anxious to cultivate; because since they have lost the whole of their manufacture, which used to be exported to the extent of 12 lacs and upwards, they are very willing to cultivate anything which will succeed. An American planter was placed there for five years, but he failed entirely, from the nature of the climate; the climate at one time was too dry, at another time the crop was inundated, and almost always destroyed by insects, which are very injurious to American cotton.

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6058. Is irrigation applied much to the cultivation of cotton?—In India the general period of cultivation is during the rainy season in which you do not require irrigation; you have an abundant supply of moisture from the rains. The difficulty there is that immediately after the rains cease, that is, after three months' growth, you have a dry and clean climate succeeding a very moist and dull one. In the month of October, for instance, the plants which were previously doing well, wither, the leaves fall off, and as the Americans express it, they have to go through the whole figure again; that is, they produce new leaves and new flowers, and some cotton after that. I have here a diagram (*producing the same*) I beg to produce as showing the great difference of climate in the different seasons of India.

✓ 6059. It is the difference of climate which prevents the quality of American cotton being so good in India as in America?—It prevents the cultivation of American cotton over a great part of India.

6060. And irrigation would not produce the same effect in India as it does in Egypt?—You have here an intensely moist climate during the rainy season; you have a great deal of rain for three months, and during that season you want rather to reduce the moisture than to add to it. At the conclusion of the rainy season, you might, I think, sometimes save the crop by irrigating.

6061. Is there any information which you can give to the Committee as to the nature of the experiments which have been made relative to the growth of cotton in India?—I think the experiments failed in Bengal itself from the excessive moisture. In the north-west four American planters had four farms, but failed from the excessive drought. One removed from these to Gorruckpore; he complained of the uncertainty of the climate, and of the destruction by insects. One planter was established in Dacca for a considerable time. The same person has now gone to Scinde. The cultivation in Scinde, I think, is more likely to be benefited by irrigation than other parts of India, because there there is a climate which is free from these alternations of dryness and moisture. One of the only two places where American cotton is doing well is Coimbatore, which Dr. Wight is well acquainted with; and the other is the district of Dharwar, the southward part of the Bombay Presidency. The cultivation of American cotton has gone on continuously there since the first experiment, and it now occupies about 50,000 acres. I have before me a despatch written at the end of November 1851, giving a report of the cultivation up to that time, the quantity of American cotton which has been grown, and the number of saw gins which were in use by the natives, and belonging to themselves. The experiment consisted of two parts; one was to grow the plant, and the other to clean the cotton; when the American saw gins were sent out, they were found to be too large. The natives did not like such large instruments, and small ones were made to suit their tastes by the Government engineer. A number of these have been sold, I think, to the extent of 170, to individual growers of cotton in the district. Mr. Blount, who was the American in charge there, states, that up to the end of November 1851, the quantity of acres in cultivation of American cotton amounted to 48,147. He contrasts the cultivation in 1850 with that in 1851, showing a considerable increase both of the exotic and also of the indigenous cotton.

[The following Table was delivered in.]

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STATEMENT showing the extent of COTTON CULTIVATION in the *Dharwar* Collectorate,
in the Years 1850 and 1851.

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ZILLA.	LANDS PLANTED WITH COTTON.												
	Year.	Acres of Exotic.		Increase.	Decrease.	Acres of Indigenous.		Increase.	Decrease.	Total extent of Cultivation.	Increase.	Decrease.	
		Acres.	Gontas.	Acres.	Gontas.	Acres.	Gontas.	Acres.	Gontas.	Acres.	Gontas.	Acres.	Gontas.
Dharwar	1851	42,647	25			221,676	9			264,323	34		
Ditto	1850	31,668	36	10,978		223,314	14			254,983	26		
								1,638				9,340	

6062. Mr. Hume.] Is the cultivation by the natives in the ordinary course of agriculture, without any assistance from the Company?—Entirely by the natives themselves; the planters there engaging to buy the cotton from them at so much per maund.

6063. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Do those papers which you have spoken of show the relative productiveness of an acre in India and in America?—These papers do not. But I have written a book giving all the details upon that subject. There is an immense difference between the productiveness of an acre in America and an acre in India, but I believe that cotton can be produced as cheaply in India as in America.

6064. Mr. Hume.] Are you aware of the nature of the picking of cotton in Bundelcund, commonly called Mirzapore cotton?—I did not pay much attention to the picking when there, but I saw the cultivation; I have since heard that cotton is well grown in Central India, as well as in Nagpore, and along the Nerbudda.

6065. Are you aware whether they have adopted the American plan of picking the pods from time to time, so as to get the best samples at one time, leaving the refuse rather to the last?—I do not know much of Central India; that practice has been introduced several times in other parts of India, but it is very difficult to get the natives to adopt it; they let the cotton hang as long as it will, and then pick it altogether.

6066. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Have you any means of stating the relative value of that cotton which is called Oomrawatty, and the other cottons which grow on the banks of the Nerbudda, and in Bundelcund?—The Bundelcund cotton goes down the Ganges, and is generally known by the name of Bengal cotton. I have had specimens of the two cottons, and those cottons from Bundelcund are generally very much shorter in staple than the Oomrawatty cotton.

6067. Are not you aware that the Berar cotton is considered to be by far the best native cotton which grows in any part of India, with the exception of some very limited districts?—It is the best, except the Broach and Surat cotton. I believe they are as good cottons.

6068. Are you aware which is the superior, the Broach and Surat cotton, or Oomrawatty cotton?—I think the Broach and Surat cotton are superior generally, but there are specimens of Berar cotton which are very fine.

6069. Are you aware whether any portion of the Berar cotton finds its way to Bombay for exportation?—Large quantities.

6070. A large quantity is also sent by the road, which has been opened of late years to Mirzapoor?—Yes, a large quantity.

6071. Mr. Hume.] Are you able to state to the Committee what the relative price of the cotton exported from Bombay, and the cotton exported from Bengal, is in the China market?—I do not know at present, but the exports from Calcutta to China have almost entirely ceased, while those from Bombay have greatly increased; the chief export now is from Bombay to China. I have endeavoured to show the proportion of the exports in another diagram (*producing the same*).

6072. Sir

6072. Sir G. Grey.] The quantity shipped to England, you say, is regulated by the price in England?—By the price, entirely; whenever the price of American cotton is high, large quantities of Indian cotton come here; and whenever the price is low, the quantities immediately fall off. The only exception was, that during the time of the Chinese war, not having an export to China, the whole of it came to this country. That is shown in another diagram which I have prepared (*producing the same*).

6073. Chairman.] Can you give the Committee an idea of the average yearly export to England and to China, taking 10 years as a basis?—About 500,000 bales have been frequently exported to England and China together, and I think nearly the same quantity was sent to England as to China in some years.

6074. Sir G. Grey.] You said that cotton could be produced in India as cheaply as in America?—Quite as cheaply; perhaps more cheaply.

6075. You do not think that it can be brought into the market here on equal terms as American cotton, do you?—I think it can; I speak from the evidence I have received from those well acquainted with the subject by whom the calculation has been made, that, taking the expense of buying from the natives, and paying all the expenses on it, Indian cotton can come here as cheaply as American cotton.

6076. Then how is it that the American cotton drives the Indian cotton out of the market, except when the price of the former is very high?—The American cotton is a very superior cotton, and will always be used whenever it can be got at a moderate price. The cotton from Dharwar, however, sells nearly for the same price as New Orleans cotton.

6077. Is it the fact that American cotton grown in India is inferior to American cotton grown in America?—It is slightly inferior.

6078. Sir T. H. Maddock.] A previous witness has stated, that the cotton of Coimbatore sells in the Indian market on a par with cotton of the same description from America?—It does; it sells for very nearly the same price.

6079. Mr. R. H. Clive.] Does the superior cotton of India obtain the same price that the superior cotton of America obtains?—The superior cotton of America has a long staple, and the price of it goes far beyond the price of anything produced in India.

6080. The long staple cotton cannot be grown in India, can it?—It has been grown, but in too small a quantity to be of any value.

6081. Chairman.] Is there a greater waste in American cotton grown in India than in American cotton from America itself?—I was present at some experiments made in Manchester, when cotton coming from India was actually found to have less waste than that coming from America, the two cottons having been bought for the same price in the market.

6082. Sir J. W. Hogg.] The native is sure of a market in India for the Indian cotton which he grows?—Yes.

6083. The American cotton is grown, I believe, at a considerably greater expense, and the grower can only be remunerated by a price to be obtained in England, and not in India?—I have not been able to find that the expense of growing American cotton is greater than that of growing Indian cotton; as far as I learn, the expense is very nearly the same; there seems no greater care adopted in India in growing American cotton than in growing Indian cotton; the returns per acre are generally larger, and the proportion of cotton to the seed is also larger. Therefore everything is in favour of their growing American cotton instead of Indian cotton in climates which are suited to it.

6084. You are aware of the mode in which indigo is grown in India?—I know it generally.

6085. I believe the whole of the indigo crop in India is grown by a system of advances made by the resident indigo planters to the ryots?—I believe so, almost entirely.

6086. And the planter stipulates to give a prescribed price to the ryot for all the weed he may cultivate?—Yes.

6087. So that the ryot is certain of a fixed price for all that he grows?—Yes.

6088. Do you believe that if a similar course were adopted with regard to cotton, and if the planter stipulated to give a fixed price to the ryot for the American cotton which he might grow, there would be a prospect of the result being the same?—I believe nothing else is required but to have agents

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interested in the produce making advances to the ryots themselves, and dealing with them directly in situations where the climate is favourable to the growth of American cotton. Dealing directly with the ryots is the great question after all.

6089. Would the system which I have suggested also do away with that practice of adulteration which arises from the cotton passing through a great many hands?—Entirely, I believe.

6090. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Is the American cotton which is grown in India an annual?—It is cultivated as an annual. It can be grown for two or three years; but it was found that the produce of successive years was so much diminished, that in most instances it was found preferable to go through the whole expense of the cultivation every year.

6091. Is that the system pursued in America?—Yes; there they have not always the option, because the frosts destroy the plants; but still the largest crops are produced from the annual plant.

6092. Mr. *Hume*.] After all the inquiries which you have made, are you able to point out any assistance which could be given by the Company to forward the growth of cotton beyond what has been already given?—I am not aware of any assistance which is required in the Company's territories. The districts suited to the growth of American cotton are all near the sea. The roads should be kept in order, and that to Kandeish improved. Central India requires a better communication with the coast, in order to produce a greater quantity of cotton. I think it possible that American cotton might be grown there, but the experiment has not been made.

6093. Mr. *Labouchere*.] Has the experiment been tried to any extent?—Captain Meadows Taylor has made the experiment in Shorapore, which is a dependency of the Nizam.

6094. What distance is that from the sea?—It comes down to Dharwar; it is that projecting neck of the Nizam's territories.

6095. Mr. *Elliot*.] Can you state what would be the comparative remuneration which a ryot would receive from the cultivation of cotton, and of any grain which he might cultivate instead?—It varies in different years; they are very ready to cultivate cotton whenever there is a demand for it. In the proportion of one-third or one-fourth of their crops, they prefer it to merely sowing grain crops, there is usually a great glut of these grain crops in the interior.

6096. If an agent on the part of some capitalist, or body of capitalists, were established at any spot for the purpose of cultivating cotton, you think there would be no fear of his always obtaining as much cotton as he chose to take upon advances made by him?—I think not. These American planters have been acting for the last three or four years as agents; they have not been planting at all. They first planted a little to show how the thing should be done, and then they agreed to take whatever the natives grew. That has been done, and the natives have bought those saw gins to the number which I mentioned before. These were made for them, and sold at about cost price; they go on buying them every year, so that they are extending the culture of their own accord.

6097. Are those agents American speculators?—No; the Government have established a manufactory for these saw gins. They find they can make them cheaper there than they could import them from America, and as good.

6098. Are you aware of any reason why persons should not engage in that manner in India in the cultivation of cotton, exactly as they engage in the cultivation of indigo?—The profits are much less upon cotton than they are upon indigo. In favourable seasons the profits upon indigo are very large, and those upon cotton must be very small, because the surface to be covered is large, and the returns per acre are very small in India to what they are in America; I have been sometimes blamed for saying too much, and at other times for saying too little. I calculated 100 pounds of clean cotton an acre as the return in India, but other returns I have seen give only 50 pounds, and some as high as 200 pounds.

6099. Mr. *Labouchere*.] Do you know what the stipulated prices have been which those agents have given to the growers?—The prices are all stated in the work which I have published; with all the expenses paid, those cottons have cost about three-pence halfpenny, landed in Liverpool.

6100. They have been fixed prices?—They have fixed at the beginning of the season that they will buy at such a rate.

6101. Is

6101. Is that the same system which is pursued with regard to indigo?—I should think the system is more stringent with regard to indigo; larger prices have been given as the demand for American cotton has increased.

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6102. Mr. Elliot.] Are you aware that great complaints have been made on the part of persons at Manchester, that sufficient exertions have not been made to assist them in obtaining cotton from India; supposing a certain number of gentlemen were to send out capital to India, and to employ an agent at one or two places for the purpose of procuring the cultivation of cotton and having it sent down and shipped for themselves, would not they be able to procure cotton in almost any quantity which they might require, at the most moderate price at which the people of India can produce it?—Yes; I know of nothing to prevent that being done; I can see no difficulty in it myself.

6103. Mr. Mangles.] What comparison would the best Indian American cotton bear to the best American cotton grown in America?—There are many varieties of short staple cotton from America; the American cotton grown in India sells for very nearly the same price as New Orleans cotton.

6104. Is there any grown in India at all upon a par with the Sea Island cotton?—None; some small quantities have been grown, but there is no climate suited for the growth of long staple cotton to any extent.

6105. Chairman.] Have any other experimental cultures been undertaken by the Government?—The culture of tea has been undertaken by the Indian Government for some years; it was first attempted in 1835; I myself recommended it in 1827, and again in the year 1834. In 1842 the first tea was manufactured. The culture is now going on to a considerable extent all through the North-west Himalayas, that is in the hills beyond Delhi, and in that direction. The experiment commenced at the same time with the culture in Assam. It was thought at that time that Assam was more favourable as regards climate for tea culture than the North-western portion of the Himalayas; I was always of a contrary opinion, from a comparison of the climate of China with that of the districts in those mountains which I knew. I believe I am quite justified in saying that it is proved that the climate of the Himalayas is perfectly suitable, as well as the soil, for the cultivation of the best kinds of China tea.

6106. What led to the first experiment?—It was suggested by several individuals, myself among the number, that the climate seemed to be favourable for the cultivation of tea. When Lord William Bentinck visited Saharunpore, where I was, I recommended it to him; it was afterwards taken up by his Lordship, and subsequently by Lord Auckland, and very strenuously by Lord Hardinge when he was in the North-west; and it is now extended from the part called Kumaon into Gurhwal, and from thence into the newly-acquired Sikh territories; into the Kangra Valley, for instance. Immediately after Lord Hardinge acquired that territory, a survey was made to see if it was not suited for the cultivation of tea. The officer deputed, Dr. Jameson, reported it to be as favourable as any part of the old territories; plants were immediately sent and grown, and by this last mail I have received some tea grown in that very district, which I can produce to the Committee. In other parts, I believe, the cultivation amounts to about 1,000 acres; and immense quantities of seed are being sown every year (*a specimen of the Kangra tea was shown*).

6107. Whence was the seed originally obtained?—The first seed was obtained before the Chinese war. A deputation was sent with Mr. Gordon and Mr. Gutzlaff to get seeds; they only, however, got access to the southern districts of China, and they obtained their seeds from thence. All the teas which have been manufactured since then have the Ankoy flavour, as if they were made by manufacturers ignorant of the process of making tea in the north of China. In consequence of the success of the experiment, Mr. Fortune was sent to China; he visited both the black tea district and the green tea district; he brought with him 20,000 plants, and conveyed them to the Himalayas, and he brought eight manufacturers of green teas, &c., from the northern districts of China. I have also received by this mail some tea made by those men, which is in the room (*these specimens were also produced*).

6108. Mr. Mangles.] Do you know anything of the Assam cultivation?—I do not know much of it, but I do not think it is so good as the other.

6109. You are aware that that bears the highest price of any tea in the English market?—Yes; for mixing with other teas; it is used by grocers for mixing, I believe.

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6110. Does not it give strength to other teas?—I do not think so.

6111. Are you aware that the average price last year of pure Assam tea sent to England has been 1s. 8½d. per lb.?—It sells very high, but I understand it is used entirely for mixing.

6112. Sir G. Grey.] Does the tea which is known to be mixed with Assam tea sell at a higher price than the tea which is supposed not to be mixed?—I do not suppose people know whether it is mixed or not.

6113. Mr. Mangles.] Are you aware that when the Assam Company were told they might apply, and probably would obtain if they did apply, for a share of the plants and seeds brought by Mr. Fortune to India, their answer was that they had a better indigenous tea plant than existed in China, as measured by the value of the article made from it in the English market, when compared with the value of the article made from the Chinese plant, and that they accordingly declined to apply for any of Mr. Fortune's plants and seeds?—I do not think they have a climate suited to grow the tea plant of China; I do not think the Assam climate suited to the genuine tea plant; it is too moist and damp.

6114. Do not you think, speaking commercially and not botanically, the measure of the value of a plant is its commercial price?—I should be very happy to test this tea of Kumaon against the Assam tea. Whenever it is produced in sufficient quantities, I have no doubt it will sell at as high prices, without being required for mixing with anything else.

6115. Sir G. Grey.] Should you state that the quality of the tea that comes from India is improving?—Decidedly so; the green teas made by the first manufacturers were said not to be of the kind of manufacture which is adapted to this country; they were more like the teas of the southern districts; but the teas just arrived, the gunpowder and hyson, have been seen by Mr. Twining, and they are pronounced to be made in the same way and in the same style of manufacture as the teas of commerce of this country.

6116. Do you attribute the improvement to the improved manufacture?—Yes, I think the manufacture has a great deal to do with it; it has more influence than varieties of the plant, supposing you have the genuine plant.

6117. Are the natives of those districts in which this tea is now grown becoming accustomed to the manufacture?—Yes, there are not more than about a dozen Chinese at present.

6118. Do you anticipate that they will become as skilled in the manufacture as the Chinese themselves?—I think the natives of India are as skilful and ingenious as any other people in the world.

6119. Sir J. W. Hogg.] What is the greatest quantity which has been grown in the whole extent of the districts which you have mentioned, Kumaon and the adjoining districts?—Not more than 10,000 lbs. has been produced in any one year as yet.

6120. They have increased and are increasing rapidly?—Very much so indeed.

6121. Are you of opinion that tea can be grown there and landed in England as cheaply as teas grown in China?—I do not see anything to prevent it; the land there is abundant and also cheap. The result of Mr. Fortune's observations was, that the only mistake they had made was taking the best land instead of taking the slopes of the hills. On first making the experiment they took land which the natives had already in culture for their grain crops; he thought the better plan would be to take the slopes of the hills instead of those cultivated parts; that being the case, he says, as far as he saw, the quantities of unoccupied ground were immense, and labour also is very cheap there.

6122. It will be a competition between those districts in India and in China, which can grow the cheapest and best tea for the English market?—Yes; the access to the Ganges river from those mountains gives great facilities, which the Chinese do not possess in the interior of their country; I think they will be able to bring the tea down to Calcutta, or else down the Indus, cheaper than the Chinese can convey it to the coast.

6123. The Chinese teas are brought from the interior chiefly by the labour of men, are they not?—A great part of them for some distance, according to Mr. Fortune's account, and also that of the Chinese missionaries.

6124. Which must greatly enhance the price?—Yes.

6125. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Are you aware what is the elevation of the hills where the tea experiments have been made?—They were made at different elevations,

tions, from about 2,200 feet in the Deyra Valley, which was the lowest elevation at which the experiment succeeded well, and it ranged up to the height of 7,200 feet, near Mussooree. The plants at the greatest elevation were all killed; but in the nurseries, at about an elevation of 4,500 to 5,500 feet, the tea plant succeeded remarkably well.

6126. Do you consider an elevation of from 4,500 to 5,500 feet to be the best suited for tea cultivation?—It appears so; but I should like to refer to the Deyra Valley. Mr. Fortune has made an observation respecting it, as not being suitable for the cultivation of tea. Mr. Fortune visited the Deyra Doon in the month of March, I think, immediately after one of the hail-storms which very frequently prevail at that season of the year; hail-storms had occurred and knocked off a great many of the leaves, and on passing through he judged that that was the natural appearance of the plants in that valley. Therefore he thought it was not so well suited for their cultivation. But all the testimony I have had from other gentlemen is to the effect that the plant in the Deyra Doon is as luxuriant as at any other place; and the brokers here say that the tea made there is as good as that made in the mountains.

6127. Do you recollect what is the average temperature of the elevation of 5,500 feet in the Himalayas?—It is a mean of about 58° to 60°; I think.

6128. You probably have not experience of what the mean temperature is at that lower elevation of 2,500 feet?—I think it is about 70°, but I do not recollect at present.

6129. The climate of the Himalayas, at the height of 5,000 feet is favourable to the European constitution?—Decidedly.

6130. And not unfavourable to the labour of Europeans?—Not at all. They can remain out in the open air, as gentlemen do there in most parts of the year, all day long.

6131. Are you aware of any impediment to Europeans residing in that quarter?—No, they are very fond of resorting there for health, when they can get away from the plains.

6132. From what you know of the geological formation and the botanical characteristics of those mountains, is it your opinion that the area upon which the tea plant may be successfully grown, is very extensive?—I think so; I think the whole of the mountains, from the Sikim country through Nepal and Kumaon up to the Kangra Valley, and even to Cashmere, is suited to the cultivation of tea.

6133. There is no peculiar geological deposit or formation which is necessary for the success of the cultivation?—It depends rather upon the climate than upon the soil. Mr. Fortune has said, as far as he could judge, if he had been removed blindfold from the tea districts of China into the tea nurseries of the Himalayas, he could hardly have told that he had been removed from one to the other.

6134. Mr. *Elliot*.] Has any quantity of this tea been brought into the English market?—No; it sells in the neighbourhood of the plantations, at Almora for instance, the black, at about 4 s. or 5 s. a pound, and the green at 6 s. or 7 s. a pound.

6135. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] Without the duty, what would the same description of China tea sell for in this market?—I do not know; at one time that same quality of tea was valued, the best specimens, at 3 s. and 3 s. 6 d. a pound, and others at 1 s. and 1 s. 6 d.; that is, the common black tea; the best greens were those valued without duty at 3 s. and 3 s. 6 d.

6136. Mr. *Elliot*.] What does China tea sell for in those parts where the tea you have spoken of fetches 3 s. and 4 s. a pound?—I do not know what it is at present; we used to give about the same price at that time; we generally obtained our supplies from Calcutta in large quantities.

6137. Have you no means of making a comparison between the price in bond of any of this tea sold in the English market and China tea?—No; I cannot at present make the comparison. Mr. Twining considers it is very well made tea, and will come into successful comparison with China tea.

6138. Sir *G. Grey*.] Do you mean that the tea produced in the districts themselves, and the China tea, sell at the same price?—None of the best China tea comes into those districts, except for European officers ordering it themselves; but the inferior qualities of this Himalayan tea have been sent into the Bhoot districts, where it meets the China tea coming across Thibet.

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6139. How do the two teas respectively sell?—This tea has the preference as being a better quality of tea. I suppose only the inferior qualities are sent from China to those districts.

6140. The best quality of tea produced in those districts competes with the inferior quality of China tea?—Not the best qualities; it is only the inferior qualities which are bought at the sales by some of the native merchants and sent into the Bhoot districts, where the people are tea-drinkers; there it meets the China teas, and has the preference, it being a superior tea.

6141. The inferior quality of tea produced in India beats the China tea, and fetches a better price?—Yes, the inferior China tea.

6142. Sir T. H. Maddock.] You have said that the China tea that is brought into Bhootan, and the whole of that part of Thibet, is a tea that can come into comparison with this tea; is not that tea chiefly sold in cakes?—I believe it is chiefly in cakes; the inferior teas are sent into the Bhoot districts.

6143. It is the fact that teas grown in the Company's territories on this side of the Himalayas have found a market on the other side of the Himalayas?—Yes, it is the fact.

6144. Chairman.] The result of this cultivation will be, first, that it will supply tea for consumption in India before it can become an article of general competition in England?—At present the quantity is so small, and the quality so much liked, that the price is very high, but the quantity is increasing very fast. The nurseries were very small at first, but they have been extended by degrees. The seeds do not ripen for some years.

6145. Sir J. W. Hogg.] How long is it before the tea plant attains maturity, so that the leaves can be gathered for the manufacture of tea?—Three years is the earliest period; it is generally impolitic to take them so soon as that, but they can be gathered in the third year.

6146. How long does the tea last?—It seems to last for 10 or 15 years very well. The Chinese do not root it up, but they supply the place of the plants which go out, and keep renewing the plantation constantly.

6147. Sir C. Wood.] They substitute a good plant for an exhausted one in the nursery?—Yes; I understand that is the way they do in China. The following is a letter from Dr. Jameson, on the 13th of February 1853; he says, "The last six weeks I have been employed in the Kohistan of the Punjaub, laying out a most extensive plantation, and in addition to transplanting about a lac of plants, I have sown one-and-a-half ton of seeds, have finished my factory, and engaged the European overseer and 130 gardeners, and laid out a vast tract of land." The whole of this country is highly undulating; the principal trees met with are a kind of pine and a species of andromeda; "snow falls annually, and lies for some time; the Chinese tea-manufacturers state that the tea-leaves are finer than those produced in the eastern plantations. Be this as it may, nowhere could the tea plant thrive with greater luxuriance than it is now doing in the Kangra Valley; the small nurseries established at the end of 1848 have this year yielded 2,309 lbs. of tea, and upwards of a ton and a quarter of seeds."

6148. Sir G. Grey.] By whom has Dr. Jameson been employed?—By the East India Company.

6149. Is this cultivation carried on by the Company?—Entirely by the Company; it is an experiment at present.

6150. Is there reason to suppose that the cultivation of tea will be profitable so as to induce a large increase of it?—The superintendent calculates that it does not cost sixpence a pound; he calculates that an acre of ground produces about 82 pounds of tea, the cultivation costing 19 rupees.

6151. Comparing this with any other kind of cultivation which might be applied to that land, do you think that there will be an inducement to cultivate tea by the increased profit which will be derived from it?—There is no doubt of it; the natives of the hills have no exportable produce which they can send to the plains; they have little else but grain, which is not wanted in the plains, there being an abundance of that there already.

6152. There is every reason, you think, to believe that there will be a great increase of cultivation in those districts?—I think so.

6153. Chairman.] Can you form any idea as to when it will become an article of export to any great extent?—I cannot say that; they sow seeds in great quantities every year, and the plant comes to perfection in three years.

6154. Has

6154. Has the cultivation of tea taken the place of the cultivation of other articles, or has fresh land been brought into cultivation, which will increase the revenue of the Government?—When the experiments were first made they obtained land from the ryots, and made experiments upon cultivated land. When Mr. Fortune went there, the only fault he found was, that they had taken the best land of the valleys instead of taking the hill sides; and he recommends them to take lands which are uncultivated, and bring them into cultivation, instead of taking lands already occupied by grain; therefore new land will be brought into cultivation. That has been done to some extent already.

6155. Therefore the revenue of the Government will be increased?—In time it will be increased; it must depend, however, upon the kind of settlement.

6156. The experiments of the Government in cultivation have been confined to those two articles of cotton and tea, have not they?—On any considerable scale of recent years they have. Formerly they improved the cultivation of almost all the things that are grown in India at present; silk, for instance, was improved by the Government. In 1829 an experiment was commenced on the Bombay side, at the recommendation of Sir John Malcolm, under an Italian, M. Muttio, but it was unsuccessful. It was abandoned only a few years ago; the climate of the Deccan was found unsuited to the cultivation, because it is extremely dry and hot in summer and cold at nights, and there is very little arboreous vegetation, and the mulberry thrives with difficulty. After a number of years' trial, therefore, the experiment was abandoned. In the botanical gardens a number of plants have been introduced and distributed gratis to whoever applies for them.

6157. Mr. *Labouchere*.] Is tea an article of general consumption by any part of the population of India?—No, it is not consumed in large quantities; but there is a great taste in favour of tea.

6158. There is a taste for it among those who can afford to drink it?—Whenever a man is ill, if you ask him what you can do for him, he will beg you to give him a little tea.

6159. Is the article considered a luxury?—They use it as a medicine; but the prejudice is so much in favour of it, that the natives would consume it if it were sold at anything like a reasonable price; but now the price is very high, and it is very bad tea which they buy in the bazaars.

6160. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Are you aware that it is consumed in considerable quantities by the upper classes as a salutary beverage, and not regarded only as a medicine?—I am not aware that it is; but I know that altogether there is a great prejudice in favour of tea.

6161. Mr. *Labouchere*.] There is no prejudice of caste against it, is there?—No, it is a dry substance; I believe they make an exception sometimes in favour of dry substances which they can get from Europeans.

6162. *Chairman*.] Was the exhibition of Indian products in 1851 likely to be productive of benefit to the cultivation in that country?—I think the number of raw products which were shown at the Exhibition, opened the eyes of a number of the manufacturers here to things which they did not before conceive existed. I have had applications from all kinds of manufacturers, both on the Continent and this country, for information respecting various products which they did not know before that India produced; gum, resins, oils, and vegetable fats, fibres, the different kinds of silk, &c.

6163. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] I believe you are now engaged in arranging a report describing all the products which were exhibited in the Exhibition, and the useful purposes to which they might be applied, so as to give the public every possible information?—Yes, I am engaged in the preparation of a report of that kind; a work, indeed, on the raw products of India in general, as the collection shown at the Exhibition, including my own, was very complete.

6164. Mr. *Hume*.] Has not the effect of the Exhibition been to bring forward a great many articles from the interior of India which were unknown before?—It has made them known to a class of people who did not know of their existence; but many of those things have been on record for a number of years in books which are said to be inaccessible.

6165. They are now likely to become articles of merchandise?—Yes, many of them; for instance, China grass, which is well known as a very valuable product coming from China. It was sent to the Exhibition from half-a-dozen different places in India, from Assam and Tenasserim; it was also sent from Java by the Singapore committee; by people well acquainted with its uses here

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it was highly approved of, and thought in its properties to equal China grass as nearly as possible; and I believe the plant is identical botanically as far as from the imperfect specimens we have we can judge. In the year 1803 this very plant was introduced from Sumatra, and cultivated up to the year 1811, at one of the farms which the Company established at that time, and three bales of this China grass were sent into the market in Mark-lane; a report was made upon the strength of this substance as a substitute for Russian hemp, and it was found that the strands made of the same size as is required for the navy, bore three times more weight when made from this grass than they did made from Russian hemp. That was in the year 1812. From that time to the present it has hardly attracted the attention either of planters in India or manufacturers here; but I believe it is susceptible of production to a great extent, and cheaply.

6166. Mr. *Hume*.] Has it been ascertained how far it will be durable when it becomes subject to alternate moisture and drying?—I do not know that experiments have been made to that extent, but there seems no doubt it will bear any amount of exposure.

6167. Have not a great variety of metallic substances also been brought from the interior of the Peninsula of India?—Yes; for instance, wootz and corundum, the latter is used there for polishing all their stone work and metal work; even their grindstones are made with corundum, and gum lac.

6168. Is that a kind of emery?—It is.

6169. Mr. *Elliot*.] From what part of India did the grass come, of which you have spoken?—Chiefly from Assam and Tennasserim, but it occurs all along the frontier. I may also mention that samples of all those raw products have been distributed to many of the great towns of this country, and also on the Continent.

6170. Mr. *Hume*.] Are there any other substances which have already become, or are likely to become, articles of export from India in consequence of the Exhibition?—I think vegetable oils and fats there will be a great demand for; there are various solid fats there which are not well known here.

6171. From what parts of India are they coming?—Vegetable oils are generally diffused, and so are vegetable fats. There is one tree very well known, that is the Mohua tree, which yields the common arrack consumed all over the country. This is obtained from the ripe flowers, which are very fleshy and very saccharine; some sugar is made from them. They are fermented and distilled for the common arrack of the country. But the seeds, when expressed, yield a vegetable fat, which is considered as good as cocoa-nut, and I believe some of the best authorities consider it is well calculated for making candles; indeed I know it is being imported at present by some principal manufacturers in this country.

6172. Do you know the proportion of stearine which has been extracted from that product in comparison with the cocoa-nut?—I do not remember; but the gentleman to whom I refer says that the quantity is as large as is obtained from anything else of the kind he knows.

6173. *Chairman*.] You have stated to the Committee that, in your opinion, there are many products of India which may become the subject of increased exports to this country?—I think there is no doubt, from the inquiries which are being made in consequence of individuals seeing those things in the Exhibition, a great increase will take place. I receive a great many inquiries with respect to all classes of products from parties wishing for information as to the names of the articles, the parts of the country where they might be got, and whether they were merchantable, or to be regarded as mere curiosities.

6174. That will be calculated to increase the industrial prosperity of India?—I think there is no doubt of it. Even a day or two ago I was asked if there was not a possibility of bringing materials for paper-making from India. I have enumerated a large assortment of different kinds of fibres in India from which paper may be made.

6175. Mr. *Hume*.] Are you aware that at Madras they are now forming, or have formed, a museum of all the natural products which have come to their knowledge, and that they are extending it not only to those already known, but they are making further inquiries?—Yes, the Government have agreed to support that museum, as well as partly a school of design in connection with it.

6176. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] Have not the Government sent out orders to the different Presidencies of a general character, suggesting the establishment of societies such as you have mentioned, throughout all the different stations in India,

India, and also further suggesting particularly that the medical servants should give their aid and assistance for that purpose?—I am not aware of that, but I know that things are being done in India of that kind.

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6177. Mr. R. H. Clive.] Have the Admiralty tested the value of this China grass which you have spoken of?—I do not think they have at present; I had an application the other day to know whether India could not produce large quantities of shell-lac for the use of the navy; the chief ingredient in marine glue being lac; I believe there is no doubt that the quantities that could be produced are enormous.

6178. With regard to the grass, you are not aware that any application for it has been made for the purpose of experiments by the Admiralty?—I cannot be sure; a gentleman came from the dockyard who looked over all the fibres we had at the Exhibition; I pointed out this to him, as well as others.

6179. What proof have you of the China grass possessing greater strength than the Russian hemp?—“In the year 1811, the Court of Directors of the East India Company imported three bales of the Caloe hemp, which had been cultivated in the Botanic Gardens at Calcutta by Dr. Buchanan, who was of opinion that the plant was identical with the *Urtica nivea* of Willdenow. The Court ordered one bale to be sent to Messrs. George Sharpe & Sons, who reported, on the 4th of February 1812, that having brought the Caloe plant to the state of hemp for the use of cordage, a thread was spun of the size of those spun in the King's rope-yards, which bore 252 lbs.; whereas the weight required to be borne in his Majesty's yards by Russian hemp of the same size, is only 84 lbs.”

6180. Mr. Hume.] Are you aware that any measures have been taken since that trial to cultivate and improve the production of that article?—In those days it was adopted as a culture in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, but what I refer to now is the immense quantity of this same plant, which is found in a wild state all along the foot of the hills in Assam, where it might be produced in very large quantities; from the experiments that were previously made, it seems that you can cut it down several times in the year and have a fresh crop of equal value to that you had before; the production of the plant seems so easy that I myself feel no doubt that it might be sent here in very large quantities.

6181. Is it now an article of commerce, to your knowledge?—Not to this country, or in very small quantities since brought to notice by Major Jenkins.

6182. Chairman.] Have you considered at all whether, in the province of Pegu, the cultivation of articles of value could be promoted to such an extent as to be productive of revenue in that country, and of benefit to England?—I think so, from the nature of the plants which are grown there, and the things actually produced. There are some most valuable plants which grow in such latitudes, and which would succeed there with the greatest ease, and be productive. For instance, the cocoa nut and the areca nut, which grow on sandy places exposed to the sea. In the marshy places, which in those latitudes generally lie within the belt of sand, the sago palm might be produced in large quantities, and I believe very profitably, because in Malacca and other places where they have made experiments on the productiveness of the sago tree, 400 lbs. or 500 lbs. are yielded by a tree. After it is once planted, it is in seven years productive; after that it throws up suckers round the main tree, so that they have no trouble in keeping up the plantations. Then there is the Nipa palm, of which the leaves are now used in those districts for thatching the roofs of the houses; it is found in the swampy tracts along the shores of the river along with the mangrove. Its sap yields a very large quantity of saccharine juice, which is made into sugar by the natives of the country by a very simple process; this sugar has been seen here by some good judges, and they say that there is no better crystallised sugar than that made from the wild growing plant of the jungles of Pegu and Tenasserim. I think that is susceptible of great extension. There are also a great many timber trees in the jungles useful for ship-building, with the coir and the ejoo for rope-making; there is the caoutchouc and the lac, which are employed in marine glue; there is also rice, the great staple, and the sugar-cane also, susceptible of easy and extended cultivation. The climate is favourable for all these things.

6183. Mr. Hume.] Have you ever been in Pegu yourself?—No, I have not.

Ross Donnelly Mangles, Esq., a Member of the Committee; Examined.

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6184. *Chairman.*] WHAT appointments did you hold in India?—I was Under-Secretary to the Government in the Revenue and Judicial Department; I was Secretary to the Board of Revenue; I was Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Revenue Department; I was acting Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department; and I was a Member of the Board of Revenue.

6185. During what period were you in India?—I was in India altogether about 15 years, leaving it in the year 1839.

6186. Have you directed your attention to the financial and revenue system in India?—Principally to the system of land revenue; to that I have given considerable attention.

6187. It has been alleged that the financial system of India, under which so large a proportion of the public resources is furnished by the land revenue, is unsound in principle and mischievous in practice; have you considered that subject, and what is your opinion upon it?—I think, popularly, the land revenue system of India is entirely misunderstood; it is spoken of by many as if it were a property-tax. The case is entirely different. The rent of land in India has never, with the exception of a certain part of it, been private property at all. It has always belonged to the State, and has always been a fund set apart for the general expenses of the State, and for the maintenance of every department of the Government. The matter cannot be better expressed than it was by the late Mr. James Mill, when he said, "I conceive that the peculiarity of India in deriving a large proportion of its revenue from the land is a very great advantage; nine-tenths, probably, of the revenue of the Government of India is derived from the rent of land never appropriated to individuals, and always considered to be the property of Government; and to me that appears to be one of the most fortunate circumstances that can occur in any country, because, in consequence of this, the wants of the State are supplied, really and truly, without taxation. As far as this source goes, the people of the country remain untaxed. The wants of Government are supplied without any drain either on the produce of any man's labour, or the produce of any man's capital." I believe that to be a perfectly correct description of the state of things, and I think it is as certain as any mathematical demonstration can be, that that is not only not a bad system of taxation, but that it is the very best mode by which the wants of any State could be supplied. In this country, where land has so long been private property, we are misled by the land revenue being called confiscation, and spoken of as a property-tax of enormous amount. In fact it has never been private property; neither the landholders (by whatever name called), nor their ancestors, from time immemorial, have ever possessed it. By the very theory of rent it is a fund created by society, and I cannot conceive either a better system in an economical point of view, or a fairer system, than that which is created by society, by no man's labour, and by no man's capital, should be applied to the wants of society. It is not the case in India as it is in this country. Looking at rent in this country, it is, in a great measure, the interest of capital which has been laid out in farm-buildings, and in enclosure and draining, and what not; in India, the rent of the land is almost exclusively that which is paid for the use of the land, without anything having been laid out upon it.

6188. It has been stated that the ryots are very poor; do you consider that their poverty and degradation should be ascribed to the land revenue system?—In the first place, I think there is very great exaggeration with regard to the poverty of the ryots. I think it has been overstated to a very great extent. In Bengal, indeed, the Government is in nowise responsible for the condition of the ryots, except in so far as, through the very unwise though in intention benevolent measures of Lord Cornwallis, they have been handed over almost entirely to the zemindars; but still, in Bengal, where the ryots are worse off, I believe, than any part of India, their condition is very much better, taken with reference to the nature of the climate and the wants of the ryot, than is generally supposed. I believe the cultivators in the North-western Provinces are in a more comfortable condition than the peasantry of this or perhaps of any other country, except America and Australia, and new countries of that description. I believe, from what

what I can gather, that in Madras and Bombay their condition is very much better than has commonly been stated; but be their condition good or bad, I conceive the system of land revenue has nothing whatever to do with it, because I believe that where land is from social circumstances in a condition to yield rent, rent will be paid to some party or other, whether the Government take any share of it or not. The ryots would have to pay rent to somebody if the Government took no share of that rent; and I do not believe that the payment of rent, if the demand of the Government is confined to a share of the rent, as it certainly is in every part of India, as far as I know, can have anything to do with the condition of the people. I believe the poverty of the agricultural population of India is much more attributable to social causes, to the great subdivision of property, and to the great number of people employed in raising the amount of produce, so that the produce is almost consumed by the people who raise it. I believe the great cause or instrument of agricultural wealth is to raise a large quantity of produce with the smallest possible number of hands. In India the state of things is precisely the reverse, and I believe that that, more than any other cause, has led to the comparative poverty of the ryots of India. In fact, the ryot of India is as nearly as possible in the position of the cottier of Ireland, and it is very remarkable that you might take a whole page from a work describing India, and take a whole page describing Ireland, and apply them by a mere mutation of names from one country to the other.

6189. Mr. *Hume*.] Do you mean to say that the want of the means of procuring the necessary implements for agricultural purposes is the same in both cases?—I do not mean to say that; I mean that the subdivision of land, and the circumstances of the cottier tenures, are very much the same in both countries.

6190. Mr. *Labouchere*.] Do you think that the absence of the system of private property in land is productive of no social evils in India?—There is private property in land; only a large part of the rent of that land has been appropriated by the State from all time; it is like you or I having an estate with a heavy rent-charge upon it; we should have private property in the land, but that rent-charge never having belonged to us or our ancestors, cannot be considered as being paid by us.

6191. You have stated that in your opinion the whole of the land of India being subject to this large rent-charge to the State, is a favourable state of society, and would be an advantage to any State, whether European or Indian; do you think that that state of things is any check to the employment of capital in the cultivation of land?—I believe not: I think to any man who had a permanent tenure of land, or a long tenure of land in any country, it would not signify, supposing this rent-charge had never been his own, to whom any part of that rent belonged.

6192. Would not that in some degree depend on the amount of rent he had to pay?—Of course, if you take more than the legitimate rent of the land, it might; you must take the true theory of rent; rent is what remains after all charges, expenses, and profits have been paid.

6193. Do you think there would be no difference in the feeling of a man towards landed property whether he had it for his own, or had it subject to a certain rent?—I think we are not competent to judge in this country what the feeling in India would be; we have a prejudice in favour of fee-simple.

6194. Still you think it would be a fortunate circumstance to any country if this had been the original system upon which land had been held?—Yes; and that was really, to a great extent, the system in England. Under the old feudal system, the rent of the land in England was appropriated in a great measure to the expenses of the State, to the maintenance of the army and the courts of justice, and the like; but the landed proprietors, in the course of time, being very powerful, shifted all those burdens off their own shoulders on to the shoulders of the community, in the shape of taxes upon the great articles of consumption, and it was as late as the reign of Charles the Second that they got rid of some of the last of those feudal incidents.

6195. You think there are no political or social advantages in the existence of a body of landed proprietors, free from any dues of this kind?—I will not go that length; but I believe that in a country where the rent of land has never been private property, those advantages of which you speak, and which I acknowledge, are more than counterbalanced by the circumstance that actually the expenses of the country are paid without any taxation at all.

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6196. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Will you have the goodness to explain what it is precisely that you mean in saying that there is an immense quantity of labour consumed in the production of the crop in India; is it to be understood that you mean that a great quantity of absolute labour is expended, or that the number of persons who are employed, and the number of hands occupied in raising the crop, is more than enough?—I mean this: take a village containing 100 ryots; say there are 100 ryots and their families employed in a particular village in cultivating 200 acres of ground, and raising crops upon that ground; I say, that under a better system of agriculture, that same amount of land might be cultivated, and the same amount of crop might be raised, by probably one-tenth part of the number; and therefore the labour of the 90 people is thrown away: they consume nearly all they raise, leaving therefore very little surplus. If 10 only were employed in raising it, they would only consume one-tenth of the crop, whereas 100 being employed, they consume nearly the whole of it, and the consequence, I believe, is, that a very large proportion of the time of every cultivator in India is passed in utter idleness.

6197. What do you calculate would be the average period in each day throughout the year, that each of those 100 persons you allude to would be labouring?—I cannot go into a calculation of that sort; but a very large proportion of the time of the cultivating classes in India, I suspect, is spent in doing absolutely nothing at all.

6198. In a country most densely populated, infinitely more populous than the most populous country in Europe, how would you get rid of the nine out of ten persons who are employed in this sort of labour?—I do not want to get rid of the ryots, nor am I talking of getting rid of them, nor contemplating such an enormity. I was accounting for the poverty of the people, and I believe that I have stated one great cause, and the greatest cause of that poverty.

6199. Does not it follow from this, that the poverty, however great it may be, is quite consistent with the contentment of the people?—Yes.

6200. *Mr. Elliot.*] You said that the ryots under the perpetual settlement had to shift for themselves; are they in a worse position than the lower class of those who have small holdings in this country?—I doubt if they are; I said I thought they were not so, taking into comparison the climate, and the nature of their wants, and all circumstances being considered.

6201. As far as the laws under which they live are concerned, have they not the same means of protecting themselves as a tenant in this country has, who is oppressed by his landlord?—Certainly; the laws take as good care of them as laws can, I think.

6202. If they do suffer from extortion in any way, it is because they will not take those precautions which are provided for them, or else being of a more helpless nature than Englishmen are, they do not make the same resistance?—Yes.

6203. But as far as the law is concerned, they have the power, if they choose, to exert themselves to obtain redress?—Certainly.

6204. *Mr. Hardinge.*] Can you compare the condition of the ryot in India with the condition of any European cultivators of land or labourers?—I think so; the condition of ryots, under the worst circumstances, is marvellously like that of cottiers in Ireland. There is an article in the *Edinburgh Review* on Railways in Ireland, from which you might transfer whole pages to the condition of the ryot in India. The other day I met Sir Thomas Redington, and without my expressing any opinion on the subject, he told me that he had been struck with the similarity of what he had read of the condition of the ryot in India to the condition of the peasant in Ireland.

6205. Is not misery in Ireland somewhat different from the supposed misery in India, inasmuch as in Ireland a man is considered very poor if he has not clothes to cover him, but in India a man is comparatively well off with hardly any?—I said, considering the difference of the climate and their wants, I think that, under the worst circumstances, they are quite as well off. The circumstances which cause famine in India and in Ireland are precisely the same; each man depends upon the cultivation of his own little patch of land, and if that fails in any year, he has nothing to fall back on; when he has sold his cattle, and the gold ornaments of his wives and children, he must starve.

6206. Is not it the case that the ryot wants little, consumes little, and wears little or no clothing?—Yes; and I believe, circumstances considered, they are as well off as the population of the same class in any country in Europe.

6207. *Mr.*

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6207. Mr. *Elliot*.] Is not it the case that the houses of all the cultivators in the villages in Bengal are infinitely better than the common hovels and huts you see in many parts of England, and certainly in Ireland and the North of Scotland?—They are vastly better than they are in Ireland, and, considering the climate and the wants of the people, as good as in England. A Bengalee village is surrounded with plantain gardens, and with cocoa-nut gardens, and gardens for the cultivation of vegetables. I believe, having regard to their wants, they live in comfort and ease.

6208. Are not the huts themselves better?—They are much better; without even allowing for the difference of climate, I have seen absolutely worse huts in Ireland than I have ever seen in India.

6209. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Is there not a great degree of neatness in Bengalee villages as regards keeping up those huts; are they not swept clean, and made to present a comfortable appearance?—Very much so.

6210. They have always tanks to bathe in, have not they?—Yes.

6211. *Chairman*.] It has been stated that the system of land revenue is one great reason why a much larger supply of cotton has not been furnished by India to this country; what is your opinion upon that point?—I do not think it has the smallest connexion with it at all; there is nothing to hinder people from cultivating cotton. If they do not cultivate cotton to a larger extent than they do, it is because they find the cultivation of other produce more profitable to them. It has been constantly urged upon the Government that they ought to reduce the revenue in order to encourage the growth of cotton; but it appears to me quite certain that (suppose, for the sake of argument, the revenue of land to be a rupee an acre, and that under that rate of rent it is more profitable to cultivate sugar-cane or hemp, or any other crop than cotton) if you reduced it to eight annas an acre, it would still be more profitable to cultivate other crops than cotton. Some persons have gone further in their contempt for political economy, and have said you ought to give a premium upon the cultivation of cotton, by taking off the rent upon cotton lands. Still, supposing it is more profitable to cultivate sugar and other crops than cotton, you would be obliged to have an army of officials to watch that the ryots did not cultivate those crops upon the land which they were allowed to hold rent-free in order that they might cultivate cotton.

6212. What would be the effect of the Government of India giving up or materially reducing its demand upon the land?—The effect would be, in the first place, that the Treasury would be very empty; and, secondly, that the cultivators of the land, the ryots, would not be a bit better off. I have stated my opinion, and I think it is as certain as any truth can be, that it is impossible to prevent rent being taken by some one where land is in a condition to yield rent. The only effect, therefore, would be that the State would give it up, and it would go into the pockets of a landlord class, which would be created by the abandonment of its rights by the State. But another evil would be, that the State being obliged to have a revenue, would be compelled to raise it by other, and, economically speaking, worse means, by Custom-house duties, by Excise duties, a poll tax, a property tax, and the like. The rent of the land which now forms the revenue of the Government belongs just as much to the shopkeeper, to the artisan in the town, and the merchant, as to any of the immediate agricultural classes. It is the property of the community administered by the State for the general benefit. You would therefore rob all those other classes to make a present to the land-cultivating classes, and you would be obliged, having taken from those artisans and the mercantile classes what really belongs to them as a fund for maintaining the Government, to tax them to make up the deficiency; you would rob them first for the benefit of the agricultural classes, and then be obliged to tax them for the purpose of regaining what you had given up.

6213. Mr. *Elliot*.] With reference to the effect which this would have upon the ryot, is not it the fact that the ryots on land at present held rent-free are exactly in the same position, if not sometimes in a worse position, than those cultivating land where rent is paid?—Of course; it follows logically from my argument, and it is also true in fact, that they are in the same condition as those upon lands paying revenue; because you can no more prevent rent being paid where land is in a position to pay it, than you can prevent the world from turning round.

6214. *Chairman*.] Will you state to the Committee your opinion of the character

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acter and effect of what are called the resumption laws and operations?—In the first place, the word “resumption,” as generally understood in England, is a misnomer; it is not the land which is resumed, but it is the revenue which has been upon the assumption improperly alienated; the person in possession of this privileged land is required from henceforth to pay revenue, and not even revenue to the full, according to what he would have paid if the land had been brought under assessments at the time of the permanent settlement or otherwise, because they are generally let down easily, and a modified rate of assessment is put upon the land. I am clearly of opinion, an opinion which I hold in common with the greatest statesmen who have ever been in India, with the framers of the Permanent Settlement, with Sir Thomas Munro, and with Lord Metcalfe, that the operation of what is called resumption is most just and equitable; that it is most unjust to allow a small portion of the community to enjoy an exemption which cannot but be held at the expense of the great body of the community; and that therefore, however unpalatable an assertion of the rights of the State may be to those people who have long been enjoying immunity from paying their fair proportion, it ought to be done without hesitation; and the more summarily and effectually it is done, I believe, in the end, the more humane and beneficial it will be.

6215. You do not consider those laws and operations to be in contravention, as has been stated, of the privileges conferred by the permanent settlement?—That is really one of the most absurd statements which was ever made; because the laws of the permanent settlement most carefully guarded against that very point. The Regulations of 1793 say, “The Governor-General in Council will impose such assessment as he may deem equitable, on all lands at present alienated and paying no amount of revenue, which have been or may be proved to be held under illegal or invalid titles. The assessment so imposed will belong to the Government, and no proprietor of land will be entitled to any part of it.” That is quoted from Regulation I of 1793. There are other regulations of that period which state, in the most distinct terms, that the general law, what may be called the common law of India, is that all lands should pay revenue to the State, and that rent-free tenures are mere exceptions; the vast majority of them are fraudulent exceptions, and they ought, therefore, to be brought into the general fisc, and the owners of them compelled to bear their fair share of the public burdens.

6216. Sir J. H. Maddock.] Will you state what laws and regulations prevailed before the passing of that regulation in 1793 with reference to this subject?—I have a very vague and general recollection of what the law was before that period, and without preparing myself, I should not be competent to give an answer to that question. I cannot recollect off-hand, without reference to documents, what was the law or rule before the Regulation of 1793; but my opinion is in accordance with Lord Hastings’ Minute of the 21st of September 1818: He says, “Indeed the scruples which have saved the whole of these lands from indiscriminate resumption, have given cause to admire as much the simplicity as the extreme good faith of all our actions and proceedings.” It would have been most desirable, I think, if the whole of those lands had been brought under assessment, and some of those taxes, which are objectionable in principle, had been abolished as a compensation to the community, which was entitled to be relieved by those who ought to pay the tax being brought under assessment. Indeed, when I was secretary to the Board of Revenue, the Board recommended to the Government that it should make the operation of the Resumption Laws more vigorous, and give up certain objectionable sources of revenue, which they particularised, as a compensation to the people.

6217. Mr. Hume.] Can you produce any list of the number of jaghires and enani lands which have been resumed each year?—I cannot; but I wish to lay before the Committee a statement showing, as far as I can, what an enormous quantity of land there is in different parts of the country still in the condition of rent-free, the owners of which bear no share of the burdens of the State, but are enjoying at the expense of others all the benefit of the Government. Mr. Halliday mentioned the other day that 37 lacs of rupees, or 370,000*l.* per annum, was the result of the resumption operations in Bengal. I think he understated it, because there were considerable resumptions took place in the province of Behar between 1820 and 1830, which I do not think entered into his estimate. I think his estimate was confined to the late proceedings, and therefore I think the whole amount will not fall very short of 50 lacs of rupees.

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The Committee, I think, will be surprised to hear what an enormous amount of rent-free land exists in some parts of India. On the appointment of Mr. Goldsmid, as superintendent of the revised revenue survey and assessment in part of the Bombay Presidency, he was naturally startled by the enormous proportion of land alienated in the shape of enams, &c., in the two collectorates of Dharwar and Belgaum. Besides the whole Mehals entirely assigned as jaghires, and Suringam, he found about 700 entire villages alienated out of the Khalsat Mehals of both collectorates; and in the balance of 2,452 villages left for Government, and Khalsat by denomination, he estimated the number of minor alienations as about 60,000 estates; the share left for Government, even in these its Khalsat villages, not averaging one-half thereof; so that the whole burden of taxation, in that part of the country, is thrown upon very considerably less than half the people.

6218. Is there any list showing the period at which those enam lands were granted, and the services for which they were granted?—Sir Thomas Munro, writing to the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone, in a letter dated 8th March 1818, in camp near Belgaum, says, on the subject of charitable and religious grants in these districts, "A large portion of them will be found to have arisen from unauthorised grants and other frauds. The whole should be carefully investigated after peace is restored and the country settled, and such part of the expenditure as is of modern date and not duly authorised should be stopped. This course is followed by the native governments at every new succession, and frequently more than once in the same reign." Then, again, in a letter to Mr. Elphinstone, dated 28th August 1818, he writes, "Many enams will be found on examination to have been given clandestinely by revenue officers without authority. Every one from the curnum of a village to the Sur Soobha of the Carnatic, grants both lands and pensions. The Sur Soobha or his deputy, when he is about to quit his office, fabricates a number of enam sunnuds; he gives away some and sells the rest. The new Sur Soobha resumes some, but continues a part of them. When such enams have not, by long possession, become in some degree the fair property of the possessors, they ought to be resumed."

6219. Were not all those grants so made in the revenue register of the State?—No, I believe not.

6220. Mr. *Ellice*.] It is said, in part of the quotation which you have read, that where such grants have not been in long possession, they ought to be resumed; what do you call long possession?—I go a very great length myself in my opinion upon this subject. I do not think any grant can give a man a claim to have all the benefits of a Government, courts of justice, armies maintained to defend him from foreign enemies, and police to protect him from domestic enemies, at the expense of other people. In India, the land revenue is almost the only revenue in the country. If the opium revenue should disappear, it will be, with the exception of the salt monopoly, the only revenue in the country. I do not think that any length of enjoyment can give a man a claim to exemption from taxation, and I believe, if the people of India were their own masters, in the sense of having a constitutional government, they would not suffer it for an hour. I do not believe in this country we should suffer it for an hour. If any man should produce a grant from King Stephen, or even William the Conqueror, to say that neither he nor his successors should pay any taxes under any circumstances, we should not suffer it for a moment. We should say, "You have enjoyed this for a long time; rejoice accordingly; but you must submit henceforth to bear your fair share of the burdens of the country."

6221. Those people do not claim to be exempted from any other tax which is levied upon the whole community?—In India, the land revenue, speaking generally, is the only existing tax, and the only tax which for many years, as far as one can look forward, we can ever have.

6222. That is not the fault of the proprietor of an Indian estate, which he has held for a long period of time?—It is not his fault; but by some means or other, in 99 cases out of 100, he has obtained possession of his exemption from taxation by fraud. I say it is sufficient for any man to have enjoyed an exemption for a long time past, and no injustice is done to anyone by requiring him, in time present and future, to bear his proportionate share with others of the taxation of the country.

6223. Would you in this country impose the burthen of tithe upon land which has been for a long time free from tithe, or where the land tax has been resumed,

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resumed, would you re-impose it under circumstances in which the value of the estate is very much changed?—I do not think the circumstances are analogous. I do not think you can draw any parallel between the case to which the question refers, and a state of things in which the land revenue is the only mode of taxation. I cannot think, under any imaginable circumstances, it could be equitable that a person should enjoy all the benefits of government at the expense of others, or that, by his exemption from taxation, he should compel the Government to levy such taxes as the salt tax, for example, which is a tax only justifiable by the hard necessity of the case.

6224. Would the principle upon which you propose to tax those estates which have been so long exempted from rent, justify you in seeking to recover from them the arrears which, according to your argument, they ought to have paid?—I have decidedly said that it would not. I think that would be a hardship, because they have spent the arrears and they are gone; but I think no man has a right to complain, if, without demanding from him the arrears, you simply require that for the future he shall bear his fair proportion of the burdens of the State.

6225. Supposing a man to have bought an estate which has been from time immemorial free of rent, and for which therefore he had given proportionably a larger price than he would have given for land subject to rent; do you think you ought to tax that man in the same manner as you would the possessor of land which had been always subject to rent?—My first answer is, that you beg the question, because no such circumstance has ever occurred in India. The laws which were passed in 1793 carefully guarded that point. With regard even to the most formal description of sales, namely, sales under the decrees of courts of justice, it was specifically declared then that such sales of rent-free lands only transferred the rights of the holder, whatever they might be; there was a careful reservation of this particular point. But my answer further is, that the case has never occurred, because such lands have always been bought and sold, not at fee-simple prices, as we should say, but at risk prices, measured by the presumed goodness or badness of the tenure; and when I was in India, and when controversies upon this subject were frequent in the newspapers, the challenge was repeatedly given to every opponent to state a single case only in which a rent-free estate had been sold at a fee-simple price; but that challenge was never answered, and never attempted to be answered.

6226. Is it not the fact that such estates have been sold at higher prices than estates which have always paid revenue?—They have been sold at a chance price; at the risk price. A man says, "No revenue has been paid upon this estate; it is probable that I may escape the payment, as the former holder has escaped it, and I will give so much more than I would otherwise give for my chance of doing so;" but I never could get anybody to say that land of that sort had ever been sold at a fee-simple price.

6227. Are you aware of the different proportions between the price of land so circumstanced and the price of land liable to revenue?—No, I never had an opportunity of exactly measuring those two things together; I merely state, that when the controversy was very sharp upon the subject, I have often called upon any opponent to bring forward a single case, and no case was ever brought forward of a fee-simple price being given for rent-free land. These opinions of mine I have stated were the opinions of some of the greatest statesmen who ever ruled India. If the Committee would like to hear what Sir Thomas Munro and Lord Metcalfe have said about this matter, I have their opinions here. I wish very much to show what the old native customs and what the feelings of the people were with regard to the precariousness of those grants, before our rule. I wish to show that in fact a state of things has been assumed with reference to their feelings about the permanence of those grants which never existed. This is an extract from the minute of Sir Thomas Munro, dated 15th March 1822.—"The terms," he says, "employed in such documents (sunnuds) 'for ever,' 'from generation to generation,' or, in Hindoo grants, 'while the sun and moon endure,' are mere forms of expression, and were never supposed, either by the donor or the receiver, to convey the durability which they imply, or any beyond the will of the sovereign." He then quotes a letter from Wallajah, the nabob of the Carnatic, to the Government of Madras, dated 18th October 1790;—"I am Prince of the Carnatic, and for these 40 years I have granted, resumed and altered, jaghires in such manner as I have thought proper." He then proceeds, "It appears from

from these facts that, in the Carnatic, Altumgha grants (the highest sort of royal grants), so far from being irresumable, have not been so much respected as many of the ordinary jaghires. The Commissioner of Poonah, in answer to a reference made to him on the subject, has stated that he has not been able to find a single Altumgha in the Deccan, and has transmitted a list of 590 jaghires resumed by the Peshwa's government within the last 50 years. In the Nizams dominions, too, the resumption of the jaghires appears from the note of his minister, Chundoo Lall, to have been regulated as in the Carnatic, by the will of the Prince; and it is added, "There are no persons to whom jaghires have been continued without some change or modification. It can easily be shown that Princes resumed Altumghas at pleasure. It cannot be shown that when they were disposed to resume, the act of resumption ever was or could be prevented. It may be said that they were despots, and acted unjustly. Had they seized private property, they would have been regarded as unjust by the country, but no injustice was attached to the seizure of an Altmughas, as the people knew that it was a grant of public revenue. The princes were, it is true, despotic; but they were liberal and even profuse in their grants, and the grants themselves grew out of their very despotism; for it was because they found no difficulty in resuming that they made none in granting."

6228. Mr. *Hume*.] Does it appear that any rules were laid down as to the periods beyond which resumptions should not take place, or has that been left free to the individuals appointed to inquire into those grants?—Very strict and precise rules have been laid down by our Government on the subject in various regulations which have been passed.

6229. From what you have read, it would appear that Sir Thomas Munro considered the Sovereign only entitled to make a grant for his own life, and that each successive individual took upon himself to alter and vary it?—It was no doubt the case under our predecessors, and that is the origin of what Lord Hastings says about our simplicity being quite as remarkable as our good faith. There is no question that we have gone in our indulgence to those grants far beyond the point to which any native government ever went, and far beyond the point to which any native landowner ever expected the Sovereign would go; it was always looked on, not as the grant of the fee simple of the land, but as a grant such as in this country might be made for two or three lives to a person from the public revenue, but ultimately returning to it as a matter of course.

6230. Mr. *Ellice*.] Did the authorities of the Company, in imposing this revenue upon land, which had been for a long period exempt from it, go through any process of law with a view to ascertain whether, according to any existing law in India, the proprietors of that land did or did not hold it subject to the usual rent paid by other holders of land?—There is a regular process of law gone through. The laws and the Government are very indulgent as to the length of the grants. They have gone far beyond what their predecessors sanctioned. If the tenure is of such a date, and under such and such circumstances, it is continued in perpetuity.

6231. Will you state the precise suit which the Government institutes against the holder of the land before imposing the tax?—The officer of the Government calls upon the party to show his title deeds and prove his title. It being the general rule that all land is subject to contribute to the public revenue, a person claiming to hold land free from the payment of revenue is bound to prove his right to the exemption.

6232. Then the rule of law in India is, that you may call upon any person to prove his title to his possessions, and that you are not bound to disprove that title by evidence on the part of the Company?—The rule in India is, that the revenue of all land belongs to the community, and is administered by the State, and that any person claiming exemption from taxation is bound to show his right to such exemption.

6233. When you say that that is the rule of law, is that rule established by any law which has been promulgated to the people by the legislative power of the Company?—Yes, in Bengal it is.

6234. Can you state what the law is?—The last laws upon the subject are Regulation II. of 1819 and Regulation III. of 1828.

6235. Those laws having a retrospective effect?—They have no retrospective effect as regards the imposition of revenue; they only inquire whether the man's possession is valid at the time of such inquiry.

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6236. Does

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6236. Does the law prescribe that the person holding the land should produce any evidence beyond such title as he has received from his immediate predecessor, and the length of time during which his predecessors have held possession of it? —That is exactly what he is required to produce, the grant under which he holds and proof of the length of possession; if he can show such a grant as by the laws of 1793 is valid in perpetuity, he is confirmed in possession, or if he can show that his ancestors had possession beyond a certain date, he is confirmed in possession.

6237. Beyond what date?—I cannot state that off hand, but it is laid down in the laws of 1793 with great precision.

6238. By the discretionary power of the Company?—By the discretionary power of Lord Cornwallis's Government; and I repeat, that what they did then was beyond what any native government had ever dreamed of doing, or what any native would ever have had the smallest expectation of receiving.

6239. Do you think that English authorities, administering the government of a country under the principles of the English law, would be justified in following the arbitrary principles under which the previous sovereigns of that country exercised their jurisdiction?—I do not think you take into consideration sufficiently what those people claim. Those people claim that other people shall bear their burdens, and you cannot be indulgent to those few individuals except at the expense of the community.

6240. In what way do those people claim exemption from the taxation levied upon the whole community?—They claim to hold their lands which are, in the aggregate, of enormous value, free from the payment of any revenue to the Government, in a country where, from time immemorial, the land revenue has been, comparatively speaking, the only revenue levied.

6241. Mr. *Labouchere*.] The general system in the East is, that the soil should be the property of the State, is not it?—That the rent of the land is the property of the State; we have not held in India of late years that the soil is the property of the State.

6242. The system in Europe is, that the soil should be the property of individuals, it being made subject to such taxes as the community may think fit to impose?—Yes.

6243. There is a fundamental difference between the two systems, is there not?—Of course.

6244. Which, in your opinion, is the most favourable to political freedom and the most generally advantageous to society?—As to which is most advantageous to the landowner, there can be no doubt that it is the system of Europe; but taking the whole community, I am equally free from doubt that the Indian system of taxation is the best.

6245. Do you think the free spirit and the free institutions of this country could ever have existed if such a system as prevails in the East generally with regard to land had been the law of this country?—I believe it could; I think you will be convinced of that, too, when you recollect that throughout Europe liberty took its origin in towns and cities, which had no land at all beyond their houses and gardens, and they have been the cradles of the liberty, not only of England, but of Europe.

6246. You think there is nothing in the free possession of land which has become identified with European habits which is favourable to individual independence and free political institutions?—As regards the landowners, I have no doubt which is the best system. As regards the community, I am equally free from doubt that the Indian system that rent should bear the whole burden of taxation, is the fairest and the best.

6247. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] I believe that the old law with regard to the Lower Provinces was this, that any *bond fide* possession anterior to 1765, the grant of the Dewanny was held to be evidence of title which could not be questioned?—I should not like to speak without book as to dates or as to the particulars of the law of 1793; but that is the principle, that a certain date is fixed, and possession beyond that period gives immunity.

6248. With reference to all the territories which came into the possession of the East India Company from the grant of the Dewanny to the present time, has there not always been either a law, or an instruction, fixing a particular date, from which time, if a person had enjoyed possession, that possession could not be questioned?—Yes, there has been; that has been the principle throughout.

6249. And

6249. And that principle was followed by Lord Hardinge in the Punjaub, and in all our recent acquisitions; in each case he fixed a date of possession beyond which the title could not be questioned?—Yes.

6250. Mr. *Ellice*.] The possessor of such property, therefore, did not pay any share of the taxation of the country?—No; and I think that is a great mistake.

6251. Mr. *Elliot*.] Were not the fraudulent alienations which had taken place from those grants so numerous and extensive, that it would have been actually ruinous for the Company to have allowed them to go on without the check of the resurreptions?—Quite so.

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Lunæ, 13^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Mangles.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Sir Charles Wood.
Mr. Labouchere.
Mr. Hardinge.

Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir J. W. Hogg.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Ellice.
Mr. R. H. Clive.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Ross Donnelly Mangles, Esq., a Member of the Committee, further Examined.

6252. *Chairman*.] WITH regard to your evidence on the previous occasion, is there any addition which you wish to make before passing to other topics?—I wish to beg the Committee to revert to my answer to Question 6227, in order that they may observe, from what I am going to state, the recklessness with which assertions are made in this country with regard to the tenure of land in India. I hold in my hand a pamphlet which has been circulated, I suppose, to all the Members of the Committee, if not to all the Members of Parliament, and which I have received since I gave the evidence to which I refer. It is a pamphlet called, "Statement of the East India Company's conduct towards the Carnatic Stipendiaries," in which I find the following passage: "As many readers may not exactly know the meaning of an *altumgha jaghire enam*, it may be as well to inform them that in India it is the same as is denominated in England a freehold or fee-simple, and that *jaghi-redars* are to be looked upon as freeholders, or owners in fee-simple; a wide distinction exists between a *jaghire* and an *altumgha jaghire enam*, which will be seen by the following explanation;" and then the writer goes on to explain: "the *altumgha jaghires enam* were grants to the grantee, and his heirs in perpetuity, and were so denominated from their originally passing under the great seal, called *tumgha*; such were grants generally bestowed by the sovereigns on religious and learned men, doctors, and professors of sciences, or on other persons, as rewards for services performed for the State. They were in some cases mere largesses, or relinquishments in perpetuity of the revenues of the lands; but in others they conveyed to the donee the proprietary right to the soil also, and making the grantee the owner in fee-simple, that hath lands or tenements to hold to him and his heirs for ever; in legal phraseology, an *altumgha jaghire enam* is a gift made by the sovereign power to an individual in fee." Now, if the Committee will take the trouble to refer to my answer to Question 6227, they will see it is stated there, upon the most unquestionable authority, by Sir Thomas Munro, with respect to the very man who, I believe, gave the *jaghires* here alluded to, namely, Wallajah, the nabob of the Carnatic, that he gave them and resumed them, and gave them again, and resumed them again just as he pleased, at his

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own absolute will and discretion. As to there being such a thing as a grant in perpetuity it was out of the question; and moreover, never was any property or any land given by any of those grants. All that was given was a right to the Government revenue; and the grant never took away from the ryot, or from the poteil, or from the zemindar, or from any man, whatever his name was (the names varying in different parts of India), his right in the soil. All that was given, and was transferred to the jaghiredar, or to the altumghadar, was the Government right of revenue, which, again, was held by the grantee solely at the discretion of the sovereign, and resumed almost invariably upon a change of succession, but resumed earlier if it so pleased the sovereign. I merely mention this as an illustration of the recklessness with which assertions of this kind are made.

6253. Mr. *Elliot*.] Were not the altumgha grants confirmed in perpetuity by our regulations?—Some of the altumgha grants in Bengal were recognised in 1793. What I have said has been for the purpose of dissipating a great delusion which appears to exist with regard to those grants. The evidence I am now bringing forward is that of Sir Thomas Munro, as to the altumgha grants in the Deccan.

6254. Still as to our right of resumption now, have not we barred ourselves from any right of resumption of that kind by our own regulations?—If we have said in the regulations of 1793, respecting which I cannot speak off-hand, that altumgha grants are perpetual grants in Bengal, we have of course so debarred ourselves there; but this relates to the Deccan.

6255. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Are the Committee to understand that, as in Europe in the middle ages, the property in the soil was always in the sovereign, so in India the property may be regarded as equally transferred with the sovereignty, the property and the sovereignty being identical, and the sovereign distributing lands according to his pleasure, and resuming them or not equally at his own discretion?—No, I attempted to guard that in my last evidence. I think it is not now held by any Indian authorities of any weight, that the property in the soil resides in the sovereign. What I hold is, that the right to a very large proportion of the rent of the land resides in the sovereign, whoever may have rights in the soil; and I believe that even under the Mahomedan Government, the sovereign never absolutely claimed the right to the soil, but he claimed as his Hindoo predecessors had always done a right to a very large proportion of the rent of the land. That which was granted in assumed rent-free tenures, was not, as I endeavoured to explain, a right in the soil, but a right to collect and enjoy the Government revenue instead of the Government; the sovereign placed the altumghadar or rent-free holder *in loco* the Government.

6256. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] In point of fact, are you of opinion that it makes much difference whether a sovereign is and claims to be the possessor of the soil, or whether he is and claims to be the possessor of a certain portion, and that the main portion, of the usufruct of the soil?—I do not know that it does, in point of practice, make much difference; it is a mere matter of theory.

6257. Would not the sovereign, if he possessed and assumed to be the sole proprietor of the soil, feel it to be his interest as well as his duty to leave to the under-tenants, the farmers and ryots, just that proportion which they now are considered to be possessed of?—Very likely he would; and, as I have said, I think it is far more a matter of theory than a matter of practical importance; but it is now universally held, I believe, that the sovereign is not the lord of the soil, but only that he has a right, from time immemorial, for the purposes of Government, to a large proportion of the rent.

6258. The fact being, as I have stated, that from the earliest records that we have of the Hindoo sovereigns and their successors, the Mahomedan sovereigns, this position has been held: that, in reality, the sovereigns claimed and enjoyed a great portion of the usufruct or rent of the land; the distinction is merely therefore a theoretical one, whether they were the lords of the soil or not?—I think the distinction was a theoretical one. At the same time, it is equally certain that there were classes of persons in different parts of India, who held rights in the soil which, whatever they might be in theory, they in practice very highly valued, and very strongly clung to, especially, perhaps, in the Deccan, Central India, and the North-western Provinces. In Bengal, such rights appeared, by centuries of oppression, to have in a great measure disappeared, and to have been usurped by the zemindar, who was originally probably only an

officer

officer of the Government; but throughout the North-western Provinces, and still more throughout the Deccan and the south of India, there are people who have hereditary permanent rights in the soil, subject to the lien of the Government for the revenue necessary for its purposes. But those parties, whatever their rights were in theory, held in practice this permanent tenure of land; and it appears that they highly valued it, and handed it down from generation to generation with the greatest security. Among the Mahrattas the feeling of attachment to such rights, whatever they were, appears to have prevailed very strongly.

6259. You are of course aware, that the great mass of the land so alienated was granted by different sovereigns, in lieu of a money payment, of services present and future?—In many cases, but I apprehend not by any means in all cases.

6260. I speak of the great mass of the alienations?—I should say certainly not the great mass. I should think that the great mass of alienations of land revenue were entirely fraudulent, and the sovereign knew no more about them than I do. The enormous number of them proves that they could not have been granted by the sovereign. I read, by way of example, a passage from a letter of Sir Thomas Munro to Mr. Elphinstone, in which he says that every Sursoobha in the Deccan, just as he was going to resign his office, created a great number of those grants; some he gave free, and some he sold.

6261. *Chairman.*] Can you state whether improvements to the land, such as the sinking of wells effected by the private capital of the cultivator, renders the land subject to a higher rate of assessment?—I know that question has been much mooted, and it has been alleged that any improvement of that sort led to the imposition of an increased revenue. But I have here a letter which finally settles the question; it is a despatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of Madras, of the 2d of June 1852, to this effect; “We now reply to your letter in this department, dated 1st December last, in which you submit to us the unanimous opinion of the members of your government in favour of relinquishing to the ryots, throughout the provinces of your Presidency, under such precautions only as may be requisite to prevent abuse of the indulgence, the permanent and full benefit of their own improvements, which you conceive to be the most direct and influential mode of furthering the grand object of elevating them to the condition of landowners, and thereby laying the only sure foundation for the general progress and improvement of the country. This question was treated at considerable length in our despatches of the 24th August 1842, and 22d September 1846, and we would here observe, that the scope and object of the instructions therein communicated, was to encourage the ryots to effect improvements on their lands, by assuring them that the benefit of such improvements should be secured to them for a term sufficiently long, not only amply to compensate, but liberally to reward them for the labour and expenditure they might have applied. We added, however, that we did not consider it reasonable that the Government should forego all chance of prospective advantage, by limiting its claim on the land in perpetuity. We are still of opinion, that the principle here laid down is not only just, but liberal in its application to the case of improvements effected by the labour and capital of ryots. It appears, however, to be your opinion, that the practical difficulties in carrying the rule laid down by us into effect are insurmountable; and that, even if it could be enforced, its operation would still tend greatly to restrict the disposition of the ryots to expend capital and labour in the improvement of their lands. You have observed that although it may not have appeared in the form of direct taxation, or be capable of being exhibited as a matter of account, there can be little doubt that the Government has indirectly derived no inconsiderable advantage from such improvements; that the profits of the well lands have often furnished the means of paying up the assessment of others in bad seasons, and that the necessity for remissions has thus been avoided. Having fully considered all the circumstances set before us, we have resolved to authorise you to extend to the whole of the Madras Presidency the rule which prevails in the districts noted in the margin, and so allow to the ryots the full benefit of their own improvements, the lands so improved being subject to no additional assessment on that account so long as the general rates of the district remain unaltered.”

6262. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] To what part of Madras does that refer?—To the whole of the districts of Madras; the districts mentioned in the margin

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were Bellary, Cuddapah, South Arcot, Salem, and Tinnevelly; the rule appears to have existed in those districts previously, and this despatch extends it to the whole of the Presidency.

6263. Mr. *Fitzgerald*.] Do you know whether the like doubt prevails in other parts of India?—Wherever the permanent settlement extends of course it cannot prevail: we have laid down the same rule in principle during the 30 years for which the settlement has taken place in the North-western Provinces, with some proviso, which I do not now recollect, to guard against any undue additional assessment taking place when that 30 years shall have expired.

6264. How long has that system prevailed in British India?—More or less, it has been advancing towards that end from the time that we understood the land revenue system. We were many years in India before the real nature of the land assessment and the real principles upon which it stood and ought to be administered, were thoroughly understood; and I remember Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), in one of his minutes, says, "It requires a lifetime for a man to understand the land tenure and land revenue system, as it prevails in different parts of India." Ever since we have come to understand those matters in India, which has only been comparatively of recent years, the system has been tending to that result. In 1793 Lord Cornwallis gave away (I think unwisely) all improvements and all prospect of additional revenue in Bengal.

6265. The rule is not based, therefore, upon what may be called property in the improvements, but upon the principle of compensating the ryots by a lengthened period; that is, allowing them to continue in possession at the old rent during such a period as will compensate them?—That was the view, I apprehend, when the settlement of the North-western Provinces was fixed at 30 years; I suppose a term longer than the longest lease ever granted to an improving tenant in this country; I think the longest leases in Scotland are not more than 21 years.

6266. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] With regard to that correspondence between the Court of Directors and the Government of Madras, are you of opinion that, if the revenues of Madras had been settled for the term of 30 years, as they have been in the North-western Provinces and Bengal, it would have been necessary to make any such provision for the permanent grant of the benefit of improvements to the cultivators?—In one sense, the Ryotwur settlement in Madras is permanent; in another sense, it certainly is not permanent. I believe that the revenue system of the North-western Provinces is very much superior to that of Madras; and I believe that if Madras had been settled upon a sound system for 30 years it would have been sufficient. I have always deeply regretted the permanent settlement; it has produced no benefits commensurate with the sacrifice which the Government made; it has produced a wealthy class of landowners, who have done nothing towards the improvement of their own estates nor of the country generally; and it has been at an enormous sacrifice of revenue to the Government. I believe if Lord Cornwallis had made a settlement for 30 or 50 years it would have produced equally good effects, without the counter-vailing evils which have resulted.

6267. *Chairman*.] Can you point out any new sources of revenue, such as might tend to compensate for the probable or possible defalcation, or the total loss of the revenue now derived from the monopoly of opium?—From what I stated the other day, the Committee may be prepared to hear that I think, not merely as a question of revenue, but in justice to the revenue-paying classes of our subjects, the Government of India ought to proceed, with more vigour than they have done of late years, in enforcing the payment of the revenue from lands held free of assessment, in those provinces where no such process has hitherto been attempted with any degree of earnestness. I think the Government ought to apply to the Deccan, and to the districts of Madras and Bombay, the same process of investigating the rent-free tenures which has been applied to Bengal and the North-western Provinces; I think that such an investigation ought to be based upon a revenue survey, such as has taken place in the North-western Provinces; and that the tenures should be strictly investigated, with a view to the imposition of revenue upon lands held free of revenue upon invalid tenures. The other day I stated some facts to the Committee with regard to the enormous extent to which lands are held rent free in some of those districts, but I have some others here which I should like to state also. Within a few years the Bombay Government informed the Government of India that the estimated

estimated amount of alienated revenue exceeded 82 lacs of rupees, or 820,000 *l.* sterling per annum; and that, I take it, though it is not so stated distinctly in the authority which I have here, only refers to districts in the Deccan: districts which were obtained from the Mahrattas after the war in 1818. That is as regards Bombay; as regards Madras, I have here an extract from the Minutes of the Board of Revenue at Fort St. George, dated the 9th of February 1843, in which this passage occurs: "In order to show the magnitude and importance of the subject under consideration, the Board will here note the extent of enam land in the ceded districts. In Major Munro's report, dated 26th July 1807, the total is stated at 2,599,747 acres, and the estimated rent at 432,410 *l.* The collector states his opinion, that a large portion of this had been fraudulently obtained. The principal collector of Bellary, in his jummahbundy report for fusly 1243, states that the survey assessment of the enam land actually cultivated in that year amounted to 144,010 *l.*, and the jody or quit rent levied on it was 14,726 *l.* The principal collector of Cuddapah, in his report for the same year (fusly), gives the assessment of enam cultivated as 164,578 *l.*, and the quit rent levied amounted to 12,391 *l.*; thus the total assessment of enam cultivation in that year was 308,588 *l.*, and the total jody or quit rent received was no more than 27,117 *l.*" The Board go on to say, "Colonel Munro was of opinion that a large part of these mauniums had been fraudulently obtained, but it might be difficult to find decisive proof as to the actual extent of the true and fraudulent maunium respectively, because all these lands are held without grant. The proceedings with respect to these may therefore be based on that power of resuming all enams at pleasure, which has ever been possessed in India by the governing power, and which is clearly recognised in Regulation 31 of 1802, as distinct from proceedings for the recovery of lands illegally held free." I think, having stated the enormous extent to which this alienation of land that ought to be subject to Government assessment has taken place, and now exists in only a few districts, the Government ought to follow up with vigour and with sufficient strength the investigations which have been begun, and that those lands should be subjected to the payment of revenue. I think beyond that, after all land illegally held without payment of revenue has been subjected to that payment, the principle of a tax upon successions, which was very much the principle of the native governments, should be applied to all rent-free lands throughout India. It is no novelty; because when the native princes forbore the resumption of a rent-free grant, I believe invariably they demanded what was called a nuzzerana, or a fine upon successions; and I have here a very able minute of Sir Charles Metcalfe, dated the 13th of November 1828, in which he earnestly recommends that course to the Government of India:—

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[*The same was delivered in, and is as follows:*]

EXTRACT *Bengal Revenue Consultation*, 13 November 1828.

MINUTE by Sir Charles Metcalfe, Bart.

I AM about to offer some remarks on Sir John Malcolm's plan for levying a sort of fine, under the designation of nuzzerana, from assignees of public revenue, on the succession of heirs.

If we have rightly construed his design in supposing that the extension in perpetuity of revenue assignments, which would otherwise, by right, lapse to Government on the demise of incumbents is therein included, the plan, in that case, contains two separate propositions so distinct, so different, and so opposite, that they manifestly require separate consideration, and ought not to be compounded together.

One is to levy a tax, in the shape of a fine, on succession to revenue assignments, the enjoyment of which, according to our existing practice, would of course descend to heirs in perpetuity, without the payment of any tax, fine, or nuzzerana whatever.

The other is to continue in perpetuity the alienation of State revenue which would otherwise revert to Government, relinquishing the lawful right to the whole; and accepting in lieu thereof occasional payments, at distant periods, of a small portion.

The enjoyers of alienations of State revenue may be divided into two classes: those who have an acknowledged title to the continuance of the enjoyment in their families, during the existence of lineal heirs of the original assignee; and those who hold only for life, or under other limitations which fix the period for the termination of the privilege.

With respect to both classes, the assignment is liable to an eventual lapse; but with regard to the latter, the lapse is certain in a limited period; while, with regard to the former, it is uncertain, and the alienation of revenue may be perpetual.

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It has not been the practice of our Government to grant alienations of revenue in perpetuity; when they exist under our rule, they are continuations which we have allowed of grants received from a former Government, and either correctly or erroneously supposed to have conferred a perpetual or hereditary tenure.

For my own part, I cannot conceive a more legitimate subject for taxation than the possession of a perpetual alienation of public revenue held under the grant of a preceding Government.

It is necessary for the apprehension of my meaning to consider under what circumstances such a grant was made, and under what circumstances it has been continued.

It was not originally a gratuitous grant; personal service was to be rendered; troops were to be furnished according to the extent of the assignment. The native Government was supported, not weakened, by the arrangement; and, in addition, nuzzerana, or fine, was payable on succession, and on other occasions.

What follows? We come, and conquer the country; the holder of the tenure has done his duty; he has been our enemy, and fought against us. All alienations of revenue properly lapse to the conqueror; we have a right to consider this assignment as having lapsed; instead of which, we confirm its continuance. This is very generous, no doubt, but it is a gratuitous waste of revenue, and one of the causes why British India is likely to sink under the pressure of expense exceeding income.

The sacrifice of revenue was not without a return to the native State. Perhaps the original grant conferred a reward for past devotion by which the State had benefited. Anyhow, it was recompensed by service, by attachment, by faithful support. It also took its occasional nuzzerana.

With us the alienation of revenue is a perfect sacrifice; we either neglect the condition of service altogether, or it is to us useless and insignificant; nuzzerana is not required, because it is not included in our regular system. We receive no return, and the loss of revenue deprives us of the means of paying those who would fight our battles and maintain our empire. I am, therefore, of opinion, that there is no other class of our subjects so peculiarly fit for taxation as the holders of alienations of State revenue.

I do not think it necessary to examine minutely the different descriptions of persons who hold the hereditary alienations which we have confirmed. Of all it may be truly said, that they are drones who do no good in the public hive.

I do not profess that I would have recommended resumption in every case, but we had a clear right to resume all alienations of revenue; and having instead continued them, it appears to me that we may very justly call on the holders to fulfil towards us a part of the obligations which the existence of the assignments enjoyed by them implies, and which they would have had to observe towards any native Government.

The payment of nuzzerana would undoubtedly have been one of their obligations; and although the measure is new with us, it is not liable to the charge of innovation with them, for it is one which is in general use under all native Governments, and especially on succession to possessions of any kind. It would, therefore, be the least unpalatable mode of imposing a tax, and would be scarcely felt as a grievance on the occasions on which it would be levied.

Sir John Malcolm, indeed, is of opinion that the imposition would be received as a benefit, and confer confidence and security. Even that, I conceive, is possible; for the very gratuitous indulgence which we have conferred on the holders of hereditary assignments of public revenue, so different from what they were before accustomed to, may not unnaturally have excited an alarm, that such a boon cannot be lasting, which the imposition of nuzzerana on hereditary succession might tend to allay, as indicating the intention of taking some recompense for the boon instead of ultimately resuming it altogether.

I am, for the reasons above stated, entirely disposed to concur in Sir John Malcolm's proposition for levying nuzzerana on succession to all hereditary assignments of public revenue, and shall be glad if the Governor-general and the Council deem it expedient to authorise the Government of Bombay to carry the measure into effect as far as concerns the holders of perpetual assignments in the territories of that Presidency.

But the extension of life grants, and their conversion into perpetual hereditary tenures, is a very different question.

Viewing it as a financial one, it is manifest that the proceeding would be perfectly injudicious. By adopting it, we should be sacrificing an annual revenue, and taking in lieu one year's portion of it, or less, on the demise of assignees; a very small part, instead of the whole; a miserable per-centage. It would be as if it were proposed in England to continue in perpetuity pensions granted for one life, on condition of payment of a portion of one year's income at the succession of heirs.

Solely, therefore, as a financial question, this proposition ought undoubtedly to be rejected; and I have not quite persuaded myself that Sir John Malcolm has meant to advance it, although I must acknowledge that some expressions in his minutes seem to warrant such an inference.

The advantage of the proposition, if it has any, must rest exclusively on political grounds, and these I imagine will not be found to be very strong.

It may be supposed that we shall conciliate and attach to us, by ties of gratitude, the individuals benefited by such a boon, and that the act would be generally popular.

The same might be said in favour of any other gratuitous donation from the public treasury; but we cannot afford to purchase, by sacrifices of revenue, a precarious and unavailing popularity, even if such should be the consequence, which is not only not certain, but very much otherwise.

Our

Our dominion in India is by conquest. It is naturally disgusting to the inhabitants, and can only be maintained by military force.

It is our positive duty to render them justice, to respect and protect their rights, and to study their happiness. By the performance of this duty we may allay and keep dormant their innate disaffection; but the expectation of purchasing their cordial attachment by gratuitous alienations of public revenue would be a vain delusion, sure to be attended with fatal disappointment, if the experiment were carried to any great extent; impossible, indeed, to be acted on universally, and useless, insignificant, and incongruous on a small scale.

We cannot dispense with our lawful revenue; we are even bound to increase it by all just means, in order to meet and keep pace with our excessive and increasing expenditure. On political grounds, therefore, the revenue of an assignment which has justly lapsed to Government is of more value, in my opinion, speaking generally, than any probable consequence of the gratuitous continuance of the alienation in perpetuity.

Decidedly preferring the use of the revenue for the maintenance of our dominion to any supposed political advantage expected to be derived from its sacrifice, I nevertheless protest against being deemed an enemy to a liberal consideration of just claims, where claims do really exist; but I cannot admit that the mere possession of a gratuitous boon from Government confers on the heirs of the favoured possessor a claim to its perpetual continuance. When was it even argued in England that the grant of a pension for one life, or any number of lives, even in reward of the greatest public services, conferred a claim to its continuance in perpetuity?

According to the principles which I have endeavoured to explain in this minute, if it rest with me to propose the terms of a reply to the Government of Bombay, on Sir John Malcolm's proposition for levying nuzzerana, I should advocate the transmission of instructions to the following effect: First, to levy nuzzerana agreeably to Sir John Malcolm's plan on all alienations of public revenue acknowledged to be hereditary.

Second. To resume, at the period prescribed by the granting or confirming order of the British Government, all alienations which are eventually to lapse to Government.

Third. To take into consideration all doubtful cases, and deal with them according to the instructions prescribed for that of the two above-mentioned classes to which they may most justly be assigned.

(signed) C. T. Metcalfe.

6268. In what light would such a course of proceeding be viewed by the natives; would it be considered as a breach of faith, or regarded as an act of justice?—No doubt those who were immediately affected by it would be likely to raise the cry of breach of faith, but I am clear that it would not be really any breach of faith. The only difficulty is the long time during which we have allowed such tenures to be held rent-free, and our own "simplicity," as Lord Hastings calls it, in the matter, in departing from the invariable custom of the native Governments who preceded us. They had no notion of any grants in perpetuity; they had no notion of allowing them to interfere, for a moment, with the necessities of the State in any case; and however lax we may have been hitherto, we are still, I think, bound to act for the public good, and, as I believe, the people of India, if they were in such a condition of enlightenment as to have a constitutional Government, would act for themselves. I believe if the people of India were in a state to have a constitutional Government, those rent-free grants would not exist for a day. The community would say to the possessors of them, "You have no right to such an exceptional privilege; and you must bear your fair share of the public burdens in future." I think the Government, as trustee for the community, is bound to act for them as they would certainly act for themselves if they were in a position so to do, and I believe the Government would obtain the concurrence of the community in carrying it out.

6269. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Are you aware that the principle you are advocating has been acknowledged on certain occasions by the Government of India, and has been acted on?—I was not aware of that; it is a principle quite in accordance with native notions, and I think on that ground it would not be strenuously objected to by them.

6270. Mr. Elliot.] Do you think that you could at once establish a general principle of this description, and act upon it without considerable danger?—I do not think there would be the smallest political danger; it might cause in the minds of those who were affected by it a certain amount of disaffection to the Government; but as for political danger, I consider that quite out of the question. I think the only thing to be looked at is, whether it is fair, and just, and honest on the part of the Government; and that I am persuaded it is. As to danger, all rent-free grants have been inquired into, not only in Bengal, but

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also in the North-western Provinces, where the population is probably the most warlike in India. And the same process is now going on among the military Seikhs.

6271. Sir J. W. Hogg.] Is not the nuzzerana rather in its nature a kind of bribe offered by the person entitled to the succession to the ruling power or his Minister, to avert the exercise of supreme and despotic power in preventing his succession to what he was entitled to; and did not the nuzzerana vary in proportion to the apprehensions of the person who gave it, and the power of the authority to whom he applied?—I do not believe that any native, under the best native Government, ever believed that a rent-free grant was in reality a perpetual tenure. He knew that it depended on the pleasure of the sovereign, and I do not mean the despotic pleasure of the sovereign in a bad sense; he would consider it, of course, as a great boon, if instead of its being resumed upon succession, he was allowed to hold it upon payment of a nuzzerana. But, I take it, it was the same under our own feudal institutions; there were a great variety of wardships and fines upon succession which were paid to the lord or the monarch, which were never thought oppressive. It was the understood rule of tenure upon which land was held; and it was never considered despotic that the sovereign should have the power of giving away the heiress of a great estate in marriage, and receiving from the man who married her a large sum, as our sovereigns did; it was understood as a feudal incident; it was paid, and it was not thought oppressive to demand it. If an enormous sum had been demanded, probably it would have been thought oppressive; but not otherwise.

6272. Has it been the custom in India, under the British Government, to demand a nuzzerana from the person entitled to succession, whether that succession was to an ordinary tenure, subject to rent, or to a rent-free tenure?—It has not been the practice; but in 1828 it appears that Sir John Malcolm recommended it to the Government of India, and that minute of Lord Metcalfe takes this line:—Lord Metcalfe says, “I agree with Sir John Malcolm if he means one thing, and I do not agree with him if he means another thing. If Sir John Malcolm means that all existing rent free grants should be confirmed in perpetuity, whether they be good or bad, a simple nuzzerana being taken upon succession, I do not agree with him; I think the Government ought to have the whole of the revenue, and not only the small part of it paid upon the succession. But if Sir John Malcolm means that, after having investigated those tenures, and having discovered what were bad, and put the whole revenue upon them, we then should put a nuzzerana upon those which were good, then,” says Lord Metcalfe, “I agree with him; I think it ought to be done; I think it is the best tax we could impose;” and, as the Committee will see when they read that minute, he argues with his wonted ability, and, to me, quite conclusively in favour of that course.

6273. If you exacted from the successor to a rent-free estate a tax called nuzzerana, or known by any other name, which tax you did not require from the possessor of another estate, would not that virtually amount to compelling the holder of the rent-free estate to pay a rent from which he had been exempted, and claimed to be exempted, by immemorial usage?—I admit there is some force in the argument involved in the question put by the honourable baronet, but my answer to it is this: that in a country where the Government is endeavouring to give the people more and more the advantages of good Government, of the administration of justice, of protection from foreign assailants, and in every other way, there is something so monstrous in the claim of any person to be exempted from bearing his share of the public burdens, that all enlightened public opinion would go along with the Government in making such a demand; I think the demand will appear still more equitable when you consider that the Government is now going on giving additional advantages to the people. In the case of the Ganges Canal, for example, rent-free holders of tracts of land along the course of that canal will derive equal advantages with rent-paying proprietors from that irrigation; from the improved roads; from the bridges which are being made, and from every measure of the Government tending to the improvement of the country. Is not it equitable, that not only having the same advantages with others, but participating with them in the prospective advantages arising from the outlay of the public money raised by taxation, those persons should pay some proportion towards

towards those expenses and those charges, and, if you will, should pay something towards relieving the community from unwise taxation. I cannot think that there can be anything unjust in a taxation so raised and so employed.

6274. Still, conceding the truth and justice abstractedly of all that you have said, would it not in fact be compelling a person who succeeded to a rent-free estate to pay rent in the shape of a fine?—It would be compelling him, in the shape of a fine, to bear a certain and very moderate share of the public burdens, and to pay a very moderate contribution toward the public outlay, in the benefits resulting from which he was participating equally with those who now bear the whole of the burden.

6275. I collect, from your evidence, that the fine which such successor to a rent-free estate would be called on to pay, would not be required from the successor to another estate?—I would not require it from a man who already bore a share of the public burdens; I would not require him to pay it, but I would require the rent-free holder to pay it. Put the converse of the proposition: supposing the Government were to say, or could say, to all proprietors of rent-free tenures in the country, "You are deriving already great benefits without paying anything for them; we are going to improve our courts of justice; you must not share in those improvements, unless you bear a share of the expense; we are going to improve our means of irrigation, your estate will be irrigated; what right have you to that, unless you contribute something towards the expenses?" Under those circumstances, I suppose the rent-free holders would be glad to come in and say, "We will contribute."

6276. Is not there a water-rate charged upon all persons who derive benefit from irrigation?—No doubt there is.

6277. Would you consider it just to impose one scale of water-rate upon an individual having one description of tenure, and a different scale of water-rate upon a person having another form of tenure?—I consider it perfectly fair that the person who now pays nothing should contribute towards the expenses of the public improvements generally.

6278. Then it amounts to this: that because a man happens to be a proprietor of a rent-free estate, you will make him contribute in some way or other?—How should we bear it in this country; if a man were to say, "I have a grant from King Stephen, that neither I nor my heirs ever should pay any taxation to the Government;" should we endure it for a minute? I do not think we should.

6279. Mr. *Spooner*.] That is not quite the question; should we bear to have an additional tax put upon us which others did not bear, because we happened to hold estates under a particular tenure?—It is not a question in India as to the holding of the estate; it is a question of taxation purely.

6280. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Are you aware that the plan of Sir John Malcolm, which you have alluded to, was referred to a number of the highest authorities in India for their opinions?—Yes; I think it bears upon the face of it that a reference was made to political officers and others, and I think they were generally favourable to it.

6281. Mr. *Elliot*.] Would you extend those rules as to the nuzzerana or the resumption to those estates which had been decided in our own courts to belong to lakhirajdars, rent-free property?—Yes, I should be inclined to require him to pay. I would make the nuzzerana very moderate; and only impose it upon successions. It should not be an annual tax, but only upon the succession of the heir to the estate.

6282. Mr. *Fitzgerald*.] Will you state the date beyond which the inquiry is not to go into the possession of rent-free lands?—I think, in Bengal, the date was 1765.

6283. In 1793 it might have been very easy for a person to prove his title up to a date anterior to 1765; but from the lapse of 60 years, it may be impossible for him to do so?—Practically it is not impossible, because many do obtain exemptions. I believe very few of the grants are in reality valid grants; many persons do prove exemptions, either by real documents or by forged ones; but I believe in reality there are very few really sound grants. The fact was that, in the troublesome times when the Mogul empire was falling, those grants were created, and forged, and fabricated to an enormous extent.

6284. Mr. *Hardinge*.] On what principle have the resumed lands been settled?—They have been settled very leniently, with the rent-free holders,

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very generally, upon what is called half-jumma; the Government taking half the rent, and leaving half the rent to the rent-free holder.

6285. Upon the same principle as in the North-western Provinces?—Upon much more favourable terms than the assessment in the North-western Provinces.

6286. Is the statement correct, that 18s. out of every 20s. goes to the Government by way of rent?—That statement has arisen from this, that that was the theory of the permanent settlement. The theory of Lord Cornwallis's settlement was to take $\frac{1}{10}$ ths; but the facts are extremely different from the theory. There are many estates under the permanent settlement of which the revenue now enjoyed by the zemindar is equal to the Government revenue. I remember the case of an estate which paid 10 l. a year to the Government, the zemindar's own rental being 120 l.

6287. What has the Government done in its capacity of landlord in the way of spending money in settlements and surveys?—Speaking from memory, the north-western survey cost somewhat more than 300,000 l. and the settlement cost somewhat less; the whole amounted to about 575,000 l., which includes the ascertainment and record of the rights of every individual connected with the soil throughout an area (I speak again from memory) of 70,000 square miles. I believe it is one of the greatest statistical works ever executed by any Government. Bengal is now being surveyed under the same system, and so, also, are large portions of Bombay; all at the expense of the Government.

6288. Do you think any measure could be adopted to prevent the zemindars in Bengal exacting more than a certain amount of rent from the ryot?—Where rights do not exist on the part of the ryot, it is not for us to create such rights; Lord Cornwallis, whether wisely or unwisely, made the zemindar a landowner, and gave him all the privileges of raising his rents, or dealing with his lands as it seemed good to him. Where the ryots possessed rights anterior to the permanent settlement, and the rights were recognised by the laws of that period, no doubt those rights ought to be maintained; and the best and only way of maintaining such rights is, in my opinion, to give the people a good and cheap administration of justice, so that they can resort to a court of law to defend themselves against any act of extortion or exaction.

6289. Was not there some provision made for preventing the rates paid by the ryots being raised, unless the zemindars should prove that they paid less than the nerik of the pergunna?—That is the law of the permanent settlement, but the pergunna rates were very floating and uncertain things, I believe, in practice; and the result of the laws of landlord and tenant which the permanent settlement has produced is this: that where the zemindar is an able and energetic man he oppresses the ryots; but I have known instances where the zemindar was a feeble man, where the ryots have almost equally oppressed the zemindar. I remember one case, which I brought to the recollection of Mr. Halliday, when he was a witness; that was the case of an Armenian, Owen John Elias, who told me he had been obliged, through the stubbornness of his ryots, to institute no less than 1,000 summary suits for the recovery of arrears of revenue; and his ryots, by combining against him, had nearly ruined him by law expenses.

6290. Have you ever known instances of ryots raising a subscription to relieve their zemindar from pecuniary difficulties?—No, no such cases immediately occur to me.

6291. Do you think that Lord Cornwallis intended that the zemindars should have the power of increasing the rent of their ryots?—Certainly he did not intend it where the ryots were holding at any fixed rates; and certainly I think also he did not intend that any rents should be raised by the rate of the pergunna.

6292. Has not one great result of the permanent settlement been an increase of cultivation?—An enormous increase of cultivation; the whole country is now cultivated to a vast extent.

6293. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Do you know what was done upon the concluding suggestions of that minute of Sir Charles Metcalfe?—I do not.

6294. Chairman.] Can you give the Committee any information as to the manner in which the land revenue was previously or is now administered, under the native governments of India?—There is every evidence that under the native governments, with very partial exceptions, it was administered very laxly, but

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at the same time with very great severity, and often with extreme cruelty to the people. The whole history of India teems with examples, in different parts of the country, of the violent and cruel methods which were taken from time to time to collect the revenue, or to raise it, or to make the zemindars more amenable and more subservient to the Government. Perhaps the only way to show the Committee what the state of things was at different periods, is to mention facts which occur to my memory on the subject; of course, I can only give examples. One of the managers of the revenue at Moorshedabad, for example, before our period, made an enormous pit, which he filled full of all sorts of ordure and filth, and dead carcasses of animals, and nicknamed it Paradise; and into this pit he plunged up to the neck all zemindars who were in arrear of revenue, and kept them there till they paid what he chose to demand from them. He also made a very large pair of leathern pantaloons, which he filled with rats and cats, and other animals and insects, and biting creatures, and strapped them round the waists of the zemindars who were in default, until they paid their revenue. Then I have understood that the Rajah of Purnea, who was a very large payer of revenue to the native government, was put into a cage and hauled up to the top of a very high tree, and kept in this cage like a bird till he paid his revenue. It is also a matter of history that, in the year 1732, Roostum Khan, who was managing what are now called the northern Circars of Madras, hunted out all the zemindars of that part of the country, and as to those whom he could not catch himself he offered a reward for their heads, of which he made two great pyramids; and Mr. Grant, who was then, I think, the Resident at Nagpore, states that he himself had seen one of those pyramids of skulls, which remained as a monument of the revenue system of our predecessors. Those instances are of comparatively old date; but within a very few years, when Lord Hardinge was Governor-general of India, I have seen a letter from the Resident at Lucknow to Lord Hardinge, in which he states that one of the revenue collectors in Oude had sold 1,000 men, women, and children into slavery, in order to realise the revenue of a particular district. The fact is, that with very rare exceptions, where they have been wise and just administrators, the revenue system of the native states, whether in time past or time present, has been bad beyond belief or conception; and when an unfavourable contrast is drawn between our Government and the native governments, the instances taken from the latter are simply one or two exceptions. There was the famous Purnea, the administrator of the Mysore; there was a celebrated nabob at Bhopal; and there have been one or two Mahrattas of great excellence as public administrators; their examples are dwelt upon, but they are simply exceptions to the universal rule of extortion and cruelty.

6295. *Mr. Hardinge.*] Is not the revenue now collected in Oude at the point of the bayonet?—Thirty years ago, I travelled through Oude, and the first eight or nine days I was there I heard cannonading going on in the course of collecting the revenue. Lord Metcalfe told me, as an illustration of what had existed before our time, that upon our first getting possession of the Delhi districts, when he went out to make the settlement, he was obliged to take a regiment with him; but when he went out at the end of the year to make the collections, he was obliged to take two regiments and guns. Now that part of the country is as peaceable and as quiet, and the revenue is as easily collected, as it is within five miles of Calcutta. Every village was then fortified; every mud fort now is level with the ground, and the whole of the population living in hamlets all over the country, as in Bengal. I saw these fortifications in 1822, when they were fast going to ruin.

6296. *Chairman.*] What is your opinion as to the alleged impoverishment of the cultivating classes, and the causes of their actual condition?—I believe that it is entirely a mistake to suppose that the cultivating classes have been at all impoverished. I think the reverse is entirely the case throughout India, so far as I am aware. At an early period of our rule there were unhappy instances, as in the case of Bundelcund, of over-assessment; but the Government now knows right well that it is not merely wrong and wicked to over-assess the people, but that it is the greatest act of folly; it is killing the goose that lays the golden eggs; and supposing they were cruel enough, they are not foolish enough to over-assess the people. I believe the wealth of the cultivating classes throughout India has greatly increased of late years, and one proof of that out

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of many is the enormous excess of the importation of the precious metals into India compared with the exportation. One of the most marvellous facts in political economy is the way in which India for centuries, and more so of late than ever, has swallowed up the precious metals. I was looking some time ago into "Bernier's Travels," and he speaks of India as a "barathrum" which had swallowed up the precious metals in all times. There are statements now before the House of Commons, showing the enormous preponderance of the imports of the precious metals into India over the exports. What becomes of them, excepting the ornaments of the people, it is very difficult to say; but I am sure I speak within bounds when I say that within the last 100 years there has been an excess of imports over exports of at least 150,000,000 *l.* sterling. It is one of the most marvellous facts in political economy.

6297. Sir C. Wood.] Do you suppose that none of it goes out over the inland frontier?—We know all that goes out by sea; the only access by land is through the valley of Assam and over the mountains of Affghanistan, where there is no trade comparatively speaking, and the amount exported must be very trifling. The only exit one can think of, and the amount so taken must be very small, is by means of the Mahomedan pilgrims going to Mecca, who probably take a good deal of money with them; but that is the only means of exit which we cannot measure that I can think of.

6298. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Are you aware that it is generally understood that, even at the present day, though the practice is not so general as it was in former days, a considerable quantity of treasure is buried in the earth?—I have heard it so said; timid people might do it when a war was impending; but I do not think the practice can exist to any such an extent as to account for what I confess I cannot account for otherwise, viz., the enormous surplus of the import over the export of the precious metals into India.

Francis Horsley Robinson, Esq., called in; and Examined.

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6299. *Chairman.*] WILL you state the employments which you have held in India, the time you were there, and when you left?—I entered the service in 1824; I served as Assistant Magistrate and second Registrar of the Civil Court of Bareilly, Registrar and joint Magistrate of Agra, Secretary to the late Lord Metcalfe when Resident and Commissioner of Delhi, Sub-collector and joint Magistrate of Pelibeet, Collector and Magistrate of Shahjahanpoor, Collector and Magistrate of Furuckabad, Commissioner of Revenue and Police, and Political Agent for Rohilcund, and I acted in the same capacity for the division of Agra; I acted for about two months as Judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Sudder Nizamut Courts of the North-western Provinces; I was senior member of the Sudder Board of Revenue of the North-western Provinces. I resigned the service on the 1st January 1852.

6300. You are well acquainted with the mode of assessing the land revenue, both in Bengal and in the North-western Provinces, are you not?—I am practically, in the North-western Provinces, and from reading and study in Bengal.

6301. You succeeded Mr. Turner in the North-western Provinces, did not you?—I did.

6302. Did you introduce any changes, or did you follow the same system which had been previously adopted?—We continued the same system. A new question arose when I was on the Board, which I believe is still under discussion by the Government of India; it was the question of the fixity of tenure of the ryots. In the Revenue Department we had decided that, under certain conditions, the ryot or cultivator could not have the rent assessed upon him at the settlement raised during the period of the settlement; but that decision was only come to by the revenue authorities; it was still an open question for the courts, and the law was quite uncertain, so that we could not tell what the decisions of the courts might be. The question before the Government and before us was, whether or not it would be expedient to enact a law securing to the ryots the rights conferred upon them at the settlement by the revenue authorities; it was a question full of difficulty, which was left undecided when I quitted India.

6303. What is your opinion as to the propriety of securing the ryots in their possession?—I think it is absolutely the duty and the necessity of the Government,

ment, if they wish the flourishing state of the North-western Provinces to continue.

6304. Were there any complaints on the part of the natives as to the system now adopted in the North-western Provinces?—Great complaints on the part of the zemindars, and especially on the part of the talookdars, who are the highest class, and the most opulent zemindars; they found their power of extorting money from the ryots very much curtailed by our operations, and they were naturally discontented with them. The talookdars, the higher class of zemindars, had more to complain of; for they not only had their power of exacting rent limited, but they were actually discharged altogether from the management of those estates, and compensated by a money allowance, so that they lost both in money and in position. Those were the only parties who were discontented with the settlement.

6305. The other classes were not discontented with it?—No.

6306. Has that system, do you think, tended to increase the comfort and prosperity of the natives?—Most decidedly; the condition of the general body of the people since the settlement has improved to such an extent as I could not have believed, if I had not witnessed it myself.

6307. Is there abundant capital for the purpose of improvements there?—There is a great deal of capital in the country, and a great deal of money has lately been laid out by the natives in improving their lands in their own way, that is, by digging wells. But it has also been thought advisable to assist the people by advancing money on the part of the Government to effect improvements, on the security of those improvements.

6308. Is it your opinion that there is no injury arising from the want of the means of improvement?—Certainly not; the accumulation of capital has increased in the North-western Provinces since the settlement, although the accumulation of capital had been nearly destroyed in the North-western Provinces before the settlement was made, and they were falling into the condition of Bengal.

6309. In your opinion the wealth of the North-western Provinces has increased?—Materially.

6310. Has the population increased?—Very extensively.

6311. With regard to property, is it secure in the North-western Provinces?—It is secure in a great measure, owing to the character of the people who hold it; but it is insecure in another sense, that our courts are not very efficient.

6312. What courts do you refer to?—The courts of civil judicature.

6313. Are they deficient with regard to their decisions as to property?—I think it is principally because they have a bad law, or rather no law to administer, and a bad system of procedure.

6314. What change would you recommend in the procedure of the courts?—I would simplify it altogether.

6315. You speak of the Company's courts in the North-western Provinces?—Yes.

6316. What change in the procedure would you recommend?—In the first place, a code is very much wanted, so that the judges should know what law they have to administer. Sitting to a small extent on the Judicial Bench, I have found myself without any law to administer; the consequence is, that law is made up of the individual opinions of the judges, and what law exists is like the English law, a collection of decided cases, those cases, I believe, running over a very small portion of time; but they are very numerous and very complicated, and you have all the inconvenience that you have in England of such a system of law, without the counterbalancing advantages of judges of very high qualifications, of an intelligent bar, and a public opinion brought to bear upon the adjudication of the courts.

6317. In cases affecting property, would you introduce juries?—I think juries properly regulated, or rather punchayets, are a material assistance to the administration of justice. I quite agree with what Mr. Henry Lushington has stated in a Minute, which is embodied in the proceedings before the Committee of the House of Lords.

6318. With regard to evidence, would you take it in the present form, or should it be always orally given?—With regard to evidence, I would not take it

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it as at present; it should be oral evidence taken by the judge, on the system on which we take our evidence generally in revenue matters.

6319. Do you consider that the revenue in the North-western Provinces is likely to increase?—It has increased since the operation of our settlement. Our receipts have increased every year. Our revenue does not stand nominally at so high an amount as it did when we commenced the settlement, but the receipts upon that revenue are much larger.

6320. In what way has it increased?—The collections have been punctual. Before we had a large rent-roll, and the rents badly paid. Now we have a moderate rent-roll, and the rents punctually paid.

6321. Has it increased in consequence of an increase of cultivation, and from land which did not formerly pay revenue coming into cultivation?—Certainly, from an increase of cultivation. I have ridden over a tract for a day, every acre of which was cultivated, which I remember 30 years ago a barren waste.

6322. Is the police good?—The police, under all the disadvantages attending it is, I think, one of the best things we have done in India; there is still much room for improvement, but a great deal has been done.

6323. Besides those qualifications which you have mentioned as to improvements to be made in the judicial system, are there any other improvements or suggestions which you would make with regard to the revenue department in the North-western Provinces?—I should like to see, in regard to the administration of the revenue, more consideration shown to the natives, an extended employment of them, and a fairer treatment of the native servants of the Government.

6324. Will you state to the Committee more at large your views upon those three points?—I think some opening should be made for the Government to employ natives in situations of greater emolument and higher power in the revenue department than is possible under the present regulations. I would have all native servants, whose employment involves the exercise of a considerable degree of intellect, secured in their appointments from being removed by any authority less than that of the Government. The discipline of the natives, I think, should be the same as that of the English servants of the Government, and they should not be treated with more harshness than the European servants of the Government are.

6325. In your answer you are referring to the servants of the Government; you are not speaking of the cultivators of the soil?—To the servants of the Government who are not in the covenanted service. Generally an Englishman, or a man of mixed blood, gets more lenient treatment than a native; any offence which a native commits is visited with extreme and very often with unjust severity.

6326. Who visits him with that severity?—His immediate official superiors.

6327. Those are covenanted servants of the Company?—Those are covenanted servants of the Company. The collectors and magistrates are the people in whom that authority is principally vested, and they are the people who, I think, often treat the natives with great harshness.

6328. Mr. *Elliot*.] What class of persons are removable by the collector?—All classes of persons short of a deputy collector and joint magistrate.

6329. Is the sheristadar or the treasurer of the collector's office removable?—Yes; but he has an appeal to the Commissioner.

6330. Has he no appeal to the Government?—He has an appeal to the Government, but in practice the Government do not interfere.

6331. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Would you extend the Government interference in all those matters to the appointments and dismissals of common peons?—I guarded my statement by saying all appointments which required the exercise of superior intellect, which could be filled only by educated men.

6332. Limiting your answer to that class of persons, would not it entail an enormous mass of business upon the Government?—I very much doubt that. I think if a collector knew that proceedings of this kind would come under the notice of the Government, he would be cautious how he removed a man.

6333. Do you think that the system which you suggest would have no injurious effect in weakening the authority of the collectors, or any other officer of that description?—I see no necessity for supporting authority in the sense of enabling

enabling a man to do wrong with impunity. In the earlier part of our rule, perhaps, we were in a position in which we were not able to look too narrowly into these matters; but at present the subjection of the country, I speak of the North-western Provinces, is so complete, and our authority so firmly established, that our policy is not vigour so much as to see that authority is not abused.

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6334. Mr. *Elliot*.] Does not the Sudder Board exercise a supervision over those removals?—They would if they were allowed; but I think it is the policy of the Government in the North-western Provinces to discourage the Sudder Board from interfering in those matters. They (the Government) hold the opinion, that as little interference should take place as possible after the thing has gone up to the Commissioner, and they are even against much interference on the part of the Commissioner; although I believe no people are more aware than they are, or more ready to acknowledge that there is a great deal of unfairness and severity exercised towards the native servants of the Company.

6335. Mr. *Mangles*.] The native servants of which you have spoken, in regard to whom an undue severity is exercised, are purely ministerial officers, are not they? have you not made an exception with respect to the deputy collectors and deputy magistrates?—The tehsildar exercises judicial powers.

6336. Has the collector power to remove a tehsildar?—Yes.

6337. Without appeal?—He has an appeal to the Commissioner.

6338. Has he no appeal beyond the Commissioner?—He has an appeal nominally to the Government, but the Government never will interfere, and never do interfere.

6339. Has not it struck you, as it has struck many persons connected with India, that one of the great evils of our administration is that right of perpetual appeal, and not having any final authority in anybody's hands, so that often a question of no very great importance is not only appealed through all the intermediate stages up to the Government, but even home to the Court of Directors?—Certainly; but that I do not think applies to the supervision of a small body of officers exercising very important duties, from whom the number of appeals on the whole would not be likely to be very great; and certainly, I think, those cases would much more seldom come before the Government if such a system as that which I have indicated prevailed.

6340. With regard to the higher class of native functionaries, the sudder amins and principal sudder amins, native deputy collectors, and native deputy magistrates, they have full protection, have not they?—They have full protection, except that I think a man in the covenanted service would get off better, if a charge were brought against him, than a man of this class. There is a natural bias in favour of a man of your own colour, or your own rank of life, and mixing in society with you.

6341. Have you ever known, in practice, a principal sudder amin or a native deputy collector unjustly dismissed from his office?—I do not think I have, but I have known men of another description improperly kept in.

6342. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Are you to be understood to say that in the North-western Provinces the collector has the power of dismissing a tehsildar, without making any reference, or obtaining the sanction of the Commissioner?—He does so every day; I have myself often taken up cases as Commissioner, finding that a man had been turned out, when I had had no report even of the fact of his being turned out.

6343. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] There is an appeal, is not there, from the collector to the Commissioner?—Yes.

6344. And from the Commissioner to the Board of Revenue?—Yes.

6345. Is that appeal frequently had recourse to by natives who are dismissed from their appointments?—It is had recourse to, but it has been discontinued very much of late years, from the aversion of the Commissioner or the Sudder Board to interfere in those cases.

6346. Have you not known cases having relation to the officers whom you have spoken of, where that reference and appeal have come home to the Court of Directors?—Yes, I think that cases of that sort have arisen.

6347. Do you think any gentleman is competent to discharge the duties of a collector, who cannot be entrusted with such a control over his subordinates as enables him to dismiss them for negligence or misconduct, when the improper

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exercise of that power of dismissal is controlled by a power of appeal to his immediate superiors?—Certainly not; but then you have not every man competent to exercise the duties of a collector who holds that appointment.

6348. Do you think that the tendency, generally speaking, of the gentlemen of the civil service of India is, to be unkind, and harsh, and cruel towards the natives?—I think the tendency is certainly to be harsher, unkind, and less conciliating than it used to be when I first went into the country.

6349. Have you ever heard it urged as a general complaint, that where natives and Europeans appear before the country courts, the desire to be considerate to the natives, and to give them justice, is very often supposed to be carried to such an extent as to justify complaints on the part of the Europeans?—I never knew an instance of the kind.

6350. Have you heard that complaint referred to among European settlers?—No, I do not think I have heard that; but there are not many European settlers in the North-western Provinces.

6351. In the North-western Provinces, speaking of the gentlemen whom you have known there, do you state that among them there has been this disposition to be harsh and unkind?—No; the general character of the civil service in the North-western Provinces, I am happy to say, is an exceedingly high one, but in so numerous a body of men there are of course some who are not so good as others.

6352. The observations which you have made to the Committee, it would be your desire to confine rather to a few exceptions?—Certainly; I make them not as condemnatory of the civil service altogether, of which I entertain a very high opinion, but as pointing out what I consider a defect in our administration which ought to be remedied; I believe it is in the course of being remedied. The attention of the Government has been a good deal drawn to the subject, and I have no doubt that measures will be gradually taken to do away with it; but there stands the fact.

6353. Do not you think that a collector, or a judge, in order to discharge his duty efficiently to the public, must have a control over the subordinates who are around him?—I do not think it necessary that the control should be unchecked.

6354. Mr. Mangles.] Should not you think it an evil that, by the fiat of a superior appellate authority, a collector or a judge should be obliged to retain in the employment of the Government under him a sheristadar, or a treasurer, in whom he felt no confidence, but whom he believed to be a dishonest man and an intriguer, though he may not be able to prove it before a court of justice?—Or a man he has a prejudice against. In all those cases it is very inconvenient for the public service to keep such men in juxtaposition, their relations being so intimate; but the remedy I have proposed, which I succeeded partly in inducing the Government to permit us to adopt in India, is to transfer such a person to another district, so as to separate people so situated.

6355. Sir R. H. Inglis.] In point of fact, did you ever exercise the power in your own public life of either dismissing, or recommending the Government practically to dismiss, by removing any native subordinate who was immediately under your jurisdiction?—I have exercised that power.

6356. That power which you exercised in your own person would probably, in your judgment, be exercised with equal discretion by some of your compeers in the public service of India?—Certainly.

6357. You would not, therefore, consider that the exercise of such power by another gentleman was necessarily an abuse?—Certainly not.

6358. Are you aware whether such a power exists in England in respect to the removal of functionaries from a subordinate office at the discretion of their superiors?—Undoubtedly.

6359. In point of principle, then, you do not mean to say that you wish the Committee to understand that there is any objection to the existence, and of course not to the exercise of the power in India?—Under due checks.

6360. Your attention was called lately to the existence of such checks; viz. that the power could not be exercised by you, or any other gentleman in an analogous situation, without the party aggrieved, if aggrieved he were, having redress in the form of an appeal. That is the fact, is not it?—Yes.

6361. From your knowledge of the native character, do you consider that they are more incorruptible and more free from administrative defects than the
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great mass of subordinate persons in offices in England?—I should think they were very nearly on an equality, wherever you take proper measures to secure their probity and good conduct.

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6362. By what process would you secure probity?—By a careful selection, a sufficient remuneration, and fair treatment when in office.

6363. With respect to the three sources of success, careful selection, sufficient remuneration, and good treatment, will you state to the Committee whether you consider the actual administration in India, as conducted by yourself and other gentlemen in similar situations, be or be not free from blame?—I think we are certainly not free from blame in either of those respects: I think we select hastily, we do not remunerate sufficiently, and we do not treat with sufficient consideration when in office.

6364. To proceed with the three points in order, what fault do you find with the selection, stating in the beginning of your answer by whom such selection is made?—I can only speak from experience; I have seen many unfit selections made.

6365. By whom?—By the officers who have the respective powers of selection; it is generally the collectors and magistrates.

6366. Do those collectors and magistrates in the districts over which you have yourself presided, as a general course of proceeding, recommend men who are unfit, or is the proportion of unfit men so recommended by them to those who are fit to be recommended about nine to one, or in any other proportion?—It is difficult to state an arithmetical proportion of that kind without having the arithmetical elements for making the calculation.

6367. In other words, is the number of unfit appointments made so large as to fix itself upon your mind and memory as an element of evil in the administration?—Taking the districts on an average there are in them about five or six tehsildars, and generally you would not get above two or three really good men administering that office.

6368. Is that from the difficulty of finding men fit for the service, or from partiality, prejudice, or corruption on the part of those who have to make the selection?—Certainly not from corruption; very little from partiality; but I think it is generally from want of familiarity with the qualities which fit a man for public employment among the natives in India.

6369. The second cause to which you attributed failure was inadequate remuneration; have you any suggestion to make to the Committee upon that point, or have you any facts by which you can sustain your own opinion?—A tehsildar has generally 15 *l.* a month. His office is a very important one; he exercises judicial functions in the first instance; he is responsible for the collection and safe custody of large sums of money; he is at the head of the police of his subdivision of the country. I cannot help considering that a less sum than 15 *l.* a month is too little for them. There are many of them that have less than that; and I think, as far as I can judge from my experience, no man holding that situation should have less than 20 *l.* a month.

6370. Was that conviction impressed upon your mind during the period of your holding office in India?—Yes, undoubtedly; it was the result of long-continued observation of the good effect produced by every step which we have hitherto made in those three directions.

6371. Did you feel it your duty to make a representation to that effect to the Government?—I have made repeated representations, both public and private, on the subject.

6372. Did you ever have it in your power to act upon your own conviction by raising the salaries of any of your officers?—Latterly Mr. Thomason enabled us to do that, but it was done in the way in which things are done which men are driven to do; it was done by taking from some of the tehsildars who were paid a little more highly, and giving to those who were paid less upon the occasion of changes in the appointments.

6373. In point of fact, according to that measure of value, the tehsildar was subsequently remunerated by raising his salary to your own standard of the value of his services?—Very nearly.

6374. With respect to the third point which you referred to, as essential in the good conduct of the English administration in India, the good treatment of the natives who may be under our administration, will you state to the Committee whether you wish them to understand that, as a general rule, the bad

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treatment may be regarded as predominant, and the good treatment as the exception?—The statement which I made originally was, that they should be treated upon an equal footing; that is equally well with servants of other classes; and I should say that, undoubtedly, in some cases a conscientious and just man would treat his native subordinates with the same justice that he would have treated Englishmen in the same position. But those are exceptions. There is a strong feeling of dislike on the part of the ruling race in India to the people who are ruled over; the fact was known no better to any man than to the late Lord William Bentinck, who first attempted to stem the current of that feeling, and to raise the native population in the scale of society.

6375. Do you wish the Committee to understand that the scale of estimation in which the native population is held, has not been advanced by the measures of Lord William Bentinck?—Undoubtedly it has been advanced; all I maintain is, the desirableness of pursuing the course which he began.

6376. Where a Governor-general begins upon that principle, probably having the power, he will enforce it upon all the officers of his Government. Do you wish the Committee to understand that the regard paid to the feelings of the natives has or has not been increased greatly since particular attention was drawn to the subject by the measures of the Governor-general, Lord William Bentinck, himself?—I think there has been a reaction upon that point. Since the time of Lord William Bentinck there has been a reaction.

6377. As against the native population?—As against the native population.

6378. Do you speak from your own experience, you having left India, as the Committee understand, in January 1852?—I left the service at that time.

6379. Your experience, therefore, being to within the last two years an Indian experience?—Yes.

6380. You wish the Committee to understand that less regard was paid in the year in which you left India to the native feelings in the administration of the government of India, than had been the case in the time of Lord William Bentinck?—Yes, certainly, less than in the early part of my service; I think the feeling has grown up of late years.

6381. When did that reaction first take place?—I think I can trace it back as growing up gradually from the time that Lord William Bentinck left India.

6382. Is not it the fact, that the native character has had means of development since the time of the Marquis of Hastings, the time of Lord William Bentinck, and the time of Sir Charles Metcalfe, which it never enjoyed in the time of the Marquis of Wellesley, or Lord Cornwallis, or Mr. Hastings, three eminent Governors-general?—I can hardly say so; I think in those old times we had a great deal more of intercourse with the natives; we depended more upon their influence, and saw more of them socially than we do now.

6383. Admitting that the servants of the Company saw more socially of the natives at an earlier period than they may have done since, do you wish the Committee to believe that the influence of the natives with the press, and with the power of meeting in public assembly, is less now than it was when they had no public press, and when they had no power of meeting?—Yes, I think it is less. In making that statement, I should like to give my reason for it. The native press does not exist, and the meetings do not extend out of Calcutta.

6384. When you say the native press does not exist, do you mean that there are no publications in the native language permitted by the Government?—Yes, they are permitted by the Government, and you have a long list of newspapers; but if you had a return of the number of readers you would find it so small that it can hardly be said there is such a thing as a native press. If such a thing as a native press had existed to anything like the extent in which a press exists in England, the subject of the native press would have forced itself much more strongly upon the attention of the Government in India and at home than it has done hitherto.

6385. Have you, in your experience, known any instances in which parties removed from office have complained of that removal, and have complained in vain?—Yes.

6386. Will you specify any instances of that kind?—That is taxing my memory, and I should require time to refresh my recollection as to individual cases.

6387. Can you state upon your general belief, that there were such cases?—Yes. I will mention one case which occurs to me at this moment: I re-
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member the case of a tehsildar who was dismissed by a collector in my division. The accusation upon which he was originally dismissed, though the affair became very complicated afterwards, was that he had disposed of a pony by raffle, and had made the people attached to his court take tickets for it; he was dismissed by the collector upon that ground. About the same time, a civil servant of the Government disposed of a bungalow upon the same terms; that came to the knowledge of the Government. The tehsildar was dismissed, and died; the civil servant received a reprimand, and was ordered to return the money which he had taken for the tickets of his bungalow.

6388. How soon after the dismissal did the tehsildar die?—The question became exceedingly complicated subsequently; I took up the case and represented it to the Government; he died during the investigation, I think about a year after his dismissal.

6389. It is not clear, therefore, that he would have died a dismissed servant had the investigation proceeded?—I think his chance of restoration was the most remote thing imaginable.

6390. What was your own decision upon that case?—My own decision was in favour of the tehsildar.

6391. The party having died, did any ultimate decision take place?—No; no ultimate decision took place, because he could not be brought to trial.

6392. The European was punished by a reprimand?—Yes.

6393. Known to all the station?—To the station, I suppose, it was known; it was not known generally.

6394. Was it known to all those whom it might affect by its example?—No, certainly not; it was not published to the service.

6395. Sir J. W. Hogg.] You are of opinion, that the practice of a public officer, like a tehsildar, raffling any article, and inducing persons under his authority to take tickets, is open to great abuse?—Certainly.

6396. Do not you think that the collector was justified in showing his disapproval of such a course by dismissing the officer who had recourse to it?—Certainly.

6397. Then you do not complain of the dismissal of the tehsildar?—Not supposing his crime to be proved; I did not find the facts proved by the collector. But my position is this; in the case of the native, even supposing the facts to be proved, the collector turns him out of his office; he being a man upon a small salary, and a man of an inferior rank to that of an English gentleman, and from whom less can be expected than from an English gentleman. A civil servant commits the same crime, and it is considered sufficient by the Government if he receives a reprimand. I mention those cases simply to show that there is one rule of punishment for the native, and another rule of punishment for the European. The results of the cases will not affect my position at all.

6398. I am confining my question to the tehsildar who disposed of a pony by raffle, inducing those under his authority to take tickets; in your opinion, was he not the collector justified in dismissing the tehsildar for that proceeding, assuming that his conduct was such as you have stated?—Yes; I should have said he was justified, provided the same measure had been meted out to the covenanted servant who committed the same fault.

6399. Is it your opinion that the punishment to be inflicted upon any individual, for any offence, can in any manner depend upon the punishment to be inflicted upon some other individual for some other offence of an analogous character?—Not so far as the individual judge is concerned; but certainly it is a matter which ought to attract the attention of those who are conducting the administration of a great country; they ought not to allow a state of things under which one class of men receives a heavier punishment than for the same crime is received by another class of men.

6400. Am I right in supposing that this collector disposed of a bungalow by raffle?—By raffle.

6401. Who took tickets for the raffle?—The officers of his court and the zemindars of his district.

6402. Was that reported to the Government?—It was reported to the Government; the Government obtained information of it.

6403. Did the Government strongly animadvert upon his conduct, and remove him from his situation?—They reprimanded him; they did not remove him from his situation.

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6404. They reprimanded him for his conduct?—They reprimanded him for his conduct, and ordered him to take back the bungalow and restore the money, which was done.

6405. Then I understand your complaint to the Committee to be, that this gentleman, for that conduct, which certainly was improper, was not dismissed the service?—I make no complaint, nor do I appear in the character of a complainant before the Committee. I make a statement of what my opinion is; that there is a different rule of treatment for the native servants of the Government, as compared with the European servants of the Government, and I have stated a case in proof of my opinion.

6406. You have been a long time in the service, and know the manner in which persons are treated by the Government, and the offences for which they are punished; is it your opinion, that to have dismissed that gentleman from the service for that instance of impropriety, would have been an act of extreme severity, and would have been so regarded by the service at large?—My opinion is, that a man remunerated upon the liberal scale upon which the Government remunerate their civil servants; placed in the honourable position in which he is, holding the rank of an English gentleman, ought, when he commits such an act as that, to be dismissed the service; and I believe that the large majority of the civil servants, who, I am happy to say, are men of honour and honesty, would approve of the sentence.

6407. You are of opinion that this gentleman, whoever he was, ought to have been dismissed the service?—Yes.

6408. You spoke of a reaction in the public feeling, as regards the natives, since the departure of Lord William Bentinck; since the departure of Lord William Bentinck, has there not been a continuous increase in the employment the natives in public situations, and also of the remuneration which they receive?—I am happy to say that there has been.

6409. Did not that increase in the numbers employed, the increase of confidence reposed in them, and the increase of their remuneration, go on during the whole of the administration of Lord Auckland?—During the administration of Lord Auckland it went on. I think the spirit of Lord William Bentinck's administration was fully carried out.

6410. Has not it been carried out continuously through the administration of Lord Ellenborough, Lord Hardinge, and the present Lord Dalhousie?—Yes, on the part of the Supreme Government, I may say it has been so.

6411. Is there any district in the British territories where the administration is carried on so much through the instrumentality of the natives, or where the remuneration to the natives is so large, as in the North-western Provinces, particularly the Punjaub?—No, I do not think there is.

6412. Does not it show that the employment of the natives, and the increase of their remuneration, is rapidly progressing, when we see that in the most recently-acquired district the number of those employed is greatest, and their remuneration largest?—I should not say it is rapidly progressing; it is progressing; I think the thing is forcing itself.

6413. You adverted to the case of the tehsildars as being inadequately paid; and you spoke of a representation to that effect having been made to the Government, which recommendation was that, as vacancies occurred, the pay of those tehsildars who received large pay should be diminished, and an addition made to the pay of the subordinates?—Yes, to equalise it.

6414. I believe that was referred to the Home authorities?—Yes.

6415. I believe the reply of the authorities was this, that if any tehsildar received too much, his pay ought to be diminished; that if any tehsildar received too little, his pay ought to be increased; but that they disapproved of the increase of the one, or the decrease of the other, being made contingent upon the casualty of death?—That order had not reached India when I left it.

6416. Do you admit the soundness in principle of what I have now stated?—Entirely. I beg leave to state further, that I do not believe there is anything more distasteful to the Supreme Government of India, or the Government at home, or anything they would be more ready to remedy, than exactly the state of things that I have given an account of.

6417. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] You have stated to the Committee that it is your opinion that in the last 15 years the kindly feeling on the part of the civil

civil service towards the natives of India has been diminishing; will you state to what you attribute that diminution of kindly feeling?—It is a subject on which I have thought much, and I cannot quite satisfactorily make it out to myself. I think one cause is, that we do not depend upon the natives; we are no longer in so much want of the help of the natives as we used to be. When I first went to the North-western Provinces the country was unsettled; we used then to be obliged to count upon the powerful zemindars, and the natives of rank, to help us keep the country quiet; but now that necessity has ceased; that, I think, is one reason.

6418. Do you attribute this diminution of kindly feeling to the civil service generally, or to any particular rank or class of the civil service?—To the civil service generally, I think.

6419. It pervades the civil service, from the highest to the lowest?—I think so; I think the old servants of the Company retain the kindly feeling unchanged, but it is the younger branches of the service who show this indisposition towards the natives.

6420. *Chairman.*] What length of service do you consider to constitute an old servant?—I should say that men of about 25 years' standing in the service might be considered old servants; with those whose service has been under 25 years this feeling has been growing up.

6421. Are the Committee to understand you to say that this feeling is confined to persons whose length of service is less than 25 years, and that it is 25 years since the change took place?—It is from the time of Lord William Bentinck; the feeling has been growing up with the men who came after the time of Lord William Bentinck.

6422. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] If this unfortunate change of feeling is general, what is the benefit which you anticipate from depriving the collectors and men of that rank of the power of appointing and dismissing their subordinates, and devolving the whole of that power upon the superior officers of the Government?—The superior officers of the Government are the best men in the service, generally speaking, and the least likely to be influenced by this feeling to which I refer.

6423. Do you consider that the gentlemen of 15 and 20 years' standing in the service are not as conversant with the vernacular languages of the people as those of 30 or 40 years' standing?—They are not, certainly, the profound scholars which former times produced; but, as far as the vernacular languages go, I should think they may be about the same, but they see much less of the natives, and know much less of their characters.

6424. Are there any gentlemen of the senior list of civilians who have travelled more about or seen more of the country than those officers of whom there are many now in the service, who were employed in making the settlements?—The men who made the settlements are rapidly dying out; the people who made the settlements were very much thrown into contact with the natives; the settlements have now been closed for some time.

6425. How long is it since the last settlements were finished?—The mass of the settlements, I think, were finished about 1841 or 1842.

6426. Then many of the gentlemen who were employed in those settlements must still be very young men?—Not many of them very young men; for example, I myself was employed in the settlement, and continued working at it till nearly the close of it.

6427. You have spoken of 150 rupees a month as the salary of a tehsildar; are not there a great many tehsildars who receive a much higher salary than that?—No, the highest salary now is 200 rupees.

6428. Since when have the salaries been reduced to that level?—I think it is within five or six years that that equalisation measure was introduced.

6429. Are the tehsildaries diminished in size, compared to what they were?—On the contrary, they have been rather enlarged.

6430. Are the rates of salary at all fixed in any ratio of per-centage to the amount of revenue to be collected?—Not by any absolute rule, but partially they are so.

6431. Do you consider 150 rupees a month the average of the salaries?—I should think it was hardly the average of the salaries.

6432. What is the salary of a moonsiff?—The salary of a moonsiff, I think, is 150 rupees, and an allowance for his office.

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6433. What is the salary of a Sudder Amin?—I think he has 200 or 250 rupees.

6434. Do you consider that a tehsildar should receive a higher rate of salary, or as high a rate of salary as an officer entrusted with a very large share of the administration of justice?—No, certainly not.

6435. Would you propose to increase the salaries of all the officers?—I was speaking of the revenue officers. If I speak of the officers of the judicial department, I should say that what I have said applies to them still more strongly; the remuneration there is still more inadequate, but the treatment is fairer.

6436. How many tehsildars are there generally under one collector?—I think five or six.

6437. What do you consider this rate of salary of 150 rupees a month, enjoyed by a native officer, to be equivalent to in the allowance of an English gentleman doing the same duties, having regard to the obligations of society which each is liable to?—My idea is, that the remuneration of a native might be two-thirds of what you give to an Englishman, or one-half at the lowest.

6438. Do you think an Englishman who comes from a foreign country, who has had an expensive education before he leaves, and who lives in a climate most uncongenial to his health, ought to be remunerated in no higher proportion than one-third, or one-half more than the native?—I judge by the class who apply for those appointments in India now. You would find plenty of Englishmen in India who would be glad to take a tehsildary on those terms.

6439. Would they be competent to discharge the duties of the office?—I think they would fit themselves for it.

6440. By what process could they fit themselves for it?—There are, to a considerable extent, Europeans and persons of mixed blood so employed now in India upon the better tehsildaries; they get 200 rupees.

6441. *Chairman.*] The Committee understand from you, that this reaction to the prejudice of the native servants commenced after the end of Lord Bentinck's Government; do you attribute that reaction to anything arising from his previous Government, or do you attribute it to the conduct of Sir Charles Metcalfe and his successors?—I do not attribute it in any way or shape to the high authorities of the Government. I consider it to be a social change, which I do not clearly see my way in accounting for. It is upon the same principle that all the old Indian military officers would tell you there is no longer the same feeling of kindness on the part of the European officers to the sepoys.

6442. You do not attribute it to the authorities in India, nor to the authorities at home, nor the last charter which commenced just about that time?—No, except that I think a great deal might be done by the Government in India to check this feeling.

6443. Can you point out any particular measure which the Government might adopt?—If I were the Governor of a Presidency in India, I should be certain of being able to check it by the mere signification of my desire that the thing should cease. A man who holds the promotion of every person in the service in his hands, can effect a great reform of that sort.

6444. To that extent, you think successive Governors in India have not intimated their wish that the native servants should be treated with consideration?—I do not think it is a question which has been sufficiently prominently brought before them.

6445. *Mr. Mangles.*] Do not you think that Mr. Thomason has a very strong feeling of affection for the native population under his rule?—I think not.

6446. You spoke of a reaction against the native population; has not it been your experience since you have been in India, that a greater degree of social politeness and consideration has been paid to the natives?—I think not.

6447. Was not it the case when you first entered the service, that very few European functionaries were in the habit of giving the natives chairs in their presence, or allowing them to sit down, or allowing them to enter their rooms with their shoes on?—The custom of taking off their shoes is a point of etiquette. It was considered among the natives in my time, that is, the well-bred natives, a piece of rudeness to come in with their shoes on. I could no more have induced some of my native friends to come in with their shoes on, than I could have got an English gentleman to sit among ladies with his hat on. I think there was much more courtesy shown in the North-western Provinces in early days

days than there has been of late years; and what is more, we saw a great deal more of the natives than we do now.

6448. Do English officials keep their native servants standing in their presence now as they used to do?—No, it has been found more convenient, and the work is done better, by their being allowed to sit. I think it was Mr. Robert Bird who effected that change, and a very advantageous change it was.

6449. You do not attribute that to any kindly feeling, but simply to a selfish regard for the work being done better?—I do not think the change had much to do with kindness of feeling.

6450. You spoke of the difference in the degree of punishment meted out upon one occasion to a native functionary and to an European functionary; do you think the dismissal of a native tehsildar, and the dismissal of an European collector, though nominally the same, are in fact the same with regard to the severity of the punishment?—I think when a man loses his bread it is much the same to him whatever his rank is.

6451. Do you think a native of India in the position of a tehsildar does in fact lose his bread and means of livelihood by being dismissed from the service, in the same manner that a civil servant of that rank who has been, say from 10 to 20 years in India, would lose his bread by dismissal?—It must depend upon individual circumstances.

6452. Have not they all pursuits in the country to fall back upon in the one case and not in the other?—There is no very ready opening for employment in India.

6453. Is the public service the only means by which the natives can rise to consideration and wealth in India?—Certainly not.

6454. Are not the whole of the walks of life in which his brethren and countrymen gain their livelihoods, and obtain a competency, open to such a native?—Yes; but I suppose it would be so with the European.

6455. You think that it is the same punishment in reality, as well as in name, the dismissal of a European and the dismissal of a native?—Except that the European officer loses a much better thing than the native.

6456. You do not think it can be said to be more ruinous to the one than to the other?—I do not think it is, except that formerly a native who was dismissed the service had always a chance of getting back to it.

6457. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] He can get employment under a native prince?—He could get back into the Government service. So well known was it that those removals were capricious, that nothing was more common than for a man dismissed in one district to go to another and get employment. The Court of Directors issued an order prohibiting the re-employment of servants under those circumstances.

6458. Is there any impossibility in the native going to Oude, or Najpore, or Gwalior, and getting employment there?—There is nothing to hinder him from doing so.

6459. *Chairman*.] On the whole, do you consider that the population of the North-western Provinces is contented or discontented with the administration of the Government there?—Latterly there has been a good deal of discontent upon some points. They are contented with our revenue administration, I think, and with our police administration; but there are, unfortunately, matters of discontent floating in the native mind at present.

6460. They were contented with your administration of the revenue?—I think I was liked by them. I liked them, and it is very probable that they liked me.

6461. Will you explain what you mean by the causes of discontent which are floating in the native mind?—Mr. Mangles in his evidence mentioned one thing which has raised a good deal of discontent, and that is the resumption. That discontent has, of course, a good deal died away with the lapse of time. There is discontent too to a great extent, and uncertainty and anxiety, upon the religious question; and I think the people feel very much the grievance that I have just now been speaking of, the harshness and inequality of their treatment, and the inadequacy of the remuneration of the native servants of the Government.

6462. The question refers to the great mass of the population; the inhabitants and cultivators of the soil; is there much discontent prevailing among them?

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—The cultivators of the soil are decidedly contented, because much has been done for them.

6463. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Your remarks as to the discontent which prevails do not apply to the ryots, or the cultivators generally, but merely to our subordinate native officers?—And to the general population of the country.

6464. I understood you to say that it was confined to the subordinate officers?—The discontent which I allude to is a discontent with our Government. There is a great uneasiness and anxiety in the minds of the people upon the religious question, for instance. The ryot does not trouble himself much with that; but the population of the towns and the intelligent classes are discontented on that score.

6465. Mr. *Mangles*.] What do you mean by the religious question?—The missionaries have made a great deal of progress, and that has alarmed people of an opposite religion. In the next place, the servants of the Government have, to a considerable extent, taken a part in missionary proceedings; and altogether the native mind is unsettled upon that point. The orders of the Government about not assuming religious trusts, and the reasons assigned, which have become lately known, for the abolition of the tax on pilgrims, have all created a considerable body of discontent in the native mind, and a very unfounded impression that the Government will eventually, like the former Mahomedan Government, proceed to use unfair and undue modes of conversion.

6466. Has the Government used any unfair means hitherto?—No, I do not think they have; but one of their measures certainly has produced that impression on the native mind.

6467. Do you think it is undesirable that there should be the freest attempt on the part of religionists, of whatever class, to propagate what they believe to be the truth?—My opinion is, that the Government of India should have no partiality in favour of any religion, but should indifferently govern the people, whatever their faith be, and that no man should be under any virtual or legal disability or inconvenience by reason of his religious faith.

6468. That is not exactly an answer to my question. The Government, you said, have not shown any undue partiality?—I said that the Government have not taken any undue means to promote conversion.

6469. The Government having taken no undue means to promote conversion, do you not think it desirable that individuals, of whatever religious persuasion, should be allowed, by the use of suasion and argument, the freest exercise of their endeavours to promote what they believe to be the truth?—Provided they were not officers of the Government.

6470. Do you believe that any unpopularity of the Government, resulting from missionary freedom of action, ought to induce the Government to discourage missionary enterprise?—Certainly not; but they ought to hold the balance even.

6471. You believe that the unpopularity, which you say has arisen from that circumstance, is an unpopularity, be it more or less, which is unavoidably connected with the free exercise of religious opinion and the dissemination of opinion?—Yes; I say more than that even. I would say that it has been caused in a measure by the actual success of the missionaries.

6472. Do you concur in the opinion which was expressed by Mr. Macaulay in one of his essays, that for a person to desire the propagation and success of Christianity in India, it is not even necessary that the person should be a Christian himself, but only that he should not be much below the general European standard of civilisation and benevolence?—I should say that a man of education and enlightenment, even if he were not himself a Christian, would be glad to see the pure moral doctrine of the Christian religion taking the place of the imperfect moral doctrine of the Hindoo and Mahomedan systems.

6473. You do not think that the Government have taken any retrograde step in consequence of this alleged unpopularity arising from the success of the missionaries?—Certainly not; but I should be very anxious that the Government should take no step in support of missionary efforts, or in support of the Christian religion, and especially in the interest of the extension of the Christian religion. I cannot conceive of anything more fatal to the advancement of the Christian religion in India than its being understood by the people of India that the Government are anxious it should be extended, because it makes Christianity odious to them; nor can I conceive anything more dangerous,

gerous, in a political sense, than the risk of creating what does not yet exist in India, but which might be created by any decided action of the Government in this cause, and that is a spirit of religious patriotism.

6474. Is it practically the case, that in the distribution of public offices among the natives any undue preference has been shown, either by the Government or by its servants, to the natives of India professing Christianity?—I believe Christianity has not made sufficient progress to enable one to judge of that; there are not enough qualified Christians yet made to bring that question before us.

6475. Among the very small body of professing Christians, do you know of many, or indeed of any, instances of Christian natives having been raised to any situations under the Government?—I do not know of a single instance.

6476. Mr. *Elliot*.] In the superior and controlling situations in which you have been as a Revenue Commissioner, and a member of the Sudder Board, have you had occasion to report to the Government many instances of harshness on the part of collectors or other European officers under your control?—Yes; I have had a good many complaints.

6477. What has been the result?—I think the tendency of the Government in the North-western Provinces has been to support the collectors against me. I have no hesitation in mentioning, that when I sat on the Board, my colleague and I both expressed our opinions, and acted upon them, with regard to the reappointment of a tehsildar; and the Government told us in reply, that though they had laid down a rule for themselves not to interfere with our decision in that point, they were exceedingly displeased with our decision, and recommended us to avoid taking that line in future.

6478. Was that because the Government did not agree with your view of the case?—The Government did not say that; they kept that point entirely in the back ground, but they stated that it was our interfering in that class of cases which they disapproved of.

6479. Did that happen frequently?—That was the only instance in which they wrote to that effect to us.

6480. *Chairman*.] Do you speak of the Lieutenant-governor, Mr. Thomason?—Yes.

6481. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] Was Mr. Thomason Lieutenant-governor during the time that you were a Member of the Sudder Board, and also a Commissioner?—Yes.

6482. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Were any of the Christian converts, to whom you have alluded, persons of rank and position in society?—I have known some persons of very considerable standing in native society, who have of late years become converts, and very sincere converts, I believe.

6483. Were they Hindoos or Musselmans?—Hindoos; I know of no instance of a Mahomedan convert of any importance.

6484. What is your opinion of the recent Act of Legislation, Act 21, of 1850?—I approve of that Act.

6485. On what ground?—Upon the general ground which I stated before, that no man in India, and I might say in any other country, should be under any legal or other disadvantage by reason of any peculiar religious belief he may entertain.

6486. If a clergyman of the Church of England were to turn Mahomedan, being the rector of a parish, would you consider that he ought still to retain the income of that rectory?—That is rather an ecclesiastical question; but I understand that in those cases it requires a very expensive and long process to turn him out, if he chooses to stop in.

6487. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Have you heard of a person becoming the member of another religious community, and in that case ceasing to be the incumbent of the parish which he might formerly have held?—Yes; but I have heard that if he refuses to resign, it requires a long and expensive process to get rid of him.

6488. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] A Hindoo, on renouncing his religion, ceases to be the incumbent of that which is equivalent to a living, namely, the estate which was vested in him for the purpose of certain religious ceremonies and duties?—I cannot take that view of it; I think he would necessarily be obliged to give up any endowment of which he was the administrator, but I cannot take the view that all land held by Hindoos is an endowment in favour of the Hindoo religion.

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6489. You think that that portion which is set apart for religious purposes ought not to be enjoyed by a renegade from Hindooism?—Certainly. Supposing a man became a Christian, upon whose estate there was a temple, and land attached to the temple for the purpose of its maintenance, I should hold that equity and fairness would oblige him to give up the temple, and its revenues and its lands, when he became a Christian; but I should not consider that there was anything that forced him to give up the rest of the estate, because I cannot agree in the view that the whole of the land is a religious endowment. I consider it to be property, and I think that the Government can only look upon it as such.

6490. Are there any expenses incurred by Hindoos in performing the obsequies of their ancestors?—Yes, there are.

6491. Are not those payable out of the estate which descends from the ancestor to his successor?—There is no law to make them so payable.

6492. According to Hindoo law and custom, is not it the case that the successor to such estate is the person bound to incur those expenses?—I should hardly say so according to the Hindoo law; according to the Hindoo religion he is bound to pay them.

6493. Mr. Clive.] Is the progress of education an element in the native discontent to which you have just been alluding?—It is looked on with suspicion by a great number of the people; by the agricultural classes in particular, as being a preparatory means of converting them. I was present with the Lieutenant-governor of Agra when he went to inspect a village school taken charge of by the Government, and he asked whether the attendance was considerable in it. The answer was, "No." "What is the reason?" "The people have all taken away their sons, because they hear that the Government are going to make them Christians."

6494. Mr. Mangles.] You stated that you thought the rule of the Government ought to be, that no person should be under any disability on account of his being or not being of any particular religion, is not that the case at present in India; is not there that entire freedom from disability?—No, I can state an instance to the contrary; the Religious Endowment Law. The Government will take an endowment for a Christian purpose, but they will not take one for a Hindoo or Mahomedan purpose.

6495. Do not they leave those trusts in the hands of the professors of the particular religion to be administered by them?—They, the Government, will not accept it.

6496. Is it desirable that the Government should accept religious trusts?—That is opening another question; I simply mention an instance in which a distinction is made between one religion and another.

6497. Is it desirable that the Government should take trusts of a religion which they do not profess themselves?—I think we are too particular upon that score. I remember two instances in which natives proposed to make extensive religious, educational, and charitable endowments, both being accompanied with the proviso of the maintenance of a temple and a mosque; one was a Hindoo, and the other a Mahomedan; they both came to me upon the subject. I was obliged to tell them that the Government would not take the endowments, unless they struck out the temple and the mosque. They said, "Then we will not make the endowment," and they did not do so. I see myself no reason why the Government should not as well have accepted those trusts as have taken an endowment, supposing it had been for an Independent chapel.

6498. Could not they trust their co-religionists to manage those trusts?—No, they wanted the administration of the Government; that was their reason for applying for it.

6499. Is not that a very high compliment to the Government, that they should prefer its management of religious trusts to the management of their co-religionists?—I was very proud of the compliment paid to the Government.

6500. You mentioned, in the early part of your examination, that before the late settlement was made in the North-western Provinces they were falling into the condition of Bengal; what do you mean by that?—I meant that the ryot became a mere tenant-at-will, subject to rack-rent, and was reduced to a state of great poverty, from which he was saved by Mr. Bird's establishment of fixity of tenure in the North-western Provinces.

6501. You

6501. You merely meant the observation to refer to the condition of the ryot?
—Yes.

6502. You thought that in Bengal they were sacrificed, by Lord Cornwallis's measures, to the zemindars?—I know that they are so; we established fixity of tenure, as the Committee is aware, in the permanently settled provinces under the North-western Government.

6503. *Chairman.*] Can you suggest any new source of revenue for India?—I think that the resumption of rent-free lands is one source which may be looked to. I am of opinion that it is a very delicate operation, and should be carried out with great consideration and great moderation. It has struck me that a modified income tax might be resorted to in an emergency. You cannot have anything in the shape of a return of a man's income as you have in this country; but you might tax dividends in the Government funds, and in public companies, and official salaries and pensions, those being sources of revenue which you can easily get at without dispute.

6504. Would not it be considered in India, as it would be here, unjust to tax income derived from one source, leaving others untouched?—You cannot tax anybody without somebody crying out.

6505. If you taxed income from the funds, and did not tax income from other sources, would not that be considered unjust?—You tax it from all other sources in cases where you can get at the income.

6506. Would you include incomes derived from trades?—I would not hesitate to do that if I saw the machinery with which to do it.

6507. That would be a great difficulty with respect to an income tax, that you have not the machinery to collect such a tax upon incomes generally?—Yes, that is the objection to it.

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Income tax

Jovis, 16^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Sir G. Grey.
Mr. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Hardinge.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Spooner.
Sir J. W. Hogg.

Mr. Clive.
Mr. Herries.
Sir C. Wood.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Baillie.
Mr. Ellice.
Mr. Milner Gibson.
Mr. Newdegate.
Mr. Labouchere.
Mr. Lowe.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

James William Ballantine Dykes, Esq., called in; and Examined.

6508. *Chairman.*] WILL you state to the Committee what was the period of your residence in India, and where you were stationed?—I was ten years in India, and for upwards of seven years I was employed as assistant to the collector and magistrate of Salem.

6509. When did you return to England?—Last September.

6510. Upon furlough?—Upon furlough.

6511. The question immediately before the Committee is the revenue question; will you shortly state to them the system of land revenue which was in practice in Salem and throughout the Presidency of Madras?—The greater portion of the Salem District, and I believe, at the present moment, the greatest portion of the Madras Presidency generally, is settled on the ryotwar system. The Government deals directly with every man who holds land in his own right. Each field has a fixed assessment, and every man pays according to the number of fields which he holds. When the assessment was originally

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fixed,

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fixed, it was declared not only that the assessment was fixed for good, and that so long as that assessment was paid the possession of the land would never be disturbed, but also that each man was at liberty, at the close of any year, to make any alterations which he chose in the number of the fields he held, with a corresponding variation in the amount of the assessment. If a man, for example, held 12 fields, and found himself unable to cultivate so many in future, perhaps through a bad season or a loss of stock, he might reduce the number to ten or to eight, and then the assessment of the fields he relinquished was struck off from the total amount he had to pay; or if there were vacant lands in the village, as is always the case, he took up what additional fields he required, and there was a corresponding increase made in the amount of his assessment. So that he stood in the position of a perpetual leaseholder, as regards his own interest; and as regards his liabilities to the Government, he was simply an annual tenant; that was the ryotwar system as it was originally introduced.

6512. So that the original assessment was considered permanent as to the land?—Permanent as to the land.

6513. And any improvements which were introduced upon the land in occupation were not further assessed?—They were not, nor are now, save in particular cases.

6514. What particular cases do you refer to?—Soon after the ryotwar system was introduced, it was thrust aside to make way for the permanent settlement through middlemen or zemindars; and when the middlemen failed, and the ryotwar system was again reverted to, several changes were made: first of all, the land having been rack-rented by these middlemen, the Government officials could not collect the original assessment, and were obliged to give favourable terms temporarily. There were a number of rules introduced to prevent this temporary indulgence being abused; some 25 rules being laid down for that purpose; and this affected the whole tenure, and made it more intricate and complicated. Then they commenced assessing the produce. When men did lay out capital and improve the cultivation, and raise other and more valuable produce, there was an assessment levied upon that produce, instead of the assessment being upon the land at a certain fixed amount, without reference to the improvements made. If the man, for instance, changes the cultivation of his ground and plants fruit trees, if the value of those fruit trees exceeds one-fifth the value of the rent, there is now a change made in the original assessment; and, in the same manner, if in rice grounds he should introduce the cultivation of the cocoa-nut or the areca palm.

6515. Mr. Elliott.] When was the alteration of the original settlement made?—The changes, in Salem, may be said to date from the year 1820.

6516. You stated that, in the first instance, the settlement was made in perpetuity; you subsequently spoke of an alteration which was introduced in the year 1820 to the disadvantage of the ryot; will you have the goodness to explain how a settlement which was made in perpetuity could be afterwards altered in 1820, in the manner you have described?—It was made, in the first instance, by the officer who took charge of the district when it was ceded by Tippoo; he made it in 1796; in 1802, the zemindary system was introduced, and there was a law passed giving the proprietary right of the land entirely to these middlemen, the farmers of the revenue. Many of them failed almost immediately; the land was sold and sold, and a change of hands taking place constantly; the Government found it useless to attempt to keep up that system; and so they reverted to the system which had been introduced in 1796, the ryotwar system. But I should observe, there was never any legislative enactment to that effect. In 1802, there was a legislative enactment conferring the proprietary right on the zemindars; whilst what has been done since has been a sort of makeshift. Still the assessment is looked on as fixed, save in those particular instances where it is levied upon produce, and no one ever dreams of disturbing the people in the possession of the land.

6517. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Have there ever been any complaints from those zemindars who were created in 1802, of having, in 1820, been deprived of the tenures which had been conferred upon them by a legislative enactment?—They were not deprived of them; when they failed to pay the assessments levied upon their respective estates, they were sold up from time to time; there were no bidders at the auctions, and the land gradually lapsed to the Government.

6518. Chairman.]

6518. *Chairman.*] Will you continue your explanation of the present system? —When the ryotwar system, as it may be called, was thus gradually reverted to, the land, as I have said before, was so worn out that they were obliged to give temporary assistance to decrease the rates for a while. A man took land at a third, say, of the original assessment; next year it was raised a little, and so on, till, in about five years, it amounted to the full assessment; and to prevent this system being abused, they were obliged to introduce a number of checks on the freedom of cultivation which had been at first permitted. Originally a man was allowed to relinquish his land when he found it necessary to do so from alterations in his private circumstances; but a check was placed upon that, whilst at the same time they commenced levying an assessment upon produce; as, for instance, an orchard, or the planting of cocoa-nut trees on wet land. Then another great change which was introduced was in reference to well cultivation. If you want to improve your cultivation, the usual plan is to sink wells in the land. In the dry season you have those wells to fall back on, and you can grow better and more valuable crops. Under the original scheme there was no interference with such cases, but according to the system as it at present stands, a man must ask leave of the collector before he can dig a well, otherwise there will be an additional assessment imposed upon him. The field must be examined by the village officer, and then, by the local native head, and then it must be reported to the collector, and the man gets leave perhaps in a year; but then he only gets leave on condition that there are no other old wells in the field, and the privilege will only be continued so long as he retains all the fields he happens to hold at that particular time. If he gives up a field subsequently, the Government steps in and levies an additional assessment on this well, which the man has sunk with his own capital. A great number of rules are required to preserve such a system; and in addition to the imposition of these requisite checks, the rule as to giving up land has been repeatedly altered. For some time the rule was, that if a man came forward and wished to give up any of his fields, the Government, in addition to the field which he wished to give up to suit his own convenience, selected one of the best fields in his holding, and said, "To prove that it is a matter of necessity on your part, you must give up this good field along with the worst field, which you give up to suit yourself." So that the man became still more impoverished by giving up the land; that rule, however, has been a little modified. Now, if a man wishes to alter the extent of his holding, he can give up any fields he has taken in one particular year; but if he took up a field in 1849 and another in 1850, and in 1853 he wishes to give up those two fields together because he finds them unprofitable, he cannot do so; he can only give up one of them. These are all checks which have been imposed at different times since 1820; they may appear unimportant, but they alter the value of the land exceedingly; and they are a serious hinderance to any man taking up land, because he has no certainty as to what his rights of possession are. In addition to these checks, I have mentioned that, when the ryotwar system was reverted to, there was no subsequent legislative enactment to state distinctly what the title to the land really is. The title originally given was set aside by the permanent settlement, and the subsequent usage never having been sanctioned by law, any one taking up land has no guarantee as to what may be done hereafter. There are about 70 rules now in force. The original is in Mahratta; there is an English manuscript translation which the collector and his assistants have, and I believe there are translations in the vernacular for the use of the native subordinates, but there is no copy for the use of the public. The ryots of a district, and the landholders of a district, know from experience the chief points; but a stranger coming to settle in the district, unless he is an acquaintance of the collector, and is permitted to see a copy as a matter of courtesy, would have no chance of ascertaining what the nature of the tenure is; and, even if he did ascertain what the rules are, he would be no further than he was before, because the rules may be changed the next year. They have none of the validity of a legislative enactment; and it is these changes and this uncertainty of tenure which have given the ryotwar system its present bad name.

6519. Are those rules strictly followed by the collectors?—They are strictly followed by the collectors.

6520. Are the nature and the contents of the rules a matter of notoriety, or are

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are they kept private?—I cannot say that they are kept private; from their being constantly put in force, they are known to the intelligent landowners in the district itself.

6521. Would a stranger who came to settle there have any difficulty in learning the character of those rules?—Yes; the Government officials have no authority to show them to the public.

6522. Sir T. H. Maddock.] By whom were they dictated originally?—By Colonel Read; but they have been modified in communication with the collector by the Revenue Board at Madras from time to time. Three different sets of rules have been thus published in Salem, under the authority of the Revenue Board. The last set of rules was sent out in 1844, and a fresh set may be sent out in 1854, for any guarantee to the contrary.

6523. Mr. Elliot.] Could not a party obtain a copy of those rules upon application to the collector, upon stating that his object was to obtain information, in the event of his wishing to take land?—I do not think the collector would consider himself justified in giving a copy without the orders of the Government. I have never known an instance of its being done. Such an application was never made to me, though I have known great numbers of persons come and settle in the district.

6524. Chairman.] As I understand you, the impediments to the improvement and to the satisfaction of the cultivator arise, first, from the irregularity of the assessment, which may be increased according to the improvements which he makes?—Yes, in certain cases.

6525. Next, from the uncertainty of the tenure, inasmuch as if he wishes to give up a part he may be obliged to give up more?—That has partly been altered; but was the case down to the year 1850, and is now so far that they cannot immediately alter the extent of their holding to suit their means. There is also an uncertainty of tenure, not only in their not being able to alter the extent of their holding to suit their means, but also from the want of any legislative enactment.

6526. A third difficulty arises from their ignorance as to the precise tenor of the Revenue Code?—Exactly so.

6527. Are you speaking only of the district with which you are personally acquainted, or is the system which you have explained to the Committee in force throughout the Presidency of Madras?—It is in force wherever the ryotwar system prevails throughout the Presidency, with certain differences. The main features of the system are alike throughout the whole of the Presidency, but in different districts there are certain minute modifications. In some districts they are allowed to retain waste land without paying for it. In Tinnevely there is an alteration made in the rate of assessment, according to the selling price in the market. But the main features of the system apply to the whole Presidency. Great uncertainty is felt from the want of a definite legislative enactment; and the various checks which I have mentioned to the Committee retard all improvements.

6528. What remedies would you suggest for those defects?—A definite legislative enactment, dividing the land into two great classes, the irrigated land and the dry land, land for which the Government have not supplied irrigation. I would allow any one who took up land in either of those classes to expend his capital upon that land as he thought fit, without any change being made in his assessment by the Government. The natives are very timid; every means of interference with them is turned into a source of intimidation, bribery, and corruption. The more you free the natives from vexatious interference, the more certain will be the improvement of the country. The present system is nothing but a series of interferences.

6529. You do not object to the general principle of the ryotwar system, but you complain of the mode of its application?—Yes; the present mode of its application, generally speaking, has been altered from the original system; the original system, however, has been adhered to in two great instances; on dry land, where they have simply contented themselves with growing the staple crops of daily consumption, where no additional assessment is levied, however much they improve the land, and the result has been a great outlay of capital. In proportion to the extent of land paying revenue, the amount of produce raised has been increased immensely, and the supply is therefore sold at a much cheaper rate. People buy corn for nearly half what they paid for it 50 years ago

ago, and with rice it is the same. On such irrigated land, whilst they content themselves with growing rice, men may improve the state of the land to any extent they choose; no additional assessment is levied on a rice crop, and rice has fallen in price, I believe, 49 or 50 per cent. in the district in which I was employed, and I believe over the whole of the country it has fallen very much, though no more land is cultivated, generally speaking. Capital has been laid out, and the result has been beneficial, both to the Government and to the people.

6530. Would it be desirable to introduce, instead of the present system, either the zemindary system or the village system?—I do not think that either of those systems could be introduced now with fairness where the ryotwar system is in practice.

6531. Mr. *Baillie*.] Will you state to the Committee in what districts of the Madras Presidency you consider the ryotwar system to have been carried out in a beneficial manner, and to have succeeded?—Where the original system has been adhered to, the results generally have been good.

6532. Where has it been adhered to?—With reference to the two classes of land already mentioned in Salem, and I believe throughout the presidency generally. The changes which have been made are these: when you leave those two great classes of land, land on which the usual dry crops are grown, and land on which rice is grown, and come to cases where the ryot attempts to improve his cultivation, to plant orchards, or to grow what they call garden produce, such as chilies, yams, pumpkins, turmeric, tobacco, &c., which are grown by means of wells, or when a man plants cocoa-nut topes, or areca palms, which he can only grow by an outlay of capital, either on the sinking of those wells or on the planting of those trees, there has been an additional assessment imposed in recent days. That is a tax upon capital which was not contemplated in the original system. I believe these alterations in the original system are general throughout the Presidency, and it is these alterations that, as I have said, require a number of minute checks to carry them out, which hinder the freedom of ryotwar cultivation, and are generally prejudicial.

6533. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] Are you aware that the Board of Revenue at Madras recommended to the authorities at home that no charge should be made upon the tenant in consequence of improvements arising from the sinking of wells?—I cannot speak as to what the Revenue Board may have written to the home authorities, of course; but as regards the practice, no charge is made for the sinking of wells, if a number of conditions are complied with which I have mentioned. It is the most sure means of improving the cultivation to sink wells; but if a man wishes to lay out his capital in sinking a well, he must apply for permission to do so. Then the land must be inspected by the village authorities, which of course is tantamount to a present to those gentlemen. Then it must be inspected by the local tahsildar, and when he has satisfied himself of the propriety of the man laying out his capital to this extent, he reports it to the collector; the collector considers the matter, and he sends down leave; but, if otherwise satisfactory, he can only grant leave if there is no old well in the field; if there is an old well, the man must improve that well, and though he may get a temporary reduction, a higher assessment will be ultimately imposed as it is, should he give up any of his other fields.

6534. Are you aware that representations have been made to the home authorities, and that orders have been sent out that no additional charge shall be put upon the ryots in future in consequence of the sinking of wells?—I left for England last September, so that I cannot speak as to what order may have been sent out since that. I heard that the matter was being agitated, and I understood that the privilege which we had enjoyed in Salem, such as it was, was to be denied in future; that there was to be no permanent free well cultivation; it was simply to be a temporary reduction.

6535. Are not you acquainted with the recent orders to which I have adverted?—No, I am not; I never heard that it was contemplated to allow the ryot to sink a well without any reference to the authorities.

6536. *Chairman*.] Are the Committee to understand it to be your opinion, that with the improvements which you had suggested in the present ryotwar system, the maintenance of that system would be preferable to an attempt to introduce the zemindary system, or the village system?—Certainly.

6537. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] From your experience, are you aware whether

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this uncertainty of tenure which you have described has deterred strangers possessing capital, whether natives or Europeans, from settling in the country and improving the land?—It has; with regard to the low country, the plains, I can only infer that it prevents strangers settling; a complicated system like this, which does not give satisfaction, and which possesses no permanency, must, I think, prevent it. I cannot speak to the fact of any particular individuals having been so deterred from settling in the plains; but those tenures extend also to the hill cultivation, where coffee has been introduced. The rules regarding the occupation of those lands have been altered continually, and I know that there they have deterred European settlers from laying out their capital. I was sorry to see the rules changed; I think it would have been much better if there had been a fixed assessment on the land, and the Government had relinquished all right to that land so long as that assessment was paid, which was the original ryotwar system. There the present system is to grant leases for 20 years. The Revenue Board have declared their intention to grant leases only for 20 years, reserving to themselves the power to raise the assessment or not, as they think proper; and the result has been, that men are afraid to sink their capital where the tenure is so uncertain.

6538. Are the European gentlemen who are engaged in the coffee cultivation in the hilly districts; gentlemen possessed of the land for 20 years?—They are; with the distinct notification that at the end of the 20 years the Government reserve to themselves the power of raising the assessment, should they deem such a measure advisable. I do not believe it will ever be raised, but it is an uncertainty which prevents the employment of capital.

6539. With regard to the low lands, there are considerable sugar manufactories established by Europeans, are not there?—Yes, in other districts. In the district in which I have been chiefly employed I do not think there are any; but in other districts, in Chittoor and South Arcot, there are sugar manufactories.

6540. Upon what tenure do the European gentlemen who have established those sugar manufactories obtain possession of the land?—In general, I think the system at present is for such European gentlemen to buy the cane, or the juice of the cane roughly pressed out, and called jagherry, which they manufacture into sugar. They do not hold the land themselves generally, they prefer buying the raw produce from the natives; but where they do hold land, they hold it under those restrictions, and I believe that those restrictions materially hinder such cultivation of land. If those restrictions were removed, and if the tenure of the land were confirmed to those men by a legislative enactment, allowing them to lay out their capital on the land as they chose, without any alteration being made in the assessment, I believe an immense increase in the extent of this cultivation would take place.

6541. I believe those European sugar manufacturers make advances to the farmers, the tenants of the land, to assist them in the cultivation; is that the practice?—In some instances this is done; but in other instances they have established a fair practical working system; the juice is brought into the market and bought up by them at the usual market rate, without any advances, which is infinitely preferable; advances only encourage the natives in swindling.

6542. Are you of opinion that those proprietors of land should have in perpetuity all the advantages of the improvements which they are making?—No doubt they should.

6543. You are of opinion that it would be insufficient to give them leases for 30, 40, or 50 years, during which they should have the exclusive benefits of their improvements?—That depends on the rate of assessment. It must be always an improvement, that for so long the tenure would be certain; but I do not think it could ever be so beneficial as a system in perpetuity. There are millions of acres now unoccupied; if we give over the right in perpetuity, men will invest their capital in the land, and plant it with cocoa-nut trees, or they will sink wells; they will lay out their capital in various ways fearlessly. The occupation of that land will then become a certainty, instead of being, as it is now, an uncertainty, requiring a number of checks to secure its being kept in occupation, and to prevent the labour of the country being transferred to less profitable land, thereby evading the Government demand; and ultimately the land now unoccupied will be cultivated, and pay revenue.

6544. Are

6544. Are you acquainted with any of the districts where irrigation is supplied, not from wells, but from embankments and anicuts of the river?—In Salem it is supplied from embankments and from anicuts to a great extent, and I have been in Madura, where much of the irrigation is derived from Government sources, and in North Arcot also.

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6545. The expenses of those embankments and anicuts have been entirely defrayed by the Government, have not they?—The cost of all heavy annual repairs has been defrayed by the Government, and the Government is entitled, of course, to impose an assessment upon those lands, for the purpose of paying the interest of the capital which has been laid out.

6546. What system is adopted for levying a Government duty upon the use of those waters?—The assessment upon the land is fixed at a proportionably high amount in return for the advantages which it derives from the Government sources of irrigation; the assessment was fixed at the time of the survey with reference to those advantages; and so long as the water is forthcoming, and those works are in good repair, that assessment must always be paid. Should the system which I have ventured to recommend be carried out, the assessment on those lands must be to a certain extent diminished, because capital will go to the lands which have not such advantages. People will sink their capital, and will derive the full benefit from their capital on such lands; whilst other men, who have not capital, will continue to occupy the old lands, if the rates are lowered to meet the competition.

6547. When a man wishes to dig a well for the purposes of irrigation, and has not sufficient capital of his own, is the collector authorised to make him any advances to assist him in digging the well?—Originally, when we first took possession of the country, that was the system, but it has been given up in Salem for many years. The people have now sufficient means, and it is not required. It was found, also, that a great proportion of the sum which was so supplied never reached the man for whose benefit it was intended.

6548. The Committee is to understand that there is no deficiency of means among the people for the improvement of agriculture?—Certainly not, provided the checks I have already described were done away with, and the land were freed from those conditions.

6549. Is this sufficiency of means in the hands of the cultivators themselves, or do they obtain the means from bankers and other people of that description?—I think the people themselves are possessed now of a considerable amount of capital, whilst they can raise money with greater ease than formerly; and I also think, if the tenure of land were improved, if it received the benefit of a legislative enactment, so as to give it a valid security, mercantile capital would be employed direct to a much greater extent. It is now employed to a considerable extent; but I believe if those checks on cultivation were removed, it would be employed in the direct cultivation of land to a very great extent indeed. With regard, however, to mercantile capital at present, there is a tax which must be removed before we can expect any great mercantile activity; I mean the moturpha tax; it has been done away with in the other Presidencies, but it continues still to be levied in Madras.

6550. Speaking of the condition of the cultivators and small proprietors of land, are you of opinion that their condition has been very considerably improved of late years, from the habit of visiting Ceylon at the time of the coffee crops, and bringing back from thence very large sums of money as the price of their labour?—In the south of India, in Madura and in Tinnevely, I believe resorting to Ceylon is of great assistance to the lower orders; if the season is at all a bad one, they go over to Ceylon in large bodies, and they get well paid, and come back with their gains hoarded up; but I do not think the extent of those gains is such as to alter the state of the country generally.

6551. *Chairman.*] Will you describe the moturpha tax?—The tax, I believe, varies in every district, and in each district it varies in every village, so that it is difficult to give any accurate description of it. As regards its principle, it consists in every native merchant being taxed so many rupees; but there is no fixed per centage, and there are no fixed rates. A man's father, perhaps, paid it before him, and that probably is the general reason for the amount which is paid, and for his being assessed at 10 s. or 12 s., as the case may be. If he is an energetic man, and is considered to drive a better trade, it is reported to the collector the next time he visits that sub-division of his district, and the rate is raised.

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raised. There is no per centage with reference to the extent of the man's trading; no per centage is fixed, as in the case of an income-tax, or anything of that sort; it is a hap-hazard assessment. The native authorities come forward and say: "This man has been prosperous; he has been trading to a great extent, and we think his assessment ought to be raised." The collector is obliged to raise it. If the man has any sense, he buys off the village authorities, and does not get his assessment raised, the extent of his dealings not being reported. Occasionally the village authorities may come forward, and say the man has been unfortunate, which perhaps is true and perhaps is not; but if the collector thinks fit, he reduces the man's rate.

6552. The tax is only levied upon those who are engaged in commercial dealings?—It is levied upon every one almost who does not cultivate land. In one way or another it is brought to bear on every man. If a man cultivates land in another's name, he has to pay a chimney-tax. If an old woman takes vegetables to market, and sells them at the corner of the street, she is assessed for selling vegetables. If a man is a cloth merchant he is assessed; but no tax is levied upon the European traders. Perhaps next door to this man who is making a few rupees a year, there is a European trader making hundreds, but he pays nothing.

6553. There is no tax upon the European mercantile community of Madras?—No tax directly levied, like the moturpha.

6554. That tax, therefore, does not interfere with the application of European capital?—Not directly; it does, however, in this way: suppose a European capitalist wishes to buy cotton or to buy sugar, or any of the great articles of native production; to do so cheaply, he should employ a native merchant. If the native merchant is known to be much engaged in those transactions, the moturpha tax fixed upon him would be raised; so that it impedes, I think, the circulation of their capital also.

6555. The tax has been removed in the other Presidencies?—It has; but it has been retained in Madras.

6556. This tax is not imposed in the shape of a license to carry on trade, but is an arbitrary tax upon presumed profits?—Precisely so. The collector has not the slightest power of checking imposition; he does not know whether the rate fixed is just or whether it is unjust.

6557. Mr. *Ellice*.] Is it paid by artisans as well as by traders?—I cannot speak with any certainty; in one village it may be paid, in another it may not.

6558. Does a weaver pay?—A weaver pays very highly indeed; the weaver's tax was abolished when we first came into the country, and it was resumed, I think, in 1820, on the principle established by Tippoo. It has been levied ever since, and very heavily indeed, but it is nowhere alike; in one village a weaver is assessed at 10s., in the next at a larger sum.

6559. Sir *G. Grey*.] Is it a tax upon the exercise of a trade, or does it vary in amount from time to time, in proportion to the supposed profits?—In proportion to the supposed profits; if the man can get a statement made to the collector that he has been unfortunate in his speculations, the collector must reduce it; if he should not succeed in that, but is perhaps reported to be prosperous, it is raised.

6560. Is it assessed upon persons exercising the same trade in the same place equally, without regard to any variation in their profits, or the nature of their business?—No; one man is assessed at one sum, and another at another sum.

6561. Persons exercising the same trade, and living at the same place?—Yes.

6562. Mr. *Mangles*.] I understood you to say, that the collector had no power not to increase it upon a statement that the man is prosperous?—I mean that he has no real power of forming a correct judgment; if a mass of evidence is produced to say so and so has been very successful this year, he must raise it then; he would not be doing his duty to the Government if he did not; but he can form no judgment of the correctness of the statements made to him, and if he could form a correct judgment, there is no guide as to what amount he should impose; it is a purely arbitrary rate.

6563. Who are the parties who come forward and say this, and what interest have they in saying it?—The village officers ostensibly are the parties; and they get a per centage upon the sum collected from each village, under that particular

particular head; generally they are, however, respectable men, and it may be done by others from enmity. If a man happens to be in ill odour with his neighbours, they can pay him out immediately, by going to the collector at the next annual gathering, and saying that the man whom they dislike has been successful; his assessment is raised.

6564. You said it was no regular assessment, but was arbitrary?—It is.

6565. At what rate do you suppose it to be fixed generally?—I never heard the rate specified; it varies in every village.

6566. What is the highest moturpha tax you ever knew paid by any individual?—I can hardly say; it would be a small sum in English money, and according to English ideas; in some districts, in Bellary for example, the moturpha tax I have heard goes up to 5 *l.*, that is a small sum in England, but it is a very oppressive sum for a native to pay, and levied as it is.

6567. Cannot you remember what was the highest amount of moturpha tax you ever knew paid in Salem?—Much less than that; 1 *l.*, or something of that kind.

6568. What sort of persons were they who paid that amount?—The small shopkeepers in the bazaars throughout the district.

6569. Mr. *Elliot*.] Can you state what was the total amount of the moturpha tax in your district?—It is about 8,000 *l.* a year. I do not mean to say that the amount actually raised is large; a pound or thirty shillings perhaps is the highest amount I have ever known collected, but its arbitrary nature renders it the means of oppression. The sum actually collected for the Government is small, but the sum paid in addition to that, in the shape of bribes to persons in authority, is, perhaps, three times that amount.

6570. Mr. *Mangles*.] You speak of this tax as being levied upon the poor; there must be, in many villages and towns of a district like Salem, wealthy bunyers, and bankers and shopkeepers?—No doubt there are; I suppose there are men who have capital to the amount of 10,000 *l.*, and, probably, 20,000 *l.*

6571. What would they pay?—I do not believe those men are taxed at all. Such money-dealers are not taxed; the tax is only for shopkeepers, &c.

6572. Do the wealthy shopkeepers pay?—They all pay.

6573. Not more than a pound a-piece?—I do not suppose in Salem the amount ever runs higher than 30 *s.*

6574. Sir *G. Grey*.] Is the collector the sole and final judge of the amount of assessment upon each individual?—I believe there is an appeal to the Revenue Board, but I never knew an instance of the Revenue Board altering the decision of the collector. The tax is collected from the lowest classes. Thousands pay only a shilling; thousands more may pay two shillings and three shillings, small sums, which in themselves are nothing, but which, as a means of intimidation and oppression in the hands of the petty village officers, affect the well-being of the people very differently.

6575. Do you think a collector has not the means of checking that oppression?—Certainly not; he is powerless.

6576. Mr. *Vernon Smith*.] Do you speak from report merely, or have you yourself, in your own experience, known of presents being given to those people?—I speak from my own experience.

6577. Under whose authority are the persons to whom such presents are given?—Under the authority of the collector.

6578. Have you known cases where the collector has been remonstrated with, with respect to those bribes?—I have had innumerable cases where men have been reported to me as having been trading more extensively, and that their assessment should be raised. The men immediately said, "It is all false, I have not had any more extensive dealings; it is only because they are at enmity with me, or I have not bribed them." But it would be impossible to prove it.

6579. When those complaints were made to you, how did you proceed?—I looked at the evidence generally, and if it appeared to me that there were due grounds for it, I thought it my duty, as an officer of the Government, to raise that assessment; if I thought there were no grounds for so doing, I simply dismissed the case.

6580. I am speaking of the fraudulent acts of the village officers; is there any controlling power over them?—Yes, you can dismiss, or fine or imprison them,

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them, but you can never prove cases like these against them; if you could prove the cases, you could fine or punish the parties in many ways.

6581. You have the power of dismissal?—Yes.

6582. Is that ever enforced?—Occasionally, but not often; they are the hereditary heads of the villages, and it is better to fine them or punish them in any other way than by dismissing them. If you dismiss them, you lose their prestige as hereditary officers, and the new man you put in would be probably ten times worse.

6583. Did you ever punish them yourself?—Often, for other offences, but not by dismissal.

6584. Do you mean to say that there is no remedy for such a state of things as you have described?—The abolition of that tax, as has been done in the other two Presidencies, is the best remedy; unless it is abolished, the whole of the mercantile transactions of the native community of the Madras Presidency must suffer.

6585. You think it impossible, maintaining the tax, to remedy the evils attendant upon its collection?—Certainly I do.

6586. Mr. *Ellice*.] Do you know anything of the gross amount of the tax levied in Madras?—I cannot say; it would be a small sum, I know, but it might be trebled or quadrupled as regards actual collections; there is no security against it.

6587. Mr. *Hume*.] Is there a public ordinance existing for the collection of this tax in Madras?—Yes, it is referred to in the Regulations.

6588. Is there no means by which the inhabitants can ascertain the principle on which it is based?—There is nothing by which the collector can know it; it is simply referred to as an existing tax which is continued.

6589. Being now levied at the rate at which Tippoo levied it before we obtained possession of Mysore?—No, that is in regard to the weaving classes.

6590. Was the same rule applied to bunyers and other traders?—No; as regards these classes, it has been continued as it formerly existed, the usual customs of the village being alone considered.

6591. You say that Europeans settling in any of those villages are not subject to any tax for the business they carry on?—No.

6592. You mentioned that the village authorities occasionally resort to bribery?—Yes.

6593. That is done to conceal the amount of business, which would have induced the collector to extend the rate of the moturpha tax?—Yes, or to avoid the tax altogether.

6594. What is the smallest amount which you remember to have seen collected from any individual?—One shilling; thousands pay one shilling as a chimney-tax.

6595. Can you state the different titles under which those taxes are levied?—I cannot give you the whole; if I could, it would take a long time to state them.

6596. State what you recollect?—There is the chimney-tax; then there is a tax on weaving; a tax on the man who sells cattle; a tax on the old woman who sells vegetables; there is a tax on every description of shop; there is a tax on every barber; a tax on every artisan; it is impossible to describe the whole.

6597. Mr. *Mangles*.] Is not the barber a village servant?—Yes, he is; but there is a tax upon his razor, nevertheless. The practice varies; in some of the villages I dare say he is not taxed. The caste to which the shoemaker belongs is employed in the village police, and so he escapes.

6598. Mr. *Hume*.] You say that the collector comes round, and according to the report which is made to him he raises or lowers the rate of assessment; who is the person whose duty it is to report to the collector when he comes round?—The local head of that particular sub-division, the tehsildar.

6599. Is it the duty of the secretaries or the pattels to keep an account of the business done, as it is their duty to keep an account of the cultivation of every kind?—No; they keep a list, showing the number of men in that particular village who pay the moturpha; and they come forward and say, "So-and-so paid so much last year; we have reason to believe this year he has been much more prosperous; he has traded to a greater extent, and he should be raised so much."

6600. The Committee understand you to say, that the uncertainty which prevails

prevails as to what the individual may have to pay, produces so much inconvenience, that, in your opinion, the tax ought to be abolished?—Undoubtedly.

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6601. Then the Europeans and the natives would be put upon the same footing?—Yes, in respect of that tax they would; not only is the tax injudicious, in my opinion, but the State being the great landholder, I believe it to be the interest of the State to improve the market for their produce as much as possible; the whole produce of the country is grown upon their land, and if they removed this moturpha tax, and so improved the condition of their chief consumer, the mercantile classes, they would be directly legislating for their own benefit.

6602. You consider the moturpha tax to be a restriction or an impediment to the mutual communication of buying and selling, and consequently to be injurious to those who are the proprietors of the land?—Yes.

6603. You think that improved cultivation and increased trade would be more advantageous to the Government than the amount now paid?—Yes; the two can scarcely be compared; the actual loss would be a mere trifle, while the gain, by improving the markets, would be almost infinite.

6604. *Chairman.*] However vexatious and impolitic this tax may be, do you suppose the removal of a tax, producing about 100,000 *l.* a year, would very much increase the power of consumption, and benefit the population?—I do; the mere removal of this small tax, small, that is, as regards the actual sum collected for the benefit of the Government, would improve the condition of the people materially, and so act on agriculture. I do not mean to say that that would be enough; there are other things required also.

6605. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] If, as you propose, there should be no increase in the Government demand upon the land, that it should be a fixed sum and not increase in consequence of improvements, how do you make it out that Government would gain anything by giving up this 100,000 *l.* a year?—The land at present in occupation, for instance, in Salem, is about a quarter of the whole area. I suppose the amount of cultivation over the whole Presidency, that is to say, of land in occupation, bears about that proportion. Should the tenure be altered, and men be enabled to lay out their capital fearlessly, you would secure the permanent occupation of that amount of land; and from the improvements which would so ensue, and from thus freeing mercantile capital by the abolition of moturpha, the remainder of the land would gradually be taken in; there is no limit to the increase of capital and extent of the improvements which may take place, and I believe that would amply compensate the Government for any present loss. Three-quarters of the land is now unoccupied, but as the population increases, and it has doubled in Salem within the last 50 years, this additional land would be taken under cultivation, and there would be the assessment on the additional land to compensate for the immediate loss, which would be very trifling.

6606. Is the land which is now waste land of as good a quality as the land which is in cultivation?—Much of it is; much of it is rocky bad land, of course, which would not be available; but I believe there are millions of acres which are available for occupation at the present moment, and which would be brought under occupation gradually, as the population increased.

6607. *Mr. Baillie.*] Did I understand you correctly to say that the sum of money actually taken from the people by this tax in the shape of bribes, which they paid not to be informed against, amounted to three times the sum which is actually paid into the coffers of the Government?—That, I believe, was the amount which I mentioned, but it is a mere guess; it may be six times. It is not simply the amount either which is taken from the people; the tax acts as a bar to all progress, and the people are afraid to bestir themselves; they say, "It is no good for us to labour; the State will come down upon us; we shall be reported to the collector next year, and have our assessment raised." So that it is not only what is taken by bribes which must be considered, but it is the way in which it checks all commercial enterprise.

6608. *Mr. Ellice.*] Is this tax imposed upon the vakeels, the native lawyers?—No; they are far too clever to pay such a tax; it is only imposed upon those who cannot help themselves, who labour for the comfort of the community at large.

6609. *Mr. Milner Gibson.*] Is there no maximum amount beyond which the collector could not assess an individual?—I know of no limit.

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6610. He may take anything he can get?—If he were to be very extravagant in his demand, there would be an appeal made to the Government, probably.

6611. *Chairman.*] You do not mean to say, when you estimate the whole cost to the natives at three or four times the amount of the tax, that the excess is spent in bribes or corruption, do you?—Yes, I do; the sum I mention is a mere guess; it is paid partly by those who do pay, and partly by those who avoid paying altogether.

6612. A person who is taxed at the rate of 1 l. or 30 s., would probably give a proportionately smaller sum to prevent a higher assessment?—That man would, undoubtedly.

6613. *Mr. Mangtes.*] You spoke of millions of acres being unoccupied, and again you said, that in Salem itself only one-fourth of the land was occupied; the Committee has it in evidence, and it is well known that throughout Bengal and the North-western Provinces, there is hardly any land uncultivated which could be cultivated?—I was speaking of the Madras Presidency.

6614. You have spoken favourably of the ryotwar assessment; how do you account for it that there should be that great difference between the circumstances of the two Presidencies under those different systems?—The reason I should give is, that Bengal is more populous; there was a much larger population when it was taken possession of. In Salem we know it was the reverse, but the population has doubled since we came; and as I find the prices of produce have fallen to the extent of nearly half, while the population has so doubled, I speak favourably of the ryotwar system.

6615. Is there not population enough to cultivate all the land that is now uncultivated?—Not at present. If the revenue laws were more liberal, I have no doubt there would be ultimately a greater extent of land under cultivation; but as to cultivating the remaining three-fourths of the district, the present population is utterly incapable of doing so, either as regards means or numbers.

6616. How do you account for the population of the Madras Presidency being so much lower in proportion to the area than the population in other parts of India?—One reason may be, that it was divided originally into a number of small independent states. Salem, for instance, was a sort of battle field; there was the Mysore State upon one side, and Tanjore on another side, and the Nabob Wallajah on the other, and the country was constantly traversed by hostile armies. That has been the case generally throughout Southern India. In Madura there were a number of independent powers; which was the case in Tinnevely also, and to the north of Madras. There was no wide-spread dominant power such as there was in Bengal. In Bengal too the land is more fertile, so that the population would recover itself sooner after any great calamity.

6617. Did I correctly understand you to imply that a higher assessment is imposed in Madras upon land, if it be cultivated with the better descriptions of produce?—Under the present ryotwar system it is. It was not so under the original ryotwar system. The original ryotwar system depended upon encouraging the outlay of capital. Looking at the system, at first, you would suppose that labour would be liable to constant changes, that labour would be transferred from one land to another, and the occupation of the land and the revenue would be uncertain; but that was prevented by encouraging the free outlay of capital. No man would give up land which he had expended his money on.

6618. Suppose the case of land capable of irrigation; if a man alters his produce upon that land, and grows the sugar-cane, would he be assessed more highly?—In Salem the sugar-cane is not more highly assessed; in some districts it is.

6619. Are you aware that the Government of India, in all other parts of India, have positively prohibited that system of imposing additional revenue upon certain crops?—I cannot speak as to the directions of the Government. I can only speak as to what is in practice.

6620. Have you never seen that stated in print?—I understood that in the North-western Provinces the assessment was levied in reference to the quantity of water supplied, and it is in that way that the assessment on the sugar-cane is higher in Madras, in the places where it is higher. In Madura and other districts, they have a distinction; they have irrigated lands which are considered

sidered two-crop lands, and irrigated lands which are considered one-crop lands, according to the quantity of water obtained; and as sugar requires, it is thought, the water of two-crop lands, that rate is levied, whatever class the land belongs to.

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6621. You spoke of the evil arising from not allowing the ryot to reap, without the payment of additional revenue, the fruits of his own improvements; it is in evidence that orders were issued by the Court of Directors on the 2d of June 1852, to this effect: "We now reply to your letter in this department, dated 1st December last, in which you submit to us the unanimous opinion of the members of your Government in favour of relinquishing to the ryots, throughout the Provinces of your Presidency, under such precautions only as may be requisite to prevent abuse of the indulgence, the permanent and full benefit of their own improvements, which you conceive to be the most direct and influential mode of furthering the grand object of elevating them to the condition of landowners, and thereby laying the only sure foundation for the general progress and improvement of the country." It goes on, "Having fully considered all the circumstances set before us, we have resolved to authorise you to extend to the whole of the Madras Presidency the rule which prevails in the districts noted in the margin, and so allow to the ryots the full benefit of their own improvements, the lands so improved being subject to no additional assessment on that account, so long as the general rates of the district remain unaltered." Would those orders remove the evil of which you complain, and effect the improvement which you desire?—I do not think that would effect what I desire.

6622. That would not remove the evils of which you complain?—No. It is here stated, that the measures are to be carried out "under such precautions only as may be requisite to prevent abuse of the indulgence." Of course it would depend upon what those precautions are. They are to be carried out under the system which prevails in the districts noted in the margin, which are Bellary, Cuddapah, South Arcot, Salem and Tinnevely. Salem is the district to which I have particularly referred on this subject. The precautions which are taken there are mixed up with some 70 rules regarding the cultivation of land; and these I have already described as exceedingly intricate and impolitic.

6623. Do those 70 rules refer to the cultivation of land?—They dovetail into one another. I have described the specific precautions as to well cultivation. This order goes on further to say, "We added, however, that we did not consider it reasonable that the Government should forego all chance of prospective advantage by limiting its claim on the land in perpetuity." The ryotwar system, as originally proposed and established in Salem, by order of the officer who took charge of the district, Colonel Reid, was in perpetuity.

6624. You will observe that there is an intermediate sentence, stating what the Court of Directors had done upon some former occasion, and then they proceed to say, "But now we give that up"?—That is with regard simply to well cultivation, but it has no bearing upon planting an orchard, for example, nor has it any bearing upon planting cocoa-nut trees on wet land.

6625. Do you think that order would remove the evils as regards well cultivation?—No; well cultivation in Salem at present is carried to comparatively a small extent; the amount of capital laid out in sinking wells is a mere tithe of what it would be were the provisions more liberal.

6626. *Mr. Baillie.* I understood you to say that the inconveniences arise, not from any increased tax which is put upon the wells, but from difficulties in applying the rules and regulations?—The application is troublesome, and the rules are also intrinsically bad. If a man sinks a well, and all the conditions that are requisite to procure immunity are complied with, and he obtains permission to sink that well, the privileges only continue to him so long as he occupies the whole of the land he was then in possession of. Supposing he has 12 fields in his possession, if he sinks a well in one of those fields, but next year gives up one field, and occupies the remaining 11; the privilege is withdrawn, and so on.

6627. *Mr. Mangles.* How could the order be more precise than it is, when it says that the ryots are to be allowed "the full benefit of their own improvements, the lands so improved being subject to no additional assessment on that account, so long as the general rates of the district remain unaltered"?—From that extract I see the system is to be carried out according to the system now prevailing

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prevailing in Salem; the system in Salem I have already described, and I think that is not sufficiently comprehensive.

6628. Mr. *Hume*.] Have you read the petition presented to the House of Commons from Madras respecting the village and ryotwar systems?—I have read the portion just shown to me regarding the moturpha.

6629. Paragraph 38 states, "The next grievance regarding which your petitioners appeal to your Honourable House, is the moturpha, or tax upon trades and occupations; embracing weavers, carpenters, all workers in metals, all salesmen, whether possessing shops, which are also taxed separately, or vending by the roadside, &c., &c.; some paying impost on their tools, others for permission to sell, extending to the most trifling articles of trade, and the cheapest tools the mechanic can employ; the cost of which is frequently exceeded six times over by the moturpha, under which the use of them is permitted." From your experience during your residence in India, are the facts which are stated in that portion of the petition correct?—The tools are merely made use of as a sort of sign-post to go by; they do not fix the amount of the tax; the tax is fixed with regard to the supposed profits of the man, and the tools are only mentioned as a symbol, to designate the tax. I mentioned what I considered would be the advantage of a legislative enactment which defined the tenure of land, and put it on a fixed footing, which all could understand, dividing it into two great classes: land on which the Government capital had been expended by way of irrigation, on which a higher duty can with perfect justice be levied; and land on which the Government had not expended any capital, where a proprietor holding that land may be free to expend his capital without any restriction. I have also stated that I believe it would be certainly for the advantage of the country if the mercantile part of the community were freed from the moturpha tax which is now imposed upon them; but if those two measures were carried out, I do not believe they alone would be sufficient. I believe if that is done, as matters at present stand, the only effect will be to glut the local markets. There would be an immense increase in the supply, and in the present state of internal communications that supply cannot be forwarded from place to place to suit the demand. And unless some fixed sum for the repair of the high roads of each district be assigned for that purpose, I do not think those measures will be comparatively of any use. At present we have tolerable roads in Salem for high roads, but we have no cross roads; we have no network of roads from village to village, or from the villages to the high roads, so that the high roads are comparatively useless; and we require many bridges even on these roads. Now a merchant is obliged to calculate his load by the obstacles he has to meet with; the rivers over which there is no bridge. Unless we have a certain sum set apart for the repair of the roads in each district, I do not think that any improvement of the kind suggested will be of much avail.

6630. Mr. *Elliot*.] How do you propose to make those roads, and then to keep them up; at whose expense?—In Salem we have high roads made at the public expense. I believe if the Government set apart a certain sum for the repair of the high roads, and published annually how that money had been expended, so that people could see how the money went, it would be perfectly safe to carry out generally the system of forced labour. In England, for instance, you levy a rate for the improvement of the local roads; I would not levy a rate, but I would make an estimate for the annual repairs of the cross roads, and let the amount be made known to the villagers. They might either carry the work out among themselves, or if they refused to supply the labour for the repair of those roads, I would then levy a tax upon such villages for the amount required there for the year. I believe there would be no difficulty in carrying the system out, if it were sanctioned by the law. In Salem we have had for the last 13 years compulsory labour for the roads; it is called voluntary labour. The Government laid out a large sum in the construction of trunk lines; the people, in return for that, voluntarily agreed to keep them in repair, and they have kept them in repair; but latterly nothing further has been done on the behalf of the Government in the way of bridging the rivers, which intersect the roads, or assisting in the heavier repairs. The people have become discontented. The result is, that the money which has been expended will soon be all lost; the roads are getting gradually worse and worse, and the people are more and more disinclined to contribute

contribute labour to their future repair. I believe if a sum were set apart for the maintenance of the high road, the people themselves would improve the cross roads.

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6631. Taking the main roads first, you would have them all repaired and kept up at the expense of the Government?—The trunk roads through each district I would have kept up at the expense of the Government.

6632. All over India?—Yes; it would not be a very large outlay.

6633. Not to keep up the trunk roads all over India?—Not large in comparison with the revenue the Government obtain, nor as regards other countries from the cheapness of labour.

6634. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Do you think that any revenue system can be advantageously substituted for the present ryotwar system in Madras?—The present ryotwar system I have already stated is defective, but I do not think a better system than the original ryotwar system in its leading features can be proposed.

6635. You would suggest that the former ryotwar system should be introduced?—In its leading features.

6636. There would be no possibility of introducing anything like the village system in the Madras Presidency?—No, I think not. Where the village system is in practice, I have no doubt its effects are excellent; the people are accustomed to it. They are of one caste in a particular village, and are suited to it; in other villages we have all castes living together, and there I do not think that the village system could be introduced.

6637. Is not there, in some parts of the Madras Presidency, a sort of zemindary system?—Yes, where it exists we could not, with any fairness, change it; we established it by law, and we must allow it to remain.

6638. Does that system exist in many parts of the Presidency?—Almost in every portion of the Presidency there is a part of the land under the zemindary system. There is a quarter of Salem which is still zemindary. The estates in that portion were more valuable, and never reverted to the Government.

6639. Have you any idea what proportion the zemindary part of the Presidency bears to the ryotwary part of the Presidency?—Not over the whole Presidency.

6640. Mr. *Elliot*.] Are the ryots under the zemindary system better off than under the ryotwary system?—The ryots under the ryotwary system have much the best of it. They are subject, no doubt, to this uncertainty of tenure, but as regards the practice hitherto the assessment has never been raised. No alteration has been made save in particular instances, and the people have confidence in the Government generally. They consider their title to be, to a certain extent, as valid as it would be if confirmed by a legislative enactment, and they have a very superior title to those who hold under a zemindar, who are not considered, or were not originally considered, to have any proprietary right at all. Under the zemindary system they were considered to be simply tenants at will; subsequently laws have been passed which modify that a little.

6641. The ryots under the ryotwar system, I suppose, have the advantage of more frequent remissions in the event of drought or flood, or any other loss of crop, than they have on the zemindary estates?—I think the zemindars deal very fairly with their ryots in the present day. Formerly it was the reverse; but the present men are men of a different stamp; they are men of more substance, and their families have been some time on the estate, and there is a kindlier feeling between them and their tenants.

6642. With respect to the cross roads which you propose to keep up by what is called compulsory labour, has not that given dissatisfaction in some places?—I believe it is nowhere in force save in Salem. In Salem it never gave dissatisfaction so long as the Government bore its share of the expense; it was when the Government stopped all further assistance in reference to the bridging of rivers, and repairing cases of extensive damage, which it was beyond their power to repair, that the people became dissatisfied.

6643. The bridges and other works upon the network of roads would be kept up by the villages; do you think they would be well kept up?—You cannot of course expect to have the cross roads bridged so carefully as you would have the trunk roads bridged; but I have no doubt that bridges would be built here and there. The villagers themselves would be willing to do it in some instances.

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6644. Have not the opinions of many public men been given against that system of keeping up the cross roads?—I have never heard it proposed before. I have only heard compulsory labour considered in reference to the trunk roads. At present we have not attempted to do anything with our cross roads in Salem; it has been only with the trunk lines, and dissatisfaction has been expressed to a great extent latterly because the works were more than they could accomplish.

6645. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] Did you ever try a toll in Salem?—It was thought of once for a very large bridge which the Government built over a river there. It was proposed that a toll should be put upon that bridge; but I think it was generally considered that the toll would be like the moturpha, merely made a means of oppression, and I myself fully believed it. It would be a long way off from any magistrate. The toll-keeper would demand any sum he might choose, and if a man complained, he would have to make a long journey for the purpose.

6646. Altogether you would object to the introduction of tolls, and if driven to it, you think even a rate would be preferable?—Yes; I would sooner even raise the assessment upon the land than propose a toll.

6647. Are you aware whether there are any districts in the southern part of India where tolls have been tried?—No; I am not aware of any tolls on bridges or roads.

6648. Even if the system of levying tolls on the high roads in India were approved of, would it be possible, from the nature of the country, to place the tolls in such a way as to levy an amount sufficient to keep up the road?—No; the country is all open, and the people would easily evade it. A native would go 50 miles sooner than pay a penny.

6649. Therefore the only tolls which can be placed on Indian roads are at the ghauts near the rivers?—Yes.

6650. *Mr. Mangles.*] Did the Committee correctly understand you to say that the moturpha extends to all the districts of the Madras Presidency?—When I answered the question upon that subject, I thought it extended over the whole Presidency, but on referring to the petition from Madras, I am reminded that it does not extend over the whole Presidency. I remember the disturbance which is there referred to, which took place when it was attempted to impose the moturpha at Coupoorain.

6651. Are not the whole of what are called the Northern Sircars exempted from it?—I have never been in the Northern Sircars, and cannot speak to that; it is imposed, I know, in Bellary, in North and South Arcot, in Salem, and in Tanjore, &c.

6652. With respect to the roads in your district of Salem, is not the country from village to village traversed in hot and cold weather with great ease, in consequence of the flat nature of the country?—By no means; you cannot get a cart over it, so as to answer the requirements of commerce.

6653. From what circumstance?—The uneven nature of the ground.

6654. Is the soil sandy?—There is every description of ground; rocky ground, heavy cotton ground, and sandy ground. It is very difficult to convey raw produce from one village to another, except where the villages are close to the trunk line of road. I do not believe that those trunk lines will ever be of any great value, unless we establish cross roads.

6655. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Is there any check upon the exactions of a zemindar from the cultivators under him?—In Salem we have the advantage of an accurate survey having been made previously to the introduction of the zemindar system; that survey is appealed to in all cases of dispute between the zemindar and his ryots. The zemindar, of course, is a powerful man, and generally has the means of getting the best of it; but to a certain extent those survey accounts are a check upon him, and in Madras, in 1822, two regulations were passed by Sir Thomas Munro, which modified materially the original regulations. It was then laid down, that the regulation passed in 1802 was not to upset any existing rights; that it was not meant to infringe upon those privileges, but merely to define how the zemindar might best collect his rents; that, to a certain extent, is a protection to the ryots.

6656. Are the zemindars in general rapacious and oppressive?—No; I think the present race of zemindars are many of them very respectable and good landlords; men who deal in a kindly manner with their ryots, and make them advances in bad seasons.

6657. The

6657. The ryots, I suppose, do not frequently abscond from their lands, and engage in the cultivation of other lands?—No, I do not think they do.

6658. Such being the case, on what ground did you state that you considered the ryotwar system better for the ryot than the zemindary system?—Because no one comes between him and the Government; where there is a zemindar between the ryot and the Government, the tenure is not so certain.

6659. Do you think it undesirable to have a superior class between the lowest cultivators and the Government?—I would wish to see that superior class rise in the natural course of things by defining the ryotwar tenure, and allowing free scope to the outlay of capital. In that way we shall see such a class gradually rise, and I believe that is the only way permanently to secure it.

6660. Are you yourself aware of any instances in which the ryots have by industry accumulated sufficient money to place themselves in that position, or in anything approaching to it?—There are a vast number of ryots who are now in much improved circumstances, and there is a great extent of land so held. Compared with other ryots their possessions are considerable; they employ sub-tenants and get their land cultivated for them. The law of primogeniture not existing in India, but every man's land at his death being divided equally among his children, will however, always prevent any considerable accumulation of property.

6661. When you speak of those ryots being in improved circumstances, what extent of acres do you suppose they have ever acquired?—It is difficult to give any opinion upon that point, because to evade the present law, one man will hold several lands in the same village under different names, and perhaps he will also have some lands in the next village; but I should suppose that there are men holding land paying 30 *l.* or 40 *l.* a year.

6662. What is the average rental of a zemindar?—At the present moment I can scarcely say. I do not suppose there is a man in Salem who pays more than 2,000 *l.* a year, but that gives you no idea as to the value of his zemindary, because the best properties frequently pay the least, as compared to their extent; the sum which they pay is merely the Government assessment, and that gives no clue to the worth of their holdings.

6663. Do you think it is useful to have a class of men of that kind permanently established in the country or not?—I see no good that they have done as yet; wherever there are zemindaries we have much more trouble with the police, and much more difficulty in getting the repairs which we require to the roads.

6664. Does no police responsibility attach to those zemindaries?—None with us.

6665. Has that always been the case?—In the first instance it was attempted to make them police officers; but they turned those police powers to a bad purpose, and they were taken from them; that was a long time ago. I do not see any advantage that results from the existence of the zemindars, as far as the Government interest is concerned, except that it enables them to collect the revenue more easily.

6666. Mr. *Hume.*] You have stated two methods of assessment, one where the Government lay out money to improve the land; in that case you think an additional rent, according to the amount laid out, would be willingly paid?—It would be fairly demanded.

6667. The other case is, where an individual has applied his own capital to improve his own land; do you not approve of some plan being adopted by which such an individual shall be secured in possession of the fruits of that capital?—I believe it is the only way in which the country can be managed safely.

6668. You strongly recommend that that should be carried out by all collectors of the revenue?—Undoubtedly.

6669. You stated, in answer to a former question, in reference to labourers going to Ceylon, that they returned very frequently with plenty of money, and on the whole had sufficient capital; have they sufficient capital generally to cultivate the land which they hold?—The men who go to Ceylon are not the men who hold land; they are the labouring classes.

6670. In what state are the labouring classes in your district, as compared with the labouring classes in this country?—The condition of the labouring classes

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classes in India, when you take into consideration the difference of country and climate, is I believe very little inferior to that of the labouring classes here. They get a fair supply of food. Of course it occasionally happens, when the season is bad, that there is a large amount of dreadful distress, but in average years I do not think you hear any great complaints; the price of food is cheap beyond all belief, and the climate is such that you do not require the comforts which you require here.

6671. What are the ordinary wages of a labourer in your district?—The wages of a labourer in my district are something less than 3 *d.* a day.

6672. Would those wages afford the same amount of food and comforts as 1 *s.* or 1 *s.* 6 *d.* a day in this country?—There is of course a great difference in the climate; I believe the labourers in India are as well off for food as they are in England.

6673. How are their huts built?—A man builds a good hut in India for from 6 *s.* to 10 *s.*, and houses himself comfortably.

6674. Have you been in any of the huts in the north of Scotland or Ireland?—They are much more comfortable than an Indian hut, the climate requires that the people should be more indoor; the Indian hut is not so substantial as a cottage in this country.

6675. The times of distress to which you allude are when the season from drought, or any other accident, produces deficient crops?—Exactly.

6676. On the whole, do you confine your observations as to the state of the native labourers to the district of Salem, or do you speak of other parts of India with which you have been acquainted?—I speak also of other parts with which I have been acquainted. You can scarcely, however, compare the Indian labourers with Englishmen; their climate and their characters are so different, whilst labour must ever bear much the same relation to those that employ it.

6677. Sir *J. W. Hogg.*] Having regard to their relative wants, do you think the labourer in the southern parts of India, with which you are acquainted, is generally as well off as the labourer in this country?—If you take as your measure the amount of leisure time that they have, the labourer in India has as much relaxation as the labourer in England.

6678. With regard to their physical wants, do you think an Indian labourer is as well off as a labourer in this country?—As far as you can compare them, I think so; there are times of great distress in India, no doubt.

6679. Mr. *Hume.*] If it is alleged that the labouring population, in those districts with which you are acquainted, are generally in a state of wretchedness and misery, is that representation correct?—I have endeavoured to take every circumstance into consideration; and looking to the previous state of those people, and to what they have been accustomed to, I believe their present state is one of comparative ease, is an immense improvement on their condition at any time of which we have authentic information; but there is much poverty.

6680. You have only been seven years in Salem?—I am speaking of the state of the country as we find it recorded.

6681. Do you consider the district in which you have been stationed to be upon the whole improving?—Very greatly, as regards the general condition of the district.

6682. Do you think, if the moturpha tax were removed, and the tenure of land were secured, and protection afforded to the people, matters would go on improving?—If we had roads. I believe it will be all of little use, comparatively speaking, unless the internal means of communication are improved, not only in that district, but generally.

6683. Do you consider that irrigation is also essential, or is there sufficient irrigation in that district already?—In some portions of India they do not require irrigation, but in Salem irrigation is essential in order to an improved cultivation.

6684. The future improvement of India will be greatly promoted in your view by improving the roads and bridges, and by irrigation?—Yes, and the removal of the moturpha tax; and there is one further change which is most essential. The present forms of procedure in the civil courts ought to be materially

materially changed. Till that be done, I believe no men, whatever their qualifications might be, could possibly meet the demands of any greatly increased mercantile activity. I believe our present forms of procedure would be found perfectly unsuited.

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6685. What are the forms which you object to?—The lengthened forms of procedure in the courts of justice. Suppose a man wants to recover a sum of 30*l.*, he goes into court; he files his petition to that effect; and notice is given to the defendant, who files his answer.

6686. Is there any tax levied in the form of a stamp?—Yes; I am now speaking as to the time occupied in getting the suit through the court. The answer is filed. After the answer is filed notice is given to the plaintiff, and he files his reply, and so on. If the forms of procedure are not altered, I believe it will be impossible for the courts to give satisfaction.

6687. Do your observations apply to native as well as to European courts?—Yes; but in the native courts the forms of procedure are quicker than in the European courts. In the European courts the proceedings are much more lengthy. In the native courts a suit may be passed through with more rapidity.

6688. Mr. *Lowe.*] In the Madras petition, besides the moturpha tax, the petitioners speak of a tax which the Government raises out of the right of gathering wild honey, cutting jungle grass, and cutting firewood, and things of that sort, certain persons being licensed to do those things for a sum of money; is that the case?—Yes.

6689. What is the name of that tax?—There are various taxes of that kind. They come under the head of licences and small farms.

6690. Does the tax exist all over Madras?—Yes.

6691. Have you read the statements in the petition from Madras?—No, I have not read the petition through.

6692. You have mentioned a variety of remedies which you would apply to the present state of things in India; can you suggest any means by which taxation could be more equalised. Does not personal property escape taxation at present in India?—As the State is the universal land-owner, I would sooner raise whatever is required for the necessities of the State from land than attempt any tax upon personal property. The natives are exceedingly timid. Even in England it is considered difficult to raise such taxes fairly, but in India it would be hopeless at present.

6693. Is not it the effect of the present system, that the wealthier inhabitants in the large towns escape taxation?—They have to bear their share indirectly; they buy the produce, which is produce raised upon Government land.

6694. If the Government ask no more than the rent of the land, that will not raise the price of the produce?—I think that in India the Government levies indirectly on those men by collecting an assessment, whatever the amount may be.

6695. And that rent does not increase the price which those people get for their produce?—The produce would be raised at cheaper rates if there were not that assessment to pay.

Luna, 20^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.	Sir Charles Wood.
Sir Robert Inglis.	Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Elliot.	Mr. Herries.
Sir T. H. Maddock.	Mr. Hume.
Mr. Clive.	Mr. Vernon Smith.
Sir G. Grey.	Mr. Ellice.
Mr. Spooner.	Mr. Lowe.

THOMAS BARING, Esq.; IN THE CHAIR.

William Agnew Goldfinch, Esq., called in; and Examined.

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6696. *Chairman.*] WILL you state during what time you resided in India, and the situations you occupied?—My service in India extends over 11 years; the whole of that time I was employed in the Dharwar and Belgaum collectorates as assistant collector, and for a short time I was acting collector of Dharwar.

6697. So that you are conversant with the system of land revenue in Bombay?—Yes, in that part of the country particularly.

6698. Will you state, shortly, what was the system adopted there?—It is the ryotwar system. The landholders hold their land direct from Government, and pay a fixed assessment, which has lately been revised by a new survey and assessment.

6699. Were you there at the time of that new survey?—I was.

6700. Upon what principle was it carried on?—The objects of the survey were to fix a moderate rate of assessment, and to measure and map the whole of the lands of the country, and to fix boundary marks.

6701. On the same principle as that which was adopted in the North-western Provinces by Mr. Bird?—I believe there is some difference between the two surveys; but generally, I fancy the objects are the same.

6702. What was the result; was it to increase the revenue or to diminish it?—The net revenue is increased very materially; the nominal revenue is slightly less than it was, but the actual collections are greater.

6703. Will you explain the reason of that apparent difference between the nominal revenue and the real revenue?—The nominal revenue, that is, the assessment as entered in the accounts, was actually never collected under the old system; every year large sums were remitted. By the new mode of assessment, no remissions are given; and so, although the nominal assessment is less than it used to be, the actual collections are much greater.

6704. Was that survey and new arrangement satisfactory to the native cultivators?—Very satisfactory indeed; it has created a wonderful change in the condition of the people, and also in their feeling of satisfaction with our Government.

6705. Can you give the Committee any idea what proportion the revenue paid by the cultivators bears to the net produce of the cultivation?—No, I do not think I can; I should suppose it to be about one-third of the net produce; but it is only a matter of guess.

6706. Upon what basis was the assessment made?—The villages were divided into separate groups, and the accounts of all those villages were compared for many preceding years. The rise and fall in the amount of collections, as shown in those accounts, was exhibited in a diagram; and on these data the amount of assessment that this particular cluster of villages was supposed to be likely to be able to bear was decided upon; and after this the lands that had been classified and fixed in a scale according to their relative values were assessed. The villages were ranged in clusters according to their climate and soil, and natural advantages generally.

6707. Was the assessment made after consultation, and in concert with the natives?—No; from accounts, and from general information picked up by the survey officers.

6708. For

6708. For what period is that assessment in force?—Thirty years.

6709. Then no improvement made during the 30 years will increase the assessment during that period?—No; the value of all improvements will go to the landholder for 30 years.

6710. To what extent was that system adopted throughout the Presidency of Bombay?—Four of the provinces have been completed by this survey; four are now being surveyed, and one other is just about to be commenced; so that in time the whole of the Bombay Presidency will be surveyed.

6711. Will the result of the whole be an increase of the land revenue throughout the Presidency?—As far as we can judge from what has happened already, it is supposed that it will.

6712. And that it will be more satisfactory to the cultivators than the former assessment?—Infinitely more satisfactory. The revenue now is collected with the greatest punctuality and ease, and there is not the slightest dissatisfaction or complaint of any kind regarding it.

6713. Mr. Spooner.] Were some parts of those provinces underrated before, as you say that under the reduced rate more money is collected in the gross than formerly?—The great increase of revenue is owing to the extension of cultivation; the greater quantity of land brought under the plough under the new rates. There were some few cases, no doubt, where the old rates of assessment have been increased by this survey, but generally speaking there has been a very large reduction.

6714. Sir T. H. Maddock.] After the survey was finished, when you found a field, say No. 11, of five beegas of land, in the possession of some particular person, did the collector assess the revenue upon it arbitrarily, or did he ask the occupant or proprietor whether he was willing to pay that amount?—The assessment was fixed by the superintendent of the survey, without any reference to the cultivator, and when those new rates were introduced the holder of each field was summoned to the collector, and informed of the rate at which his land would be assessed in future, and if he chose to retain it on those terms he did, but if he did not choose he threw it up.

6715. Was a puttah given to him by the collector?—Yes; it is the custom to have receipt books,

6716. Is there no puttah or deed given by the collector?—No.

6717. Is there anything in the shape of a kahooliat or agreement taken from the cultivator?—Not at the introduction of the survey.

6718. At the time of settling with him that he is to remain in the occupancy, is there no written instrument?—There is no written instrument of any kind; it is a mere verbal agreement.

6719. The only record of it is, that it is entered in the village books?—And in the ryot's receipt book, which is a counterpart of the entry in the village account.

6720. Sir G. Grey.] Does the assessment bear the same proportion to the net produce of all the villages in that district, or does it vary?—I cannot answer that question; I can only give a guess as to what proportion the assessment bears to the net produce of the land.

6721. Do the collectors who make the assessment act under uniform instructions, and adopt the same principle of assessment throughout the whole Presidency?—The assessment is not made by the collector; it is made by the officer who superintends the survey; and there is one rule provided for the whole collectorate; it does not vary in different villages.

6722. Is there one officer superintending the survey for the whole district?—Yes.

6723. Therefore the principle of assessment is uniform throughout the Presidency?—Certainly.

6724. Mr. Elliot.] What service does the superintendent of the survey belong to?—He belongs to the engineers, Captain Wingate.

6725. You mentioned that the ryots were called, before the collector, to be asked whether they were willing to take their land upon the assessment fixed; were there many refusals to take the land upon the terms offered to them?—Hardly any; and generally speaking, there was a great rush to take up new lands under this assessment.

6726. There were very few of the old lands that were not taken by the original ryots?—Very few indeed.

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6727. Mr. *Clive*.] Was it the inducement of the 30 years' lease that led them to rush to enter into those negotiations?—The reduction of the assessment and the advantage of the 30 years' lease together. The confidence that there would be no increase in their assessment has no doubt very greatly influenced them to take up this land.

6728. Mr. *Elliot*.] And also the fixing of the boundaries must have been a satisfactory arrangement with the people?—Yes; but there was not much difficulty or dispute about the boundaries before.

6729. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Can you state whether, when there was a rate of assessment fixed upon fields in cultivation, there was also a rate fixed upon the uncultivated land which was not divided into fields?—All the cultivable land was divided into fields, and an assessment fixed upon every field, whether cultivated or waste.

6730. Was that division arbitrary, and by boundary marks laid down for the first time?—Not in the case of cultivated fields; but in the case of uncultivated fields they were divided into convenient holdings.

6731. Upon what information was the rent of the cultivated lands for 30 years assessed?—The assessment is on the land itself, without regarding improvements. No notice is taken of the production of any land in fixing the assessment; it is on the bare land.

6732. But in Belgaum, and that part of the country, is it the custom for an acre of land that has been out of cultivation for 30 or 40 years to continue bearing as high a rent as a neighbouring field which has been brought into cultivation, and improved for some years?—Yes; there would be some expense to bring it into bearing, but probably from not having been cultivated for a length of time, the soil would bear heavier crops, and would therefore bear the expense of bringing it under the plough.

6733. A good deal of this land probably is overgrown with low jungle?—Generally speaking, not.

6734. Is it, generally speaking, grass land?—Grass land; but the grass is of a peculiar nature; it is very difficult and troublesome to get rid of.

6735. There was no distinction made in the assessment which followed the survey between a field of five acres that was in a perfect state of cultivation already, and a field of five acres which had not been cultivated for 15 or 20 years?—No distinction, merely because the one was cultivated, and the other was waste, or was not properly cultivated. The one might be more favourably situated with reference to a village, or on some other account, and would therefore bear a higher assessment than the other.

6736. From your statement, that when the rate of assessment was announced there was generally a rush to obtain lands, are the Committee to understand that that rush was to obtain uncleared lands?—Certainly; that is, uncultivated lands.

6737. Sir *G. Grey*.] When you say that there was no distinction made in the assessment between cultivated and uncultivated land, are the Committee to understand that no distinction was made between cultivated and uncultivated lands where the uncultivated land was capable of being cultivated and made as productive as that which was already cultivated?—Yes; the lands were classified with reference to their capability of production.

6738. Mr. *Elliot*.] Did the assessment fixed upon the cultivated land commence to be paid from the date at which the agreement was made, or did the ryot commence to pay that assessment from the time at which he broke up the land?—The land is taken by the year, and the time at which this assessment was introduced was at the close of the revenue year; so that a man taking it at that time for the ensuing year, would of course pay for the year for which he took it up.

6739. Whether he cultivated it or not?—Yes.

6740. *Chairman*.] By whom, and in what mode, is the assessment collected?—By the native subordinates of the collector on the collector's establishment.

6741. Are there any arrears, to the best of your knowledge?—There are no outstanding arrears at all in the district in which I was.

6742. Can you perfectly rely upon the trustworthiness of the natives employed in the collection as subordinates?—Not if there are no checks to their propensities; but it is very difficult indeed now, with clear accounts and fixed rates, which must be paid without any remission or alteration, it is very difficult indeed for any fraud to take place in collecting.

6743. Do

6743. Do you mean that the native subordinates require European supervision?—Certainly. It is the duty of the European officer to examine the village accounts every year; to compare the receipt books with the entries in his village account books, which makes it very difficult for any fraud to take place.

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6744. At what period is the revenue collected?—The instalments are paid according to the position of the districts. In some districts the crops are reaped earlier than in others. In those districts, of course, the period for collecting the instalments is earlier than in the later ones.

6745. Are there any complaints by the natives as to the periods at which the revenue is collected?—No; there has been no complaint in that respect lately. Formerly the revenue used to be collected before it was possible for the grain or other produce to be reaped and sold; but latterly the payment of the instalments has been deferred, so as to give time for the ryot to sell his produce without forcing it into the market, and so pay his tax out of the actual proceeds of the crop.

6746. How long has that change been in operation?—Since the introduction of the survey; probably about three years.

6747. Although there is a variance in the time of the instalments, can you give the Committee any idea as to the general practice how often the payments are made yearly?—Four times a year.

6748. Mr. *Elliot*.] Does the tahsildar give a receipt for each payment that he receives, or does the collector give a general receipt for the whole of the revenue at the end of the year?—The village accountant gives a receipt to the ryot for his payment, and the accountant receives a receipt from the tahsildar for his village collections.

6749. For each kist or instalment?—For each instalment.

6750. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Is the difference in the proportion of the instalments, that is to say, the difference in the kist money, regulated by districts, or does it happen that each village has a different apportionment?—No, it is by districts.

6751. Does it depend in any degree upon the proportion that each village may have of a khereef crop and a rubba crop?—No.

6752. May it not happen that in the same district one village has almost entirely a khereef crop, and another village has almost entirely a rubba crop?—It might so happen; generally when the khereef crops preponderate you have early instalments, and where late crops are generally grown you have late instalments; in some of the villages in which those instalments are fixed there is a portion of both grown, but in the greater part of them there is either an early crop or a late crop.

6753. But this apportionment of the kists is generally made to correspond with the proportions of early and late crops in each particular village?—In each district, and when once fixed it does not vary according to the crops planted; there is no variation from year to year, but it is decided that certain districts shall pay their instalments early, because early crops are generally grown in those districts.

6754. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Would you agree with those, if such there be, who consider it possible to adopt any one system of land tenure for the whole of the British possessions in India?—I have had no experience of any but the ryot-waree system, which I consider the best of any.

6755. Would your experience lead you to inform the Committee that the ryots in the districts to which you have called their attention are, generally speaking, prosperous and happy?—Very prosperous.

6756. You do not consider that their condition is such as to reflect discredit upon the administration under which they are governed?—Certainly not any.

6757. Have you had any opportunity of comparing the condition of the ryots in the district of which you have been speaking and the condition of the cultivators of the soil in Oude or any other of the Native States of India?—No, I have never travelled in any of the territories belonging to Native States; but I have heard a great deal of the oppression of the cultivators in the Nizam's country.

6758. You state, however, that the condition of those who have come under your own personal observation in the districts of which you have been speaking, is prosperous and happy?—Yes.

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6759. *Chairman.*] Is there any interference with the ryot, or any obstacle to the cultivation of any kind of crop he pleases?—None whatever; so long as he pays his tax and keeps the boundary marks in order, there is no question or interference on the part of the Government servants as to his cultivation; he may cultivate, or leave it waste, or do whatever he pleases.

6760. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] May he cultivate opium?—There is no opium grown in that part of the country.

6761. *Chairman.*] Is there any obstacle to Europeans purchasing property in those districts?—None whatever.

6762. Is there any want of capital for improvements?—No, I do not think there is; but there is a want of combination of capital. Small improvements, such as wells and small tanks, and those works that do not involve any large expenditure, are now frequently made by holders of small portions of land, for their own individual benefit; but any large works that require a very large outlay are not executed. The natives do not combine to construct new works of that kind.

6763. Is the transfer of those lands subject to assessment easy to be effected?—Perfectly easy; a person who wishes to dispose of his land has only to send in a written paper stating that he wishes to resign it, and desiring that it may be entered in the name of some other person to whom he disposes of it; and the person in whose name it is desired to be entered must send in a written paper to say that he is willing to take it with the Government assessment; it is then, at once, transferred to the purchaser.

6764. So that there is no great expense attending the transfer?—No expense whatever.

6765. Can you give the Committee any idea how many years' purchase land sells for?—It will vary in every village, almost; in the neighbourhood of a large village, where the land is in good order, I have known it sold as high as nine and seven years' assessment; that is, the person who buys it pays to the original owner the amount of seven or nine years' Government assessment, and, of course, he is liable to the Government for the assessment on that land; I have known instances of that, but I do not mean to say that I consider that the common price.

6766. *Chairman.*] You were speaking of tanks, and modes of irrigation; are they sufficient, or is there a want of those facilities for improvement?—There is a great want of them certainly in parts of the district in which I have had experience; and there is a vast quantity of water which might be made use of, which is allowed to run to waste.

6767. Is it your idea that that will be done by the owner of the land under the Government, or that it will not be done unless the Government assists?—It will not be done unless the Government assists.

6768. With regard to the means of communication, are the roads and other modes of communication there in a satisfactory condition or not?—Not at all; up to the moment of my leaving that part of the country very little had been done, but since I left, I have heard that several new roads had been sanctioned, and are now being made.

6769. Would it be necessary that the Government should make those roads, or would private enterprise be sufficient to accomplish the objects?—The Government must do it.

6770. Would the occupiers of the land pay a tax to the Government for that purpose?—It would be difficult to collect any tax for that purpose.

6771. Is the police satisfactory, as to the security of property?—No, not very; the police has never been satisfactorily organised in that part of the country. Formerly, under the old Government, in every village there was a certain kind of irregular militia, who were paid by assignments of land free of assessment; since we took possession of the country those men have been kept on in possession of their lands, and have been required to do service as police; they are not at all fairly distributed. In some villages there is a superabundant and useless idle crowd, and in others there is hardly a single executive officer of any kind; so that altogether the police system is decidedly in need of improvement in that part of the country.

6772. What system would you suggest as a satisfactory improvement?—I think that all the lands held by those people should be assessed, and that with the funds thus placed at the disposal of the Government a properly paid

paid police should be established, under the tahsildar, under the magistrate's establishment.

6773. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] In Belgaum and Dharwar, in whom do you consider the proprietary right of the soil to be vested?—In the Government hitherto it has been supposed to be.

6774. Then what is the right of the man who has got a piece of land for 30 years from the Government?—He is the proprietor of it, subject to the payment of the Government tax.

6775. And at the end of the period of his lease you conceive that the proprietary right of the land reverts to the Government, to dispose of it as it pleases?—It will be subject to whatever tax the Government chooses to impose.

6776. Are the Committee to understand that this settlement that has been made gives no stability of tenure to the persons who are placed in the possession of the land, beyond 30 years?—The present occupier or owner of the land will certainly have the option of keeping it on at whatever assessment the Government choose to place upon it.

6777. In the making this settlement, in the case of any given field that was assessed, say at 10 rupees, if the occupant of that field at the time was willing to give that sum, was it in the power of the collector to take it from him and confer it upon any other individual?—No.

6778. Had he a right of preference?—He had; without his resignation the collector could not take it from him and give it to another.

6779. Do those irregular militia that you alluded to, the sobundeas, act under the orders of the tahsildars, or under the orders of any village officers?—Immediately under the village officer; but generally under the orders of the tahsildar.

6780. In a village, who are the village officers, and what authority do they possess?—The potail and the village accountant.

6781. Can you explain what is the authority of the potail, contrasting the authority which the potail possessed under the former system with that which he now possesses under this new assessment?—The potail nominally has the same power now as he always had.

6782. Will you describe what that power is, more particularly with reference to the police?—The new survey has made no difference in that whatever; as regards the sobundeas they are under his orders for all purposes of police; he stations them at markets or any particular places where he may fancy it requisite to have them for the public security, and he makes use of them generally in the same way as any other police executive servants.

6783. Is the potail himself a landholder?—Generally speaking.

6784. To a greater extent than the generality of the cultivators?—No, I think not. A great many of the potails were wuttundas, that is, holders of hereditary lands, and many of those men still retain their old hereditary possessions; but many of those wuttuns have lapsed to the Government by failure of heirs and other reasons, and the offices of potails are now held by persons appointed by Government.

6785. Do you consider that a great portion of the potails are now devoid of those wuttuns?—No; by far the greater portion of them still retain them.

6786. Is it the practice that the wuttun is held by one individual, the head of the family, or is it held in co-partnership among the brothers?—It is held in co-partnership.

6787. When it is held in co-partnership, who is the executive officer who discharges the duty of potail in the village?—In many villages it is the case that the office attached to the wuttun has always been held by one particular branch of a family, and therefore the office will always remain in that branch; it generally is in the eldest son; in others it is the custom of different shareholders to conduct the duties by rotation five years at a time, and the profits of the wuttun go to the person who performs the duties.

6788. Does the potail hold a cutchery of his own?—No; there is generally a public hall called the chowry, where the public business is transacted; but he has no office or establishment of any kind.

6789. Are the potails generally Mahrattas, or of other castes?—There are very few Mahrattas in that part of the country; most of the cultivating class are Lingazuts; the potails are mostly Lingazuts.

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6790. Mr. *Elliot*.] In the event of the Government making advances for the formation of tanks, can the amount be recovered by instalments from the ryots who are benefited by the irrigation?—Yes; but I think that the expenditure borne by the Government should be repaid by a water-rate levied from the lands benefited by it.

6791. And that that water-rate should be sufficient, in the course of some years, to repay the expense of the formation of the tanks?—Yes; or to pay a good interest for the expenditure.

6792. Has that ever been done in Bombay lately?—I have never known it of my own experience; but I have known many cases where the Government have spent small sums in the repair of tanks, and in those cases the return has been most remunerative; in some cases I have known the whole expenditure repaid in two or three years by the increase of revenue arising from the supply of water.

6793. You mean repaid to the ryots, not repaid to the Government?—To the Government.

6794. Then in that case some arrangement must have taken place, such as has been alluded to?—It was in this way; the land is often left waste, because there is no water to enable the people to cultivate it, and if water is supplied the land is taken up immediately; the same land that would otherwise pay little or nothing to the Government as revenue then pays the full assessment.

6795. But I understood you to say that the waste land was assessed together with the cultivated?—It is assessed, but if no one cultivates it the assessment is not paid; if no one takes it up it remains waste, and is completely unproductive; but if any one chooses to cultivate the land it pays its full assessment immediately it is taken up.

6796. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Then an increase of the population must be an immense advantage to the Government revenue?—As far as taking up new land, certainly.

6797. *Chairman*.] You stated in a previous part of your evidence that the natives could not be relied on for the collection of the revenue, without European supervision; to what do you attribute that failing in their character?—I believe it is the nature of the natives particularly to cheat, whenever they have an opportunity.

6798. Do you think that failing would be corrected by better education or by better pay?—The pay, I think, is now generally sufficient, and increase of pay would not therefore diminish the inclination to defraud if they had an opportunity; they are brought up with that principle; it is no disgrace among them for a man to be known to defraud.

6799. Do you think it would tend to correct that evil, if they considered that by performing their duties well they would be sure of advancement in their career?—The persons who make collections of revenue from the ryots, and who have an opportunity of defrauding the revenue more than any others, are the village officers, and those men are not in the regular service of the Government; their duties merely refer to the village in which they are appointed, or they inherit the office of potail or accountant, and therefore they have no hope of rising. They may be punished for misconduct, but they have no hope of getting beyond the office they hold as village officers.

6800. Do you think that is the reason why they are less trustworthy than they would be if there were promotion open to them?—No, I think not; but I think that with respect to the subordinate revenue officers, such as clerks and the lower paid grades of natives who are on the regular establishment of the collector, and who now, generally speaking, are anything but trustworthy, if some changes and reforms were made in their service, they would become probably more trustworthy than they now are.

6801. What changes do you allude to?—I think that all hopes of promotion now rest too much upon the individual character of the collector, in whose hands all those promotions remain, and the collector has no opportunity, generally speaking, of seeing or forming any estimate of the capabilities of the lower grades of those servants, and he promotes people in the small promotions (I do not refer to the higher appointments), either by chance or at the recommendation of some other officer, very often a native; and the impression among these people generally has been, that they must hope to rise by favour or through

through the interest of some one native official, and not through meritorious public service.

6802. How could that defect in the service be removed?—I think that all men who are candidates for public employment should be examined, as they are now in some districts, and that when examined a list of them should be made out according to their qualifications, and that as vacancies occurred in the service those men should be appointed in the order in which they stand in the list; and that after they enter the service they should go on by seniority up to a certain point, and when they have arrived at that point, I think there should be another examination; and this seniority system should, I think, be persisted in, except in cases of peculiar merit, when the collector might report to his superior, whoever he may be, and recommend this man's promotion. I think that no exception to the seniority system should take place, except on some such public grounds for promotion; so that all might understand why such a man was promoted in preference to others. I think that would remove the impression which now exists about favouritism and patronage.

6803. Is there no examination now?—I do not know as to other districts; in the one I have been in there is one.

6804. Does that answer the object of which you are speaking?—As far as giving the men employment in the first instance, this examination does; but after they have entered the service there is no system for promotion. I have known a man who had entered the service long before I was born, probably getting eight rupees, or 16s. a month as a clerk; and though his character has been good, and he has always done his duty as he has had opportunities of doing it, he has remained on the same pay the whole of his life. Such a man's want of success is attributed by himself, and by his companions in the service, to his ill-luck in not having in some way or other secured the interest of some influential person in the establishment to bring him forward.

6805. Others having been put over their heads?—Yes, hundreds; and those promotions without visible cause for them, confirm the notion which the service generally have, that they must trust for promotion to private interest and favouritism.

6806. To what private interest do you allude?—Generally speaking, there is some native at the collectorate who either has, or makes those people believe that he has, influence over the collector; and if there is no tangible reason for a man being put over other people's heads, it is sure to be imputed to this person's influence in some way. It may be one man or another, as the collectors change.

6807. How is the influence over the collector, of which you have spoken, obtained?—The collectors are often removed from one district to another; and a stranger coming as collector into a district where he has never been before, and knowing nothing of the characters of the servants under him, in number probably 250 or 300, if any trifling vacancy occurs, does not know whom to promote; he must therefore ask somebody, and most probably it will be the head native officer who is about him.

6808. Mr. *Hardinge*.] You say that in some districts examinations exist, and that in others they do not; is there no order of the Government upon the subject?—I have never seen one.

6809. You do not mean to say that it depends entirely upon the discretion of the collector whether those native officers shall be examined or not?—It is the candidates for public employment who are examined, not the officers after they have entered the service.

6810. Mr. *Hume*.] Do the observations which you have now made apply to the natives alone, or to Europeans?—To the natives alone.

6811. Mr. *Ellice*.] Is there any impression on the part of those persons seeking for promotion that it can be obtained through any corrupt means, such as by the payment of money to the persons who you say have influence over the collectors?—No, I do not know that there is. As regards money payment, I do not think there is much of that; it is rather family interest and influence of various kinds.

6812. Mr. *Hume*.] Have you known any instances in which money has been given for situations of that kind?—No. I have known a case in which every person who got an appointment was obliged to pay the head native officer of the district

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district a certain sum ; but that did not come out as long as the man held the office ; it was discovered after he left the service.

6813. *Chairman.*] Was the European collector cognisant of that ?—No.

6814. *Mr. Hume.*] Are the Committee to understand from you that the collectors are, in your opinion, too often changed ?—Yes ; I think it would be advisable to retain the collectors longer in one collectorate than they do now.

6815. Is there any rule as to the number of years that they shall take their turns as collectors ?—No.

6816. What time do you think would be sufficient to give an officer experience in his collectorate, and so lessen the evil which you have pointed out ?—I do not think that by that means you could remove the impression which now prevails among those people ; you want a Government order to establish rules to improve the native service.

6817. You are aware that there are rules here in the Customs and Excise for examination, and for gradational employment ; am I to understand that you would recommend some similar regulation by the Government of India, which should hold out to the natives advancement, with a prospective increase of salary, if their conduct merited it ?—Yes ; that is, that length of service and good conduct should give every man a chance of rising.

6818. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] You said that after entering the service at the lowest grade, and passing a satisfactory examination, you would have the subordinate servants advanced by seniority to a certain point ; can you define what that point should be ?—Up to a certain point, all those servants to whom I allude are only liable to be employed in the collectorate in subordinate duties ; but at a certain point they attain a rank in which they are sometimes called upon to conduct the duties of tahsildar, or an inferior officer called the moulkarry, who has charge of a smaller district than a tahsildar during the absence of his superior ; I think that is the point ; when they come to that situation they should be examined again, to see that they are qualified to act in those higher situations.

6819. Among the 300 or 400 employés of this description in a district, can you state what proportion of them have advanced beyond that point to which you have alluded ?—That would be different in different districts. The point in respect of pay is 18 rupees. When an officer has a salary higher than 18 rupees, he is what is called the first clerk.

6820. How many out of the 400 in a collectorate will be upon a salary above 18 rupees ?—Probably 50 or 60.

6821. In that case there will be 300 or 350 below this point. Now, do you consider that if the whole of those 300 or 350 public servants were to rise only by seniority in the list, that would be a sufficient stimulus to keep up their emulation, and to induce them to exert themselves ?—I do not propose that they should rise by seniority only, but that in case of any public grounds for promoting a man above others who had entered the service before him, such grounds should be reported to the Government, and they might promote him if he deserved it ; but in the absence of any public grounds of any kind, I think length of service should give a man promotion.

6822. Do you think that the authority of the European collector would be as well maintained by his having the power to report the qualifications of those individuals, as if he had the power which he now has of promoting them himself ?—I think his authority would be better maintained, because the persons in the service would generally understand that they must get promotion out of their turn by some public service bringing them to the notice of the collector ; whereas now they generally trust for their promotion to some private influence among the head native servants of the district.

6823. According to this plan, would you propose that the collector should report to the Government the superior qualifications of any one individual when there was a vacancy to which he wished to appoint him, or that he should periodically, or as circumstances required, report to his superiors the peculiar merits and services of any individuals under him who had distinguished themselves ?—That is a matter of the detail of the plan. It might be either way. So long as a report is made to the Government that some public grounds exist for promotion, I think either plan would do equally well. The great object is to have some tangible reason for promoting persons over their seniors.

6824. *Chairman.*] Had you many complaints of the operation of the revenue from

from salt in the part of the country in which you were?—In the part of the country where I was there were no complaints at all; the increase in the tax upon salt was so trifling, compared to the value of the salt in that part of the country, that the difference was hardly perceptible.

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6825. What is the relative price of salt in the district with which you are conversant and in other parts of India?—I was referring particularly to the difference of price up the country, where there is a long land carriage, as compared with the price on the sea coast. On the coast, where the salt is manufactured, and where, therefore, the value of the salt is very trifling indeed, the tax appears very heavy; where the tax is half a rupee or 1*s.*, and the value of the salt is 2*d.*, an increase of 6*d.* in the tax upon it makes a very serious difference to the people who buy it; but up the country, where the price of the same quantity of salt would probably be 4*s.*, an addition of 6*d.* to that price is hardly perceptible to the buyers of small quantities.

6826. *Mr. Hume.*] Then it is the increased expense of carriage which adds so much to the price inland?—Yes.

6827. Good roads and improved conveyance would lessen that evil?—Yes.

6828. *Mr. Hardinge.*] What is the price of salt per seron in that district?—I cannot recollect.

6829. *Chairman.*] When did you leave India?—In April 1852.

6830. Have you any other observation to make to the Committee upon the subject of the various items of revenue in that part of the country of which you are cognisant?—None: except that I think that the tax for local objects should be compulsory instead of being voluntary.

6831. *Mr. Hume.*] What local objects?—Improvement of towns, building bridges, fountains, public wells, and things of that kind.

6832. Could that be carried out?—There is a law called the Municipal Act of 1851, for that very purpose; but to bring it into operation it is necessary for a third of the inhabitants of the town where it is proposed to introduce this law to petition for its introduction; the consequence is, that it is almost inoperative. You cannot persuade people of the advantages that they will derive under this Act, and they do not choose to tax themselves, and they will not petition for it; the consequence is, that it is almost impossible to get it introduced.

6833. *Chairman.*] There are tolls upon some of the roads in Bombay, are there not?—Only one; only upon the Bhore Ghaut road.

6834. *Sir C. Wood.*] Are not there upon both the Ghauts?—I think only upon one.

6835. *Mr. Elliot.*] But those tolls can only be levied at spots where they cannot get past without paying?—Yes.

6836. Are they not, therefore, sure to be greatly evaded?—They are sure to be evaded, where evasion is possible.

6837. Do you apprehend considerable difficulty with regard to tolls in India, from the circumstance of their leading to a considerable amount of corruption on the part of the persons placed there to collect them?—I do not think that would be a sufficient reason for not placing tolls.

6838. Would not the placing of tolls on roads be attended with a considerable degree of extortion on persons who passed during the wet season, when they could not avoid them?—Yes; there is no doubt that in the case of tolls on ferries there is extortion, though it is trifling in amount from each individual person, and it is not enough to prevent people from crossing if they wish to cross.

6839. *Mr. Hume.*] Are not the rates fixed up at different places, so that each individual should know what he ought to pay?—Yes; but many of them are not able to read.

6840. Have you any suggestions to make with a view to improve the state of the natives?—I am not aware of any.

6841. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Can you inform the Committee whether in those districts of Dharwar and Belgaum there have of late years been remitted on the part of Government any onerous imposts in the shape of town duties, house duties, and shop duties, or any such imposts?—Yes; in 1844 or 1845, I think, all irregular taxes of that kind were abolished.

6842. Do you consider that very great relief has thereby been given to the inhabitants of the towns and villages?—Yes, certainly great relief; but I think that those taxes were principally objectionable in consequence of their inequality;

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inequality; there was no reason why many of those persons should not be taxed as well as any one else.

6843. Can you suggest any mode of taxing the people of a town for local improvements that would be free from the same objection?—I think that a uniform tax upon shops and houses might be imposed, and in fact it is imposed in some cases where this new Act has come into operation.

6844. That is to say, you would recommend us to retrace our steps?—In some measure, so far as taxing those people who now pay nothing.

6845. Are you of opinion that we could reimpose any of those taxes, without incurring the risk of subjecting the people to the same exactions and oppressions which they suffered from before those taxes were taken off?—That is the difficulty; but as regards the principle of taxing those people, I think it quite fair to tax them, but I confess I do not see how it is to be done.

6846. If you cannot suggest any means of avoiding that difficulty, would you still consider it advisable to reintroduce those taxes?—For local objects I would. The tax would be so small on each individual, that it could not be looked upon as any great oppression.

6847. Mr. Hume.] Since the moturpha tax was removed, are there any other taxes which those people pay?—None at all.

6848. Am I to understand that the villages are free from taxation altogether, except what they pay for the land?—Entirely free; beyond the Government assessment there is no tax that can be levied from them.

6849. Do the banking establishments at those places now pay no tax of any kind?—No, nothing. Formerly, under the moturpha tax, some of those people paid as much as 40*l.*, 50*l.*, and 60*l.* a year.

6850. Are any articles of consumption, except salt, subjected to duty?—No.

6851. Is the abkarry tax levied generally in the villages?—Yes, the spirit licence.

6852. That is farmed out?—That is farmed out.

6853. But as regards food and such articles there is no tax?—No tax whatever.

6854. No tax on hackeries?—None whatever.

William Edwards, Esq., called in; and Examined.

W. Edwards, Esq.

6855. *Chairman.*] WILL you state to the Committee what opportunities you have had of observing the revenue system in India?—I have been only a short time in the revenue department during my period of service; I have been employed under the Board of Administration, since it was formed, as a deputy commissioner, which is a revenue office.

6856. Will you state what situations you occupied in India, and in what parts of the country you served?—My period of service has been 15 years and three months in India; I was first appointed assistant to the commissioner of Cuttack, in the province of Orissa; I then officiated for several months as assistant to the Registrar of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut, in Calcutta; that is the Company's Supreme Court; I was then appointed deputy secretary to the Government of Agra; I officiated also for some time as private secretary to the Governor, Mr. Robertson; I was then nominated under-secretary to the Government of India, during which time I attended the Governor-general in his tours to the Upper Provinces; I remained in that office for several years; I was then appointed superintendent of the Hill States, a political appointment, and deputy-commissioner under the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab, which was a revenue and judicial office.

6857. Will you explain to the Committee the system of land revenue which you found prevailing in that district?—It was almost a pure ryotwar system; the only difference from what I understand the ryotwar system to be, in other parts of India, being, that the settlement was made with the ryots for a fixed period of years, for five years, and not annually, as it is, I believe, in Bombay and Madras. Each ryot held direct from the Government, and was responsible for his own assessment; he held under a lease, and he was the sole proprietor of the land he cultivated, which he might dispose of as he chose. That system was found to work very ill; it was open to all the objections found to exist in the ryotwar system elsewhere; and there was one peculiar evil in it, that in addition to the Government revenue, the ryots of the Hill districts were under an obligation to serve

serve as labourers, as porters, whenever required by the State. That was an obligation imposed when we first got those Hill districts. On our early occupation of the Hills it did not act very injuriously, but since our Hill districts have been resorted to by European officers, by servants of the Government, and by others in large numbers, this obligation was found to be ruinous to the people, for they were obliged to serve as porters for no adequate remuneration, and at times when it was very inconvenient for them to leave their lands. That was one peculiar aggravation of the evils of the ryotwar system. I reported this state of things to the Board of Administration, and I was directed to endeavour to introduce the village system of settlement, which has been introduced with great success in the North-western Provinces, and is now being introduced into the Punjaub.

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6858. Will you explain the course which you pursued in introducing the village system?—The course was almost exactly similar to that which was pursued in the North-western Provinces. A district was divided into certain portions, and the boundaries of those portions were laid down; in short, the system already described to the Committee as that followed in the North-western Provinces, with some trifling local modifications.

6859. For what length of time did you make the new settlement?—In some districts for a period of 30 years, in other districts for the remaining period the ryotwar settlement had to run; that is, I altered the ryotwar settlement to the village settlement for the period that the ryotwar settlement had to run in certain districts.

6860. Did the people appear satisfied with that arrangement?—I introduced it at first experimentally; I was doubtful whether it would succeed, and I introduced it experimentally into the Kothghur district, and I found it to answer very well. After it had been in force there for above a year, I extended it to the other districts under my charge, and when I left the system had become very popular. Of course with a rude and ignorant people it required some trouble to make them understand its benefits; but it became at last so popular with them that in one of the neighbouring states, a large district called Bissahir (the Rajah, the present chief of which, is a minor, and the estate under our management), the people requested that the same system might be extended to them, and I introduced it into several parts of that large province; and my successor has been carrying on the system through the rest of Bissahir, and it is found to answer very well indeed.

6861. Did the people begin to extend their cultivation after the settlement was made; and did they enter into any schemes for promoting irrigation?—Yes, they have generally begun to do so. In the Kothghur district it was very marked. As soon as the settlement was made for 30 years, they immediately began to extend the cultivation to the rich waste lands, which were close to the cultivated lands on all sides; and in one instance also they agreed to subscribe among themselves a certain amount for purposes of irrigation; and the Government assisted them, as they were poor people, under the stipulation that whatever advances were made should be repaid by small instalments, at considerable intervals.

6862. Were those instalments regularly repaid?—Sufficient time had not elapsed when I left.

6863. To what do you attribute that increased energy on the part of the people?—To the period of the settlement being made for 30 years, and the increased confidence that for that period no advance would be made in the amount of assessment, whatever might be the circumstances of the land; that whether new roads were carried through the district, or whether a cantonment was formed, or to whatever increased value the land might have, for that period no enhancement of the revenue would be exacted.

6864. Can you inform the Committee at what rate those districts are assessed under the new system?—Generally under a rule laid down for the settlement made in the North-western Provinces, that we should not take more than two-thirds of the net produce; that is, after paying the expenses of cultivation and the employment of labour, so as to leave one-third clear profit to the cultivator.

6865. Mr. Hume.] How did you arrive at that?—In communication with the people.

6866. Chairman.] You went on the same principle that was adopted in the North-western

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North-western Provinces?—Yes, on exactly the same principle; we fixed a sum upon the district, and then they divided it among themselves.

6867. As a political officer, you had an opportunity of comparing the condition of the subjects of the native states with that of those under British rule; will you inform the Committee which of the two you consider to be the best off?—I think the British subjects, certainly; I think the subjects of native states are, compared with ours, in a most deplorable condition. They are living under no fixed system of law or procedure; the demands from them for the lands they cultivate, and on other accounts, vary every day, and almost every hour. In short, they have no other guarantee for the enjoyment of their rights or of property than the character of the chief, whoever he may be, for the time being.

6868. Mr. Hume.] Will you name some of the states to which you refer?—There were 19 native states under my charge, as political agent, and I should say that the people in all those, with one or two exceptions, were in the most deplorable condition.

6869. As political agent, having charge of those states, you did not interfere in any way in the management of their internal affairs, or in the collection of the taxes?—No, by no means. It was represented to me that there had been many acts requiring interference; but under the system adopted towards political stipendiaries interference is barred, except in the way of advice.

6870. Can you state what the population of the Hill States was?—I think between 500,000 and 600,000, as far as I could ascertain; but there has been no accurate census made.

6871. Chairman.] You stated that you thought that the British subjects were much better off than the subjects of the native states; do you mean in respect of the security of their property and freedom from extortion?—Particularly in respect of the security of their property and freedom from extortion.

6872. And the administration of justice?—And the administration of justice also. The administration of justice in our districts is by a known fixed system of law, and the evidence is recorded. In the native states there is nothing of the sort; it all depends upon the character of the chief for the time being.

6873. Was that superiority seen in the physical condition of the people?—Yes; it was, certainly, in several of our districts.

6874. Have you any reason to believe that the chiefs of the Hills approve of the new system pursued in the British territories, and desire to attempt it themselves?—Yes; I mentioned one instance of the people of the large district of Bissahir having agreed to have it extended to them; and there was also an instance of a subordinate chief requesting that the system might be adopted in his own district; that we should settle the district for him, and introduce our law and mode of procedure, and our civil and revenue administration, and that he should receive the amount due to him after payment of the costs of administration. That request was submitted to the Government for their approval and sanction; and it was not answered at the time when I left the country.

6875. Have you any knowledge whether the system of administration recently introduced into the British possessions in the Trans-Sutlej Hills, is favourably regarded by the people?—Yes I have reason to believe that it is very favourably considered by the people. The reason why I believe it is so considered is, that during the reign of the Sikhs great numbers of their subjects in the Hills resorted to the British territory upon the left bank of the Sutlej, and when our administration was introduced into those Hill States, the people all returned to their original holdings; they amounted to several thousands. For many years previously they had resided in our territory, and acted as porters in the Hills; and as soon as our system of law and administration was established in those Hill Provinces, they returned to their original holdings.

6876. Is emigration from the native states to our possessions easy?—No, it is by no means easy; I think it would be extremely dangerous for any subject of a native state, unless he were an individual person standing alone, or with only his own immediate family, without connexions; I do not think he otherwise would dare to emigrate into our provinces. The native chief would retaliate upon his connexions, and their property, that remained in his own state.

6877. Do you think that if the people were free to emigrate from their native land, they would come in great numbers into the British possessions?—

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I think they would in the Hills, if there was land for them; I know, from several applications I had from them, that there was a great desire to have our system introduced amongst them; it is very popular among them.

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6878. And it is only the fear of what may happen to those whom they leave behind that prevents that immigration taking place to a large extent?—I think so; in fact, the old feudal feelings are dying fast away there; they compare their own position with that of British subjects, and they find that it is very inferior, and very insecure in every way, compared with that of their relatives and friends who are living under British jurisdiction.

6879. Do you consider that the extension of our administration of our districts, that were formerly under native rule, has had any effect upon the minds and feelings of the inhabitants of the native states in their immediate neighbourhood?—Yes, I think so; I think I expressed the same just now, that the old feudal feelings between the chiefs and their people are fading fast away. The chiefs find themselves now altogether independent of their vassals, without having any object in conciliating their people as they formerly had. They depend upon our Government to preserve them in their positions of power and dignity, and not upon their vassals, as they formerly did. Therefore, they find that they need not conciliate their people any longer, and grants of lands and other immunities, which were made in times of insecurity, now that they find themselves completely independent of their people, they have resumed without any just cause for it; and that has caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among the subjects of those states.

6880. Do you think that the present land revenue system adopted in the district with which you are conversant is satisfactory, or would you suggest any improvements in it?—No; I think that, as far as we know yet, this revenue system is the best that we could have adopted. I have no suggestions to offer for its improvement. Of course, we must have a fair trial of it; it has not been in operation above 25 or 20 years in the oldest settled part of the country, but it is certainly working very well there. It is favourably regarded by the people in the Punjab. It is highly popular among the Sikhs, I have heard.

6881. Sir T. H. Maddock.] But in the North-west Provinces we have introduced no new system; we have merely adopted the system which we found there of settling with the villages?—Yes; it is the old original Indian system that we have revived.

6882. Do you mean to inform the Committee, that the system which you introduced into the Hills was quite a new system?—It had never been adopted before since we had possession of those Hills. Every man was liable to pay his own assessment; he had nothing to do with the rest of the community, and there was nobody to assist him in times of scarcity or distress; in fact, he was a ryot standing alone.

6883. In order to give the Committee some idea of the nature of those states to which you have alluded, will you tell the Committee, in the first place, what has been about the annual revenue of Kothkhaee?—That is a Government district. Financially speaking, all those districts are very trifling.

6884. What is the annual revenue of Bulsun?—I suppose it is not above 8,000 or 9,000 rupees.

6885. What is the revenue of Keonthol?—Rs. 33,000.

6886. What is Joobul?—Rs. 14,000.

6887. Koomharsin?—Rs. 10,000.

6888. Are you of opinion that those chieftains would dare to visit their displeasure in any marked way upon the families or friends of any of their subjects who had left their district to settle at Simlah?—Yes; I have seen instances of it, particularly in the state of Sirmoor; so much so, that I brought before the Board of Administration some instances of tyranny to which the subjects of that state were exposed.

6889. Have you raised the revenue by your new mode of assessment?—No, we have reduced it.

6890. What is the amount of revenue collected there?—The whole revenue was very trifling indeed from the six Government districts in the Hills; I do not think it is above 40,000 rupees.

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6891. Mr. *Hume*.] In those districts that are settled, is there any disposition on the part of the native bankers to advance money to the ryots for improving the lands, now that they have got security for 30 years?—Sufficient time has not elapsed to enable me to answer that question.

6892. Is it your opinion that money will be laid out in improving the lands, now that they have got a settlement for that period?—Yes, I think so; the lands are very valuable there, especially in the neighbourhood of our cantonments.

6893. Sir *T. H. Madaock*.] What is the extent of the land in the whole of those Hill territories, which would be available for the settlement of Europeans who might be disposed to colonise there?—There are vast tracts of country which are fit for cultivation, but which are uncultivated still, being under forest or waste.

6894. Is there not a considerable quantity of territory there available for European colonists?—Certainly.

6895. There are no objections to their settling in that portion of the territory which is under British management?—Certainly not.

6896. Is there any objection to their settling in other portions of the territory which belong to the native chieftains?—Certainly not, except so far that the native chiefs are very reluctant to alienate any portion of their land in any way.

6897. Is there any other cultivation besides the cultivation of tea that could be profitably followed by European settlers in those territories?—I think, perhaps, hops.

6898. Are there any such settlers as those of the class to which you have referred?—There was only one such person in the Hills under my charge; he came out from England with a large quantity of machinery, in order to commence a brewery, and he did so close to the cantonment of Kussowby; he grew hops there, and, I believe, it was a successful experiment.

6899. Was the experiment of his brewery successful?—I am not aware, but I should think so.

6900. Has it been continued?—Yes; it was in full operation when I left; and the cantonments of Kussowby, Dagshaye, and Subathoo were supplied from his brewery; he was beginning to export considerably to the plains, and across the Sutlej to the Punjaub.

6901. Considering that the climate of a great portion of this territory is admirably adapted for European settlers, to what cause do you attribute it that now, after the lapse of a period of 39 or 40 years, during which that territory has been in the possession and under the control and protection of British authorities, there has been no attempt at settlement there on the part of industrious Europeans?—I do not believe that persons possessing sufficient capital have directed their attention to it up to the present period. I think they will hereafter. For instance, in the valley of Kunawur there is one of the finest climates in the world, and the vineyards there are celebrated all over India; I think that this district will become a resort for Europeans in large numbers, for wine manufacturers and grape growers, and also for general purposes of trade with Tartary and North-western China.

6902. But in the territories on this side of the Himalaya range, would there not be abundant agricultural occupation for a considerable number of European settlers?—I do not think it would pay them, except in the immediate neighbourhood of our cantonments. At the foot of the Hills I think they might probably settle hereafter in considerable numbers as timber merchants, and in other ways.

6903. Had you, in any part of the territory which was under your charge, any valuable copper mines, or any other mines except iron?—We have found copper, and also coal. I have reason to believe that there is coal there, but the iron mines are the most extensive and important.

6904. Are there any iron mines conveniently situated for being worked near the foot of the Hills, the produce of which would find a ready market in the plains of Hindoostan?—The iron of the Government district of Kothkhaee is now and has been for several years exported largely to the plains, and into the
Punjaub

Punjaub also; it is excellent iron, and there is a very large demand even now for it.

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6905. Mr. *Hume*.] Does not it go to Meerut and Delhi?—As far as Delhi it goes, and all over the Punjaub.

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6906. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Would there be any difficulty for Englishmen to work the mines to which you have been alluding?—I think not; I think it would be a very excellent speculation indeed for them.

6907. What machinery is adopted for working those mines?—They excavate a narrow entrance, and then they abandon it as soon as it becomes at all dangerous; they have no system of supporting it by scaffolding; in fact, mining is in the rudest state in that country.

6908. Will you describe the smelting process which there prevails?—I am afraid I should describe it inaccurately; it is smelted by charcoal; there is plenty of charcoal.

6909. Mr. *Hume*.] Does it crop to the surface?—Yes; there are hills of iron.

6910. Do you know what proportion the iron bears to the ore?—I cannot say, but it is very pure; I have heard European artificers in Simlah state that it is superior iron to any they have got from England.

6911. You say there is plenty of charcoal; at what price can it be obtained for the smelting of iron?—I could not venture to say; but the iron is very cheap at the mines indeed.

6912. Is there plenty of wood in that district?—Yes; there are very extensive forests; almost unlimited forests.

6913. Therefore, the means of smelting, even if coal could not be got, would be plentiful?—Yes.

6914. What is the mode of conveyance?—The iron is all conveyed either on men's back, or by mules; but now there is a good road fit for draught by cattle, made from the plains up to Simlah, which passes within the vicinity of those mines.

6915. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Have you any remarks to make upon the cultivation of tea in that district?—I think it could be very extensively cultivated all over the Himalaya mountains, between the Sutlej and the Jumna.

6916. Is there a vast extent of ground in that district that is now capable of growing the tea plant?—Yes; there are large tracts that I think are quite fit for tea cultivation.

6917. Have you ascertained what the elevation is of the lands there to which you allude?—They vary from 4,000 or 5,000 to 12,000 or 13,000 feet. I believe it is now discovered that high ridges are best adapted for tea. The great objection which used to be made to the cultivation of tea there was, that irrigation was required; it is now discovered that it is better to have it without irrigation.

6918. Are you at all acquainted with the Government settlement in the Punjaub?—Only from hearsay; I do not know it personally.

6919. Are you aware whether the assessment is lighter there than it was under the Sikhs?—It is very considerably lighter; I believe some 15 per cent. lighter.

6920. Has the village system been introduced there?—It has been continued. We found a very perfect village system in existence in the Punjaub.

6921. Has the cultivation improved?—There is hardly time to say; we have only had it a very short time; the settlement for an extended period has just now been completed. At the first annexation of the country, temporary settlements were entered into for five or ten years; but as soon as we understood something of the former system and of the country, and the surveys were completed, settlements for 30 years were made.

6922. You have alluded to the condition of the ryots in the Hill states; can you speak of the condition of the ryots in other native states through which you have passed as compared with the condition of the ryots under British protection?—I think I can only name one or two states that I am acquainted with where the ryots are as well or nearly as well off as in our own provinces.

6923. Which are those?—Bhurtpore and Putteala; under the present Rajah of Putteala the people are very well off.

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6924. You would not make any further exception beyond those two states?
—No.

6925. *Chairman.*] Have you any suggestions to offer, with the view of improving the industry of those districts to which you have alluded?—No; I think nothing further can be done than carrying through the settlement as it is at present formed.

6926. Do you consider the making of good roads as one thing that is particularly wanted?—Yes; in that part of the country that I had in the Hills under my charge, very great efforts were making; one of the most excellent mountain roads that has ever been constructed in any country is under construction there; a road has been carried from the plains to Simlah on an incline, never exceeding 3 feet in 100, and it is to be ultimately carried on to Sadakh.

6927. Is that system of exacting portorage from the natives given up now?—It is given up now, in consequence of this road being made.

6928. I understood you to say that, in your opinion, the natives are not indisposed to advance money to be laid out in the improvement of land, in consequence of this settlement for 30 years?—I should say that it is not required; I think they would hardly require such advances in that part.

6929. Do you think that the ryots themselves have the means of carrying on cultivation without assistance?—Certainly, and of extending it to other tracts.

6930. Have they money to purchase cattle; are they able to keep cattle from one season to another?—Yes; in that part of the country to which I alluded, there is no want of forage ever for cattle; there are vast tracts of forests always open for cattle; and cattle are abundant.

6931. I understand you to say that they are able to keep their cattle from the time when they use them during the crop season till the next cultivation?—Yes.

6932. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Can you inform the Committee whether a great part of the cultivation in those Hills is carried on by means of irrigation?—A great portion of it is.

6933. Can you state what you consider the average distance that water is conveyed to the fields for the purposes of irrigation in those territories?—It is difficult to say; I have known it carried some 10 or 12 miles, by canals cut along the sides of the hills.

6934. It is a very admirable system of irrigation?—An excellent system.

6935. Which has existed from time immemorial?—Yes; we can scarcely introduce any improvement in it.

6936. No European man of science could introduce a more beautiful system of conveying water to a great distance?—No.

6937. *Mr. Clive.*] Will you describe it?—Supposing a current is rushing down the mountain side; they cut a channel from the stream, and then convey it, sometimes by wooden troughs, over precipices, and along the sides of the hills, to the land which it is required to irrigate.

6938. *Mr. Hume.*] Who takes charge of it in the different districts?—The cultivators themselves; they use it as it passes through.

6939. *Chairman.*] Is there any restriction upon the cultivators, as to the nature of the crops they shall grow?—None whatever.

6940. Is there any difficulty in a European obtaining land?—The natives there have a very great objection to parting with their land, but that is the only objection; there is no other.

6941. There is no obstacle placed by the Government?—None whatever; on the contrary, the Government interferes as far as it is possible for them to do, to secure land for persons who wish to settle in the Hills. For instance, in the case of Mr. Bevan, whom I mentioned as having established a brewery in the Hills, the Government directed me to endeavour to make a bargain for him with the people for a certain portion of land, as much as he required, but it was with the greatest difficulty that I was able to do so; the land was so valuable, that they would not consent to part with it, except at the most exorbitant rate.

6942. *Mr. Hume.*] That was because it was near a cantonment?—Yes.

6943. But I understood you to say, that in the districts around there are large portions of waste land which might be brought into cultivation, if the population required it?—Yes.

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6944. *Chairman.*] WILL you state how long, and at what time, you resided in India?—I was resident about seven years in Calcutta, but I was for about 10 years connected with business matters in the East; having been a member of the firms of Aylwin & Company at Calcutta, and Aylwin, Brown & Stacey at Akyab: which latter was the first European house ever established in the Arracan Provinces. I think it, however, right to state, that at the present moment I am totally unconnected with mercantile pursuits, either in this country or the East, and that I appear as a witness before this Committee at the special request of the President of the Blackburn Commercial Association and the Chairman of the Cheshire and Worcester Salt Chamber of Commerce, in consequence of a resolution of this Committee asking whether they would desire any one to represent and be examined on their behalf.

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6945. Has your attention been directed, during your stay in India, to the question of the East India Company's salt monopoly?—My firm at Akyab were to a certain degree interested in it, by having several ships, which they occasionally used to charter to the local government, for the conveyance of salt from Akyab to Calcutta.

6946. Where is Akyab situated?—On the eastern coast, in the Arracan Provinces.

6947. Will you describe the process of the manufacture of salt?—The manufacturing of salt in Bengal is about as rude a process as it is possible to conceive. I believe I am correct in stating that it has not varied for many centuries, certainly not since the English have been in India. It is customary to lay a tract of land under salt water, and to allow it to evaporate by the heat of the sun for several days. When the water has entirely dried up, or nearly so, the saline particles which are left adhering to the grass are scraped away; this is taken, and again mixed with brine, and boiled in earthen pots. That is the way in which the salt is manufactured in Bengal.

6948. In what other parts of India is salt manufactured?—In Bombay, Ceylon, and Madras.

6949. What is the quality of the Bengal salt as compared with English salt?—I should say that the Bengal salt is as impure as it is possible to be, and possesses very imperfect antiseptic properties; as a proof I may state that, during the China war, there was a scarcity of provisions for the troops, which caused the Bengal Government to have a large quantity of salt provisions made in Calcutta. These were sent round to China, and two regiments suffered most severely from eating those provisions; in fact, it is impossible to cure meat with Bengal salt; the colour of the salt, likewise, is very bad. Great portions of the salt made by the East India Company more resemble pepper in colour than anything else; all the Europeans in Eastern India and the richer natives re-manufacture their salt before they can use it.

6950. So that there is no doubt as to the superior quality of English salt?—I believe it has never been questioned.

6951. What is supposed to be the relative cost of production by the Company, on the one side, and of the import from England on the other?—It is very difficult to arrive at the cost of producing salt by the East India Company; one thing is certain, that it costs very much more than the Company assert, that it costs them; as regards the cost of English salt, I should say that you might take it at 15 s. a ton on board ship at Liverpool; at Calcutta, the selling charges are about 6 s. 6 d., whilst the freight from England varies from 15 s. to 40 s. a ton.

6952. What is your reason for saying that it would not be right to take the Company's account as a correct statement of the cost of production in Bengal?—It varies considerably every year; in the first place, the districts where the salt is manufactured in India are excessively liable to inundations, some of which, as in the year 1833-34, and other years, have not only swept off hundreds of the manufacturers, but have likewise destroyed the whole season's make of salt. In fact, the supply of salt from the East India Company's method is most precarious; in addition to which, there are very great losses annually made

D. C. Aylwin, Esq. by the present method from over-advances to the manufacturers of the article.

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6953. Will you state on what ground you consider that the statement given by the Company is not correct?—The Company assumes that the rate of duty upon foreign imported salt, plus the cost of manufacture of their salt, is the price at which they sell it; in other words, supposing the rate of duty on imported salt was $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees a maund, or 250 rupees per 100 maunds, and the price at which they sell their salt is 300 rupees, then the difference between the 250 and 300 rupees the Company asserts is to them the cost of manufacture: but if we find that the net profit which they obtain from the manufacture of salt is not equal to the 250 rupees which they derive from foreign imported salt, that is, if they do not obtain 250 rupees as a profit upon 100 maunds, certainly they are not realising the amount which it costs them, consequently they are estimating the amount which it costs them at less than it actually does; or, in other words, they are imposing a differential and protective duty in favour of their own, as against British and other foreign imported salts.

6954. Does the price generally vary very much from one year to another?—The East India Company have an established price at which they sell their salt in Calcutta. They do not change their prices much; there have been reductions of late; but that has been caused by reductions of the duty upon foreign imported salt, the East India Company at the same time making a corresponding reduction in the selling price of their own salt.

6955. I understood you to say that the seasons of production are very precarious, and that in some years the produce of salt is very much diminished by floods and other disasters; in those cases does the Company raise very much its price of salt as compared with the price in a year of plentiful production?—No, the Company take the average of years; they are not guided by one individual year.

6956. Then your estimate of the cost is based upon the average price of the Company, deducting what you call the import duty?—Yes.

6957. But that would not show the actual cost?—That is upon the footing which the East India Company profess to base the cost, because otherwise it would be imposing a differential duty in favour of their own salt against foreign imported salt, if they did not assume the same duty upon their own as upon foreign imported salt.

6958. Then I understand you to mean, that the Company, in fixing the price, only add the amount of the duty, in addition to the cost of the manufacture of their salt?—The Company profess to do so.

6959. What reason have you to believe that they do not?—Because if we take the amount of salt which has been manufactured by the East India Company for a number of years past, and if we calculate the rate of duty which has been charged or which would have been charged on a similar amount of foreign imported salt, we shall find that a less amount of profit has been derived by the East India Company, from the manufacturing of salt on their own account, than would have been derived from a Customs' revenue had the same salt been foreign imported.

6960. How do you ascertain that?—I have prepared two tables which will be found to bear out my opinion. Between the years 1793 and 1845, the total amount of salt that was manufactured by the East India Company was 237,347,554 maunds. The average duty that was levied upon foreign imported salt was a little over three rupees a maund. Now, had the East India Company derived the amount of profit upon manufacturing their own salt, which they would have derived had this been all foreign imported, they would have derived a revenue of 71,20,42,662 rupees. Whereas we find that the total amount of revenue that actually was derived was 60,62,68,280, leaving a difference of 10,57,74,382 rupees, or a loss of just 10 millions and a half pounds sterling.

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STATEMENT showing the Quantity of SALT, in Bazar Maunds, actually Consumed in each Year in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, from 1790 to 1840. As also the Amount of Revenue that would have accrued supposing the Quantity had been Imported at a Fixed Duty of Three Rupees per Bazar Maund.

YEARS.	Salt Cleared from Sulkeah and Agency Golahs.	Salt Sold by Retail in all Agencies, except Cuttack.	Salt Sold by Retail in Cuttack.	Salt Supplied to French Government.	Salt Imported on which Duty was Paid.	TOTAL.	Revenue, at Three Rupees per Maund.
	Bazar Mds.	Bazar-Mds.	Bazar Mds.	Bazar Mds.	Bazar Mds.	Bazar Mds.	Rupees.
1790-91	3,109,000	-	-	-	-	3,109,000	9,327,000
1791-92	3,015,735	-	-	-	-	3,015,735	9,047,205
1792-93	3,250,900	-	-	-	-	3,250,000	9,750,000
1793-94	3,566,231	-	-	-	-	3,566,231	10,698,693
1794-95	3,020,967	-	-	-	-	3,020,967	9,062,901
1795-96	3,777,957	1,029	-	-	-	3,778,986	11,336,958
1796-97	3,429,774	818	-	-	-	3,430,590	10,291,770
1797-98	3,509,137	1,000	-	-	-	3,510,137	10,530,411
1798-99	3,234,662	658	-	-	-	3,235,320	9,705,960
1799-800	3,227,693	-	-	-	-	3,227,693	9,683,079
1800-1	3,244,945	510	-	-	-	3,245,455	9,736,365
1801-2	3,356,420	1,000	-	-	-	3,357,420	10,072,260
1802-3	3,520,302	1,402	-	-	-	3,521,704	10,565,112
1803-4	3,796,662	1,028	-	-	-	3,797,690	11,398,070
1804-5	3,890,900	1,200	-	-	-	3,892,100	11,676,300
1805-6	4,207,181	1,200	-	-	-	4,208,381	12,625,143
1806-7	4,155,178	1,200	142,442	-	-	4,298,820	12,896,460
1807-8	4,486,514	1,202	91,744	-	-	4,579,460	13,738,380
1808-9	4,222,250	1,060	115,550	-	-	4,338,860	13,016,580
1809-10	4,241,974	1,175	114,373	-	-	4,357,522	13,072,566
1810-11	4,421,117	1,275	117,514	-	-	4,539,906	13,619,718
1811-12	4,301,183	1,611	87,987	-	-	4,390,781	13,172,343
1812-13	4,550,298	1,903	135,212	-	-	4,687,413	14,062,239
1813-14	4,363,683	1,813	137,470	-	-	4,602,963	13,508,889
1814-15	4,312,741	1,220	149,539	-	-	4,463,500	13,390,500
1815-16	4,381,996	2,140	170,008	-	-	4,554,144	13,662,432
1816-17	4,626,578	1,310	132,777	-	-	4,760,665	14,281,995
1817-18	4,331,863	2,815	126,497	-	-	4,461,175	13,383,525
1818-19	4,641,102	1,981	216,405	12,000	-	4,871,488	14,614,464
1819-20	4,948,129	1,691	254,508	12,000	24,652	5,239,980	15,719,940
1820-21	4,622,279	1,214	251,986	-	13,740	4,888,219	14,664,657
1821-22	4,638,392	2,530	247,224	12,000	936	4,901,082	14,703,246
1822-23	4,591,678	3,743	276,026	12,000	11,889	4,895,336	14,686,008
1823-24	4,757,391	2,005	235,227	12,000	6,061	5,012,684	15,038,052
1824-25	5,134,460	2,810	296,031	9,000	3,518	5,445,819	16,337,457
1825-26	4,864,030	12,823	364,119	9,000	19,087	5,269,059	15,807,177
1826-27	4,501,716	84,837	338,973	12,000	9,117	4,915,643	14,746,929
1827-28	5,112,709	114,863	284,664	12,000	-	5,524,236	16,572,708
1828-29	4,449,506	67,936	277,700	12,000	10,538	4,817,680	14,453,040
1829-30	4,522,442	89,616	337,372	12,000	6,713	5,018,143	15,054,429
1830-31	4,721,627	145,219	375,515	12,000	14,537	5,268,898	15,806,694
1831-32	4,157,715	122,457	263,486	8,000	19,299	4,570,957	13,712,871
1832-33	4,148,597	138,407	293,213	11,000	10,293	4,601,510	13,804,530
1833-34	4,233,098	177,751	302,544	11,200	12,374	4,736,967	14,210,901
1834-35	4,081,666	193,324	321,614	14,000	10,518	4,621,122	13,863,366
1835-36	4,186,293	300,709	363,034	6,000	284,858	5,140,894	15,422,682
1836-37	3,897,993	361,490	303,682	14,000	355,527	4,632,692	14,798,076
1837-38	3,989,900	345,800	338,300	12,000	317,120	4,991,100	14,973,300
1838-39	4,333,700	450,200	342,000	14,000	198,340	5,333,200	15,999,600
1839-40	4,186,800	498,800	339,300	-	410,600	5,435,600	16,306,800
1840-41	4,045,096	499,224	331,206	-	921,798	5,797,324	17,391,972
1841-42	4,620,416	*	*	-	612,365	5,232,811	15,698,433
1842-43	4,313,289	-	-	-	892,735	5,206,024	15,618,072
1843-44	4,369,552	-	-	-	967,011	5,336,563	16,009,689
1844-45	4,644,046	-	-	-	970,594	5,614,640	16,843,920

* No perfect returns have been made for these years of salt sold by retail.

D. C. Aylwin, Esq.

30 June 1853.

STATEMENT comparing the "ACTUAL NET REVENUE" that has accrued to the EAST INDIAN GOVERNMENT from the Manufacturing of SALT, with the Difference, as per Statement marked (No. 9) there would have been, had the Revenue been derived from a Duty on Imported Salt, at the Rate of Three Rupees per Maund.

YEARS.	Net Revenue actually derived.	Revenue that would have accrued, at Three Rupees per Maund.	Profit from Manufacturing.	Loss from Manufacturing.
	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.
1793-94	8,067,817	10,698,697	-	2,630,876
1794-95	7,590,561	9,062,901	-	1,472,340
1795-96	7,380,741	11,336,958	-	3,956,217
1796-97	7,879,721	10,291,770	-	2,412,049
1797-98	7,359,265	10,530,411	-	3,171,146
1798-99	8,369,828	9,705,960	-	1,336,134
1799-800	7,950,900	9,683,079	-	1,732,179
1800-1	6,728,418	9,736,365	-	3,007,947
1801-2	6,999,175	10,072,260	-	3,073,085
1802-3	9,781,459	10,565,112	-	783,653
1803-4	12,199,390	11,393,070	806,320	-
1804-5	11,325,752	11,676,300	-	350,548
1805-6	10,613,883	12,025,143	-	2,011,260
1806-7	8,826,522	12,896,460	-	4,069,938
1807-8	12,307,353	13,738,380	-	1,431,021
1808-9	12,877,502	13,016,580	-	139,078
1809-10	10,621,655	13,072,566	-	2,150,911
1810-11	11,463,419	13,619,718	-	2,156,299
1811-12	11,353,394	13,172,343	-	1,818,949
1812-13	11,584,575	14,062,239	-	2,477,664
1813-14	12,196,084	13,508,889	-	1,312,805
1814-15	10,187,767	13,390,500	-	3,202,733
1815-16	8,834,568	13,662,432	-	4,827,864
1816-17	9,657,251	14,281,995	-	4,624,744
1817-18	10,466,030	13,383,525	-	2,917,495
1818-19	11,142,639	14,614,464	-	3,471,825
1819-20	11,707,352	15,719,940	-	4,012,588
1820-21	12,327,587	14,664,657	-	2,337,070
1821-22	14,097,387	14,703,246	-	605,859
1822-23	15,347,049	14,686,008	661,041	-
1823-24	12,947,307	15,038,052	-	2,090,655
1824-25	11,367,326	16,337,457	-	4,970,131
1825-26	11,346,825	15,807,177	-	4,460,352
1826-27	16,255,996	14,740,929	1,509,067	-
1827-28	19,545,602	16,572,708	2,972,894	-
1828-29	12,087,528	14,453,040	-	2,365,512
1829-30	13,157,071	15,054,429	-	1,897,358
1830-31	13,685,766	15,806,694	-	2,120,928
1831-32	13,755,517	13,712,871	42,646	-
1832-33	11,431,509	13,804,530	-	2,373,021
1833-34	11,555,074	14,210,901	-	2,655,827
1834-35	12,981,716	13,863,366	-	881,650
1835-36	13,490,643	15,422,682	-	1,932,039
1836-37	13,327,000	14,798,076	-	1,471,076
1837-38	13,241,000	14,973,300	-	1,732,300
1838-39	15,844,000	15,999,600	-	155,600
1839-40	14,528,000	16,306,800	-	1,778,800
1840-41	14,667,000	17,391,972	-	2,724,972
1841-42	13,906,000	15,698,433	-	1,792,433
1842-43	13,761,000	15,618,072	-	1,857,072
1843-44	12,759,462	16,009,689	-	3,250,227
1844-45	13,382,000	16,843,920	-	3,461,920
<i>Rupees</i>	606,268,280	712,042,662	5,991,968	111,766,350
				5,991,968

Difference, and Total Loss by Manufacturing, in lieu of raising a Revenue by a Duty on the same quantity of Imported Salt, at the rate of Three Rupees per Maund

105,774,382

Equal in £. Sterling, Exchange at 2 s. per Rupee

10,577,438

6961. From what documents are these tables prepared?—They are prepared from a work published in Calcutta, under the sanction of the East India Company, "Rushton's Universal Gazetteer." I have, from the year 1844-45 a statement brought down to the present time. The statistics were very courteously furnished to me by Mr. Melvill, of the East India House. The total amount of salt manufactured, or rather sold, since the year 1845-46 down to 1851-52, was 29,529,421 maunds. The duty was altered upon several occasions; from three rupees in 1845-46, it was reduced in 1847-48 to 2½, and in 1849-50 to 2¼ rupees; and the profit which at these rates of duty ought to have been derived, was 8,06,26,003 rupees. The profit which actually was derived was 6,92,53,633 rupees, showing a loss of 1,13,72,370 rupees, or about 1,137,000*l.* sterling; this fearful fiscal loss has been made during seven years. The statistics, I repeat, are derived from Parliamentary returns, and from the documents furnished to me by Mr. Melvill.

D. C. Aylwin, Esq.

20 June 1853.

MEMORANDUM of the SALES of SALT by the Honourable East India Company in the Bengal Presidency, from 1845-46 to 1851-52, together with the RATES of DUTY levied on Foreign Imported Salt, and also what Amount of Revenue would have been derived had the Profit on Manufacturing equalled the Duty on Importations.

YEARS.	Wholesale.	Retail.	Excise.	TOTAL.	Duty Charged on Foreign Imported Salt.	Amount of Revenue that ought to have been derived on the East India Company's Manufacture.
	Maunds.	Maunds.	Maunds.	Maunds.	Per Md.	Rupees.
1845-46	3,399,275	915,221	-	4,314,496	3	12,948,488
1846-47	3,711,446	995,712	-	4,707,158	-	14,121,474
1847-48	3,988,541	918,846	-	4,907,387	2½	13,495,314
1848-49	3,316,637	926,018	16,450	4,259,105	-	11,712,539
1849-50	3,383,833	1,087,623	23,630	4,495,086	2¼	11,237,715
1850-51	2,825,100	850,140	35,000	3,710,240	-	9,278,600
1851-52	2,239,952	877,397	18,600	3,135,949	-	7,839,873
	22,864,784	6,570,957	93,680	29,529,421	-	80,626,003

STATEMENT showing the NET PROFIT, after deducting the Cost and Charges of Manufacture and Collection, that has actually been derived by the East India Company on the above Amount of SALT manufactured by them, between the Years 1845-46 and 1851-52.

YEARS.	Gross Revenue derived by the East India Company on Salt by them Manufactured.	Charges of Manufacture and Collection.	Net Profit actually derived from Manufacturing.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1845-46	15,317,711	4,845,246	10,472,465
1846-47	16,440,018	4,158,586	12,281,333
1847-48	15,872,680	3,508,707	12,363,973
1848-49	13,426,790	3,176,146	10,250,644
1849-50	13,350,915	3,113,680	10,237,235
1850-51	10,888,495	3,178,518	7,709,977
1851-52	9,100,000	3,161,994	5,938,006
	Rs. 94,396,609	25,142,976	69,253,633

(Estimated).

D. C. Aylwin, Esq.

20 June 1853.

6962. Mr. *Elliot*.] Will you explain why you say the Company ought to abandon their manufacture?—By the last charter of the East India Company, it is enacted “That the said Company shall, with all convenient speed after the 22d day of April 1834, close their commercial business, and make sale of all their merchandise, stores and effects, at home and abroad, distinguished in their account books as commercial assets, and all their warehouses, lands, tenements, hereditaments and property whatsoever, which may not be retained for the purposes of the Government of the said territories; and get in all debts due to them on account of the commercial branch of their affairs, and reduce their commercial establishments as the same shall become unnecessary; and discontinue and abstain from all commercial business which shall not be incident to the closing of their actual concerns, and to the conversion into money of the property hereinbefore directed to be sold, or which shall not be carried on for the purposes of the said Government.” Now I submit to the Committee, that the East India Company have no right whatever to retain a monopoly as they have done, and to retain the manufacture, as they now do, of one of the first necessities of life, unless they are in a condition to show that it is absolutely necessary for the purposes of revenue; and I am prepared to prove that they would derive a far greater revenue by ceasing from the manufacture than they now do by continuing it. They assert that they have no interest in commercial affairs, either in this country or abroad, and that they have ceased acting in a trading capacity; whence I would submit that they have not the slightest shadow of right, if it is not for the purpose of revenue, to continue their manufacture of salt. I will, however, go further, and add, that it is a perfect farce, in the face of such a clause as this in the last Charter, for the Bengal Government to continue, as they now do, to be cultivators and manufacturers of one of the most valuable articles of commerce, viz., opium; to be buyers and sellers, both wholesale and retail, of one of the first necessities of life, viz., salt; to be dabblers and dealers in bills of exchange; to be freighters of ships, and to be advancers upon produce, and then gravely to assert that they are not a commercial body. At the present moment I have no interest in commercial matters; but I know that some years ago, as a member of a Calcutta house, I found that my commercial operations were greatly interfered with by the Government coming forward as a rival house to oppose me.

6963. Mr. *Hume*.] In salt?—Generally; but more particularly in salt.

6964. *Chairman*.] You have been asked how you arrive at the cost to the Company of the salt which they manufacture; from what you have stated, it appears that British salt landed in Calcutta free of duty would, upon the average, stand in about 2*l.* 14*s.* a ton; how do you arrive at the relative cost of the production of salt by the Company's manufacture?—I do not think we have any means of exactly arriving at it; but, as I have just shown, it certainly costs a great deal more than the East India Company profess that it does.

6965. Is that a matter of opinion on your part, or has it come within your own knowledge and experience?—In a correspondence which took place in 1846 between Mr. Worthington, the chairman of the Cheshire and Worcestershire Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. Melvill, the Secretary of the East India Company, I perceive an extract from a communication from Mr. Secretary Bushby, of Calcutta, as follows:—“The prices of salt sold by wholesale on account of Government are fixed with reference to the principle, that they shall not fall short of the cost of provision plus the duty on imported salt.” In a letter, also, under the date of the 19th of April 1847 from the Government of Bengal to the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, complaining of the salt monopoly, it is stated, “that the price of salt in the Government depôts has been fixed upon a calculation of the actual cost of manufacturing and storing the salt of each agency on an average of the last three years, added to the fixed duty levied upon all salt imported by sea.”

6966. What is your reason for thinking that the return of the Government is not correct as to the cost of their salt?—Simply because it has not realised the amount of duty which has been derived from the duty levied upon imported salt. Supposing 100 maunds of salt are manufactured by the East India Company every year, and supposing the duty upon foreign imported salt is three rupees a maund, and that the Government is selling this salt of theirs for 350 rupees, if they do not realise 300 rupees as net revenue or profit, it is clear that the salt has cost them more than 50 rupees.

6967. Sir

6967. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Is the Committee to understand that you infer that the price, which the Government alleges to be the cost of production, is not the real cost of production?—Most assuredly; I state it, and am prepared to prove it. This list that I am now quoting from, which I had from Mr. Melvill, there can be no cavilling at. Here is a statement, in the handwriting of a gentleman in the East India House, that the amount of salt manufactured from the year 1845-46 to 1851-52, was 29,529,421 maunds. Taking the average rate of duty which has been levied upon foreign imported salt, it ought to have given a net revenue, and would have given a net revenue, had the whole of it been foreign imported salt, of 8,06,26,003 rupees. That is the revenue that would have been derived had this salt been all foreign imported salt; but we find, on the contrary, that the actual revenue derived (this is taken from the Parliamentary Papers published annually) was only 6,92,53,633 rupees, or 1,137,237 *l.* less than it would have been had this salt been all foreign imported salt, paying the Customs' duty that is levied upon foreign imported salt: whence, it is clear the local Government have during these years been selling their salt by this amount, (that is 1,137,237 *l.*) less than what it actually cost them; or, in other words, have been imposing a preferential duty to this extent on their own manufactured salt.

6968. Mr. *Hume*.] How do you ascertain the sum which you state to be the amount of the revenue derived from the salt manufactured in Bengal?—From the Parliamentary Papers published annually by the House of Commons; the gross revenue derived, and likewise the charges of manufacture and collection, are stated in those Papers.

6969. Sir *G. Grey*.] Your inference from that statement is, that a greater revenue would be derived by the Company from the duty on imported salt, than they now derive from the profit on the manufacture of it; but how does that prove that the actual cost of manufacture is different from that which they state to be the cost?—Because they do not, as they profess, realise the net duty on imported salt.

6970. I understand you to deduce, from those figures, that there was discrepancy between the actual cost of manufacture and the alleged cost; how do those figures lead to that inference?—The East India Company, upon several occasions, as I have just shown, have stated that they fixed the price at which they sell their salt, at the cost of manufacture plus the duty; now the figures which I have given clearly prove that they do not do that, whatever else they may do. You may place the deficit either against the import duty, or against the cost of manufacture. If against the former, then the Bengal Government are striving to maintain their manufacture against their Cheshire rivals by a protective duty; if against the latter, then most clearly they are not realising the avowed cost of their manufacture. It must come off either one or the other. Here we have a price at which they sell their salt, which price they say is the cost of the manufacture plus the import duty. Now we find that they do not realise the amount of import duty. Then, I repeat, it comes to this: either the deficit is taken off the import duty, in which case they are giving a preferential duty in favour of their own manufacture, or it comes, as I assert, off their own manufacture; whichever way it is done, it amounts to the same thing.

6971. Sir *C. Wood*.] How does it appear that they do not realise the amount of the import duty?—By calculating the number of maunds which have been made by the East India Company, and seeing the amount of duty which is charged upon imported salt, we find that they have not realised that amount. If they ceased their illegal manufacture, and (as they ought to) derived their revenue from foreign imported salt, they would realise the entirety of the duty; instead of comparatively losing, as they now do, some 200,000 *l.* per annum by manufacturing.

6972. Mr. *Elliot*.] Do you deduct all the salt they have in store?—It is impossible to arrive at that; but by taking a series of years, there can be no question about the correctness of the statistics.

6973. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] You come to the conclusion that the Bengal Government loses, instead of gains, by manufacturing salt?—Distinctly so; without question.

6974. Are you aware of any motive that the Bengal Government can have for going on with a manufacture by which they lose money?—The local patronage thereby accruing.

D. C. Aylwin, Esq.

30 June 1853.

6975. Are you not aware that several thousands of the subjects of the East India Company have their maintenance by this manufacture?—I am aware of the Molungees; but from the testimony of every one who knows them, and from my own personal experience, I should say that the most wretched human beings under British rule are the Molungees, or manufacturers of salt in India; and I believe I am borne out in that statement by the opinion of every one who has either been among them or has ever written about them.

6976. Are you aware of the fact, that whenever the Bengal Government has diminished the manufacture of salt and discontinued any of its factories, very great misery has been sustained by a number of people in consequence of being thrown out of employment?—I should think that very likely. These unfortunate wretches, who are the children of slaves (their ancestors having been in slavery many years), are really only one remove from animals; they are totally unfit for any other occupation. A cessation of their present means of livelihood I have no doubt would for a certain time cause great distress among them; but I should presume that the East India Company, with their well-known philanthropy, would certainly take means of preventing any unpleasantness arising, supposing that should be the result.

6977. Supposing the facts and the inferences which you have drawn from them to be undisputed, that the Bengal Government is manufacturing at a loss, have you considered how far it is the duty of a Government not suddenly to abandon this manufacture, and to subject a great number of its subjects to considerable distress in consequence, but rather to do it gradually; and can you state whether it has not been gradually diminishing for several years past?—I do not suppose that it is the East India Company's wish to abandon the manufacture of salt. I find that, so far from wishing to abandon the manufacture of salt, the East India Company have done everything in their power to prevent the importation of foreign salt. Until the year 1845-46, when certain concessions were obtained from the East India Company, owing to this question having excited public attention in England, it was scarcely possible for the British manufacturer to import a ton of salt into India. I would say, that the East India Company need be under no alarm about abandoning their manufacture, because if they do not do it voluntarily, the importation of British and other salts, in fact, will compel them to do so before long. By the accompanying statement, which I beg to submit to the Committee, it will be perceived that in the years 1829-30 the importation of foreign salt was only 10,498 maunds, whilst last year it had reached 3,174,000, or actually a greater amount of foreign imported salt than was manufactured by the East India Company; a rather strong proof that it is much preferred by the natives of India, and that the East India Company may very safely abandon their manufacture without in any degree endangering the supply.

IMPORTATION of SALT (paying Duty) into *Calcutta*, in Bazar Maunds.

COUNTRIES.	1829-30.	1830-31.	1831-32.	1832-33.	1833-34.
Great Britain	56	-	426 $\frac{1}{2}$	729	7,949 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bombay	2,730	5,355	5,664 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,112	344
Gulfs	7,712	6,093	11,565	4,597	4,203
France	-	-	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-
Bazar Maunds	10,498	11,448	17,679 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,438	12,496 $\frac{1}{2}$
COUNTRIES.	1834-35.	1835-36.	1836-37.	1837-38.	1838-39.
Great Britain	11,303	1,025	10,061	3,409	2,205 $\frac{1}{2}$
Gulfs	4,246	20,470	32,238	103,732	120,683
Bombay	1,696	268,076	306,120	178,967	72,459
Madras	-	214	3,550	-	-
France	-	-	1,500	20,900	9,414
China	-	-	898	494	-
Ceylon	-	-	-	9,913	-
Bourbon	-	-	-	-	2,748
Bazar Maunds	17,245	289,785	354,367	317,415	207,509 $\frac{1}{2}$

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN TERRITORIES.

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COUNTRIES.	1839-40.	1840-41.	1841-42.	1842-43.	1843-44.	1844-45.
Great Britain - - - -	2,616	5,937	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	619	791 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bombay - - - -	209,250 $\frac{1}{2}$	304,892 $\frac{1}{2}$	305,011 $\frac{1}{2}$	550,198	541,429	522,533
Gulfs - - - -	206,352 $\frac{1}{2}$	229,824	189,450	213,804 $\frac{1}{2}$	352,560	399,777
France - - - -	20,450	14,293	92,119	79,608	44,901 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,483
Madras - - - -	- - -	16,650 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-
Mauritius - - - -	- - -	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	500	4,823	- - -	1,272
Sydney - - - -	- - -	- - -	500	-	-	-
Ceylon - - - -	- - -	- - -	26,023	35,850	22,591	34,197
Bourbon - - - -	- - -	- - -	900	6,955	2,234	- -
Pegu - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	1,184	2	-
Manilla - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	1,266	2,676	3,542
Bazar Maunds - - - -	438,669	571,310	614,591 $\frac{1}{2}$	893,892 $\frac{1}{2}$	967,012 $\frac{1}{2}$	970,595 $\frac{1}{2}$

COUNTRIES.	1845-46.	1846-47.	1847-48.	1848-49.	1849-50.	1850-51.	1851-52.
Great Britain - - - -	502,616	352,835	752,998	459,803	694,447	1,012,698	1,850,762
Bombay - - - -	477,546	511,254	400,102	382,283	622,683	505,590	418,877
Gulfs - - - -	452,172	397,696	463,583	364,900	504,753	497,242	439,386
Mauritius - - - -	- - -	1,200	- - -	- - -	1,878	- - -	1,550
France - - - -	39,952	10,965	64,415	31,471	102,494	28,400	40,130
Amsterdam - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	20	-	-
Ceylon - - - -	59,619	101,926	7,560	27,700	61,274	12,940	10,300
Maine - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	12,750	-	-
Madras - - - -	49,238	87,332	25,372	179,234	257,188	163,076	140,047
Cape Verd Islands - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	6,800	29,098	32,200
Lisbon - - - -	- - -	- - -	12,580	- - -	11,000	- - -	37,259
Pegu - - - -	- - -	- - -	5,257	24,400	94,840	-	-
Cadiz - - - -	- - -	- - -	40,266	- - -	1,034	130,214	58,411
Singapore - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	160	-	-	-
Manilla - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	6,550	-
China - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	8,050	132,090
San Francisco - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	275	500
Penang - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	2,000	- - -	- - -	12,158
Bourbon - - - -	- - -	476	- - -	8,173	- - -	- - -	700
TOTAL - - - -	1,581,143	1,463,684	1,772,134	1,480,124	2,370,661	2,394,403	3,174,370

N.B.—Each bazar maund equals 82 lbs.

6978. Have you any means of informing the Committee what has been the relative production of salt in Bengal from the year 1845-46 to 1850-51, year by year?—The salt sold by the local Government of Bengal amounted in 1845-46 to 4,314,496; in the next year, 4,707,158; the next year, 4,907,387; the next year, 4,259,105; the next year, 4,495,086; and in the year 1850-51, when English salt began so severely to come in, it declined to 3,710,240; and the last year to 3,135,949 maunds.

6979. *Chairman.*] Are the figures which you have quoted the amount sold or the amount manufactured, or is there any difference between the amount manufactured and the amount sold?—We have no means of arriving at the amount manufactured; but if we take a number of years, as I have done here, from 1845 to 1851, seven years, the amount sold must be substantially the same as the amount manufactured. There may be a small difference in the per-centage in the warehouses at one time and another, but that would be a mere trifle.

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6980. Mr.

D. C. Aylwin, Esq.

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6980. *Mr. Elliot.*] And there is the loss by wastage by the boats coming up?—Yes; but that occurs in one year as well as another.

6981. *Mr. Hume.*] From whence is salt imported chiefly into India?—The principal place from which salt is derived is from Great Britain. There were last year imported 1,850,762 maunds, or over 50 per cent. of the total imports; from Bombay there was 418,877; from the Gulfs, that is from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, there was about a similar amount; and from Ceylon there was a small quantity.

6982. Are these salts that are imported much purer than the Company's salt?—There can be no comparison between the British and the local manufactured salt; I can speak from my own knowledge, as I myself have seen the natives take up handfuls of dirt and ashes, and throw them into the salt before it was delivered to the Company, in order to increase the weight. In fact, I have no hesitation in saying, that on analyzing the East India Company's salt, with the exception of the finest quality, it would be found to contain at least 15 to 20 per cent. of impurities.

6983. If the manufacture of salt by the East India Company ceased, would the price be raised, in your opinion, or would the importation meet the demand?—The best answer that I can give to this question is, that in the face of the most vexatious bonding regulations imposed by the East India Company, with the express purpose of excluding foreign salt, the imports have been increased from 10,498 maunds in 1829-30 to three millions and a quarter in 1851-52; and there is very little doubt that we could supply the other 3,000,000 were the market open to us, and the East India Company to abandon their manufacture.

6984. *Chairman.*] You have stated that your impression is, that provided the Company adheres to the resolution of charging to the consumer the cost of production plus the amount of duty, the result has been that there has been a less amount than the real cost of production obtained by the sales, and that the Company would obtain an equal or a larger amount of revenue by relying entirely upon the duty on the import of foreign salt?—Yes. The fact is this: either these statistics (furnished me by the East India Company) are correct, or they are incorrect. If they are correct, it is clear that within the last seven years the East India Company would have derived nearly one million and a quarter more revenue by a Customs duty on foreign imported salt than they have derived from the profit of manufacturing.

6985. *Sir G. Grey.*] Do you believe that during that period there could have been a sufficient quantity of salt imported for the consumption of India?—There can be no question of that, from seeing what the imports have actually been during that period.

6986. *Sir C. Wood.*] Would it not be necessary in that case that they should entirely prohibit and prevent the manufacture of native salt in the country?—It is not necessary to prohibit it. Natural causes will always prevent salt being manufactured in Bengal. If you look at the Bay of Bengal, and the situation of the salt factories there, you see the enormous quantity of fresh water poured down from the whole of the Gangetic range into the Bay of Bengal. You could not select a worse place for making salt than the Bay of Bengal; it is half fresh water there. One can see clearly that it is impossible for salt made in those localities to compete even with the Madras and Bombay made salt; it is, no doubt, made in a rude manner in Madras and Bombay, but in those localities they have salt water; whereas in the Bay of Bengal they have salt and fresh water to manufacture from.

6987. *Chairman.*] What is your opinion as to the consumption of salt in India; taking the two together, the manufactured and the imported salt, has the consumption increased or diminished?—That is one of the most difficult questions that I shall have to answer; my own opinion is, that the amount of salt consumed in India has very much increased, but at the same time I find that the quantity of salt manufactured by the Company, plus the importations, has diminished; I am speaking now of the last and previous years; I find that the trade and commerce of Bengal has increased in the most wonderful manner. The total imports from the year 1813-14 (my own statistics not going beyond that), having increased from 2,12,26,998 sicca rupees to 9,24,77,934 Company's rupees in the year 1851-52, and the exports having increased from 3,55,40,438 sicca rupees in the year 1813-14, to 11,04,09,706 Company's rupees in the year 1851-52.

TOTAL

TOTAL VALUE of MERCHANDISE and TREASURE Imported into and Exported and Re-Exported from Calcutta, in Rupees.

I M P O R T S.				E X P O R T S.			
YEARS.	Merchandise.	Treasure.	TOTAL.	YEARS.	Exports.	Re-exports.	TOTAL.
	<i>Sicca Rupees.</i>	<i>Sicca Rupees.</i>	<i>Sicca Rupees.</i>		<i>Sicca Rupees.</i>	<i>Sicca Rupees.</i>	<i>Sicca Rupees.</i>
1813-14	15,747,074	5,479,924	21,226,998	1813-14	33,269,555	2,228,133	35,497,688
1814-15	15,401,435	10,769,678	26,171,113	1814-15	36,530,539	2,382,188	38,912,727
1815-16	16,160,125	18,241,161	34,401,286	1815-16	47,263,665	2,708,701	49,972,366
1816-17	20,241,621	38,191,260	58,432,881	1816-17	52,161,770	2,825,358	54,987,128
1817-18	27,319,362	31,206,827	58,526,189	1817-18	51,111,850	3,845,293	54,957,143
1818-19	29,737,436	46,471,747	76,209,183	1818-19	46,327,353	4,161,009	50,488,362
1819-20	17,521,977	39,011,262	56,533,239	1819-20	49,549,846	4,781,459	54,331,305
1820-21	22,443,163	22,827,344	45,270,507	1820-21	53,410,669	3,392,579	56,803,248
1821-22	25,903,599	20,865,242	46,768,841	1821-22	49,637,508	3,915,620	53,553,128
1822-23	26,866,535	16,173,704	43,040,239	1822-23	56,240,698	5,610,782	61,851,480
1823-24	26,198,443	12,687,510	38,885,953	1823-24	46,580,663	3,984,829	50,565,492
1824-25	28,655,916	11,766,349	40,422,265	1824-25	49,601,729	3,014,626	52,616,355
1825-26	21,498,729	14,519,126	36,017,855	1825-26	52,654,993	3,984,924	56,639,917
1826-27	21,760,679	12,303,470	34,064,149	1826-27	48,678,605	2,547,714	51,226,319
1827-28	27,097,561	13,529,969	40,627,530	1827-28	56,535,033	2,992,071	59,527,104
1828-29	30,192,732	6,902,374	37,095,106	1828-29	47,441,528	2,840,431	50,281,959
1829-30	23,614,197	9,191,921	32,806,118	1829-30	31,918,479	2,275,129	34,193,608
1830-31	27,309,761	5,604,094	32,913,855	1830-31	33,182,961	2,855,600	36,038,561
1831-32	22,615,279	3,781,578	26,396,857	1831-32	32,803,132	2,558,292	35,361,424
1832-33	19,414,866	4,696,564	24,111,430	1832-33	34,256,099	2,312,804	36,568,903
1833-34	19,568,270	5,863,942	25,432,212	1833-34	38,072,512	2,384,692	40,457,204
1834-35	21,415,226	6,568,736	27,983,962	1834-35	39,664,141	2,215,540	41,879,681
	<i>Co.'s Rupees.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rupees.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rupees.</i>		<i>Co.'s Rupees.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rupees.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rupees.</i>
1835-36	26,257,548	7,450,328	33,707,876	1835-36	59,239,197	2,620,476	61,859,673
1836-37	30,817,106	6,448,495	37,265,601	1836-37	63,525,281	3,222,587	66,747,868
1837-38	29,857,895	10,841,609	40,699,504	1837-38	61,479,472	3,249,599	64,729,071
1838-39	28,135,882	13,271,908	41,407,790	1838-39	61,025,616	3,497,588	64,523,204
1839-40	36,164,657	14,494,524	50,659,181	1839-40	66,381,495	3,815,867	70,197,362
1840-41	48,897,449	9,780,223	58,677,671	1840-41	78,355,905	4,475,332	82,831,237
1841-42	44,369,440	9,927,262	54,296,702	1841-42	79,150,782	4,367,955	83,518,737
1842-43	40,616,559	16,528,720	57,145,279	1842-43	72,877,205	3,734,119	76,611,324
1843-44	45,680,900	19,085,662	64,766,562	1843-44	97,655,973	3,227,350	100,883,323
1844-45	60,869,229	16,057,069	76,926,298	1844-45	96,077,561	4,324,917	100,402,478
1845-46	41,542,296	86,454	41,628,750	1845-46	51,613,536	-	51,613,536
1846-47	52,566,218	12,167,608	64,733,826	1846-47	95,625,602	-	95,625,602
1847-48	44,701,060	9,280,607	53,981,667	1847-48	83,322,039	-	83,322,039
1848-49	42,750,181	14,309,586	57,059,767	1848-49	94,198,591	-	94,198,591
1849-50	53,130,236	11,840,907	64,971,143	1849-50	105,399,069	-	105,399,069
1850-51	59,040,567	11,492,843	70,533,410	1850-51	104,499,469	-	104,499,469
1851-52	67,514,750	24,963,184	92,477,934	1851-52	108,463,897	-	108,463,897

But it may be argued that this does not show an improvement in the condition of the mass of the people who are the consumers of salt; therefore, in proof of that, I have a statement showing the increase in the consumption of Lancashire fabrics, for there are no persons more interested in the abolition of this salt monopoly than the Lancashire manufacturers. I have drawn up a statement, showing

D. C. Aylwin, Esq. showing the increase in the consumption of those Lancashire manufactures, which are consumed by the poorest of the poor, who are the consumers of salt, salt being one of the first necessaries of life; and I find that whereas in the year 1837-38 the consumption of long cloths, and shirting, jaconets, and madapollams, or those description of goods used only by the poorest of the poor, was only 190,770 pieces, last year they have actually increased to 5,341,057; whereas the description of goods, Glasgow goods, which are used among the richer natives of India, that is of lappets, scarfs, white cambrics, and book-muslins, have only increased from 1,027,862 pieces to 2,042,070 pieces. The one has increased 100 per cent., the other from 190,770 to 5,341,057.

YEARS.	Fabrics in Use amongst the Poorer Classes.				Fabrics in Use amongst the Richer Classes.				
	Long Cloth and Shirting.	Jaconets.	Madapollams.	TOTAL.	Lappets.	Lappet Scarfs.	White Cambrics.	Book Muslins.	TOTAL.
	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.	Pieces.
1837-38 -	63,179	111,005	16,586	190,770	369,486	113,308	60,619	485,449	1,027,862
1838-39 -	190,012	221,949	15,491	427,452	524,384	422,127	123,625	358,101	1,428,237
1839-40 -	248,626	335,378	62,747	646,751	457,016	464,094	209,615	231,455	1,362,180
1840-41 -	416,200	542,820	50,865	1,009,885	455,866	365,226	199,318	252,866	1,273,276
1841-42 -	645,329	428,723	60,132	1,134,184	415,856	255,715	78,768	307,806	1,058,145
1842-43 -	1,018,500	644,976	116,511	1,779,987	495,154	636,355	97,804	382,924	1,612,237
1843-44 -	1,244,457	1,044,987	190,098	2,479,542	419,963	466,352	122,613	382,505	1,381,433
1844-45 -	1,572,749	540,910	99,039	2,212,698	605,036	778,728	122,045	477,892	1,983,701
1845-46 -	1,166,226	1,307,345	208,236	2,681,807	666,048	873,472	70,022	590,453	2,199,995
1846-47 -	1,790,160	1,145,373	152,762	3,088,295	680,177	901,726	69,765	373,497	2,025,165
1847-48 -	1,071,222	979,459	164,937	2,215,618	527,354	449,887	110,745	246,653	1,334,639
1848-49 -	1,314,506	846,619	203,985	2,365,110	471,258	415,855	53,541	161,258	1,101,412
1849-50 -	1,678,142	1,407,694	206,638	3,292,474	455,893	299,234	45,807	266,789	1,067,723
1850-51 -	1,746,877	1,593,630	216,711	3,557,218	569,118	332,275	66,397	470,635	1,438,425
1851-52 -	2,441,595	2,341,989	557,473	5,341,057	733,679	595,912	56,031	656,448	2,042,070

Now, in the face of this there can be very little doubt that the position of the poorer classes in Bengal must have been very materially improved during those years. These facts go to prove the benefit that has been derived to the natives from the East India Company's rule. I believe it has been, as far as my own experience has gone, very beneficial to the natives of India, and that the natives have advanced and prospered under it; but I therefore cannot for one moment believe that the natives of India should so increase their luxuries, that is what they put upon their backs, and yet not in any degree increase their necessaries, that is what they put into their stomachs; and I am led to believe that the different amount of salt consumed, as compared with the amount upon which the Government get the duty, is really the amount of salt that is smuggled into India; I think there can be very little doubt of that; and my opinions are shared by the local Government of India. I have here a document from the local Government of India which shows that. In Secretary Prinsep's letter to the Board of Salt, under date of the 29th of September 1834, it is stated, "that no less than 10 lacs of maunds (or more than 35,000 tons) of salt have been conveyed illicitly for consumption from the districts of Hidgettee, Tumbook, and 24 pergunnas." If, therefore, from those places alone which are immediately under the eye of the Executive of the East India Company, no less than one-fourth of the total amount by them manufactured is allowed to be annually smuggled, how much may we reasonably infer is the total amount smuggled of which they know nothing? I can speak for myself, as regards Akyab, that when I was down there, I have no hesitation in saying that almost every vessel that went up to Calcutta had illicit salt on board intended to be smuggled. Throughout the whole of the Dacca district and the Sunderbund district there is an organised system of smuggling going on, in which the native servants of the East India Company are leagued with the smugglers; and I have no hesitation in saying that the natives at the different police stations in those districts

districts are cognisant of nine out of ten boats that are smuggling salt. The Board of Salt, in 1845, say, "We do not mean to say that smuggling has not increased, but we doubt of its having increased to the extent assumed by the petitioners." Mr. Boyd, a member of the Council, thus expressed himself in a minute, dated 9th December 1834: "There exists, throughout the whole entire establishment of the salt agency, a combination and an identity of interests which is extremely adverse to an efficient control, and which renders the detection or the proof of fraudulent practices, however notorious, almost impracticable." In fact, if it was necessary, I might multiply the admissions from Government officers to any extent, in which they admit the fearful amount of salt that is being smuggled.

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6988. *Chairman.*] Your opinion is, that the system of smuggling has been on the increase?—Very considerably on the increase.

6989. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Since when?—I am not prepared to say when, exactly; it has been carried on always to a great extent, and from the reasons I have stated of late years particularly.

6990. Are you aware that very stringent measures have been taken to put a stop to the smuggling, and that those measures have been attended with very great success in the last six or seven years?—There is one measure which, in the eyes of the Hindoo, is more attractive to smuggling than any preventive measures can be to the contrary; while you attract him with high duties, and whilst you make it the most profitable occupation that he can engage in, you may take all the stringent measures you may see fit, but you will not put a stop to smuggling.

6991. *Chairman.*] When did you leave India?—About five years ago.

6992. *Mr. Elliot.*] If smuggling exists to so great an extent as you describe it, why do you conceive that, in the event of the abolition of the manufacture of salt by the Government, the duty on the foreign salt imported would not be evaded by smuggling?—The illicit trader can very well afford to make salt, and to import it at a profit, when he is smuggling against a duty of 7*l.* a ton; but he might find it very difficult to carry on the same trade if the duty were reduced to 2*l.* or 3*l.* a ton.

Jovis, 23^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Elliot.
Sir J. W. Hogg.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Hume.

Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Labouchere.
Mr. Bankes.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Sir C. Wood.
Mr. Ellice.
Mr. Newdegate.
Mr. Vernon Smith.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

David Cooper Aylwin, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

6993. *Mr. Elliot.*] IS it your proposal to reduce the duty on salt to 2*l.* or 3*l.* a ton?—I consider that such a reduction of the duty would interfere with the profits of the smuggler, and would consequently very greatly enhance the present revenue.

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6994. You do not propose that the Company shall manufacture salt, but that the duty upon it should be 2*l.* a ton?—I contend that the Company have no right whatever to manufacture salt, no matter what the duty may be.

6995. Your first object is to do away with the manufacture by the Company altogether?—All that the Company now manufacture is manufactured at a heavy comparative loss to the revenue, and as it is clearly against their last charter, I would submit that the Company ought immediately to abandon that manufacture,

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more especially as the amount of foreign imported salt at the present moment is larger than that manufactured by the Company, and therefore there is no fear of endangering the supply.

6996. You consider that the salt which forms the whole consumption of India might be furnished by foreign importation?—Certainly I do.

6997. A portion of which would come from this country?—This country would be upon the same footing as any, and all other countries.

6998. What proportion of that amount would come from this country, do you suppose?—That is entirely a question of demand, and likewise of price. If this country can lay down its salt at a cheaper price than other countries, it will have the greater part of the trade; if, on the other hand, other countries can supply quality for quality at a cheaper rate than we can, such countries where it is more cheaply manufactured will have the supply.

6999. Do you consider, in the event of a war, which would greatly interfere with the importation from this country, there would be a sufficient supply of salt furnished from other importing countries for the consumption of the whole of India?—I think there would be; the amount of salt which is manufactured on the Bombay side and the Madras side of India is very large, and might be increased very materially. There is a large amount manufactured at the present moment in the Persian and Red Sea Gulfs, and that amount might be increased; at any rate the danger of a deficient supply, arising from external wars, is not nearly so great as the danger which now arises from the fearful inundations which periodically sweep away the manufacture in the salt districts. Wars at any rate have a termination, but the inundations which pervade those districts at the mouth of the Ganges, and down the coast, are perpetual.

7000. Can you state any instance in which the entire quantity of salt manufactured at the Company's factories has been swept away in one year?—In the year 1833-34 several molungees were destroyed, and the whole of the manufacture was swept away.

7001. At all the factories?—I believe I am correct in saying at all the factories; certainly, I have no hesitation in saying that three-fourths, if not the whole of the manufacture was swept away; I believe, however, I am correct in saying that the entire quantity was swept away.

7002. Is there any other year in which you can mention a calamity to the same extent?—No; but those inundations are constantly occurring every five or six years; I only mention that as a year in which the effects were very fearfully felt,

7003. Are you aware of any other year in which the effects were felt to anything like the same degree?—No.

7004. Sir G. Grey.] What were the effects upon the price of salt?—The price of the salt was not altered by the East India Company, inasmuch as they determine their price upon an average of years.

7005. Chairman.] Would you prohibit the production and manufacture of salt in India by individual enterprise?—Certainly not; the natives of India have as much right to manufacture salt as sugar or indigo.

7006. Would you levy an excise duty upon salt?—At the present moment the East India Company do levy an excise duty in the case of a salt factory at Narrainpore; there is no reason why they should not in other factories levy an excise duty in a similar manner to what they do now upon the rum distilleries.

7007. Do you consider that it could be so levied as to prevent the fraudulent manufacture of salt?—I do not see any reason why it should not.

7008. Mr. Elliot.] At present are there very large establishments kept up by the Government for the purpose of preventing smuggling?—Yes.

7009. In the event of the Government being deprived of this monopoly, and being no longer the manufacturers of salt, where would the people be found who would put down the smuggling of salt manufactured all over the Sunderbunds?—It would be always necessary for the Government to have a certain staff of police officers and others for the prevention of smuggling in salt, as they have in the case of the excise upon rum.

7010. If there were a duty of only 2*l.* or 3*l.* a ton, would that be sufficient to enable the Government to keep up this very large staff, and to make any profit out of the duty?—I consider a reduction of the duty to 2*l.* per ton would obtain a greater revenue than is now derived.

7011. At present there is a large staff kept up for the purpose of preventing smuggling.

smuggling. Do you suppose, if the duty were reduced to the amount you would fix it at, it would be worth the while of the Government to keep up that large staff, in the expectation of making a profit out of that amount of duty?—I do not think it would be necessary; if you were to reduce the duty to 2*l.* or 3*l.* a ton, it would not pay smugglers to carry on an illicit trade, and you would not require so large a staff as is at present needed.

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7012. Sir *G. Grey*.] Is there now any prohibition upon the private manufacture of salt in Bengal, or any restriction upon such private manufacture beyond the excise duty?—Certainly. There is one great thing which we complain of; it is a complete monopoly in the hands of the East India Company. No native or European can manufacture salt in India, and sell it as he pleases. We do not see why we should not manufacture salt in the same way as we can indigo and sugar, or any other article.

7013. You said that there was an excise duty on the private manufacture of salt in Bengal?—In one instance; in the case of Narrainpore, as to which an understanding was come to by the Government.

7014. Can no other individual, or company of individuals, in Bengal, establish a private manufacture of salt upon the same terms?—They might, or might not. The person who owns the factory happened to be the brother of a late Member of Council and present Director of the East India Company.

7015. Is it the case that, in addition to the excise duty, there must be a special authority from the East India Company to enable any person to set up a manufactory of salt?—Decidedly.

7016. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] Who is the person who is the proprietor of the manufactory you allude to?—Mr. Prinsep.

7017. When did Mr. Prinsep get the permission accorded to him by the Government of India?—That I am not aware of.

7018. If you are not aware of the exact year, do you not believe that the privilege of manufacturing salt was accorded to Mr. Prinsep upwards of 20 years ago?—I believe it was accorded to Mr. Prinsep when his brother was a Member of Council in the local government of Bengal.

7019. Have the goodness, as far as memory serves you, to tell me the time; was not it above 20 years ago that that privilege was accorded to Mr. Prinsep?—I am quite unable to answer that question.

7020. Was not it above 15 years ago?—I cannot answer you.

7021. Was not it to Mr. George Prinsep that the privilege was originally accorded?—My knowledge extends only to the last nine or ten years; I cannot speak of what occurred before that time.

7022. You know nothing of its origin?—I know nothing of its origin.

7023. Nor the person to whom it was originally given?—I can only say one thing; I unfortunately happened once to have some shares in the Bengal Salt Company, and I know that, in order to obtain a similar privilege, it was necessary to exercise a great deal of local influence, and we had the greatest trouble in obtaining it.

7024. Do you or do you not know anything, either as regards the time when this privilege was granted, or the person to whom it was granted?—I distinctly do not; I merely state the fact as it is.

7025. Of your own knowledge, you do know that that privilege has existed for at least ten years?—I am not even prepared to go so far as that; I am prepared to say that it now exists, and has existed for some time past. I know nothing but the fact, that in the one factory which does exist in India, the privilege has been accorded to Mr. Prinsep; and that in another case, of the Bengal Salt Works, in which I held shares, a great deal of influence of a personal kind was necessary to obtain that favour, as it was considered, and it turned out very unfortunate.

7026. When did you leave India?—Five years ago.

7027. Your attention, while you were in India, was turned to the subject of salt?—It was.

7028. That privilege which you speak of, granted to Mr. Prinsep, existed five years ago?—I believe it did.

7029. How long has Mr. Prinsep's brother been an East India Director?—I believe three or four years.

7030. At all events, then, it is quite clear that Mr. Prinsep's brother was not an East India Director at the time the privilege was accorded to Mr. Prinsep?—

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The object of that question is apparent; I have no hesitation in saying that it was not while the brother of Mr. Prinsep was a Director of the East India Company; but I am equally prepared to say that it was in consequence of the influence of Mr. Prinsep's brother, as a Member of Council, that the privilege was accorded to him.

7031. Your answer conveys to the Committee the impression, that that privilege was conceded to Mr. Prinsep because his brother was a Director of the East India Company, and my object is to show, that at the time his brother was not a Director?—I can only say that had Mr. Prinsep's brother not been in the position he was in, high in office in India, this privilege never would have been obtained. It is perfectly impossible for any, European or otherwise, unless closely connected with the civil service, or having influence such as Mr. Prinsep had, to obtain such a privilege as was obtained at Narrainpore.

7032. You say you have been connected with a salt company?—Yes, with the Bengal Salt Company.

7033. When was that company instituted?—I should think 10 or 11 years ago.

7034. Was it for the purpose of manufacturing salt, or importing salt?—Of manufacturing salt.

7035. Have you manufactured any salt?—Yes.

7036. Have any of the persons in that company brothers or relatives or friends in the direction of the East India Company?—I do not know that they have friends in the direction; they are closely connected with the principal civil servants in India.

7037. Any member of the service, either civil or military, is prohibited by the rules of the service from entering into any trading speculation?—Yes.

7038. Therefore no member of the service could be connected with that association?—No; but it is possible for the civil servants of the East India Company, through third parties, to have interests of that kind.

7039. Do you mean to state to this Committee that it is the habit of gentlemen in the civil or the military service to evade the law by having shares and interests in fictitious names?—No, I did not state that, and I do not wish to be so understood; I merely stated it was possible for such to be the case.

7040. You do not mean to say that you either know or believe that any gentleman of the civil or the military service has so evaded the law?—Distinctly not; I do not wish any observation of mine to have any such bearing.

7041. When was that company established?—I think about 10 or 15 years ago, as far as my memory serves me.

7042. It was established pretty much upon the same principle upon which the privilege was conceded to Mr. Prinsep?—I believe it was precisely so, so far as I know.

7043. Manufacturing under the system of excise?—Yes.

7044. Sir G. Grey.] You have stated that it turned out unfortunately; do you mean to say that the private manufacture of salt in India, under the system of excise, cannot be profitably carried on?—My private opinion is, that it is not possible to manufacture salt at a profit in India, always providing that, as regards the duty, the same amount is levied upon the native manufactured as on foreign imported salt.

7045. Mr. Spooner.] You stated that when you applied for that privilege to the Bengal Government, you met with great difficulty in obtaining it, and that if it had not been for private influence you believe you should not have obtained it. Will you state the difficulty, and the nature of the private influence?—I was not in India when that took place; I state what I have heard from others; but I believe if you asked any person who had been in Calcutta, his testimony would be the same.

7046. Your opinion is founded upon hearsay evidence?—It is; but I have no hesitation in saying that it is correct.

7047. Can you state the name of any other person who made an application for such a privilege, and was refused by the East India Company?—There was another factory at a place called Ghoorda; that was established, but I believe closed very shortly afterwards.

7048. You do not know of any other instance?—I know of no other instance; but the difficulties are nearly insurmountable. That is the reason why it has never been done.

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7049. Sir J. W. Hogg.] In looking to your evidence, I observe you take the aggregate of the salt consumed, multiply the aggregate by three, and thereby show what would be the revenue of the Government if the whole was imported; you then compare that aggregate with the net salt revenue, and the difference between the two shows the loss sustained by the Government by reason of their manufacturing salt. Am I not correct in stating the principle of your calculation?—The principle is correct.

7050. In taking what you call the net revenue derived by the Government from salt, have you included the duty on salt imported?—No; in one of the statements I merely give the amount of salt manufactured by the Government, and the amount of revenue in profit which ought to have been derived; I am speaking of five years, and in that I make no allowance for the charges of collection.

7051. In calculating the aggregate amount of salt consumed, you very properly include the amount of salt imported?—Yes.

7052. Therefore, when computing the profit, you ought to include the duty?—Yes.

7053. I found my questions upon the tables annexed to a pamphlet published by you; are you prepared to state positively to the Committee that what appears in one column headed "Net Revenue actually derived," includes the import duty upon salt?—Yes, as regards those tables, that is so; there are two tables which I put in; one was from the year 1793-94 down to 1845-46; that table includes the amount of salt manufactured by the Government as well as the amount of imported salt, and I base my calculations upon the two together. In the table from 1845-46, down to the present time, I only refer to that which was manufactured by the Government, and do not take in any imported salt. That makes, however, no alteration in the result of the statistics.

7054. From what public document did you take the column headed "Net Revenue." I think it fair to apprise you that the import duty upon salt does not appear in the public accounts under the head of "Duty upon Salt," but appears where it ought to appear, under the head of "Customs," it being an import duty. I mention that to explain an error into which you very probably may have fallen, and I believe have fallen?—I am not aware that it is an error. It is generally the way of designating it. Up to the year 1819-20, there never was an ounce of salt imported, the whole revenue being derived from the profit upon the manufacture. I am perfectly aware, as this table shows, that there was no salt imported before the year 1819-20; therefore, for the whole of the years from 1790-91 to 1819-20, the duty being three rupees a maund, I am taking it at the subsequent average.

7055. My question does not refer either to averages or to years; but my desire is to know from what public document you took that column?—I have stated that those statistics were furnished from "Rushton's Gazetteer."

7056. You do not of your own knowledge know, and have no other means of knowing, than from reference to that Gazetteer, whether this column does or does not include the import duty upon salt?—I think this is very irrelevant, if I may be permitted to say so. At the last examination I stated that this was not an official document, and that therefore, instead of paying any very great attention to those two tables, it would be much better to rely from the year 1845-46 down to the present time, upon the statistics furnished by Mr. Melvill himself. I have those statements in the handwriting of some gentleman in the East India Company's service, and it will be seen that they quite bear out everything which I have stated; so that whether that statement is or is not perfectly accurate, I put it on one side altogether, and rely on the statistics furnished by the East India Company.

7057. If you state to the Committee the net revenue derived by the Government of India from salt, do you consider it irrelevant whether you do or do not include an amount of 17 or 18 lacs derived from the import duty?—Even supposing there were 17 to 18 lacs more to be placed to the credit side, there would still be a loss by manufacturing of considerably over 10,000,000 l. sterling.

7058. Take the year 1845-46; have the goodness to tell the Committee the whole amount of salt manufactured?—The total amount was 4,314,496 maunds.

7059. Sir G. Grey.] Do those tables which you refer to profess to give the net revenue in any given year derived by the East India Company from salt?—

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They do. I stated in my last examination that the statements which were given in my pamphlet I would rather not put in, because they were not based upon Government statistics. I gave the authorities from which I drew my information; but at the same time I stated that I would rather my evidence was confined to the period from the year 1845-46 to the present time, the facts relating to which I could vouch for.

7060. Putting aside the pamphlet, do the tables which you now hold in your hand profess to give the net revenue derived by the East India Company from salt in any given year?—They do; since the year 1845-46 to the present time.

7061. Is it your opinion that the amount of the net revenue so stated in each of those years comprises the revenue derived for the duty on imported salt as well as the revenue derived from the profit on manufactured salt?—No; the tables do not profess to do that. The use of the tables is this: they show the amount of salt sold by the East India Company, and they show the amount of profit that was derived upon that salt; they then show the comparative loss that has been made by the East India Company in manufacturing salt; in other words, that had this amount of salt been foreign imported salt, paying a customs duty, there would have been derived so much more revenue to the East India Company.

7062. In order to ascertain the actual amount of the revenue derived by the East India Company from salt, ought not you to add to those figures the amount of revenue derived from the duty on imported salt in each of those years?—Certainly that is the aggregate, but it in no way affects the question which we were discussing, which was, whether there was a profit or a loss to the Company from their manufacturing salt.

7063. In point of fact, the aggregate amount of revenue stated in those tables to be derived by the East India Company from salt, is the amount of revenue derived exclusively from manufactured salt, and does not include the amount of revenue, whatever it may be, derived from the duty on imported salt?—Quite so.

7064. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] In the aggregate quantity of salt consumed, you mean to say you exclude the salt imported?—Yes.

7065. You exclude imported salt altogether?—Yes.

7066. And make your calculations solely on the salt manufactured in India? Yes.

7067. The amount manufactured and sold in India consists of two items; one is the amount manufactured and sold from the golahs or stores, the other is the amount sold in the salt-producing districts; will you have the goodness to take the year you have yourself selected, 1845-46, and tell me the amount manufactured and sold from the golahs in that year?—The amount is 3,339,275 maunds.

7068. What were the proceeds?—I have no means of separating the proceeds of salt sold from the golahs from the proceeds of salt sold retail.

7069. What was the amount retail?—915,221 maunds.

7070. What was the amount imported?—1,581,143 maunds.

7071. Supposing we take the amount imported, and then the proceeds of that amount so imported, we then get the whole quantity, both manufactured and imported; then we get the whole proceeds. Then there is another item, which you appear not at all to have taken into your consideration, either in your original or your present tables, which is, the amount of duty paid at Bombay, and for which an allowance is made in calculating the drawback at Calcutta; have you or have you not included that amount, and if you have, where did you get it from?—I am not aware whether I have or have not; the only way by which I have been able to arrive at the net revenue has been, as I stated in my last examination, by the Parliamentary Papers, annually published by the East India Company. I there take the gross amount of revenue given year after year, and the charges of collection, and, deducting the charges of collection, I arrive at the net revenue. If, therefore, there is any error or omission, it is by the East India Company.

7072. In the Parliamentary Papers you will find that the import duty upon salt is not under the head of "Salt," but under the head of "Customs"?—True; but that has nothing to do with the question we are now speaking of; they are two distinct questions, I submit. The one is a question of the manufacture

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by the East India Company, the other is a question of importation and customs revenue.

7073. Then according to that principle, as you put it yourself, you deduct the whole of the charges from the proceeds, and the difference is the net revenue?—Decidedly.

7074. Supposing there were no manufacture of salt in India at all, would not it be requisite to maintain a very large, though not so large an establishment as at present, to protect the revenue of the country, to guard against smuggling, externally or internally?—There is no doubt there would have to be a very large establishment kept up, provided you maintained the present high rate of duty. So long as you give a premium to the smuggler, whereby he can earn more in smuggling salt than in any other mode of livelihood, so long you will have the fearful amount of smuggling that you now have; you are actually tempting the Hindoos to dishonesty.

7075. It is your opinion that the Government actually lose by the manufacture of salt, and that they do not place the home-manufactured salt in fair competition with the imported salt?—It is not only my opinion, but it is a positive matter of fact, that the Government, since 1790–91, with the exception of five years, have made a comparative loss by manufacturing salt to what they would have done by having the customs revenue, amounting now to close upon 12,000,000 l. sterling; and that they are putting a protective duty upon their own salt, to exclude British and other manufactures from entering into competition with their own.

7076. The only two errors which you think may have crept into the tables you have laid before the Committee are, that you may have omitted the duty on salt received at Bombay, for aught you know to the contrary, and you have not made any allowance for the costs and charges of the establishment, which must be maintained whether there were salt manufactured in India or not?—I do not admit it to be possible for any mistake to have occurred in the statistics which I have drawn up. I beg to say, that supposing those two observations were correct, they could not in any way break in upon my statistics, as my statistics refer to the gross and net revenue derived from the manufacture and importation of salt, and the total amount of salt manufactured, which, of course, would have nothing to do with the expense of any establishment which the East India Company might think fit to keep up in quite a supposititious case; and likewise, as regards Bombay, I presume that any allowances which are made, would come into the Bombay, and not into the Bengal calculations. If they do come into the Bengal calculations, they duly appear in those statistics. The only reason why I did not wish to refer to those statistics in the pamphlet is, that they are not Government statistics, though I believe they are as perfectly correct as any Government statistics can be, and I myself, having been a merchant, should be prepared to act upon them.

7077. Mr. Elliot.] In answer to Question 6960, you say, "I have a statement to support that; between the years 1793 and 1845 the total amount of salt that was manufactured by the East India Company was 203,089,070 maunds." Is that the statement which you have now referred to?—It is.

7078. At what rate have you taken the duty in 1845–46?—At three rupees a maund; in 1847–48, 2½ rupees; in 1849–50, 2¼ rupees, according to the alterations made by the East India Company.

7079. Chairman.] Have you any other observations which you wish to make upon the subject of salt?—I wish to call the attention of the Committee to certain statements which have been put forward, I presume, by the East India Company, in a Return to an order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 15 April 1853. I refer to a document which appears to have been drawn up by the East India Company, and to have been put into the hands of the Members of the House of Commons, in order to give them some idea of the working of the salt question and other affairs connected with India. It is here stated, that "salt purchased at Calcutta at 1d. per lb., the Government price, is sold at Benares (400 miles from Calcutta, where it comes into competition with the salt from Rajpootana) at 12lbs. the rupee, or 2d. per lb. The consumption of salt in India has been usually estimated at 12 lbs. per head per annum, and assuming the wages of agricultural labour at three rupees per mensem (the rate now paid on the Calcutta and Bombay mail-road, and also to village watchmen), it would, at Calcutta, absorb the income of five

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days' labour to provide the quantity required for a year. The salt duty thus operates as a tax of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the labourer's wages, if he have none but himself to provide for; if he have a wife or children, the percentage will of course be increased by the amount of their consumption." By this paper, I would have the Committee observe, the East India Company would lead a Member of the House of Commons to believe that the salt duty operates as a tax of only $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and that a Hindoo earns three rupees a month; as also that the price of salt is 1*d.* per pound. Now, in the first place, I have been myself some years in India, very much connected with all classes of the natives, and I conscientiously believe that a more erroneous statement never was put forward than to calculate upon anything like three rupees a month being the average rate of wages in Bengal; I am prepared to doubt whether the average rate of labour in Bengal is even two rupees, and I certainly am prepared to state that three rupees is the maximum which can be obtained for agricultural labour in any part of Bengal. By the estimate, also, salt is calculated at 1*d.* per lb.; now, the East India Company must be perfectly aware that salt never can be purchased by the consumers at anything like that price. It is very true that if you take 100 maunds of salt at the wholesale price, 385 rupees, and divide the one by the other, it would amount to 1*d.* per lb., but it is equally true, and the East India Company know it, that the consumers of salt do not get their salt at anything like that price. Had the East India Company made the slightest inquiry (which I myself have been at great pains to do), they would have found that in the bazaars in the interior, at Patna, at Dacca, and other places, the price of salt varies from 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas a seler, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* to $2\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* per lb. The price of salt of course varies in the interior, from several causes; first of all, the facilities of obtaining the smuggled commodity; secondly, the cost of transit; and other causes, which would act upon any article of commerce. But I have no hesitation in saying that three annas a seler, which I take as my estimate of what the salt costs the consumer, is very much indeed under the average. In fact, it is 50 per cent. under the estimate which, in the year 1836, was allowed to be the cost of salt to the consumers in the interior of India. The principal error, however, is in the calculation that the labour of every consumer of salt is effective to the extent of three rupees per month. In this country we allow an average of five souls to each family; and if we assume such to be the case in Bengal, it follows there is required 12 lbs. of salt plus five for the consumption of a family; which, even at the wholesale price of 1*d.* per lb., and estimating a man's wages at the absurd rate of three rupees per month, would necessitate the surrender of one-fourteenth of a Hindoo's entire earnings, or, in other words, operate as an income-tax of about seven instead of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

7080: *Chairman.*] Does not that paper state the Government selling price, not the retail price?—It does; but it then goes on to argue upon this wholesale price, that it only presses $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the labourer's wages. It goes on to say that "the pressure of the salt tax on the labourer cannot be regarded as severe." It is a most unfair way of arguing, to take the wholesale price of an article, and then to imagine that the consumer gets it at the wholesale price, or anything like it; whereas the East India Company are perfectly aware of the existence of a salt monopoly in India, which they themselves have encouraged upon every occasion, inasmuch that some years ago they remitted no less than 100,000*l.* to an individual of the name Ram Rutten Mullick, in order to maintain this sub-monopoly, and all the regulations which have been framed by the East India Company in Calcutta for the importation of salt have been framed specially with a view of upholding this sub-monopoly.

7081. Sir *J. W. Hogg.*] Will you have the goodness to tell the Committee when the remission to Ram Rutten Mullick was made?—I believe 15 or 20 years ago.

7082. Was it before or after the Report of the Select Committee in 1836?—Before.

7083. Was not that sub-monopoly brought to the notice of that Committee, and were not resolutions passed by that Committee to the purport that the golahs should always be open, instead of having fixed periodical sales, for the very purpose of stopping that sub-monopoly?—Yes, that was certainly done; but they likewise took care that the salt should only be sold in lots of 100 maunds, which,

which, with the duty upon it, made it incumbent upon a man to make a payment of 40*l.* to buy the smallest amount.

7084. Was that the recommendation of the Committee that it should be sold in quantities of 100 maunds?—Yes.

7085. Was it the recommendation of the Committee in 1836 that the golahs should be always open for sale of salt in quantities of 100 maunds?—The Report of the Committee in the year 1836 states as follows: "Your Committee having carefully considered the evidence which has been brought before them, both oral and documentary, are of opinion that the evils usually incident to a Government monopoly in a great article of consumption are not wanting in the working of the salt monopoly in India; and they have not been convinced by any evidence that has been submitted to their consideration, that the same amount of income which has been hitherto derived from the monopoly might not be collected with equal security to the revenue, and great advantage to the consumer and to commerce, under a combined system of customs and excise; they submit, however with confidence the following recommendations, that the Government do abolish the system of public periodical sales, and do keep the golahs open at all times for the sale of salt at the cost price, in quantities not less than 100 maunds."

7086. Has that recommendation of the Committee, that instead of periodical sales, the golahs should be always open for the sale of salt, to the extent of 100 maunds, been acted on from that day to the present time?—It is perfectly true that it has been acted on up to the present time; but that is only one out of many things that the East India Company has done to encourage and foster this sub-monopoly. There was no boon at all in their opening those golahs, while the other restrictions of the East India Company were simultaneously maintained. It is true they allowed 100 maunds of salt to be the minimum quantity which a man might purchase; but what native, except he was engaged in this sub-monopoly, which has been fostered and reared by the East India Company, could afford such a sum as 40*l.* to buy salt? In addition to which, bonding regulations were framed expressly to throw the whole of the imported salt, which has since become a very large amount of the salt consumed, into the hands of the natives. It is true those bonding regulations have been subsequently modified, but even now they are very vexatious to the importer.

7087. Has or has not that system of open golahs entirely put down this sub-monopoly to which you refer?—Most decidedly not; the sub-monopoly now exists, if not to as great an extent, yet to a very great extent indeed.

7088. Are you prepared to state to this Committee, that since 1836 it has been the object of the local Government of India to encourage the system of sub-monopoly?—I am perfectly prepared to state to this Committee, that had they wished to encourage the sub-monopoly, they could not have framed regulations better fitted to do so.

7089. What were those regulations that encouraged the sub-monopoly?—The non-ability to bond salt, excepting by depositing the duty ere the salt was landed.

7090. What obstruction which existed previously to 1836 has been retained since, or is now retained?—In the year 1836, the system of bonding salt was this; that the moment the salt was imported into Calcutta the amount of the duty had to be deposited, in the Company's paper, with the local Government; and when this salt was taken out of bond, for consumption, the duty upon the wastage was subtracted, and the balance of the Company's paper was returned.

7091. Is that the case now?—No.

7092. Has it been the case since 1836?—Yes.

7093. Up to what time?—Up to 1844-45. It was only after the Chambers of Commerce in Lancashire, Cheshire, and London had sent up no less than 11 deputations, that we could get it altered. The consequence was, that supposing a loss of five per cent. upon the cargo of salt, the amount of duty which had been sacrificed would have been much more than the total value of the whole cargo. Of course, I need not say that in an article like salt, in the rainy season, the very act of landing and storing it would cause a loss of at least five per cent. The merchant was therefore compelled, no matter what the state of the market was, to sell to the sub-monopolist the moment the salt arrived.

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7094. In 1845 the complaints regarding bonding and wastage were removed, were not they?—Partially so.

7095. What benefit to the revenue of the country can be derived from the Government encouraging the sub-monopoly?—It is not for me to state what the motives of the Government are; it is only for me, as a merchant, to complain of the restrictions upon commerce.

7096. It is your opinion, as a merchant, and as a witness before this Committee, that the Government have encouraged the sub-monopoly?—Decidedly it is. The fact of their remitting Ram Rutten Mullick 100,000 *l.* is a decided proof that they have encouraged the sub-monopoly.

7097. That remission to Ram Rutten Mullick and the system of sub-monopoly was anterior to 1836, was not it?—It was; but the restrictions which upheld the sub-monopoly were maintained long afterwards.

7098. Mr. *Ellice.*] Has any such transaction taken place, to your knowledge, since that period?—No.

7099. Sir *T. H. Maddock.*] I wish to refer to your answer to Question 6961. In that answer you say, "The total amount of salt manufactured since the year 1845-46, down to 1851-52, was 29,529,421 maunds;" and the profit which at the given rates of duty ought to have been derived was 8,06,26,003 rupees. By the word profit, do you mean the gross revenue?—You may term it the revenue; but it literally is the profit.

7100. In the year 1850-51, I find from a paper before me, the quantity of salt imported into Calcutta upon which duty was paid was 261,000 maunds?—My statistics differ from those.

7101. The proceeds of that were 6,139,113 rupees; at that time the duty upon imported salt, as you are aware, had been reduced to 2 rupees 8 annas?—Yes.

7102. It appears from the calculation which I have made on those same proceeds, that the duty upon the quantity of salt imported does not amount to 2 rupees 8 annas a maund, but to a small fraction, more than 2 rupees 5 annas a maund; from the same mode of calculation, it might be probably found that in all the quantity of salt sold by the Government since 1845-46 there would not be that difference which you have stated in your evidence between the amount of net revenue realised and that which you calculate as the profit or gross revenue of 1 crore and 13 lacs?—In the first place, the amount of salt imported by sea, by my statistics, differs from that which has been just mentioned. I have a statement, showing how much has been imported from each country during that year.

7103. It appears that instead of this loss of 1 crore and 13 lacs, in six years there would be a profit of about 40 lacs of rupees?—It is perfectly certain that imported salt must realise any amount of duty you choose to put upon it, whether it is one rupee or ten rupees a maund; whatever you choose to impose upon the amount imported, so much you have, less the charges of collection. I am aware that in the Parliamentary Papers published by the East India Company, they charge a certain amount for the collection of customs, which I think ought not to be put down myself, because, whether any salt were imported or not, there would be the same custom-house staff. I do not see that the importation of salt causes one extra clerk to be employed in the Calcutta custom-house; therefore I think it is scarcely right to put down any amount for the charges of the collection of revenue upon foreign imported salt; but even allowing that there is an increase of the charges of collection, it can be but very trifling; a few landing officers, and a few custom-house clerks.

7104. If you find that there is a difference of three annas a maund between the net proceeds of the duty upon imported salt and that which was nominally levied, do you see any reason why you should not make a similar allowance of three annas a maund upon this quantity of salt which you say has been sold since 1845-46. If you find a difference in the one case, do you see any reason for not allowing it in the other?—Your statistics, I repeat, are incorrect. I have drawn mine from Mr. Wilkinson's tables, which are published under the authority of the local Government of India, and I there find that there is a difference between your statistics and mine of about 200,000 maunds, which would account for the difference which appears in the relative revenue.

7105. If it is the fact that the net proceeds of the customs are three annas a maund less than the gross duty, do you see any reason for not making a similar allowance

allowance between the gross and the net revenue of the manufactured salt?—It is perfectly impossible that such can be the case, and I cannot base an argument upon such a premiss. I certainly cannot account for what you have stated to me, except in this way, that the amount of foreign imported salt in the year was 200,000 maunds less than you have stated.

7106. Sir *G. Grey*.] You have stated the effect which, in your opinion, would be produced upon the revenue of the East India Company, if the Company were to abandon altogether the manufacture of salt, and the supply of salt for India were dependent entirely upon importation; what would be the effect of such a change upon the price at which salt is sold in India, the import duty remaining as it now is?—I do not think, unless you were to reduce the duty, there would be any change upon the retail price in the interior of India.

7107. Do not you think that circumstances might occur, such as a war, which might in any given year very greatly interfere with the amount of salt imported into India?—I submit that that argument would equally apply to every other article of commerce, such as indigo or corn.

7108. I understand you to state that, in your opinion, the manufacture of salt cannot be carried on at a profit either by a company or individuals in India?—That is my opinion.

7109. Therefore if the Company were to abandon the manufacture, India would exclusively depend upon importation?—When I spoke of India, I meant Bengal.

7110. Bengal would be dependent upon importation?—Yes.

7111. Are you of opinion that, if that were the case, the amount of salt imported would, one year with another, always be fully equal to the demand?—I think the best reply I can give to that question, is to show the enormous increase which has already taken place in the amount of imported salt, which in 1829–30 was only 10,498 maunds, but which, under every disadvantage and disability, had increased to 3,174,370 maunds last year, being actually a larger amount than that manufactured by the East India Company. I think that shows that there is no doubt of our getting a supply to any extent we may require.

7112. Mr. *Fitzgerald*.] Can you state what the difficulties are in the way of the private manufacture of salt which prevent its being manufactured at a profit?—The enormous amount of fresh water which is poured down from the rivers into the Bay of Bengal makes the brine so weak that it is impracticable to manufacture it.

7113. In reference to Mr. Prinsep's establishment, which you alluded to, is that worked at a profit, so far as you know?—I am not aware.

7114. With regard to the licence which you get from the Company, which it is necessary to apply for to the Government in order to carry on the private manufacture of salt, is the granting it or not a pure matter of discretion?—Quite so.

7115. To what department must you apply?—The department called the Salt and Opium Department in Bengal.

7116. Supposing that licence should be refused, there is no remedy?—No.

7117. You have been asked whether any servants of the Company are engaged in trade; you are not able to state any instances in which they are so?—No.

7118. I understood you to convey to the Committee that such was the general repute, that the servants of the Company have been connected with trade?—I meant to convey that it was possible that it might be so; that it was possible to evade the regulation.

7119. You did not refer to any general reputation on the subject?—No; so far as my testimony goes, I would bear it to the contrary.

7120. Have you known any instances of the civil or military servants of the Company being connected with banking establishments?—Yes, I believe they have been; but I had rather that the Committee would question some other witness upon that point.

7121. Do you know of any instances of your own knowledge?—No.

7122. Do you know of any instances from public report?—Yes; from newspaper report.

7123. Mr. *Hume*.] You have been asked a question respecting the revenue, and what effect would be produced on the revenue if the Government of India ceased to manufacture salt; you have stated that, the duty remaining the same, there

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there would not be much alteration. Can you give any estimate, or have you any proof to show what amount of smuggling of salt takes place in Bengal?—I have a statement which, if the Committee will allow me, I will submit to them upon the subject; this is a statement, first showing the net consumption of salt per head, and next the net revenue derived from salt per head. The amount of population, and the amount of revenue, I obtained from Sir Charles Trevelyan. In the year 1793-94 the population of the districts under the salt monopoly was estimated at 24,000,000, and the net revenue derived was 806,781 *l.*, showing a net revenue of 8 *d.* per head. The amount of salt consumed in that year was 286,054,440 lbs., giving a relative consumption of 12 lbs. per head. In the year 1850-51, the net revenue per head had declined to 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, and the amount of consumption to 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. I submit to the Committee that, in the face of those facts of the revenue having declined from 8 *d.* to 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, and the consumption from 12 lbs. to 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ lbs., upon that first necessary of life, there can be no doubt, as the general condition of the people of India has very much improved, especially in these districts, the amount of salt which has been smuggled has been increased in a very great proportion. If we take the amount of consumption at 12 lbs. per head, the amount of salt which is smuggled would then be very nearly 100 per cent. more than the amount which at present pays duty to the Company, or passes through their hands.

7124. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] Are you aware that the present consumption is 13 lbs. a head?—You are estimating the total consumption of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, taken together.

7125. In Bengal, the North-western Provinces, Madras, and Bombay combined, taking the whole amount of salt consumed and the population, you will find that the result gives a consumption of salt of 13 lbs. a head?—Yes, but if you take Bengal by itself, separating it from the other parts, where the monopoly does not extend, you will find it is only 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.; putting it altogether, it is as the Honourable Baronet has stated, but that is by mixing up the other Presidencies with Bengal.

7126. *Mr. Hume.*] What would you propose to do, as regards the duty, if an end were put to the manufacture of salt in Bengal, in order to prevent the revenue suffering?—Were the duty lowered to such a point that it would not pay the expense and risk which the smuggler incurs, I consider the revenue would not be injured but might be benefited, and that a far larger amount of salt would come into consumption in India.

7127. Have you any means of estimating what is the pivot point of smuggling, that is, the amount of duty which would render it not worth the while of smugglers to evade the tax?—I consider that were the duty reduced to one rupee a maund, or about 2*l.* 14*s.* a ton on importation, that would be sufficient.

7128. That would put an end to the smuggling which now exists?—I consider it would.

7129. And it would give a great relief to the population, and enable them to increase their consumption?—Most unquestionably.

7130. Appearing, as you do, at the request of the manufacturers of salt in Cheshire, will you state to the Committee in what way you regard their allegation that there is a salt monopoly in the hands of the East India Company?—I consider it is virtually a monopoly, because the local Government of the East India Company prevents any one but themselves engaging in the manufacture of salt.

7131. If the duty were reduced to one rupee a maund, do you consider that that would be perfectly satisfactory to the manufacturers of salt in England?—I consider that the reduction of the duty from 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees to 1 rupee a maund would open out nearly an illimitable market for British salt. The superior quality of British salt, I consider, would nearly command the entire market in India.

7132. Looking at the proportion which you believe now to be smuggled, the revenue of India you think would not suffer by the change?—Decidedly not, in my opinion. If the Committee will allow me, I wish to state that the number of inhabitants of the districts subject to the Bengal monopoly is 53,467,000; the number in the districts supplied with salt is 33,000,000; and the number in the tributary states is 28,000,000; making altogether about 115,000,000. If we calculate the consumption at 12 lbs. a-head, and the duty at 1 rupee per maund, there would be a revenue of no less than 16,966,000 rupees, or about 350,000*l.* more than is at present derived.

7133. The

7133. The remedy you recommend is a reduction of duty, by which relief would be given to the population of India, and by which the revenue also would be increased?—Yes. The best proof of the correctness of what I have stated I find in this, that every reduction of the duty on salt which the East India Company have made has been met by a corresponding increase in the revenue. During the seven years commencing with 1837-38, and ending with 1843-44, the duty on salt was 3 rupees 4 annas per maund. The annual average quantity of salt sold and imported during that period was 4,627,030 maunds. In November 1844, the duty was reduced to 3 rupees per maund, and the annual average sale increased to 4,966,917 maunds. In April 1847, the duty was further reduced to 2 rupees 12 annas per maund, and the annual sale amounted to 5,452,909 maunds. In April 1849, the duty was again reduced to 2 rupees 8 annas per maund. The Report goes on to say, "It would appear that no further reduction can for the present be expected, consistently with the maintenance of the revenue, the last reduction in 1849 having led to no further increase of consumption." Now, I submit, that from the year 1849-50, there has not been sufficient time allowed to see the benefit of the reduction last made.

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7134. Would the reduction of the duty remove the objection which you have to the Company continuing to manufacture salt?—The two questions are entirely distinct. The Company have a perfect right to impose what rate of duty they think proper as a question of revenue. If they require a duty of two, or three, or four rupees, that is a question for them only to consider; it may be politic to reduce their revenue, but that is a matter which is in their hands only. But as respects the manufacture, they have no right to manufacture, and they ought at once to abandon it.

7135. You consider that by the Act of Parliament they are precluded from manufacturing?—Decidedly.

7136. You stated a very decided opinion that the condition of the poorer classes in Bengal had very materially improved since the year 1837, and you gave in proof the greatly increased consumption which had taken place in the quantity of common calicoes used by the poor alone. Without reference to that single instance which you gave, from your residence, and from the inquiries which you made in India, what is your opinion as to the state of the native population now, compared with a period 12 or 15 years ago?—I should think, as far as Bengal is concerned, there can be but one opinion, and that is that the government of the East India Company has been beneficial to the natives at large. I would submit to the Committee that, as far as the local government of India is concerned, it would be a matter of great danger and great hazard to attempt any fundamental change in it. I consider, of course, that it has its faults. I am not, for a moment, about to deny that; but that it is well adapted for the natives of India, and that they have flourished well under it, it is perfectly preposterous for any one to deny; in fact, any person who would assert the contrary, I think would come before this Committee either as a prejudiced or interested witness. I am opposed to the Company as regards the salt monopoly; I think they are under an error and a delusion, and that they would obtain a greater amount of revenue by abandoning that manufacture and reducing the present exorbitant duty; but, as regards the benefit of the Company's government to all classes of natives in India, I can speak of it most favourably. If they have not done all they might have done, they are still deserving great credit for what they have accomplished.

7137. In your correspondence and communication with the public officers in India, have you or have you not found a general desire and disposition to correct abuses where they have been pointed out, and to do that which would tend permanently to benefit the population and the revenues of the State?—I believe the servants of the East India Company, I speak of the civil servants, to whom, I suppose, the question refers, are a class of gentlemen who, as a body, are most anxious to promote the welfare of the natives of India, and I believe, upon every occasion, where it is in their power they do so; I believe, also, on the part of the natives of India, taking them generally, there is a good feeling towards the East India Company. Of course, the Committee must quite understand that I am only speaking as to the parts of India which I have been in. The natives of India, I think, would much regret to see any fundamental change, as regards the East India Company. They look up to it with respect; they have, under the present Government, that which they never had before; they have, comparatively, order,

system,

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7138. I will put into your hand a petition from the inhabitants of Birmingham, agreed to at a public meeting. The petitioners say, "Your petitioners are of opinion that the present constitution of the Indian Government is not favourable to a wise and just administration of the affairs of India; that they have learned that the condition of the Indian population is one of general poverty and depression; that the industrial resources of the country are undeveloped; that little has been done to produce means of communication between the ports and the interior." Do you think that the petitioners are correct in alleging that such general poverty and depression exists?—There is a great deal of poverty and depression there, it is true, but at the same time there are a great many causes which have tended to produce it; it has not been solely the fault of the local government of India. The Committee may smile, but I attribute it mainly to the salt monopoly; I look upon it that the system which the Company has adopted has been a mistake; those are my views. Any poverty which exists has not been created by the want of good intention on the part of the East India Company or their servants in India.

7139. Leaving the question of salt, has any effort been made in respect of sugar and other produce to develop the industry of the country?—Yes. The East India Company, upon all occasions where it has not been a question of revenue, have shown themselves to be most desirous of promoting the benefit of the natives of India.

7140. Looking to the fact of the exports having increased from 8,000,000 to 18,000,000 in the course of a few years, in what way has the industry of the country been developed to produce that great increase?—As regards the poorer classes, I should refer to the article of sugar; the poorer classes of natives are more cultivators of sugar than of any other article. Indigo and silk, and such articles, are generally cultivated by Europeans or the richer class of natives.

7141. Are the Committee to understand that the laws recently passed in England, reducing the amount of taxation in sugar and other articles produced in India, has tended to promote that industrial improvement which you speak of?—Very much so indeed.

7142. Is it correct, then, to state that no assistance has been given to the industrial resources of India?—Certainly not.

7143. You do not agree with the petitioners in that respect?—By no means.

7144. Can you state how far "justice has been denied through the corruption or the incapacity of the courts of law"?—There is one thing which is very certain, that whatever accusations may be brought against our English administration of justice, it is superior to anything the natives have ever had before, and to what they now possess in most of the independent states.

7145. You refer to the system now carried on under the Company's government?—Yes.

7146. Are you able, from your experience, to draw a comparison between that and the system in any of the neighbouring states to which you have alluded?—I have never been in the native states, but having had a native partner in India, and very often having had discussions with him on that point, I should say nothing can be more miserable than the condition of the natives in most of the native states; property and life are perfectly insecure.

7147. Are you of opinion that the system at present carried on in India is based upon a desire to promote the industry and welfare of the natives?—Most undoubtedly.

William Worthington, Esq., called in: and Examined.

W. Worthington, Esq.

7148. *Chairman.*] YOU are the Proprietor of Rock Salt Mines and Works in Cheshire?—I am.

7149. Are the mines in Cheshire capable of producing a larger supply if India should require it?—Yes; and of manufactured salt also.

7150. To an extent equal to any probable increase of consumption, do you think?—Almost to an unlimited extent.

7151. Have you any information as to the relative qualities of British salt and East Indian manufactured salt, and the price at which each description sells in India?—In the month of March, Cheshire manufactured salt was selling at Calcutta

Calcutta at 80 rupees per 100 maunds, at the same time that the Company's manufactured salt was selling at 50 rupees per 100 maunds.

7152. There is no prejudice in India, therefore, against British salt?—It would appear not at the present time; formerly there was a prejudice, in consequence of its being supposed that animal substances were used in clearing the brine, but that prejudice seems no longer to exist.

7153. What is the price, per ton, of salt, free on board ship at Liverpool now?—Thirteen shillings.

7154. How many bushels are there in a ton?—Forty bushels.

7155. What is the average freight to Calcutta?—Twenty-five shillings; freight has ranged from 15 s. to 45 s. The amount has been very high lately, on account of the vessels being attracted to the gold regions, but it is now rapidly falling.

7156. What quantity has been sent to India during the last six years?—In 1847, 25,754 tons; in 1848, 15,507 tons; in 1849, 27,640 tons; in 1850, 36,341 tons; in 1851, 61,711 tons; in 1852, 37,677 tons. The average quantity during the first three years was 32,300 tons; the average quantity during the second three years was 45,243 tons; being an increase of 40 per cent.

7157. Mr. *Hume*.] Can you state the amount of freight in each of those years which you have now enumerated?—Not correctly; but freights have seldom been more than 25 s. previously to the discovery of gold in Australia.

7158. What has been the lowest amount?—Fifteen shillings.

7159. Would not the amount of your exports depend very much upon the rate of freight at which they could be sent out?—It would; but I am of opinion that the supply and demand would regulate each other, and that a second-class vessel would be introduced into the Indian trade which would afford a sufficient quantity of ship-room to take out any quantity of salt which might be wanted in India.

7160. Mr. *Spooner*.] Was not the year 1852 a year of very high freights?—It was.

7161. Was not the highest amount of export from this country in that year?—No; it was in the previous year.

7162. Mr. *Elliot*.] Can you state the cause of the falling off of the exportation in the last year?—In consequence of ships being attracted by higher freights to Australia.

7163. It would not pay to take ships up at a higher freight than you formerly took them up at?—There is greater risk, of course, of its not paying.

7164. At what rate of freight should you think the risk was so great as to prevent your sending out a large quantity of salt?—At 35 s. to 40 s.

7165. In the event of a war, therefore, it would be impossible for you to compete with the Indian manufacturers?—It would be more difficult to do so.

7166. Do not you think it would be so difficult as to render it very unlikely that the full quantity which might be required in India could always be sent?—There might be a temporary deficiency; but if the East India Company were to store 12 months' stock, as they do now in the case of their own salt, that difficulty would be removed.

7167. If the war continued during a second year, would not the same difficulty occur again?—I am not prepared to say what would be the effect of a war.

7168. *Chairman*.] Do you suppose that the high duty now levied upon salt in India interferes much with the consumption of British salt in that country?—I am of opinion that it does; and I believe that if the Government were to reduce it to one half its present amount, there would not be very much deficiency in the revenue.

7169. Do you wish to convey to the Committee any information as to the opinion of the Governor of Bengal, in 1847, on the effect of a reduction of duty?—I have in my hand a copy of a despatch signed by F. J. Halliday, the Secretary to the Bengal Government, and sent to Sir John Hobhouse, dated April 1847, in which he states: "Under these circumstances, the Deputy Governor would submit to the consideration of the Supreme Government the propriety of making another reduction in the duty, to the extent of four annas a maund. Of the great expediency of diminishing the duty upon this important necessary of life, and the vast benefit which would accrue to the people from the imposition of a more moderate tax than the present, it is not now his Honour's part to speak; these have been admitted on all hands; and the principle is established, that, so far as financial exigencies will allow, the duty ought to be gradually reduced, until

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until it shall come to bear a much smaller proportion than at present to the value of the article taxed. That the people in the interior still buy their salt at a price which presses hardly on their means, and that no small portion of the community obtain no salt at all, but are obliged to substitute for it adulterated and often deleterious articles, are, unfortunately, notorious facts; and for the remedy of these evils, as well as for the discouragement of smuggling and its numberless consequent mischiefs, the Government will not cease to exert itself as far as its circumstances may at any time permit. That reduction of duty must ultimately, and at no distant period, cause a largely increased consumption, cannot be doubted by any persons acquainted with the actual condition of the people; and it is indeed proved by the results of the last reduction, which, in the first complete year after it took place, has been followed by an increase of consumption so considerable, as nearly to bring up the revenue to the highest average of many years past; and since it has been shown that, taking into account the decrease of expense in the department, the Government has, on the whole, gained, rather than lost ground, in respect to salt revenue during the year in question, and the prospective diminutions of expense are such as to secure the Government against loss for some years yet to come, even on the supposition of a further reduction of duty, the Deputy Governor is most anxious that the opportunity may be taken to make that further reduction at once; so that the coming clearances, which, owing to the falling-off in imports now to be expected are certain to be larger than usual, may be encouraged to the utmost possible extent, and the present large, wasting, and expensive stocks taken off without delay." With regard to the reduction of duty increasing the demand, I can state what was the effect in this country. I have in my hand the following official statement from the Excise, of the quantity of salt charged with duty in England in the undermentioned periods, viz. :

AN ACCOUNT of the Quantities of SALT charged with DUTY in *England* in the undermentioned Periods.

YEARS.	Number of Bushels for Home Consumption.	YEARS.	Number of Bushels for Home Consumption.
	At 10 s.		At 15 s.
1800	1,878,013	1810	1,999,487
1801	1,822,988		
1802	1,863,398	1817	1,967,654
1803	1,996,259	1818	1,948,683
1804	2,065,728	1819	1,892,879
	At 10 s.	1820	1,980,412
	1,440,940	1821	1,983,157
	At 15 s.		At 15 s.
1805	510,663	1822	1,609,512
	At 15 s.		At 2 s.
1806	1,910,454		313,256
1807	1,912,500		At 2 s.
1808	1,906,704	1823	2,840,708
1809	1,965,161	1824	2,011,802

It begins with the year 1800; the duty continues at 10s. per bushel, with a gradually increasing consumption, amounting in the last year of the 10s. duty to 2,065,728 bushels. The duty was then raised to 15s., when it declined to 1,910,454, and never afterwards, during the next 17 years, amounted to the same quantity as in 1804, the last year of the 10s. duty, though, during that period, the population must have doubled.

7170. Have you a copy of any petition which has been sent to the House of Commons to which you wish to draw the attention of the Committee?—I have.

7171. From whom is that petition?—It is a petition from the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Northwich, in the county of Chester, which has been presented to the House, and has been referred to this Committee. It states, "That on an average of several years past, not less than 600,000 tons of salt have been annually made from brine and rock salt, in the salt districts of Cheshire, giving employment by land and water to at least 5,000 able-bodied men. That a constant supply of salt, of good quality, and at reasonable prices, is

is of the utmost importance to the extensive population of British India, particularly the lower classes; but at present they are almost entirely dependent upon the article manufactured in that country, which is impure in quality, uncertain and insufficient in supply, and costly in price. That if the salt manufactured in England could be imported into India upon the same terms as other goods, a sufficient quantity could be sent from the salt districts of Cheshire to meet the wants of that country, pure in quality, certain and sufficient in supply, and low in price. That under no circumstances should any tax or duty be imposed on salt, but in proportion to its value, compared with other articles of commerce taxed by the East India Company. That the East India Company have imposed an import duty upon salt equal to 7*l.* a ton; which, of itself, is not less than 20 times the value of the article; whereby the supply has become a monopoly in the hands of that Company. That the imposition of such duty is contrary to the commercial policy of this country, and unjust and oppressive towards the native population of India; and thereby the manufacturers of salt in Cheshire and elsewhere are shut out from the markets of that extensive country, or nearly so. That the opening of the trade would materially benefit such manufacturers, and others within such districts; and your petitioners believe, that the great saving in the cost of salt would lead to a much greater demand by the native population of India for the cotton and other goods of English manufacture, and thereby greatly benefit the whole commercial and trading interests of this country. Your petitioners therefore pray, that in any charter to be now granted to the East India Company, provision may be made, that English salt may be imported into all parts of British India upon the same terms and conditions as other goods and manufactures."

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7172. Do you concur in those opinions?—I do, except in one, which I think requires to be qualified: "That the East India Company have imposed an import duty upon salt equal to 7*l.* a ton, which of itself is not less than 20 times the value of the article, whereby the supply has become a monopoly in the hands of that Company." I do not see why the duty should have led to a monopoly as a natural consequence.

7173. Do you speak the opinions of an association which was formed to represent the interests of the producers of salt before this Committee?—I do.

7174. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] If you were informed, and you knew it to be the fact, that salt as fine and as pure as the best salt you manufacture in Cheshire could be produced in India, at a price less than you can produce your salt in Cheshire for, should you think it necessary that the people of India should be supplied with their salt from England?—Certainly not.

7175. That being the case, how could you reasonably urge the prayer of that petition upon Parliament?—It is the first time I have heard that the salt which is generally consumed by the inhabitants of India is of a pure quality. I have met with many officers in the army who reside in my neighbourhood, who have told me that the salt presented to them in India was of a very impure quality. I inferred, that if officers got impure salt, the lower classes would not get it very good.

7176. Mr. *Hume*.] Can you produce a purer salt, and at a lower price, than can be manufactured in Bengal?—Yes; and as a proof of that, I refer to the increase in the quantity that has been sent.

7177. Mr. *Elliot*.] I understood you to say your salt realised 80 rupees, where the Company's realised 50?—Yes.

7178. You infer from that that your salt must be the better quality of the two?—Certainly. I was not prepared for the suggestion which has been just made to me, of their salt being superior to ours.

7179. *Chairman*.] Have you any other statement with respect to British or Indian salt to make to the Committee?—I would only wish to state that the salt trade in Cheshire is in a very depressed condition. There has been capital to the amount of 500,000*l.* or 600,000*l.* invested in it, which is at the present moment entirely unproductive. There is a capability of producing double the quantity of salt which is now required; and if an additional market could be found for it, we are in hopes that the present depressed state would be changed for that of a healthy and moderately lucrative one, and that the salt trade would no longer be the only exception to the general prosperity of the country.

7180. Is salt the only article of British production which is taxed in India?—
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It is; and it is considered rather a hardship that the consumption of the article should be impeded by a duty upon it, when every other article of British manufacture is received in India duty free. I should beg leave to submit whether a trifling Customs duty on the importation of every article *ad valorem*, would not be a cheaper mode of raising a revenue than the present plan of taxing and protecting the collection of the article of salt.

7181. Mr. *Hume*.] Are the Committee to understand you to press upon them that the duty on salt should be reduced to the average duty which other articles imported into India pay?—Yes.

7182. You think that would give an outlet to the capital which is now unemployed in Cheshire?—I do.

7183. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] Why do you say that there is a protective duty in favour of salt manufactured in India, when the duty on imported salt is exactly the amount which the Government charge for the home-manufactured salt, plus the cost price?—I referred to the expense which the Company incur in protecting the collection of the duty.

7184. Imported salt, from Cheshire, sells higher than salt manufactured in India?—It did at that period I have mentioned.

7185. As it sells higher in the market, being of a superior quality, and yet pays the same duty, in point of fact the Cheshire salt has already an unfair advantage in the Indian market?—Not an unfair one, if the whole of the advantage is derived from its superior quality.

7186. But it has an advantage on account of its superior quality, paying only the same duty?—Certainly.

7187. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] That is, it pays less in proportion to its value than the native salt?—Of course; but you would tax the cost of the transit of the article, in addition to the value of it.

7188. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] One of the reasons for which you urge the measures you propose upon the Committee, is a consideration for the vast number of people employed in the manufacture of salt in Cheshire?—Yes.

7189. Do not you think there is at least a countervailing reason on the other side, when you consider the vast number of natives employed in the manufacturing districts in India who would be thrown out of the means of obtaining their bread if the manufacture of salt were stopped?—That would be so, unless they could be more profitably employed in some other way.

7190. Do not you think, from what you have heard of India, that there is a much greater facility in this country for a man to transfer his occupation from one calling to another than exists in India?—Possibly there may be; but we have heard very lately of the cultivation of cotton and tea being introduced into India, which is entirely a new trade.

7191. Mr. *Hume*.] If that trade is not carried on in low, marshy grounds, but on high mountains, some hundreds of miles off, does not that somewhat weaken your argument?—Unless they could also be employed in the cultivation of the soil.

7192. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] Have you heard also that the East India Company have imported people from America, to endeavour to teach the natives to grow cotton, and that they have imported largely natives from China to teach them how to grow the tea, and to pluck and manufacture the leaves?—I have; and I hope they will be successful.

7193. Mr. *Hume*.] The question put to you has been put in consequence of your saying that 5,000 individuals are now unemployed, and that you want employment for them; ought not the Government of India to take into consideration how far, in giving an unfair advantage to an imported produce, they might injure the inhabitants of India engaged in the production of salt there?—They might; but I do not admit that we want an unfair advantage.

7194. If the duty, *ad valorem*, is equal on both descriptions of salt, then it is not unfair?—If there were an *ad valorem* duty, the native salt would, in all probability, be free entirely.

7195. Do you mean by that to say that the Cheshire salt, if admitted at a moderate duty, would altogether supersede the use of Indian salt?—I do. If that *ad valorem* duty were levied upon all goods alike, it would be very trifling upon the article of salt imported into India.

James William Ballantine Dykes, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

7196. Mr. Hume.] I PUT into your hands a petition of the Madras Native Association, and other native inhabitants of the Presidency of Madras, presented to the House of Commons, and referred to this Committee. Referring to paragraph 7, is it correct to say that the ryotwar "system was introduced for the purpose of preventing the accumulation of landed property by the natives"?—No, it is not.—The introduction of the ryotwar system was vehemently opposed in the first instance by Munro, and was in opposition to the express orders of Government in favour of a lease settlement. I believe that the system, in reality, was the natural result of the existing state of things when the country was ceded. The minute subdivision of property, which is made the subject of complaint, arises from the Hindoo law of inheritance; and the fact, that zemindarries were not affected by this fundamental rule of equal division amongst the heirs male, shows clearly that zemindarries were not considered under former governments as real property, but as held more or less at the will of the sovereign.

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7197. Then this allegation, that it is owing to the Company's government, is not, in your opinion, correct?—Certainly not.

7198. It is further said, "That the great zemindar defies all authority, and will keep the ryots as poor as they have always been." Does that system, as far as you have seen it, keep the ryots poor, or is their situation improving?—I do not think that the ryots can so readily improve their circumstances under the zemindarry system as when paying direct to the Government.

7199. In paragraph 14, it is stated that the ryot must dispose of a certain portion of his produce there mentioned, in order to meet the assessment, in consequence of the deterioration in the value of grain. How far do you concur in the statement there made, with respect to the selling price?—As far as the statement made in the petition refers to the fall in prices, and as far as my experience goes, the statement as to the fall in prices is perfectly correct; but I think the next supposition, that the produce is still the same, does not tally with what is said respecting the fall in prices. There is a great increase in the population, and there is this fall in prices; therefore I believe the consumption will be greater; and as the extent of land now under cultivation, as measured by the land revenue, is still the same, and there is no importation of grain, I think it is a more natural supposition that the crops are now much more abundant, and that therefore the ryot does not suffer by the fall in prices to anything like the extent alleged.

7200. It being made up in the quantity?—Yes; the land was poor when we took possession of the country. Fifty years of peace and continued occupation has improved the condition of that land, and the ryot now gets a much larger return than he formerly did.

7201. Does not it, on the contrary, follow that, the crops having been improved by the improved cultivation, the quantity which the ryot obtains is greater, and therefore he is better off than he was before?—Undoubtedly; but the consequent cheapness of markets, generally, has not the same effect in India that it has in England.

7202. This allegation you consider not to be correct?—Not as to the fall in the prices pressing on the resources of the ryot to the extent alleged.

7203. In paragraph 18 it is stated, "That the tehsildar of every talook, such is the denomination given to his division, on the 12th day of July in every year, proceeds (in some places by himself, in others by his subordinates) to fix the quantity of land to be taken up collectively and individually for the year ensuing;" will you state how far your experience enables you to confirm that statement, or the contrary?—I believe, to a certain extent, the statement is perfectly true. I have already described the complicated system which has grown up under the name of the ryotwar system; and the checks now imposed, of which I then endeavoured to give a brief sketch, must always and do throw an undue amount of power into the hands of all revenue officials. The ryots are not compelled to take up such lands as the tehsildar is pleased to appoint, but they are compelled to retain lands which they do not want; and this power of coercion is highly prejudicial, not only to the interests of the ryots, but of the Government and the community at large.

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7204. Can you point out how that abuse could be corrected?—By simplifying the system as it at present exists; which would also obviate another grievance that they allude to here. A complicated system not only enables the local authorities to coerce the ryots to a certain extent, but it retards their own operations; they cannot get the requisite arrangements made in the proper season; the result is, the delay to which the petitioners refer. The year is nearly closed before the final settlement is concluded.

7205. In your opinion, that complaint in the petition is well founded, but is capable of being remedied under that improved system which you have pointed out?—I think it is an exaggerated picture, but the present intricate ryotwar system does lead to such a result, and it could be thus obviated.

7206. In section 24, it is stated, "That the jumabundy having thus finally determined by the end of March the amount payable by such ryot, he is bound to liquidate it prior to the ensuing month of July, the period for the settlement of the next dittum." Will you explain how far that is a grievance felt by the ryots at the present time?—I do not think it holds good with reference to the whole of the cultivation; the fluctuating demand only affects about a quarter of the cultivation, and the practice is, for the remaining three-fourths of the revenue to be liquidated according to the regular course. The revenue is paid by instalments. The first instalment falls due in December; and the whole sum payable by each ryot should be collected according to fixed proportions between that time and the following July, the commencement of the revenue year. Three quarters, as I have said, are so liquidated, instalment by instalment, which gives those ryots who have capital ample time to study the markets; but the remaining quarter of the annual demand, as it is not finally fixed, often till much later on than March, has therefore to be realised without delay, and frequently to the great disadvantage of both parties.

7207. How is that to be remedied?—By simplifying the system, you would enable all the accounts to be concluded at the proper season; before the first instalment of the revenue falls due.

7208. That is a matter of regulation merely?—It is perfectly possible so to arrange the matter, that the final settlement should be come to before December.

7209. In paragraph 27 there is this allegation: "The cause of the heavy charges of management under the ryotwar system is its endless and varied details, requiring a multiplicity of revenue officers in the talooks to keep the accounts, and so on through every gradation of office, from the tehsildar to the Board of Revenue;" do you consider that a fair ground of complaint?—The charges also would, I believe, be reduced as regards the revenue by simplifying the system; but with regard to those charges, there is a matter which I think I should mention to the Committee. The police and the revenue administration of the country are in the same hands in Madras, and the division of the gross charge under those two heads is to a certain extent arbitrary. One-third, I believe, is debited to the "police," and two-thirds to the "revenue," the additional third having reference, doubtless, to the responsibility that an officer incurs in his revenue capacity; and it is scarce possible, therefore, to form a correct idea as to the real expense of either establishment. I am not prepared to state that simplifying the revenue system would diminish the total charges; but I will confidently assert that more time would thus be made available for police duties, for the good of the people generally; and that any district police force that could be organised in the present state of the country could not be effective, and would be infinitely more expensive.

7210. Is it your opinion, that leaving the police of the district in the hands of the revenue collector is a wise and proper course?—That is my opinion. For a time it was entrusted to another officer, but the state of the country became such that it formed the subject of a Parliamentary inquiry, I believe, in 1813. The present system is in accordance with the immemorial customs of India; and its re-establishment in 1816 was the result of that inquiry.

7211. Then the heavy charges which are here alluded to, as connected with the ryotwar system, are a compound of the expense of the police and of the land assessment?—Yes.

7212. Do you think any arrangement could be made for distinguishing the charges incident to the ryotwar system from those connected with the police?

—As

—As the same officers perform both duties, it cannot be otherwise, I think, than an arbitrary calculation.

7213. It is stated that "every revenue officer knows that if this rule," that is, the rule laid down by Sir Thomas Munro to allow freedom of cultivation, "were observed, the Government would scarcely receive half the revenue it now does;" how far do you concur in that statement?—I think it is a very exaggerated view; but the coercive powers already described do lead to this unsound state. The experiment was tried in 1796; there was a fall of the revenue then of something under two lacs, which was less than 10 per cent. on the total revenue of the district in which it was tried. I do not believe, if freedom of cultivation were allowed, the fall now could possibly exceed 10 per cent., and it would probably be less than that, as the land generally is in a better state.

7214. Would the fall in the revenue be of any great importance to the cultivator?—Not in a financial point of view; but it would be of immense importance to the cultivator, as connected with a measure that secured to him freedom of cultivation, without which I believe you can have no sound revenue system.

7215. That is a portion of the system which you would recommend to be adopted?—I have already given evidence to that effect.

7216. In the following paragraph there is this allegation: "It may be said that, although the revenue was not improved under ryotwar, the circumstances of the ryots have." In your opinion, what is the present condition of the ryots, as compared with their condition when the ryotwar system was introduced by Sir Thomas Munro?—I have already given evidence as to what I believe to be the condition of the country at present, not that 20 years ago, which is referred to in the petition, and I have instanced in support of my opinion the fall in prices. I think it is quite possible for a great improvement to have taken place in the state of the ryots, without a corresponding increase being shown in the total amount of the revenue, and such an improvement, there is every reason to believe, has taken place as regards the present state of their lands. There must be a point after which it is more profitable to take up additional lands, instead of making more capital in the same confined extent; and, were the country more accessible, we should probably find that this point has been attained more generally than is now supposed. So many checks have been imposed, and so many alterations made, that it is scarcely fair to take the present results as a true index to what the results would have been had the system as originally proposed been adhered to, and had the country received the benefit of roads; but cheap food may be considered as one good result, even if we regard the interests of the ryots only, and an unmixed blessing as regards the community at large.

7217. Are you quite satisfied that, upon the whole, the improvement has been considerable; and with improved roads would have been much greater?—Yes.

7218. In paragraph 32 it is stated, "That though the situation of a zemindary ryot is considered by many as superior to most of those placed immediately under collectors and their native officers, it is still more miserable at this time than it was at the date of Mr. Russell's report; and, as the zemindarships are hereditary, and cannot lapse to Government, except for failure in the payment of the peishcush, or permanent rent, your petitioners represent the imperative necessity for definite and effective regulations to restrain the zemindar from the continual practice of oppressive extortions." What is your opinion upon that subject?—Regulations have been passed to that effect; but I believe the best remedy will be to improve the tenure of the ryots on the Government lands. The zemindars are surrounded by lands held direct of the Government; and if the Government improve the condition of their own ryots, the zemindars will be compelled to follow their example, or the ryots will desert them.

7219. You mean to say that there is waste land both in the zemindaries and belonging to the Government; and that if the Government give better terms and more security, the zemindars will be obliged to do so too?—Exactly so; and this does not apply only to the waste. Freedom of the person is secured to all; and if gross oppression were attempted, the customary cultivation would also be thrown up.

7220. That is the remedy for that complaint?—The best remedy, I think. Regulations have been passed defining the rights of the zemindars and of the

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ryots relatively, and those regulations would have been much more beneficial had not their effect been hindered by the interpretations which have been put upon those regulations by the local courts. Had there been a local legislation to set that matter to rights, I believe those regulations would have been more beneficial; but there has not been; and I believe the most effective measure will be to improve the condition of the ryots on the Government land.

7221. In paragraph 41, a complaint is made respecting small farms and licences. It is stated that the grievance consists in "the annual leasing out to individuals of certain privileges, such as the right of measuring grain and other articles." In your opinion, what is the justice of that complaint?—They mention here the right of measuring grain. That I cannot speak to; I never knew that right to exist. The right to the sweepings of the goldsmiths' workshops I have heard of, and the other rights, &c., may exist in different districts with which I am not much acquainted. I believe they should be abolished with the moturpha; but as to the Government right to the waste, that is perfectly legitimate.

7222. You think that in abolishing the moturpha, all these petty interferences with traders ought also to be abolished?—Yes.

7223. In paragraph 42, the salt monopoly is referred to: "The next grievance to which your petitioners would draw the attention of your Honourable House is the salt monopoly, a source of revenue introduced into this Presidency by the East India Company." Will you state how far that has operated as a grievance in the district in which you have been?—As far as I can form an opinion, I do not think the salt monopoly is the grievance that it is represented to be. According to the petitioners' own showing, 18 measures of salt, an able-bodied man's supply for the whole year, costs about 1*s.* 4*d.*, about a week's labour. A week's labour in England, I suppose, may be reckoned at 9*s.* I believe a labouring man in England contributes that amount to the Government in the way of taxes in one way or another; and as there will be no taxes in India if the moturpha tax be abolished in Madras, I do not think that the labouring man in India can be considered as hardly treated, whilst that is all he contributes to the support of Government. A tax on a necessary of life, its retention is, of course, only justifiable till some better mode of raising that amount of revenue can be devised; and the above rate applies only to the coast. From such inquiries as I could make, the price is doubled where I was employed, at the distance, say of a hundred miles up country. A fortnight's labour is requisite there; and this holds good over India generally. A reduction of the monopoly rates on the coast would be of little use in this respect; would not help the bulk of the 150 millions. But improved roads and railways, in connexion with depots in the interior, for the sale of the Company's salt, would reduce the price of salt there to a great degree, and would be the greatest boon we could confer upon the inhabitants of India.

7224. Have you had any opportunity of knowing how far salt is smuggled in that district?—I have had no opportunity myself of knowing, but every person I have ever met with, who was qualified to give an opinion, has invariably been of opinion, that a reduction in the present rate would diminish smuggling; and that it would not only diminish smuggling, but from the increased consumption would probably tend to increase the Government revenue.

7225. Have those parties given you any means of judging of what amount of reduction would prevent smuggling?—No; and I cannot form any opinion upon that subject.

7226. In paragraph 46 it is stated, "Another serious evil of which your petitioners have to complain, is the increased and increasing consumption of spirituous liquors in this Presidency." Are you aware in what way the Government could interfere to prevent that evil?—Yes, I think more stringent rules might be introduced as to where liquors should be sold. At present there are such rules, but they are not adhered to with sufficient rigour; and the consequence is, that liquor is sold all over the country. If more stringent rules were put in force as to where only liquor should be sold, and there were police regulations to see that at those stations due order was maintained, and disorderly conduct on the part of the people who sold the liquor prevented, I believe a remedy to a great extent might be obtained; but it is a difficult subject.

subject which, I believe, is occupying attention at home now; and if solved here, the solution might be applied to India.

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7227. Take the 50th paragraph: "That another office constituting useless expense to the Government is that of the Mahratta Duffer, or Native Revenue Establishment." Will you state how far you believe that complaint to be well founded?—The Native Establishment alluded to there, is under the authority of the Revenue Board, and assists in checking the accounts which are forwarded from each district. As far as I can judge, I think such an establishment requisite; but the use of Mahratta, to which reference is made, is, I believe, an unmitigated evil. In each of the districts in the Madras Presidency, at present, all revenue transactions are not written in English, the language of the ruling power, nor in the vernacular; they are written in Mahratta, a language which neither the people of the district nor the collector understand a word of. Every revenue transaction, whatever its nature, must be written in the Mahratta; such a system necessarily encourages fraud, and should be abolished.

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7228. *Chairman.*] What would you substitute?—The language of the district. A few years ago, if a man complained about any revenue subject, and a decision was given, the decision that was given to the man was put in the Mahratta language, and he might have to go to the very people against whom he was complaining to have it translated for him. That has been altered; but all revenue transactions are still couched in Mahratta. I think they should be put in the vernacular of the district; and, if it were requisite, that they should be in one language at Madras. They might be translated there into the Mahratta, or any other language which might be deemed advisable.

7229. *Mr. Hume.*] In paragraph 51, it is stated, "Your petitioners now proceed to direct the attention of your Honourable House to the Maramut department, by which is intended the construction and preservation of reservoirs." Will you state what your opinion is as regards that as a ground of complaint?—As regards the disbursements under this head being unsystematically applied, I fully agree. The execution of public works by the tehsildars, or heads of police, is open to the greatest abuses; the works should be executed under the engineer who gives the plan and forms the estimate. But this subject has been most ably and thoroughly considered in the Report of the Madras Commissioners of Public Works. I have also heard general complaints made with reference to the want of attention paid to irrigation, but I think there are results attending irrigation now which have not received due consideration. The immediate result of the construction of any of those works is a great increase in the crops; and as there are no roads, the next step inevitably is a growth in the population. This increased produce cannot be turned into the legitimate channels of commerce, and so become a source of mercantile capital; it simply results in an increase of population, whilst all such outlay of Government money, to a certain extent, checks a similar outlay of private capital; therefore I think that at present irrigation is of secondary importance. The construction of roads is of much more importance; and the high returns on the present works of irrigation cannot be maintained under a sound revenue system. With competition from the similar outlay of private capital, it will be requisite to reduce the present rates on Government irrigation; and I further believe, that in estimating the value of this irrigation they have not made allowance for the value of the water; they have not considered what the Government might have obtained by letting out its water privileges to others; they have simply taken the cost of the works, and deducted that from the increased value given to the land by means of irrigation. The real value, I should however think, can only be found by ascertaining the excess of such results above what might have been obtained from private parties, who would have saved the Government the risk and expense of any works whatever.

7230. Your opinion is, that irrigation without roads, or the means of selling the produce, would only increase the quantity, and thereby lower the price without benefiting the country generally?—Exactly so.

7231. *Mr. Lowe.*] Are there persons ready to perform those works of irrigation?—Yes. Very large works we cannot expect private capital to perform, but there are other works which to my knowledge private capital would be ready to take up.

7232. What

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7232. What sort of works?—Dams across rivers; I may refer in my own district to the anicut on the Cauvery, at Nerrinjapet.

7233. Mr. Hume.] If roads were made, you think that there is private capital in many instances available for preparing works of irrigation, which would add very much to the produce of the country?—Yes; and would provide against famines, we may believe, with more certainty.

7234. Mr. Lowe.] Do you think that that is the case apart from the making of roads?—Without making roads there is private capital to be found, but I believe the making of roads is of paramount importance at present; and further, unless roads are made, there being this redundant population resulting from those works, that redundant population I believe to be exposed to great peril. Let the works be breached, and in the absence of roads, that population has no means of obtaining food from elsewhere, and the result must be starvation.

7235. Mr. Hume.] Unless roads, and the means of inland communication are combined with irrigation, you do not conceive that India would derive that amount of advantage which is expected from irrigation alone?—No.

7236. Mr. Lowe.] Are not many of those anicuts at the mouths of rivers where there is communication by sea?—Yes; and in that case some of the objections I have stated do not apply, as regards the coast.

7237. Mr. Hume.] In paragraph 70 it is stated that “the defective and superficial acquaintance of the vakeels themselves with the regulations, and their general inaptitude for the discharge of their duties, has long been the theme of complaint on the part of our servants under the Bengal Presidency;” what is your view upon the subject?—I believe that the state of the bar will always depend very greatly on the efficiency of the bench. The present system of considering all officers available, either for revenue or judicial duties, is utterly opposed to improvement in the administration of justice; and no man should ever be appointed to preside over a court of appeal who has not risen regularly in the judicial line. The training that an assistant receives in the office of the collector and magistrate, is of great advantage to him on entering the other branch of the service; and much experience in the practice of the courts might be given him, were collectors authorised to employ such assistants, when requisite, as Government advocates, to conduct either criminal trials or civil suits in which the Government may be concerned. It would not only be admirable training, but it would also greatly benefit the interests of society generally as regards criminal cases. The efforts to baffle justice increase in proportion to the magnitude of the crime; and anyone who has had any practical experience in Indian courts, will, I think, see at once the very great assistance that such Government prosecutors might render on such occasions in the cause of justice. I also think that the standard of the vakeels might be improved, by insisting that all the native judges should be appointed from their rank; that no man should be elevated to the uncovenanted bench who has not previously served as a vakeel.

7238. Do you think that a scheme of promotion by rotation, after practising in inferior stations, is desirable?—I would not have promotion made dependent upon length of service; I would leave it to the selection of the judge, but I would limit his selection to those who had practised as vakeels.

7239. From the bar you would select your judges?—The uncovenanted judges.

7240. You think that would remove much of the complaint which now arises?—It would tend to raise the class of vakeels in India.

7241. In paragraph 74 there is the allegation: “The tehsildars are able, in their magisterial capacity, to trump up false accusations, and to involve any number of persons in their charges.” What is your experience on that subject?—I do not think it is done to any great extent. The large proportion which the acquittals bear to the convictions is, I think, chiefly the result of a practice among the natives, that when they bring any accusation they do not confine themselves to the immediate party, but they include all his relatives and every one whom they think will be able to give evidence against them; and those men are all summoned. There is no evidence against them, and therefore when the day of trial comes they are acquitted, and the number of acquittals, always great from the character of native evidence generally, is thus further swelled.

7242. By

7242. By what means would you prevent that practice?—By greater strictness in issuing summonses.

7243. In the same paragraph it is stated, "Your petitioners pray, therefore, that this anomalous state of things may be rectified; that the police may be made a separate department, as it was before the Regulation of 1816." From what you have already said, you appear to differ from that?—I entirely differ from that. The results of such a system, as laid before the House of Commons in 1813, were by no means such as would justify its continuance then; and I can see no subsequent change, either in the Hindoo idiosyncrasy or the state of the country, that would justify such a course now.

7244. In paragraph 78 it is stated, that great inconveniences continually result "to the people from the impossibility of getting access to the public records and documents of the various offices, of which your petitioners will give two or three instances." How far have you found that complaint well founded?—I believe, to a great extent, that is true. I think if the rule were altered, and, instead of secrecy, publicity were adopted as the general rule in India, it would be not only for the interests of the people but for the interests of the Government. It is only recently that those in the service were permitted free access to the records; the fact being, that those records would only redound to the credit of the Government, so far as I have seen them.

7245. You believe, looking to the manner in which public business is conducted, that it would be beneficial to the Government itself, and the parties employed, to have more publicity in all their proceedings?—Undoubtedly; that would be the greatest spur to improvement.

7246. You think publicity would give a spur to the exertions of the servants, knowing that their acts would be made known?—Exactly so; and it would prevent the community at large coming to erroneous conclusions.

247. Has it come within your knowledge that erroneous conclusions have been come to, in consequence of that system of secrecy which has been observed in India?—Yes.

7248. In paragraph 106, it is suggested that, "The holders of official situations in India shall constitute the service, instead of an appointment by covenant, conveying a claim to be employed by the State, exclusively to all others." Have you any observations to make upon that suggestion?—Perhaps, as I belong to the service, any opinion I can give will carry but little weight. I think it would be a very dangerous experiment indeed. Under the present system, incompetency is occasionally found in persons having authority, but it must at present be experienced incompetency. Inexperienced incompetency, I believe, might occasion very serious disasters. Even if talent was a certainty under the proposed system, is there any certainty that the superior offices would always be held by men of experience: that political partisans would not be appointed, though utterly ignorant of India, to offices of great responsibility? Far away, hundreds of miles up country, is there not good grounds to fear the result in such cases? Surrounded by a Hindoo or turbulent Mussulman population, one rash act might shake the Indian empire to its centre. The view which I have taken is open to the charge of self-interest, but the petitioners refer to Ceylon; and I do think that the late rebellion, and the general results of the last few years there, fully bear out the evidence which I have felt it my duty to give on this important, yet somewhat personal subject. I would raise the intellectual character of the service as much as possible; I would elevate the standard, but I would still preserve it as a service.

7249. In paragraph 120, it is stated, "That your petitioners likewise pray for redress against another enactment of the Legislative Council, which vests in a single magistrate the powers formerly shared by two or more, to fine, imprison, and flagellate at his discretion." How far have you found that complaint well founded?—That refers to the town police of Madras alone, and has no reference to the rest of the Presidency. In the Presidency generally, the magistrate only possesses the power of corporal punishment in cases of theft.

7250. Having read that petition, have you any other observation to make which would tend to show the existence of any abuse in the administration of that district, and how it could be corrected?—I think the standard of attainments of the civil service might be raised very greatly in this way: I would propose that all appointments to the service in India, the civil service, engineers, and

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artillery, and direct appointments to the army, should be formed into two classes, and that those two classes should be examined, the one with reference to studies calculated to make an effective civilian, and the other with regard to the studies suited to an engineer corps; and that those who pass the best examinations of one class should form the civil service of India, whilst those who do not pass so high an examination should receive direct appointments to the army. So as to the other class: those who pass the best examinations, supposing their attainments to be sufficient, should form the engineers and artillery, and the remainder of that class, if duly qualified, should similarly obtain direct appointments to the army. I think in that way you might ensure a good civil service, as well as a good standard for the engineers and the artillery.

7251. Mr. Elliot.] Is not that very nearly the system which exists at this moment, except as regards the civil service?—It is, except as regards the civil service. I am desirous of bringing what takes place with so much advantage in reference to the engineers and artillery to bear upon the civil service; but with this difference: it would not be fair to expect such a body of candidates to incur the expenses and risks of a Haileybury education, and I would therefore have them examined at a suitable age for entering the service at once. I entertain no doubt as to the propriety and importance of retaining the civil service as a distinct body; but while I believe the civil service should be maintained in India as a distinct service, it is requisite to raise the standard of attainments of that service as much as possible, and that I think might be accomplished by what I have now mentioned.

7252. Would not it be better, that those persons who are not qualified to pass the examinations which civilians are required to undergo, should lose their appointments altogether. Why should you transfer them to the military service?—I would not transfer them, as all would stand appointed to the army; and the army, I believe, would not suffer by receiving as direct cadets those who did not succeed in obtaining appointments for which talent is more requisite. Under the present system, when a man has received a valuable appointment, it appears always somewhat a hard thing to deprive him of it, and the per centage of those who lose this valuable preferment is consequently very small; but if, instead of specific appointments, you allowed the whole body to compete, and gave all who attained a certain degree of proficiency some appointment, allowing those who were most proficient to obtain the best appointments, I think you would be more certain of having an efficient service.

7253. Do you consider that the petition from Madras is drawn up by a native or by a European hand?—I should say certainly the petition is drawn up by a European hand; but I think undoubtedly there is much in the petition which is founded in fact, and which I believe could be easily remedied.

Francis William Prideaux, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

F. W. Prideaux,
Esq.

7254. Chairman.] HAVE you a paper to put in on the subject of the salt revenue in India?—I have a statement, which I can put in, showing the salt revenue of Bengal from 1841-42 to 1851-52 inclusive. It is prepared in the Sudder Board of Revenue at Calcutta, to which I have added only the figures in the last year, from the statements at the India House.

[The same was delivered in, and is as follows:]

STATEMENT showing the SALT REVENUE of Bengal, from 1841-42 to 1851-52, inclusive.

YEAR.	WHOLESALE.		RETAIL.		CUSTOMS.		EXCISE.		TOTAL.		Duty Levied at Bombay on Salt thence Imported into Calcutta.	TOTAL Salt Revenue Proceeds.	Charges.	Net Salt Revenue.	Duty as it Changed.
	Quantity.	Proceeds.	Quantity.	Proceeds.	Quantity.	Proceeds.	Quantity.	Proceeds.	Quantity.	Proceeds.					
	Mds.	Co's. Rs.	Mds.	Co's. Rs.	Mds.	Co's. Rs.	Mds.	Co's. Rs.	Mds.	Co's. Rs.	Co's. Rs.	Co's. Rs.	Co's. Rs.	Co's. Rs.	Rs. p' Md.
1841-42	89,59,336	1,88,72,960	8,26,967	23,12,134	6,12,691	18,45,119	-	-	53,98,994	2,10,80,218	1,46,126	2,11,76,839	55,73,657	1,56,02,682	3/4
1842-43	88,70,638	1,53,86,740	8,86,798	22,50,322	8,92,740	26,51,639	-	-	56,00,173	2,12,88,601	2,49,866	2,15,38,467	52,31,371	1,63,07,096	"
1843-44	89,07,624	1,63,05,622	8,29,032	21,98,207	9,67,013	28,60,355	-	-	57,03,669	2,13,84,184	2,62,436	2,16,46,620	58,69,299	1,57,77,321	"
1844-45	41,50,846	1,66,28,988	8,64,390	22,20,218	9,70,595	27,14,888	-	-	59,85,331	2,15,64,089	3,11,473	2,18,75,562	55,98,792	1,62,76,770	3/-
1845-46	83,99,275	1,80,48,888	9,15,221	22,84,661	15,81,986	44,31,057	-	-	58,96,482	1,97,64,604	3,14,900	2,00,79,504	49,20,515	1,51,58,989	"
1846-47	87,11,446	1,40,25,323	9,95,712	24,26,823	14,66,744	40,03,181	-	-	61,73,902	2,04,55,827	3,60,543	2,08,15,370	42,66,983	1,65,48,887	"
1847-48	89,88,541	1,38,49,068	9,18,846	20,15,283	16,15,084	42,07,269	-	-	65,22,471	2,00,71,620	2,84,213	2,03,05,833	35,94,141	1,67,11,692	2/12
1848-49	83,16,637	1,14,00,320	9,26,018	20,18,500	16,10,256	41,00,361	18,460	45,237	58,69,361	1,75,64,416	2,92,864	1,78,57,282	33,63,000	1,44,94,282	"
1849-50	88,83,833	1,08,31,987	10,67,826	25,73,682	21,03,219	48,88,264	23,680	59,075	65,98,305	1,83,53,206	3,89,777	1,87,22,985	32,69,116	1,54,53,869	2/8
1850-51	28,25,100	91,43,205	6,50,140	17,21,744	26,01,083	61,39,113	85,000	87,509	63,11,273	1,70,91,562	3,83,469	1,74,55,031	33,38,160	1,41,16,871	"
1851-52	22,39,952	72,43,158	8,77,897	18,25,724	29,26,865	70,37,542	18,600	46,500	60,62,814	1,61,67,924	2,79,622	1,64,37,546	(Estimated.)	"	"

N. B.—By Act XIV. of 1836, the duty on imported salt was fixed at Co's Rs. 3. 4 per maund of 90 tolas to the seer from the 1st June 1836. On the 11th November 1844 it was reduced to Rs. 3 per maund; on the 1st April 1847 to Rs. 2. 12 per maund; and on the 1st April 1849 to Rs. 2. 8 per maund, with an assurance that no further change would be made in the duty before the 1st April 1854.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN TERRITORIES.

Lunæ, 27^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Sir Charles Wood.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Ellice.
Mr. Fitzgerald.

Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Hume.
Sir J. W. Hogg.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Mangles.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Francis William Prideaux, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

F. W. Prideaux,

7255. *Chairman.*] AT the last meeting of the Committee you put in a statement of the salt revenue of Bengal from the year 1841, arranged under the different heads which constitute the aggregate revenue; will you explain the manner in which the revenue is realised under each head? I observe the first column is headed "Wholesale Sales;" how are the prices of salt which is sold by wholesale regulated?—The first column contains the salt sold by wholesale for the interior supply of the Bengal provinces, after it has left the salt districts. The prices are regulated by a calculation of the cost price, that is, what it has actually cost the Government, adding to that a sum equivalent to the import duty.

7256. The price is regulated, is not it, by the average cost of a certain number of years?—By the average cost of a certain number of years, adding to it the duty.

7257. How many years?—I think it is the average of three years.

7258. The wholesale price is the average cost of production of the three years preceding the sale, with the addition now of 2½ rupees per maund as the duty?—Yes, and at that price salt is delivered to any person applying at the Government warehouses, in quantities of not less than 50 maunds.

7259. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] By the Government warehouses, you mean the golahs at Sulkea?—Yes, at Sulkea, and in the agencies.

7260. *Chairman.*] Do you believe that the cost price of salt is calculated by the Bengal Government on such principles as to give an undue advantage to home-made over imported salt?—I believe hitherto the price has been calculated in such a way as to give an undue advantage to imported salt. Practically, an undue protective duty has been levied in favour of the imported salt; the advantage is in favour of the importers, and not in favour of the native salt. The Committee will understand that the charges affecting the salt revenue may be divided into charges of manufacture, charges of collection, and charges of prevention. With regard to some of those, there can be no doubt as to how they should be classed. Round the salt districts there is a sort of *cordon* of preventive officers, in order to prevent the illicit transport of salt from the salt-producing districts into the interior of Bengal. That, of course, is clearly a charge of prevention. Then, again, the price paid to the molunghees, the salt-makers, for the salt they produce, is, of course, clearly a charge of manufacture. But many of the other charges are rather difficult to distribute under their different heads, and at first only those which were distinctly charges of prevention were charged against the revenue, leaving almost all the others to be charged wholly against the salt. For example, the duty of the salt agent is to make advances to the salt-makers, and to receive salt from them equivalent to the value of those advances; but it is equally his duty to prevent the illicit manufacture of salt within his district. If the manufacture were prohibited, you must have an establishment of some sort for the purpose of prevention within the salt-producing districts. That portion of the charge which is really a preventive charge has hitherto been added to the cost price of the salt, as have several other charges of the same description, so that the salt has been sold by the Government at a price beyond its fair cost of manufacture; consequently, the imported salt has had to compete with

with an article which has been fictitiously raised in price, of course to the advantage of the imported salt.

7261. Will you state to the Committee what are the charges which you think fairly applicable to the production of native salt?—I think it is as well that I should read to the Committee a letter which was received last year from the present Governor-general. The large increase of foreign salt imported into Bengal attracted the attention of the Revenue Board, and they thought it was very desirable, for the protection of the native manufacturers, that those charges should be more closely sifted, although to the Government it is utterly indifferent whether the revenue is raised on the imported salt or on the home-made salt. The following communication was thereupon made to the Court of Directors, under date of the 17th of September 1852: "According to the Resolution of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1836, and to the instructions of your Honourable Court consequent thereupon, the Government is required to sell agency salt manufactured on its account, at a wholesale price at least equal to the 'cost price,' added to the fixed duty. The object of this Resolution was to place imported, and especially English salt, on a footing of equality with Bengal salt. The Board of Revenue in a letter, No. 685, dated the 29th June last, herewith forwarded, now show that the principle on which this 'cost price' has been calculated is to a great extent erroneous; that many items are included which are not really charges of manufacture, but charges of collecting and protecting the revenue; and that hence foreign salt, instead of being on a footing of equality with Bengal salt, is much more highly favoured, and is consequently in a fair way of driving Bengal salt out of the market altogether. Thus in 1842-43 the sales of Bengal salt amounted to 3,870,625 maunds, while the imports of foreign salt were only 892,740 maunds, but in 1851-52 the former had fallen to 2,258,552, and the latter had risen to 2,926,866 maunds. During this interval the manufacture has been stopped in some agencies, and contracted in others; large numbers of people have been thrown out of employment, and one of the few remaining sources of domestic industry has been most seriously impaired. The Board's argument is founded on an assumption, the correctness of which, I believe, will bear the most careful scrutiny, namely, that since the Government was prohibited by the Resolution of the Committee, either, on the one hand, from deriving a profit on the manufacture of salt over and above the fixed duty, or, on the other, from destroying competition by a temporary sacrifice of a portion of the fixed duty, it has ceased to have any interest whatever in the manufacture of salt, except as a means of realising the fixed duty, and that the competition instead of being between the importer and the Government, as it was before the Resolution of the Committee was acted on, is now between the foreign manufacturer and the Bengal manufacturer, between the importer and the dealer, who in the absence of a direct Government agency would bring the salt to market at a profit to himself, and at much less cost to the consumer. The Board then show that the Bengal manufacturer, besides being encumbered by the unavoidable extravagance of a Government system of manufacture, and the equally unavoidable extortion of the subordinate agents employed in carrying it out, is also charged with a considerable outlay, which, though incurred in connexion with, and apparently on account of the manufacturer, is in reality expended by the Government, as the cheapest and most convenient mode of realising its revenue, and protecting it from the operations of the smuggler. To take, for instance, the salary of the salt agent: the principal duties of this officer are, to make advances to the molunghees; to prevent any one from making salt, except those to whom advances are made; to prevent those to whom advances are made from disposing of their salt to any one but the Government; to receive, convey, store, and guard the salt, which from the very moment of its production becomes worth seven or eight times its natural value; and to see that none is delivered except on the production of proper documents. He has also to prevent smuggling generally within his agency, and to superintend and control a large body of ill-paid native functionaries, whose authorised salaries are believed to bear but a small proportion to their actual receipts. Now, if the manufacture were to be undertaken by a large private joint-stock company (the most unfavourable supposition for the Board's argument) under an excise system, such a company would employ one or more agents, whose simple duty would be to make advances to the molunghees, to receive the salt at its natural value, store it in golahs in convenient places on the river banks, and

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and either bring it to market or sell it to dealers on the spot. These agents would be gomastas, such as are now employed by Calcutta merchants to purchase sugar and other country produce of far greater intrinsic value than salt; and their services would be well remunerated by salaries of 25 or 30 rupees a month; and supposing 10 such agents to be employed in the field now occupied by one Government agent, their aggregate salaries would only be 10 per cent. of what the Government now pays to a single European agent, while nearly the whole expense of Sudder and Mofussil establishments would be saved to the manufacturer. But even under these circumstances, the Government must still maintain an expensive European officer, and a large body of excisemen, to see that no salt is manufactured but by those to whom advances are made by the licensed company; that none is disposed of except to the licensed company; that the licensed company themselves do not dispose of the salt without paying duty on it; and that it is not embezzled by their agents, or pilfered from their storehouses. In short, the interests of the Government in the correct delivery and safe custody of all salt manufactured being from six to seven times as great as that of the dealer, the burden of protecting it must inevitably fall on the former; and hence it must be concluded that a very large proportion of what is now apparently a manufacturing charge, is in reality a revenue charge, which would have to be incurred under any system of management, and ought not, therefore, to be charged upon the salt, but defrayed from the proceeds of the duty. The Board have entered into a detailed examination of the several items of charge, and have given their opinion whether the whole or any proportion of each item should be debited to revenue, or allowed to remain, as at present, a charge upon the manufacture, and an element of the 'cost price,' which, super-added to the fixed duty, is the price at which the Government must sell its salt to the public. The result of the changes which they propose would be to reduce the price of Bengal salt by about 15 rupees, and Cuttack salt by about 10 rupees per 100 maunds, and so diminish the annual gross receipts of the Salt Department by about 2,82,027 rupees. This amount, they truly observe, is virtually a tax on home-made salt for the protection of foreign salt, and if the Government is not prepared to sacrifice it, it should be made good by a general increase in the duty on all kinds. I have recorded my views on this subject more fully in a separate minute, and now desire to recommend it to the immediate attention of your Honourable Court, it being desirable that, if possible, a reply should be received in India before the next annual adjustment of the 'cost price,' which will take place at the close of the current official year, and have effect from the 1st May next. The duty of 2 rupees 8 annas a maund is fixed, as your Honourable Court are aware, for five years, ending with the 30th April 1854." This is the reply to that letter, under date of the 16th February 1853: "We now reply to your letter, dated the 17th September last, with which you refer for our instructions a letter, dated the 29th June 1852, addressed to you by the Board of Revenue, on the subject of the mode in which the 'cost price,' at which, in addition to the fixed duty, the agency salt is issued from the Government golahs, has hitherto been computed. The Select Committee of the House of Commons, which sat in the year 1836, recommended that Government should keep their golahs at all times open for the sale of salt at the cost price, the purchaser to pay in addition a fixed duty on removing the salt from the golahs; and with regard to salt manufactured in any other country than Bengal, that such salt should pay the same duty as that sold by the East India Company, and no other duty or charge whatsoever, except a fair and reasonable rent on such salt as may have been bonded. It appears, therefore, to have been clearly the intention of the Select Committee that the Bengal manufacturer and the importer of foreign salt should be placed on a perfectly fair and equal footing, and that the competition between the two descriptions of salt should be altogether free and unrestricted. The Board of Revenue contend that in the present mode of computing the 'cost price' of Bengal salt this principle is not fairly carried out, many items of charge being included in the 'cost price,' which are in no respect charges of manufacture, but are strictly charges incurred for securing and protecting the revenue; and, as such, should be debited, not to the manufacture alone of Bengal salt, but to the salt revenue generally. This mode of computation, by enhancing the price at which Bengal salt is issued to the public, necessarily places the home manufacturer at a disadvantage as regards the foreign importer, and does in fact subject the native produce

produce to burdens from which the foreign article is entirely free. The Board observe that the Government, as a mere question of revenue, has no interest whatever in maintaining the home manufacture, the same duty being payable on all salt brought into consumption, whether imported from abroad or produced in Bengal. 'It is bound, however,' the Board proceed, 'to take care that the industry of its native subjects is not subjected to any burdens which are not equally borne by the foreign importer, and no fear of misrepresentation or of clamour unfounded in reason is likely to induce it to swerve from this object when the means of attaining it are satisfactorily made out.' The Board consider that the correct principle which ought to be adopted in calculating the prime cost of home-made salt is 'to add to the price actually paid to the molunghees so much of the expense incurred by Government in bringing it to market as would be incurred by private individuals, or a joint-stock company, for the same purpose, on the supposition that the salt were manufactured under an excise system, and subject to the restrictions inseparable from that mode of management, the operations of Government being confined to the collection of the fixed duty, and the prevention of illicit dealings.' All other charges, under whatever name they may be brought to account, the Board hold to be charges incurred for the security and protection of the salt revenue under its present form of administration, and therefore forming no part of the 'cost price' of the salt, as contemplated in the Resolution of the Select Committee of the House of Commons. We entirely concur in the correctness of the principle laid down by the Board of Revenue, and admitted by your Government, and we authorise you to adopt it in the next annual adjustment of the sale prices of Bengal salt, which will take effect from the 1st May next. It is, however, our desire that the analysis of the charges now classed as charges of manufacture given in the communication from the Board of Revenue should in the first instance be carefully revised. We forbear entering on that investigation in detail, and we shall only express our confident expectation, that in distributing those charges either as attaching to the manufacture, or to the administration of the revenue, you will be enabled to satisfy the just claims of the native producers, without infringing on the spirit of the recommendation of the Select Committee, or giving any reasonable ground for cavil on the part of the importers of salt, either from this country or elsewhere. It is represented that the readjustment of these charges will probably reduce the cost of the salt of the Bengal agencies by about 15 rupees, and of that of the Cuttack agencies by about 10 rupees per 100 maunds, and that its effect will be to throw on the salt revenue a charge of about 2,82,027 rupees. The question is not, however, one of revenue, but of justice to the people of the salt-producing districts; and financial considerations cannot be permitted to outweigh the claims of justice. All that we require is that the charges included in the above estimated sum of 2,82,027 rupees shall be clearly shown to belong to the cost of the excise and preventive establishments which are required for the security of the revenue, whether derived from the excise duty levied on home-made salt, or from the customs duty on salt imported by sea. We think that it will be advisable to call for a report from the comptroller of the salt chowkies in Bengal on the points referred to in the letter from the Board of Revenue of 29th June 1852, and that his opinion upon the items proposed to be transferred from the charges of manufacture should be obtained before you determine what the fixed prices of agency salt are to be. We may observe, however, that the present duty of 2 rupees 8 annas per maund is fixed only till the 30th April 1854, at which date it will be open to revision, and that, if then deemed advisable, an addition of one anna per maund to the duty would more than cover the anticipated loss of revenue."

7262. What do you consider to be the charges which are justly to be included in the cost of production in Bengal?—Every charge which would have to be incurred by any other manufacturer than the Government.

7263. Everything, in fact, except the cost of the preventive system?—Everything except the cost of the preventive system, and some charges as regards the collection of the revenue, which would be required to be incurred in case the revenue were, as it possibly might be, altogether derived from import duties.

7264. If the revenue were derived altogether from import duties, and there were no excise duty in the country, the only cost would be the cost of the receipt of customs?—There must be a large preventive establishment all round the

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Bay of Bengal in the salt-producing districts, to prevent its being illicitly made and smuggled into the interior. In those districts a man would have only to take a pipkin and a little brine, and make salt for himself.

7265. Will you explain the difference which is mentioned in the papers you have read, of 15 rupees per maund upon the produce of Bengal, and 10 rupees upon other produce?—I have not the details in my recollection. That is the result of the analysis made by the Board of Revenue; their report can be produced, if the Committee wish to have it.

7266. The second column in the table you have put in exhibits the amount of retail sales; where do those retail sales take place, and how are they regulated?—The retail sales take place within the salt-producing districts. It was found impossible to realise the full amount of revenue within the salt-producing districts, from the great facility of smuggling; every man might so readily procure sufficient salt for his own family, that in order to obtain some revenue, and partly to prevent the people being tempted by the high rate of duty to break the law, retail shops are established at which salt is sold in small quantities at a very reduced price; the price varies according to local circumstances, but it is always considerably within the duty.

7267. Though that is an advantage to the consumer, it is to the prejudice of the importer of British salt, is not it?—It is only within particular districts; the salt cannot pass out of those districts; it is only for the consumption of the districts, in which experience has shown it to be impracticable to raise the full amount of the revenue. To those districts the imported salt would never reach. It does not interfere in the slightest degree with the consumption of the interior of Bengal; it is merely in the salt-producing districts round the head of the bay, and it is always distinguished in the returns.

7268. It would appear that that reduced price upon those retail sales must interfere with the import trade, unless the price of other descriptions were so high as to give an additional stimulus to the production of the contraband production in those places; is that the case?—No doubt it would be so; but when it was attempted to raise the whole duty, experience showed that it was practically impossible. It was very much like attempting to make a man pay a heavy tax on the consumption of water, when the Thames flowed by his door.

7269. So that it would operate equally against imported salt and salt of Government manufacture?—Yes.

7270. *Mr. Mangles.*] They are obliged to sell salt cheaply in the manufacturing districts, in order to get any revenue from salt?—Yes.

7271. *Chairman.*] The third head is that of "Customs." Does the amount given as "proceeds" show the whole of the customs duty levied upon imported salt?—The amount given in the statement as "proceeds" shows the whole of the import duty levied at Calcutta. But the Committee will observe a subsequent column, in which are brought to account the excise duties levied at Bombay on salt exported from Bombay to Calcutta, for which credit is given at Calcutta, and which of course forms a part of the tax on the consumption of Bengal.

7272. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Is the whole of that 3,63,469 rupees to be added to the proceeds of 61,39,113 rupees for the year 1850-51?—The whole of it.

7273. *Chairman.*] What is the nature of the tax on salt levied under the head of "Excise"?—The tax levied on salt in the nature of excise, is only from a single establishment, situated at Narrainpore. A company was formed 15 or 16 years ago, with the intention of making salt better and cheaper, by a new method. I think the plan was to have a succession of shallow tanks, so that the brine might be concentrated by solar evaporation. A considerable quantity of fuel, it was supposed, would be saved by using brine in that concentrated state. When it was first established, they supplied their salt to the Government on the same terms as other salt manufacturers; but it was found about five or six years ago that the Government could get salt at a cheaper rate than the rate at which they could supply it, and, as a particular favour, for so it may be called, they were allowed to continue the manufacture, on the payment of an excise duty of the same amount as is paid by importers. The reason for the concession was, that they had already invested a large capital in those works, and the Government having refused any longer to receive their salt, except at an unremunerative price, the whole of their capital would otherwise have been lost.

7274. There

7274. There is a decrease in the return from those works; is it probable that that decrease will continue?—Those works are entirely private; we know nothing about them but the fact of so much being allowed to pass out, duty being paid upon it; the probability is, I think, that it is the introduction of English salt which has caused that decrease.

7275. Does the statement under the head of "Total quantity," constitute, in your opinion, the whole consumption of salt in the Bengal provinces?—It constitutes the whole consumption of salt in the Bengal provinces, with the exception of any which may be made illicitly, or smuggled in; and we have no reason to believe that, with the present organisation of the preventive establishment, any large amount of smuggling goes on.

7276. You consider that there is not an increasing quantity of smuggling?—Certainly not; the latest reports are conclusive upon that point.

7277. Then the returns do not appear to show any great increase in the consumption in Bengal?—If you refer to the beginning of the table, the figures do appear to show a considerable increase. In 1841-42 the total consumption was 5,398,994 maunds.

7278. I see the return of the total quantity in 1847-48 is larger than the last return of the total quantity, and, in point of fact, since that period there has been, taking the average, little if any increase. Can you explain that in any way?—An explanation was called for from the Bengal Government, and they stated that they thought a very considerable quantity had been purchased shortly after the reduction of the duty, in 1848-49, more than was required for the wants of the market, and that was not completely cleared off. They do not attribute it to any increase of smuggling. I may here read one paragraph in a letter, with reference to the importation of English salt. This is a letter from the Board of Revenue to the Government of Bengal, dated the 29th of June 1852: "Besides the reaction consequent upon the extensive clearances of 1849-50, the Board think that this further diminution of quantity may partly be attributed to the increase in the importation of Liverpool pungah, which is of so fine a quality that it is usual to mix it with earth and other impurities in order to adapt it to the taste of the consumers, who have been habituated for ages to the use of a substance of very different appearance, and are strongly prejudiced against the undisguised foreign article. The contrast between the pure snow-white salt imported from the United Kingdom and the muddy-coloured article sold on account of Government in Bengal and Cuttack, has only to be observed to render it as obvious as it is notorious that the former must be largely qualified before it is reduced to the standard of the latter; that is to say, the standard of consumption among the natives of the Lower Provinces. Supposing that only five per cent. of impurities is mixed with Liverpool pungah, in order to fit it for the market, this upon an importation of 1,600,000 maunds, would of itself amount to 80,000 maunds, upon which no duty is taken. Upon indigenous salt the duty is taken in its impure state, but upon the salt of Europe the duty is taken upon the pure article, and thus the impurities which in one case are taxed, in the other case escape taxation altogether. It may also be observed, that purchasers of salt from on board ship usually get better weight than those who resort to the Government golahs, where the salt is weighed with scrupulous accuracy." That would account for 80,000 maunds of reduction by English salt taking the place of Indian salt.

7279. Would not the native taste which is there spoken of for adulterated salt, arise from the pure salt bearing a higher price, and consequently only the adulterated salt falling within their means of consumption?—It is hardly to be called adulterated salt; the salt is not completely cleaned from the mud. The adulteration of salt takes place after it leaves the Company's premises; it is tolerably pure when it leaves them.

7280. Will you explain of what items the column of "Charges" in that statement is composed?—Referring to the column of "Charges," the main portion of it consists of the cost price of the salt, together with all such charges as under the system hitherto have been regarded as charges of manufacture, many of them being charges which, under the interpretation recently put upon the cost price, ought not to have been included.

7281. Do those charges comprise all which, in your opinion, can be fairly debited to the cost of manufacture, as distinguished from the cost of preventive establishments, or do they include the cost of preventive establishments?—Not

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the cost of preventive establishments; it is intended to include only the cost of manufacture, but I believe many charges are included which do not properly belong to the manufacture.

7282. Under what authority do the East India Company, having ceased in 1834 to be a commercial body, continue to carry on a trade in salt?—The question of the salt revenue was fully inquired into by the Committees which preceded the passing of the Act in 1833, and no recommendation was made by them that the manufacture of salt should be discontinued; it was always treated, not as an affair of commerce, but as an affair of Government; and in the accounts preceding the termination of their commercial character, it was always treated as a portion of the territorial revenues, and not of the commercial profits.

7283. It was then treated in a similar way to the trade in opium?—Precisely the same.

7284. It has been stated in evidence that the East India Company sustain a loss by the manufacture of salt in Bengal, that is, that if all the salt consumed were imported on payment of a customs duty, the salt revenue would be greater than it now is; is that your opinion?—I have seen the same statement made in print. I believe the way it is arrived at is, by including in the sales of salt the whole of the retail sales, on which, I have already explained, the full amount of the revenue is not now raised, and experience has shown it is impossible that it should be. I believe upon a statement of the wholesale sales of salt for the interior of Bengal, which is that only which can be fairly taken into account, no such inference could be drawn. On that not only an amount equivalent to the import duty, but even more than the import duty, is now raised, in consequence of those charges to which I have before alluded being taken into account in calculating the cost price, which I believe ought to be excluded from it.

7285. Is it your opinion that if any reduction of the duty were to take place the present revenue could be maintained; do you suppose that any reduction of duty would increase very much the consumption?—My impression is, that no reduction of the duty would very much increase the consumption. I do not know how far the circumstances of India may differ from those of England, but I remember before the Committee of the House of Commons, which sat in 1836, tables were produced showing the action of the salt tax in this country; I think the first duty was 5*s.* a bushel, it was then raised to 15*s.*, and then reduced again to 2*s.*, without affecting, except in the very slightest degree, the consumption of salt. I think the difference between 5*s.* and 15*s.* a bushel made no difference in the consumption whatever.

7286. Are you acquainted with the system of salt revenue at Madras and Bombay?—Yes.

7287. Is it the same as in Bengal?—It is totally different; at Madras it is a strict monopoly; the salt is there purchased from the maker; the Government give about 10 rupees the 100 maunds for this salt, which is entirely produced by solar evaporation, and it is sold by the Government to the dealers at the rate of one rupee a maund; that includes both the duty and the price.

7288. *Mr. Hume.*] Nobody is allowed to buy salt from the manufacturer but the Company?—The Company buy the whole of it.

7289. *Chairman.*] What is the system in Bombay?—In Bombay there is an excise and an import duty; the excise duty is 12 annas a maund, and the same duty is payable on importation; the Government do not manufacture it themselves.

7290. Do you think it would be possible to raise the same amount of revenue in Bengal and Madras if the Government entirely abandoned the manufacture themselves, and derived their revenue partly from excise, and partly from a customs duty?—I should be very much disposed to doubt it; I think the opinion of those best qualified to judge has always been against it; they have thought that it would be impossible from the nature of the salt-producing districts in Bengal.

7291. *Sir C. Wood.*] Can you state what the difference is between the salt-producing districts in Bombay and Madras and those in Bengal?—In Bombay the salt is made in pans from solar evaporation, and it is made in much the same way in Madras; in Bengal it is made by boiling the brine in earthen pots; and over a large district, where the saline earth and brine can be always obtained, I believe, without an army of preventive officers, it would be almost impossible to prevent the illicit manufacture of salt.

7292. Why could not an excise duty be levied in Madras as it is in Bombay?—I can hardly say; in Bombay and Madras the salt is made entirely by solar evaporation; in Bengal it is produced by boiling in small pots; I do not think there would be any difficulty if you were to concentrate the manufacture, and only allow it to go on on a large scale, and prohibit it elsewhere; but in that case you would require a large number of officers to prevent its being carried on elsewhere.

7293. *Chairman.*] How is the revenue derived from the rock salt in the North-western Provinces?—A duty of two rupees a maund is paid on its being taken from the mines; and on the salt from the salt lakes to the westward, which supplies a great portion of the North-western Provinces, a duty on passing the North-western customsline of two rupees a maund is levied, and on passing Allahabad eight annas more, which makes the duty equivalent to that levied in Bengal, where the two descriptions of salt meet.

7294. *Sir C. Wood.*] Is not the duty on the salt produced from the salt lake entirely a customs duty?—Entirely a customs duty.

7295. *Mr. Hume.*] It was stated in one of the papers you read, that the Government ought not to be manufacturers, except that they owed a duty to the population now employed; is there any report showing what would be the effect on the molunghees and others by whom the Bengal salt is manufactured if the Government were to cease manufacturing?—I am not aware that there is anything to be called a report. Constantly, when the manufacture has been discontinued in particular districts, there have been the strongest representations from the molunghees to the Government, praying them to re-establish the manufacture, and complaining of the injury which they suffered from the withdrawal of it.

7296. Has there been any inquiry, to your knowledge, how far, if the manufacture of salt were discontinued, they could turn their labour to any other purpose?—I apprehend, from what I have read, most of the salt manufacturers are also cultivators of land, and that the profit which they derive from the salt manufacture assists them to pay their rent to the zemindars, so that the supersession of the native salt by imported salt might indirectly affect the security of the land revenue.

7297. You do not know to what extent their labour is divided between agriculture and the manufacture of salt?—I do not.

7298. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] With reference to the districts in which the molunghees labour, would not the people be unoccupied during the periods of the year when they are now employed in the manufacture of salt?—I apprehend they would.

7299. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] You heard the questions which were put to Mr. Aylwin on Thursday last; you are aware that Mr. Aylwin made objection to the accuracy of my quotations from those statements which you have put in, and stated that his paper, which was derived from reports by Mr. Wilkinson, differed considerably from this Return which is now before the Committee. Are you aware of there being any such discrepancy?—My apprehension is, that most of Mr. Aylwin's figures are correct, but I believe he has got at his net revenue in many instances by going to the financial papers which are laid before Parliament every Session. The salt revenue comes in under the head of "Sale of salt," and then the charges on the salt; that he has taken to be the total net revenue, but that entirely excludes the duty received on imported salt, which of course is included for that purpose under the head of "Customs."

7300. Will you be good enough to read the questions and answers in Mr. Aylwin's examination, from 7099 to 7105; and offer to the Committee any explanation which is in your power as to the mode of levying the different charges to which you have alluded in your evidence, upon the imported salt and upon the manufactured salt, respectively?—I observe a difference of three annas a maund between the net proceeds of the duty on imported salt and that which was nominally levied is stated to appear from the statement. I believe that difference has arisen from not including in the proceeds of the duty on imported salt the duty which had previously been levied at Bombay, and allowed for in the accounts of the Calcutta custom-house.

7301. What is the amount of the general expenditure of the Salt Department yearly in Bengal, independently of the manufacture?—I have no statement of it with me.

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7302. Whatever that sum may be, is it charged in proportions upon the manufactured salt and upon the imported salt?—It would of course be taken as a charge upon the whole salt revenue.

7303. If it is a charge upon the whole salt revenue, in what proportion would it be assessed upon the manufactured and the imported salt?—I should imagine in proportion to the quantities imported and manufactured.

7304. In the year 1850-51, the total quantity of salt of all kinds is 63,11,273 maunds, and the proceeds 1,70,91,562 rupees; adding the duty levied at Bombay on the salt imported thence into Calcutta, the whole proceeds are 1,74,55,031 rupees; the charges upon the whole salt revenue are 33,38,160 rupees, and the net salt revenue as thereby brought out amounts to 1,41,16,871 rupees. What I wish to ascertain is, what portion of this sum placed as charges you would debit against the proceeds of the customs on imported salt?—I do not believe any portion of that sum should be debited to the proceeds of imported salt; not having the items before me, I cannot say; I believe this is merely the manufacturing charge. What should be debited to the imported salt would be a fair proportion of the preventive charges, as well as the whole expenses of the customs establishment.

7305. Provided that is the case, have you calculated, if the customs duty of that year, 1850-51, on 2,601,033 maunds of salt was 61,39,113 rupees, at what rate per maund the proceeds would actually be?—I have not made that calculation, but I have made this calculation, that if to that 61,39,113 rupees be added the proceeds of the duty received at Bombay, being 3,63,469 rupees, that will give a rate of 2 rupees 8 annas per maund for the total quantity of imported salt, as stated in the question.

7306. That would make the whole sum equal to 2½ rupees per maund?—It would.

7307. Then those charges of 33,38,160 rupees the Committee is to understand are charges entirely upon the manufacture, and not upon the police and preventive services which the salt revenue requires?—I believe them to be so.

7308. Where will the Committee find the amount expended in Bengal for those preventive and other duties?—All those accounts could be furnished in detail, and I think it would be desirable that they should be; I am speaking now without being positive how it really stands; I think it will be better for me to have a statement prepared, and send it in to the Committee.

7309. You will be able to lay before the Committee a statement showing the amount of those items?—I believe so.

7310. The contingent items of expense of the Salt Department?—Yes, for some years I certainly could.

7311. Mr. Hume.] Does that amount of 33,38,160 rupees include the expenses of manufacture at Bombay?—None whatever; that is simply the 12 annas per maund excise duty, levied at Bombay, on salt imported into Calcutta.

7312. Where are the expenses of the manufacture of salt at Bombay to be found?—The salt is manufactured on private account at Bombay.

7313. The Government have nothing to do with the expenses?—No.

7314. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Can you inform the Committee how frequently since the date of the Resolution of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1836, the cost of the manufacture of Bengal salt has been revised?—There was a long series of accounts of the cost of the previous years called for and sent home, and revised there. I do not think it came into actual operation till about 1845-46. Since then there has been no alteration of the principle on which the cost price should be calculated till now.

7315. Can you inform the Committee whether on the occasions of the revisions which have taken place, the result of those revisions has been to show that the salt was sold at less than it cost, or at more than it cost?—I believe it has been sold at more than it cost.

7316. Can you give the Committee any information upon the subject of the salt deposits which exist at the closed mouth of the Indus in the province of Cutch?—I have seen official reports respecting them; I have no very distinct recollection of them. As well as I recollect, the cost of exporting the salt to Bombay would have been greater than the cost of the manufactured salt itself at Bombay.

7317. Are you aware whether that salt is of a remarkably pure quality?—It was stated to be so by the officer who discovered it.

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7318. Are you aware, whether since that discovery, which took place about six years ago, there has been any speculation on account of the reduction in the price of salt for the purpose of bringing it into the Indian market?—I am not aware of any.

7319. Mr. *Hume*.] Can you supply the Committee with any report upon the Cutch salt, to enable them to judge how far it is capable of coming into competition with English salt, or with Madras or Bengal manufactured salt?—I believe I can.

7320. To your knowledge, has any of that Cutch salt been yet imported into Bengal?—I am not aware that any has.

7321. Your belief is that the expenses attending the transit from Cutch to Calcutta would add to the price so much as that it would not be able to come into competition with the salt manufactured in Bengal?—I am not able to say; I am not aware that it has ever been tried.

7322. Can you furnish an account of the price at which salt has been sold at Calcutta in each year since 1845?—It would be possible to furnish such an account, but it would be a very long one. As the salt is sold according to what is called its cost price, added to the duty, every particular description of salt bears a different price, and even the same description of salt in different years will bear a different price.

7323. Could not you give the average for a number of years of any one quality of salt?—It would be easy to do it with respect to any one particular quality of salt; but the qualities of salt differ so much that the value of a single average would be very little.

7324. Are those salts generally inferior in value to the salt imported from England?—They vary very much among themselves. The Madras solar evaporation salt is a much cheaper salt than the Bengal salt, which is produced by boiling. There is always a certain demand for solar evaporation salt in Bengal, and it appears impossible to carry the demand beyond it.

7325. *Chairman*.] A statement has been put before the Committee, showing that in the seven years from 1845 to 1852, there is a loss of 10 millions of rupees, comparing what is now the net profit derived from manufacturing salt and what the revenue ought to have been, if the amount received had been at the rate of 2½ rupees per maund over the cost of production. In your previous answer you have stated that you thought it arose from the fact of the retail sales not being taken into consideration, and from an addition to the cost beyond what really ought to have been charged to the cost; is that, to your mind, a satisfactory answer?—I believe it arises partly from the assumption that the retail sale of salt can realise the full amount of revenue, and partly also from not taking into account the whole proceeds of the salt revenue. I think it probable in that account the proceeds of the excise duty realised at Bombay on salt exported thence to Calcutta, for which credit is given in the accounts of the Calcutta custom-house, is not included.

7326. You have already stated that that is not particularly distinguished in the ordinary reports of the amount of salt revenue in Calcutta?—In the published accounts laid annually before the House, only the sales of salt in Bengal are included; the imports are not included under the head of "Salt," but under that of "Customs."

Lieutenant *Henry Green*, Scinde Indian Horse, called in; and Examined.

7327. *Chairman*.] WILL you have the goodness to state to the Committee what was the period of your service in India?—I was 12½ years in the service. For the last eight years I have been employed in the irregular horse on the Scinde frontier.

7328. When did you return to England?—I returned on the 6th of this month.

7329. Had you opportunities of observing the nature and application of the land revenue system in that part of the country?—I have been casually employed as magistrate and deputy collector, and have been a good deal about the country, and have seen a great deal of it.

7330. When did you first go to that part of the country?—In 1846.

7331. In what state did you find the country on your arrival?—In 1847 the regiment of Scinde horse of which I was adjutant was ordered, under the command

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of Major Jacob, to the north-western frontier of Scinde, in consequence of the frequent inroads of the hill tribes. On arriving at Khanghur, then a small mud fort, since called Jacobabad by order of the Government, we found the country in a complete state of desolation and anarchy, the whole population armed, and the predatory incursions of the hill men of daily occurrence. Major Jacob having received certain discretionary powers from the Government, immediately proceeded to disarm the population, showing them at the same time that the Government had both the means and the will to afford them the necessary protection. After numerous severe skirmishes between detachments of the Scinde horse and the hill men, peace and quietness was gradually established on the frontier; confidence was instilled into the natives, and from the conciliatory and firm measures adopted by Major Jacob, the country which, on my arrival, was nothing but a barren waste, is now in a high state of cultivation, and the flourishing town of Jacobabad, with 10,000 inhabitants, has replaced the mud fort of Khanghur. Much of this prosperity is to be attributed to the liberal support Major Jacob has met with from the Government of Bombay in sanctioning his estimates for the making of frontier roads, clearing and digging canals, by which latter means the water has been conveyed a distance of from 40 to 60 miles, and a great extent of what was formerly a sandy desert is now in luxurious cultivation, a large portion of the cultivators being the very men who were formerly in the habit of devastating the country. As an example of the rapid prosperity of the country, I may state that the district which was ceded to us in 1851 by Ali Morad, which was then, on account of his cruelty and oppression, in a state of perfect desolation, is now rapidly assuming a prosperous appearance, from the confidence instilled by our Government, and the return of the former landholders, who fled on account of the tyranny of their former master.

7332. Under what tenure is the land held now?—If any landholder who formerly held land there, but who fled the country on account of the tyranny of Ali Morad, comes forward with a sunnud showing that he had held land there before, that land is again given him on conditions; for instance, if the land has been greatly depreciated during his absence, he is allowed to have it free from taxation for a certain time.

7333. Does the time vary according to circumstances?—It varies according to the depreciation of the land; the land may have been overgrown with jungle, and that must be all cleared away; in order that they may do this, they are let off a certain portion of the taxes.

7334. Mr. Hume.] What proportion does the revenue which is required bear to the net produce of the land?—I cannot exactly say that; the system has only been a year in action.

7355. Chairman.] Is there in fact any regular system established?—There is no regular system established yet, because all the large landholders who formerly held land there have not yet been able to return, but the hill men, who used to come down and disturb our frontier, are allowed to hold land for three years, free of all taxes, and then they begin to pay the usual tax fixed on all land to the Government.

7336. Those are fresh grants of land?—Yes; entirely fresh grants of land.

7337. Is the population contented with the present system?—Most contented; in fact, all those men who were formerly against us are now in our favour. The Government have most liberally passed all the estimates of Major Jacob for making roads and digging canals; and nothing can be more contented than the people are all round the country.

7338. Are person and property safe in that district?—Perfectly so; whereas formerly every man was armed, now you can go anywhere with any amount of property in safety.

7339. The native population prefer to hold land under our Government, and they have left their native rulers for the purpose?—Yes; particularly they prefer doing so to living in the territories of Ali Morad.

7340. Is it only those who left the country who have come back, or has the increase of the population been derived from fresh comers?—The increase of the population is from fresh comers; those very men on the hills are now leaving their hills and their predatory habits, and coming and surrendering to us, asking for land from the Government.

7341. The improvements of the means of access and communication are considerable, are they?—Yes; the principal things are the extensive roads which

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are now being cut through the jungle, and the water which is being brought up into the desert; these are the principal reasons for those people coming, and the advantages given them by the Government for cultivation.

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7342. Can you give the Committee any idea of the extent of the roads which have been made since our occupation of the territory?—I can point out the extent on the map.

7343. What is about the distance?—About 300 miles, I should say; they run from Larkhanna, which is to the westward, up to Kusmore, which is on the right bank of the Indus, and in other directions through the district.

7344. What has been done with respect to canals and irrigation?—All the canals which had been choked up from neglect are now being re-dug. Just as I left, the Government had granted 1,30,000 rupees for widening the Begaree, which will cause an immense increase of cultivation in the whole district.

7345. Do you suppose the revenue of that part of the country is likely to increase?—Certainly; the country now is one of the principal roads for commerce from Central Asia; it is now proposed to make a road straight down to Kurrachee, the sea-port.

7346. Is the administration of justice there sufficient to ensure life and property?—Perfectly.

7347. What system is adopted?—Major Jacob, the political superintendent of the frontier, is also a magistrate and justice of the peace, and so are his officers; there is a fine police force kept up in Upper Scinde, and distributed about the country. Whenever a crime is committed, directly it is heard of by the police, they track the culprit, and he is brought to the nearest station; from thence he is taken to the nearest European officer in the district, who, if it is a case which he can decide, decides it and settles it; if it is of too great magnitude for him, he forwards it to the collector.

7348. What cases can he decide?—An assistant magistrate can decide cases of theft, or cattle lifting, or assault; but beyond that, for murder, or serious crimes, they have to go on to the collector.

7349. What amount of punishment can he sentence a criminal to?—The collector can try a criminal and sentence him to death, but the proceedings must go on again to the commissioner.

7350. What punishment can an assistant magistrate sentence a man to?—He can inflict a fine, or 24 lashes and three months' imprisonment. Any case where the punishment exceeds that is sent to the collector.

7351. What extent of punishment can the collector actually inflict?—He can inflict as much as 14 years' transportation; beyond that, again, the case goes on to the commissioner.

7352. Each individual is liable for his own amount of revenue, is not he?—Yes.

7353. In what way is the police constituted and regulated?—There is a captain of police in Scinde, who has under him 800 mounted police, and 2,000 foot police. Those are divided into the rural police, and the city police. The rural police are placed in small detachments through the district; the city police are kept entirely for the large towns; the mounted police are also kept in small detachments throughout the country. There is also a border police under Major Jacob, consisting of 100 Beelooch horsemen. These men were formerly renowned for their predatory habits.

7354. Is the police expensive?—No, it is not expensive; it can take the place, in an emergency, of the military force; the men are all drilled and can act with the military.

7355. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Does cultivation in that district depend entirely on irrigation?—Entirely; it depends upon the height to which the Indus rises in the season, and to the annual clearing out of the canals.

7356. Chairman.] Will you explain what system is pursued with respect to civil suits, involving questions of property?—The parties go before the collector and he settles the dispute. He has a kazi, or native judge, to assist him; a Hindoo, or Mussulman, as the case may be, who gives his opinion upon the law, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan, and then the judge decides the case.

7357. What other taxes besides land revenue do the people pay?—There is a tax upon fishing in the Indus; there is a tax upon ferries, and a tax upon the boats, and many others, the nature of which I am not acquainted with.

7358. Those are all Government taxes?—Yes.

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7359. Is there any salt tax?—That I am not aware.

7360. Mr. *Hume*.] What portion of the district in which you have been situated is in course of cultivation?—From Larkhanna, on the right bank of the Indus, to Kusmore, also on the right bank of the Indus.

7361. Is the greater part of that district capable of cultivation if irrigation is supplied to it?—The whole of it.

7362. Has there been any census taken of the population?—I can tell about the number of the population; I should say it is between 20,000 and 30,000 in the border district.

7363. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Did you find the canals for irrigation in perfect preservation when you commenced your operations?—No; we had to send 16 miles for water for our horses every day, till those canals were cleared out, by which water was brought up from the Indus.

7364. Were there the traces of old canals?—There are the remains of old canals all over the country, and many remains of former cities.

7365. Are the old canals capable of being reopened?—They are; in fact the largest one is now being reopened.

7366. Is there a great extent of arable land now waste?—A very large extent.

7367. What population do you imagine it would require to bring the whole of that territory into cultivation?—I suppose treble the amount I have stated might be easily supplied with land.

7368. Of what tribes are the cultivators?—They are all Belooch tribes.

7369. Do they speak one language?—They speak Beloochee and Scindhee.

7370. Mr. *Hume*.] Is Hindostanee understood there?—It is understood, but very little spoken.

7371. Is it the fact that those hill men who have been provided with land in the low lands are now becoming more peaceable?—They are perfectly peaceable and contented.

7372. Is that system adopted along the whole range of the hills to the west?—It has been strongly recommended by the Governor-general that it should be adopted.

7373. As far as you have yet seen, you think it has been successful?—Yes; a part of the Boogtee tribe is settled on our border; the most warlike of its chiefs is in the border police.

7374. Are the Murree tribes and the Boogtee tribes perfectly peaceable?—The Murree tribe is the only one which now remains which is not peaceable.

7375. Do the Khan of Kelat's territories border upon ours?—Yes, along the western hills, and also to the north and north-east.

7376. Has not he any territory in the plains?—The whole of Cutch Gundava belongs to him; but on account of his weakness he is unable to prevent the Murrees from laying waste that part of the country wherever they like. Therefore most of the inhabitants from that part have fled to our borders.

7377. Mr. *Mangles*.] Is that large police force entirely employed in keeping the peace among our own people?—Entirely so.

7378. That force of 2,000 strong is for the whole of Scinde, is not it?—Yes.

7379. What is the population of the whole of Scinde?—The population of the whole of Scinde is about 500,000, I should think.

7380. *Chairman*.] Is there any change or improvement in the system now pursued in the portion of the country you allude to, which you would suggest?—Merely carrying on the digging of canals, and the making of roads. Those are the principal things required to keep the country in a good state, and to bring it forward.

7381. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] What is the source of the revenue of the district in which you have been employed?—The last year's revenue was about 60,000 rupees, but in a couple of years that will be quadrupled.

7382. Can you inform the Committee what is the expense of the civil administration, including the expense of the police force?—No, I cannot do that.

7383. I presume it is greatly in excess of the amount of revenue collected?—Yes, just at present it is; but a great number of the troops now in Scinde might be reduced. Nothing can be more peaceable than the inhabitants of Scinde are.

7384. Do you allude to the whole of Scinde?—Yes; and particularly Hyderabad.

abad and Kurrachee. The hills to the westward also are perfectly free from plunderers of every description.

7385. Sir *J. W. Hogg.*] What is the state of health of the troops at Hyderabad?—It depends entirely upon the season, whether there has been rain, or whether the river has risen very high. Generally, after rain or a high rise of the river, fever sets in, about October or November, and causes a good deal of sickness.

7386. At Kurrachee, I believe, the health is good?—They are generally free from disease altogether there.

7387. Sir *T. H. Maddock.*] Is the climate salubrious?—It is very uncertain; in some years it is very good, in others it is not.

7388. Is not the heat intense?—During the months of June, July, and August it is intense; almost unbearable.

7389. Have you ever any rain there?—The average fall is about two inches during the year.

7390. In what month is that?—In the month of July and in the month of February.

7391. Mr. *Hume.*] Had you any opportunity of knowing what was the state of the navigation up the Indus?—Large steamers drawing more than 3 feet can only get as far as the junction of the Chenaub.

7392. Are there now any regular lines of boats?—Yes; boats start once a month from Kurrachee for Moultan.

7393. To whom do they belong?—To the Government.

7394. Have there been any private boats?—No.

7395. Is it the sand-banks which prevent their proceeding further?—Yes; after every inundation fresh sand-banks are thrown up.

7396. By what means is the navigation carried on up the Indus?—At certain parts of the river there are pilot stations; their duty is, when they have taken a steamer up, to go out and buoy the river.

7397. Is there any trade up and down by those steamers in the produce of the country?—Very little; the freightage is too high, and the steamers are generally laden with Government stores.

7398. Do you expect that those roads which are being made will supersede the use of the river?—Yes, most assuredly.

7399. Is the line laid out in a direct course with that view?—Yes; from the Bolan Pass it will pass down our frontier to the bank of the Indus, and then straight down to Kurrachee.

7400. Was not the trade, in former days, by the Bolan Pass?—Yes.

7401. Will the effect be to re-establish the trade to Kurrachee?—It is supposed that it will bring traders again in that direction down to Kurrachee.

7402. Do you know from whence the Bolan Pass circulates to the northward?—From Candahar, and Cabool, and Herat.

7403. *Chairman.*] On those roads of which you speak how are goods transported?—On camels, generally; sometimes carts are used.

7404. Sir *T. H. Maddock.*] Can you inform the Committee whether the ancient fair at Shikarpoor is now well attended?—It has entirely fallen off, but Mr. Frere is now trying to reinstate it.

7405. You are no doubt aware that that was a fair frequented by all the people of India?—Yes; there are still the remains of a large city there.

7406. Mr. *Hume.*] Are those roads which the Government are making being metalled?—No; they are merely clearing the jungle.

7407. They are not incommoded there by the rain?—No; it is a perfectly flat country, and seldom rains.

7408. Are hackeries beginning to be used?—They are beginning to use them on the frontier.

7409. Are bullocks used?—For cultivation and carriage.

7410. *Chairman.*] Could any carriage of any kind go along those roads?—Yes; you might drive a carriage and four along them.

7411. Mr. *Hume.*] Is the land sandy or muddy?—In some parts it is sandy in other parts it is muddy after a fall of rain, which is rare.

7412. Are there any quarries on the frontier from which materials for paving them might be obtained?—No; there are in the hills some very fine stone quarries.

- Lieut. *H. Green.* 7413. Sir *T. H. Muddock.*] Have you yet brought down any stone from the hills?—Merely alabaster.
- 27 June 1853. 7414. Are they building at Kurrachee?—Yes.
7415. Are the houses being built with stone?—Nearly all the houses are being built with stone, which is brought from the quarries, about six miles to the north of Kurrachee; the new barracks are entirely of stone, brought from these quarries. A new and very handsome church is also in progress of erection.
7416. Mr. *Hume.*] From whence are Major Jacob's troops taken?—They are nearly all Hindostanee Mussulmans.
7417. Do they keep their health well?—No; they suffer a good deal at times.
7418. Sir *G. Grey.*] Where do the police come from?—The rural police are generally taken from the country, and so are the city police; the mounted police are generally Hindostanee men.
7419. *Chairman.*] Is it required that the assistant magistrates and collectors should speak the Scindee language?—They are all forced to pass in the Scindee language before they can obtain their appointment.

Kenneth S. Brodie, Esq., called in; and Examined.

- K. S. Brodie, Esq.* 7420. *Chairman.*] WILL you state to the Committee how long you resided in Bengal, and when?—I went out to India in 1823; I went up to Jessore, and remained there for four years; from there I went to Mymensing, as manager of factories, for five years. After that I became interested in factories in Tirhoot, and went to reside there for six years. I afterwards returned to Mymensing, where I have since resided for a period of 13 years, as an indigo planter, being resident within five miles of the station.
7421. When did you leave India?—I returned to this country about three years ago. I am going out to India again next month to resume my occupation as a planter, and landholder and farmer.
7422. From your experience, should you say that the system of exacting land revenue has interfered with the increase of cultivation in Bengal?—I think that cultivation generally is greatly on the increase throughout Lower Bengal; I think the tenures are very favourable to the cultivator, and the rates are moderate.
7423. Are they equally favourable to the ryots as to the zemindars?—I should say so. It may be said that the ryots are cultivating under borrowed money. In my experience as a farmer, I have known the ryots between three and four years indebted to mahgins for advances of money; the amount of interest they pay is from 20 to 30 per cent., and those sums are generally liquidated.
7424. Do you consider that the conduct of the zemindars towards the ryots has been oppressive?—Individually it may be, in many cases, oppressive; but it is the interest of the proprietor to encourage and protect the ryots, for this reason, that if he is oppressive, they leave his land and go to that of his next neighbour.
7425. Are there any obstacles placed in the way of the acquisition of land by Europeans?—None. At the public sales all parties may compete. I have bought land with others, and now hold it as a landholder, having all the rights and privileges of a native landholder.
7426. Will you state your opinion as to what improvement, if any, could be introduced into the system pursued in Bengal as regards security to property, or for the purpose of stimulating cultivation?—I know of no advantages which could be afforded to any district like that in which I am placed so great as the facility of getting money at a cheap rate. There is a great deal of waste land to cultivate; and those waste lands when brought into cultivation, at the rate of rent usually paid, which averages from 6*d.* to 1*s.* per begah, are most productive, giving two crops yearly, and quite sufficient to enable a ryot to live with all the comfort he has ever been accustomed to.
7427. Is the state of the police satisfactory?—It is very defective; it is liable to great abuses, and I believe the Government have it in contemplation to improve it. Some improvement is very much required; the people may be said to have no police; the men are all liable to be bribed and corrupted. A rich man of course makes use of his money to influence those people to do whatever suits his interest.

7428. Mr.

7428. Mr. *Hume*.] You are now speaking of that part of the country which has been long under the Company's Government?—Yes; my immediate remarks are applicable to the district which I have been residing in for the last 14 years, Mymensing, which is 100 miles north of Dacca, on the north-east frontier.

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7429. *Chairman*.] As an indigo planter in Jessore, will you state whether there were many disputes as to the right to land?—Yes, a great many disputes, frequently arising from the uncertainty of the leases; very frequently on the lease expiring the party holding the land was not disposed to give it up, and the law was not sufficient to protect either the giver or the holder of such tenure.

7430. What was the remedy in that case?—The remedy would have been an immediate inquiry on the part of the magistrate, but as those inquiries were usually made through the darogahs on the part of the police, they were liable to be influenced, and affrays as to the possession of such lands would frequently take place. In many cases I have known a proprietor give a lease of the same property to two parties, thereby causing an altercation. When those affrays took place it was usual to assemble a body of people, each party seeking to retain his rights.

7431. Do you mean that the appeal was not so much made to the law as to force?—Yes.

7432. Can you suggest to the Committee, from your experience, any practical remedy for that state of things?—Many of those abuses to which I am alluding occurred 15 or 20 years ago; since then we have had subdivisions made, and deputy magistrates appointed, which have greatly tended to prevent such affrays.

7433. You think the system is now in the course of improvement?—A great improvement is taking place, looking to what existed at that period.

7434. And you believe that the Government is desirous to continue those improvements?—There is every desire on the part of the Government.

7435. Mr. *Hume*.] Are the deputy magistrates all Europeans?—They are both natives and Europeans, but the greater number are Europeans; there are several native deputy magistrates in my district.

7436. *Chairman*.] I understand you to say, that you think there is room for great improvement in the police, and in the mode of administering justice as regards the rights to land?—Very great.

7437. But you have no other suggestion to offer than that the improvements which are now gradually taking place should be continued?—I have no other.

7438. Will you state to the Committee whether, since you first knew the country, there has been an improvement in the social condition of the people?—I think the lower classes, to whom my remarks principally apply, are more protected, and I think they are in many respects better off than they were, but I question if the ryot is better housed, or better clothed, or better fed than he was 50 years ago; he is always in debt, and always in need, and always liable to be oppressed by any man who has power over him, no matter whether that power proceeds from the proprietor or from the planter, or whoever is over him; it is continually the case in India that the rich prey upon the poor.

7439. What remedy is there for that state of things?—The remedy will greatly rest with the natives themselves; when they acquire greater moral courage and independence, they will endeavour to protect themselves, and seek directly for justice instead of going about to procure it indirectly.

7440. Mr. *Ellice*.] Is that the state of things all over India?—Generally so in Lower Bengal. I have been a resident in three or four districts, and I should say that those remarks will apply generally to Lower Bengal.

7441. Is the case different in the Upper Provinces, where the people are much more independent?—Much more so, I believe; I have not been resident there, but I have heard that the independence of the native population is much greater.

7442. Is it different in Tirhoot?—The poorer classes in Tirhoot are even worse off than they are in Bengal; a Bengal ryot has always a tenure of land by which he cultivates at a perpetual rent; but in Tirhoot the ryot has no position; he has not a bit of paper which gives him any right to hold his land longer than the proprietor chooses to allow him. I have known a person take a property, and a few days after the lease was taken I have seen all his crops preparing for indigo cultivation; had there been a right system of tenure that could not have been the case, but the law is not strong enough.

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7443. Mr. *Mangles*.] Are they not a much more manly and independent people in the Upper Provinces than the people of Bengal?—They are; part of that proceeds from the great number of people there are in the district. I have seen 500 or 1,000 ploughs taken from one village; there is no man throughout Lower Bengal who would be disposed to sell the produce at the same rate, giving on the average 16 ploughs for a rupee; the average tenure of that land does not amount to an acre or two acres per head, the mass of the population is so great.

7444. Mr. *Ellice*.] You ascribe the condition of the people more to their habits and character, than to the peculiar regulations of the Government under which they are situated?—Entirely so.

7445. Mr. *Mangles*.] The cause is rather social than political?—Yes.

7446. Mr. *Hume*.] What do you mean by saying that the law is not strong enough?—The law is evaded.

7447. Ought not the ryots to be secured in whatever extent of land they have; if they had the means of speedy justice and protection afforded them, would not that lead to their improvement?—The ryot generally in Lower Bengal is as prone to litigation as his proprietor; it is the first act of a man on getting into a quarrel to go and consult a village attorney; that man trumps up a case, which is false from beginning to end; he goes into the court and pays his money, fancying that he is bribing the parties from whom he is most likely to gain justice.

7448. Would not a proper system of land tenure, by giving rights, which you say they do not possess now, be the means of preventing such abuses?—Very greatly.

7449. What prevents that being done?—The right which each proprietor has of exacting what rent suits him.

7450. You consider that the zemindars do not give to the individual ryots those rights to the possession of land which they ought to have, and which would be useful to them in preventing disputes?—In general they do not.

7451. Are the zemindars not capable of advancing money sufficient to carry on the cultivation?—The district of Mymensing, which embraces an extent of land 5,000 miles square, is supposed to contain 800,000 inhabitants; I do not believe there are 20 individuals who possess from 10,000*l.* to 20,000*l.*; the greater body of the proprietors are all in debt; the ryots are all in debt; and their debts are generally incurred to exacting bankers.

7452. How can a system go on under which 30 per cent. is paid for money?—I have known in my experience hundreds of ryots paying 60 per cent.

7453. What is the produce which will enable them to pay that amount of interest?—A man is supposed in that part of the country to get from 20 to 30 and 100 per cent. return for his money.

7454. In what produce?—In rice generally, which is the staple commodity of that district; they have many other crops, sugar-cane, and tobacco, and others.

7455. Do you mean that a man is able to pay the 30 per cent., at which rate he borrows the money, and all the charges of cultivation, and have 30 per cent. more for himself?—He is enabled to do that generally from the low rate at which he acquires his land, the land being at a very low assessment, and very productive.

7456. You have plenty of irrigation in that district, have not you?—Yes; it is rather wet than otherwise, and wet is particularly requisite for the native crops.

7457. What is the advantage to a ryot in cultivating indigo as compared with rice?—The indigo planter's connexion with the ryot is this: he advances at the rate of two rupees a begah, and upon each begah of land he receives produce at the rate of five or six bundles of indigo; a begah is supposed to produce from 10 to 15 bundles in an average season. The advantage which the ryot derives in obtaining this advance from the indigo planter is, that he gets the money without interest.

7458. Have the ryots who cultivate any cattle?—They keep a rather lean stock of cattle; the price of a bullock in my district averages from five to six rupees.

7459. You say the quantity of land held by the ryots is very small; what is the largest extent held by an individual?—I alluded to Tirhoot in that statement.

7460. What

7460. What is the average quantity held there?—It may be from three to four acres. *K. S. Brodie, Esq.*

7461. Would that enable a man to maintain bullocks?—There is no end of waste land, on which they are allowed to put their cattle without paying any rent. *27 June 1853.*

7462. In Tirhoot, what portion of the land is cultivated?—The greater portion; very little is out of cultivation, except parts which are worn out.

7463. The difficulty of finding food for the cattle must be greater in that district than the other?—They have a better style of cattle, and they are much more expensive; still the poverty of the people having these cattle may be supposed to be great when they hire out the work of a man and a bullock from sunrise to one o'clock at the rate of 16 ploughs for one rupee. A planter advances money to the ryot, and he gets the labour of 16 ploughs for one rupee.

7464. When you first arrived in that district were the people employed in weaving?—The only occupation the poor women have is that of spinning; the natives always prefer the home-made web to the Manchester one, as being more warm and more durable.

7465. You have been in Dacca?—Yes.

7466. When you arrived there, what was the state of Dacca and the neighbourhood, as regards the manufacture of cotton cloth?—A great portion of the so-called cloths of Dacca are not made in the city, but in the neighbourhood. I believe that is greatly on the decrease; a man can buy much cheaper cloth from our exported cloths than they can make them there.

7467. Were not the natives formerly employed partly in agriculture and partly in weaving; much more so than they are now?—Weaving is confined, generally speaking, to one class, the jolahs.

7468. In speaking of the state and comfort of the ryots, do you apply your observation to those who are weavers, or do you apply it to all classes?—To all classes.

7469. Are they all in that state of misery and destitution?—There are a large class of people who may be termed bunyers, who are acquiring money by advancing to the natives at a high interest, and securing their crops at a very low rate.

7470. I am speaking of the ryots; the labouring classes?—I question if the labouring classes are better off than they were 25 years ago.

7471. Can you state what a ryot can earn in a week in the ordinary mode of cultivating, either for himself or for an indigo planter?—An indigo planter gives an advance in my district to a working man, termed a coolie, at the rate of two rupees a month; he gets nothing but those two rupees to support himself and family. There may be five or six members of the family depending upon those two rupees.

7472. Has he no other means of earning money?—No; he is employed from sunrise to sunset.

7473. What expense would he be at for his house?—One rupee a month in my district is thought sufficient for the maintenance of a native of rather the better class. I have a great many people employed on my farm; they generally club together, and a bunyer supplies them with fish, rice, tobacco, and all other necessaries, at the rate of one rupee per month.

7474. Does that include the females and the children of the family?—No; I allude to the maintenance of one man.

7475. What becomes of the family?—They generally grow some vegetables; the women are employed in making thread, which they sell at the bazaar.

7476. In the case of those who are maintained at the rate of one rupee a month, of what does their food consist?—Of a little rice; fish occasionally, when they can buy it cheaply, or when they have access to the river. When they have an idle hour, they go to the river and catch a few fish. They have chillies, but they have meat of no kind.

7477. Are they able to use sugar or oil, or any of the more costly articles?—A little gour and tobacco.

7478. At what rate is gour sold?—At about three rupees per maund; it is a very indifferent kind of gour.

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7479. Is it manufactured there, or brought from the northern districts?—It is nearly all made in the district.

7480. What is the average price of rice for the year?—The average price of rice is, in some parts of the district, a rupee for three to four maunds; near the town it is a rupee for a maund and a half to two maunds.

7481. What quantity of rice will a native coolie use?—A seer, or two pounds per day.

7482. What other articles can he have?—A little tobacco and a little salt.

7483. In the way of clothing or furniture, what portion of his wages is expended?—The usual wear of the native coolie is two cloths in a year; the cost of their clothing will be about two rupees per year.

7484. Do they use shoes?—The lower classes never use shoes in that district.

7485. Do they wear turbans?—On particular occasions they do. The Mussulmans frequently give feasts and dinners, and then they wear them.

7486. That being the clothing of a man, is his wife any better off?—No better.

7487. His children are generally naked, are not they?—All but naked.

7488. Have you ever been in any of their huts?—Many hundreds of them.

7489. What does the furniture consist of?—They may by chance have a low bedstead to sleep on, but usually they have none. They have perhaps two little morahs made of cane, and a few cooking articles of earthenware.

7490. Are they able to use any brass culinary utensils?—It is a sign of comfort when they have brass utensils; generally they have none.

7491. Do you mean to say that their state continues now as it has been for 50 years?—Yes; they could not have much less than has been described, and I believe that would form the means of comfort of 80 in 100 of them.

7492. Has not the indigo manufacture introduced a large amount of capital into that part of the country?—The planters have, by their expenditure of money, introduced a large capital, say a million of money, which must have benefited the people much.

7493. Do the Europeans carry on any other manufacture now than that of indigo?—In Tirhoot they have introduced the sugar manufactory by means of machinery to a large extent; it was computed that they would make sugar at the rate of three rupees per maund, but it turned out a delusion; the whole capital invested, to the extent of 400,000*l.*, has been sunk, and all this valuable machinery has been done away with.

7494. Do you mean to say that the sugar manufactories in that district have failed?—Yes, entirely.

7495. Were not there some joint-stock companies formed for that purpose?—Yes; but the manufacture has entirely disappeared.

7496. What is the mode in which the natives cultivate sugar?—Every ryot who has land has a little sugar-cane upon it, some tobacco, a few chillies and rice, all intermixed. In the field they erect a bruising-machine, by means of which they express the juice, and they boil it in a pot; they do not manufacture daily from the expressed juice in a fresh state, but allow it to ferment, which gives it a black and disagreeable appearance, and prevents its crystallization.

7497. Are the Committee to understand you to say that that is the general mode of cultivation in all that extensive district?—Yes.

7498. Do they manufacture it at Jessore in the same way?—At some of the larger manufactories in Jessore they have introduced vacuum pans, which enable them to make excellent sugar from this coarse material; but the native system of making sugar is what I have described; it is in the rudest state.

7499. As a manufacturer, what do you estimate to be the price at which ordinary brown sugar can be manufactured there?—At five rupees per maund.

7500. Is that manufacture on the increase or the decrease?—I should consider it on the increase.

7501. Is there any mode by which capital can be supplied to that district where the population is so large?—It would be a very great convenience to the people if the Government allowed a portion of the deposit-money which is at the collectorate to be lent upon good security, at 10 or 12 per cent., which the natives would very readily give, merely to encourage banking at that rate.

7502. Are

7502. Are there any advances made now to any of the ryots in that part of the district?—Yes, but not by Government. *K. S. Brodie, Esq.*

7503. What rule is observed respecting those advances?—The rate of interest is 12 per cent., which is usually evaded by their taking a large commission in addition to the rate of interest.

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7504. Who takes that commission?—The native lender.

7505. You have been asked what suggestions you would make for the purpose of giving greater security to the labouring classes, and preventing the oppression which you say now takes place; is there no suggestion which you can offer for that purpose?—The only improvement I can suggest would be the introduction of other capitalists, to lend money at a lower rate. So long as the natives are disposed to give those high rates, the people will continue to exact them.

7506. Is there any disposition now to emigrate from that district?—There was at one time a great inducement to the natives of our district to go up to Assam, which is 200 or 300 miles farther north, where they would have got double or treble their present rate of pay, but they had the greatest disinclination to leave their homes. A ryot never leaves till he is compelled, and seldom thinks of emigrating to better himself; latterly, however, they have gone to the Mauritius and the West Indies.

7507. In this district do any individuals hold directly from the Government?—The zemindars do.

7508. *Mr. Mangles.*] How do you account for the poverty of the zemindars in the permanently settled districts?—A great deal of it arises from the thoughtless and uninstructed way in which they have been brought up; they have had no education.

7509. What do you suppose to be the average difference between a zemindar's rental and the amount he pays to the Government?—Taking the whole of the district, I have known estates which are in collection of 10,000 rupees which do not pay 1,000 rupees to the Government; I suppose that might be put down as the average difference between the payment of revenue and the amount collected; many also may be assessed at half the collections.

7510. Do you suppose that the zemindars of estates generally get ten times as much as they pay to the Government?—In many cases in Lower Bengal they do: in Tirhoot it is quite an exception. I have known proprietors there come and beg the collector to take their property, receiving 10 per cent. upon the gross amount to be collected.

7511. In Lower Bengal you say the Government revenue is very light in proportion to the rental of the zemindar?—If you consider that the district I have been speaking of, which is of the extent of 5,000 square miles, pays a revenue to the Government of seven lacs, it may be computed that the average rate which is paid to the Government cannot be more than 2*d.* a begah of 100 cubits square.

7512. Has not the Government undertaken a survey of Lower Bengal?—They are now in course of making a survey, which should have been begun before the resumption took place. Had that been done, it would have very much tended to the advantage of the Government, and of the people.

7513. The survey is now going on?—Yes; but in place of surveying and making detailed marks for each field, they are giving only the boundaries of each estate.

7514. Will not that tend very much to prevent those disputes of which you speak?—It will, very greatly.

7515. Are there any impediments in the way of Europeans settling in the district?—None whatever.

7516. A European can go without difficulty and settle in the district?—Certainly; it would be rather an advantage to the people generally, and to the Government, if such men would become residents.

7517. Do the Government officers show them any hostility?—None whatever.

7518. Is any cotton grown in Mymensing?—It was not only well known at one period that Dacca and Mymensing supplied the better fabrics of muslin, but it was supposed that the cotton must have been much better, to have produced those fine textures. The Government, in order to introduce and encourage the cultivation, appointed a Mr. Rich, who had been for some time in America, to cultivate cotton from improved seeds, but it has proved a complete failure.

7519. Supposing the districts which you know in Bengal were suited to the production

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production of cotton, would there be any difficulty in any European settling there, and obtaining any possible amount of cotton?—The cotton district, properly speaking, is the district of Mirzapore and Benares; there is very little cotton grown in Tirhoot.

7520. Supposing the climate and the soil were well suited to it, would there be any difficulty, as far as the conduct of the Government is concerned, in any individual procuring as large a quantity of cotton as of indigo?—Certainly not; it would be as easy to obtain land for one speculation as for the other.

7521. Mr. Hume.] In point of fact, do they grow any cotton there now?—For their home-manufactured fabrics they grow a very inferior cotton. The Government have made great efforts to introduce a better description of seed; but that improved cotton cultivation has produced little or nothing.

7522. Are not you aware that Dacca, when its manufactures were in the highest state of prosperity, was supplied from Mirzapore and the Upper Districts?—It is still supplied in that way.

7523. Have you seen any fields of cotton at all at Dacca and Tirhoot?—In Tirhoot there are a good many; but it is not so much a matter of speculation to the ryots to grow cotton there as it is at Mirzapore.

7524. You speak of the ignorance of the inhabitants; are there no schools in those districts?—I am sorry to say there is no Government school.

7525. Are there no village schools; is no attention paid to the education of the people generally?—Government have introduced vernacular schools; every village has its putwarry, or collector of rent, and that man generally keeps a school for the use of that village. The boys pay a nominal sum, perhaps sixpence a month, for the little education they receive, but the Government has not encouraged it to any extent.

7526. Do you mean to say that in those districts in which you have been, they have no other schools than that which is kept by the putwarry?—Yes, vernacular schools in each purgunah, but they are not attended; a few people may club together, and have their boys under the tuition of a man, who only gives them a knowledge of casting up figures, and writing.

7527. Has there not been in your time an effort made by the Government to establish schools in that district?—In Mymensing, some 10 years ago, the proprietors subscribed the sum of 300*l.* to buy a schoolhouse, and lay the money out in the Company's paper for the support of a schoolmaster; that has been the only support which English education has received, to my knowledge. On this sum being furnished, the Government were applied to to add something to the amount, and to furnish a schoolmaster from their schools; but it was refused on the plea that a sufficient amount of money had not been subscribed. There is a school now at which 50 boys are acquiring a smattering of English education.

7528. Mr. Mangles.] Is not there a superior school at Dacca?—Yes; where 800 youths are educated.

7529. The boys of the zemindars might go there for education, might not they?—A native proprietor has the greatest aversion to allowing his boys to leave his own house; if they go to the larger towns, they become corrupt.

7530. Mr. Hume.] Are the people in that district Mahomedans?—The people in Mymensing are about half of them Hindoos and half Mahomedans.

7531. Is the condition of the Mussulmans as wretched as that of the Hindoos? Very nearly so.

7532. Do they work at the same rates of wages?—Yes; all our working labourers are, in fact, Mahomedans.

7533. There is but little distinction between them, in point of social condition?—None whatever.

7534. Mr. Mangles.] Are they worse off than the labourers in other countries, do you think?—The labouring class are as poor and miserable as a class of people could possibly be; they could not be worse off. I speak from a very extended acquaintance with them, both in Tirhoot and Mymensing. In Tirhoot you could get the labour of 27 men for one rupee 12 years ago; you cannot suppose that their social comforts can be great when such a low sum is given.

7535. Judging from what you have said, it would appear that the liberality with which Lord Cornwallis formed the permanent settlement and fixed the demand of the Government in perpetuity, has been of very little benefit to the zemindars?—

zemindars?—Very little either to the zemindars or to the people; the class of people who derived the benefit of such a low settlement in the time of Lord Cornwallis is entirely removed from the district in which I am now residing. The average tenures under which families held their lands may be traced to within the last 30 or 40 and 60 years.

7536. To what do you ascribe that?—To the ignorance of the proprietors in allowing their properties to have been sold and bought by a new class of people. The greater proportion of that property has now changed hands, and has come into the hands of their own servants. I can mention the case of the family of Notore, which was known at one time to have had a property of 50 lacs in collection, but now many members of that family are in a state of starvation.

7537. Has that arisen from the severity of the Government demand?—Far from it.

7538. The ruin of the zemindars has been ascribed to the severity of the assessment; that is quite contrary to your experience?—Quite contrary to it.

7539. It was in consequence of their own mismanagement, and their unfitness and incapacity for business?—Yes.

7540. Mr. *Hume*.] Is not it the rule that when the zemindars are unable to pay the fixed rent, their properties are sold to the highest bidder?—Yes; during the existence of the former sale laws, they were very slackly administered in many instances. The sales took place twice a year, and it was frequently the custom of the collectors to postpone the sale, charging a rate of interest at 12 per cent. for the arrears of the balance. Since the late improvement in the sale laws, by which the sales now take place quarterly, the Government have become most prompt in exacting payment, and the native proprietors have become as prompt in payment; in fact, there now no arrears.

7541. Mr. *Mangles*.] That amount of severity therefore was a real kindness to the landlords?—A real kindness.

7542. Mr. *Hume*.] Do you mean that the former laxity in allowing the zemindars to get into arrear was the means by which they became distressed?—It was the means of many of them losing their estates.

7543. Now the Government keep up the receipts?—To the day; if they are not paid on the day, their property must be sold as a matter of course.

7544. Consequently there are fewer charges now, and less of that want of consideration which formerly existed under a more mild and lax administration?—Few or none; I have had money at sales ready to buy, but have never been able to procure an estate worth having.

7545. The present punctuality, and the knowledge that the Government would exact the penalty, have led to good instead of harm?—Yes.

7546. Mr. *Mangles*.] Was not it the case when the sales were so uncertain, and when it was doubtful whether the sale, when advertised, would take place or not, that capitalists did not resort to those sales?—Quite so.

7547. But now, on the contrary, when it is certain that if a sale is announced there will really be a sale, capitalists go there, and the estates fetch better prices than they did under the old system?—Yes.

7548. Mr. *Hume*.] When a sale takes place, it is by public auction?—It is notified in all the public gazettes the two previous months.

7549. What rights are ceded to a buyer by his purchase?—All the rights of the original proprietor.

7550. Has he any authority to exact more than that which was settled by Lord Cornwallis?—By the Government rules all former engagements cease; all former tenures are at an end. A great many lands were held as lakhiraj; those are not forfeited; and the result of the sale is, that the proprietor can impose any rate he thinks the ryot can reasonably give, save all tenures prior to 1793.

7551. On the purchase of a zemindary at a Government sale, is the purchaser, provided he pays the amount due to the Government, allowed to exact from his ryots whatever he can obtain?—Yes; the ryots have to make a new settlement with the proprietor, but tenures made before 1793 are respected.

7552. Then the ryots are not secured in the tenure of their land when the new proprietor comes?—No; it is the interest of the new proprietor to make those people happy and comfortable, and he usually confirms the former rate.

7553. Under the former settlement, did not every ryot in the village acquire a right to hold his lands, provided he paid the proportion that was fixed for him?—Yes.

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7554. What change has been made?—The proprietor on assuming his new purchase can exact what rate of rent it suits him.

7555. Then the ryot is at the mercy of every new zemindar?—Yes.

7556. Do you think that is right?—I have never known it to have any bad effect; land will only fetch its value; each pergunna or parish has what is called a parish rate; it is usual for the ryots to pay only that which is customary.

7557. You think the facility with which a man, if he is oppressed, may go to another district is a check against oppression?—Quite so.

7558. *Chairman.*] You have stated that the condition of the labouring population has not improved; what practical remedies would you suggest for the purpose of raising that population in social position and in character?—I know of no measure for securing it. I think that as their wants increase their comforts will increase also. At present, a Hindoo or a Mahomedan is so indifferent to comfort, that he is perfectly happy so long as he gets a little rice and a little salt. I have known hundreds of people, whose occupation during the year did not extend beyond five or six months, and the rest of their time they were idle.

7559. Is it by education you think their character will be improved?—Yes.

7560. Upon your own estate, have you adopted any means yourself of improving their position?—I have done what little I could. But it is the usual habit of all men having the power, to exact as much as they can, and I am afraid that few concessions are made with the benevolent view which the question would imply; I think it is the custom of all parties to take as much from the ryot as they possibly can exact.

7561. *Mr. Hume.*] Has the population increased within your knowledge in the district?—It has greatly increased.

7562. Is that, in your view, a benefit to the district or otherwise?—It contributes to the prosperity of a district in this way, that an increase of population brings with it an increase of cultivation.

7563. You think it has been attended with an increase of cultivation?—Yes; I can state that villages which I had in hand 15 years ago, which did not pay a rate of above 600 rupees, are now paying 3,000 rupees.

7564. And yet you say the actual social condition of the ryots is not improved?—Individually it is not improved.

7565. You say there is a great tendency to litigation; what courts have you to decide such disputes?—We have the courts of the moonsiff and the sudder amin, with an appeal to the judge.

7566. What proportion of the disputes or suits go into those native courts?—A large proportion.

7567. Are there many complaints against the judges of bribery or corruption?—There may be a few cases where suspicion may be entertained, but generally the courts are very much above suspicion; there are exceptions. There are a few underpaid officials, as moonsiffs, who may have been suspected of taking money; but I can see a great improvement in that class of people.

7568. Then, on the whole, justice is administered to the mass of the people, you think?—Not to the extent to be desired, but the facilities of obtaining justice are greatly increased.

7569. What improvement would you recommend for carrying out your views?—I would recommend a remission of the tax on proceedings to a great extent, and a greater facility to a ryot to go and complain and obtain justice in the course of a day or two, instead of a month being occupied, as is the case now.

7570. If it were required that every individual should have the limits of his property defined and properly registered, do not you consider that that would be the means by which much trouble and delay would be avoided?—Yes, much trouble and delay would be avoided, and it would greatly enhance the value of property.

7571. Are not you aware that, by the original native system, the putwarry kept a register of every man's property in the village?—Yes.

7572. Has that been discontinued?—The putwarry has the same official power which he had many years ago.

7573. But the limits of every man's holding are not sufficiently defined?—They are sufficiently defined to prevent any misunderstanding as to the amount of rent he has to pay, but I question whether they are so defined as they might be.

7574. With

7574. With regard to the salaries allowed and the rank assigned to the judges, do you think any improvement could take place?—I think that the pay of the principal sudder amins, which now averages from 500 to 700 rupees, might be increased to 1,000 rupees, which should be the highest limit; the pay of the moonsiffs, being now 100, should be 150 to 300 rupees.

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Jovis, 30^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.	Sir J. H. Maddock.
Mr. Elliot.	Mr. Hardinge.
Sir George Grey.	Mr. Labouchere.
Mr. Mangles.	Mr. Ellice.
Sir Charles Wood.	Mr. Hume.
Mr. Herries.	Sir J. W. Hogg.
Mr. Lowe.	

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Frederick James Halliday, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

7575. *Chairman.*] ARE you acquainted with the manufacture of salt in Bengal, and the system by which the revenue is derived from it?—I am.

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7576. Will you state to the Committee the mode of manufacture which is adopted?—The manufacture is by a system of contract; the Government, through its salt agents, contracts with a number of small manufacturers who are called molungees, giving them advances proportioned to their contracts. Those men on contracting, enter into certain restrictive conditions, as to the superintendence over their manufacture, which is very close, the restrictions probably being equal to the restrictions which would be necessary under a system of excise, and very much resembling those which would be necessary under a system of excise. Those contractors make the salt in comparatively small quantities; it is then conveyed to the central warehouses called golahs, at the expense of the Government, and sold to be delivered from those golahs at a price fixed every year upon the average of the previous three years, the price being always the cost of the manufacture to the Government, plus the duty charged upon imported salt, so that the price of salt in the different places of manufacture varies to the people according to the cost to the Government arising out of the expenses incurred in each place of manufacture. I have with me a statement for the year 1852, showing the actual price advertised at the different agencies, which, if the Committee think fit, I can put in.

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7577. Does that paper show the cost of production, or the price at which the salt is sold?—Deducting as I have done from the price at which it is sold in each instance the amount of duty at 250 rupees for 100 maunds, I arrive at the actual cost of manufacture.

[*The Paper is put in, and is as follows:*]

PRICES FIXED FOR THE SALE OF SALT AT DIFFERENT PLACES.

THE selling price of salt at the Government golahs is determined yearly, and the last adjustment is as follows: the price in each instance being equal to the duty of Rupees 2.8 per maund, added to the cost of production calculated on an average of three years, viz.:

	Price per		
	100 Maunds.		
	Rs.	250	
Hidgelee Pungah, at the Agency Ghauts	316	-	66
Ditto, ditto, at Sulkea	326	-	76
Tumlook, ditto	318	-	69
24 Pergunnahs, ditto, at Sulkea	357	-	107
Chittagong, ditto	326	-	76
Arrakan, ditto, at Kyook Phyoo	302	-	52
Ditto, ditto, at Chittagong	330	-	80
Cuttack, ditto, at Sulkea	338	-	88
Balasore, ditto, at ditto	325	-	75
Khurdah and Chilka, ditto at ditto	335	-	85
Madras Kurkutch, at ditto	308	-	58

From 1st May 1852, per notification, dated 30th April 1852.

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7578. There is a considerable difference in the selling price established by the Government in different parts?—There is a difference, as I have said, in answer to a previous question, arising out of the different costs and charges to which the salt is liable at the different places of manufacture.

7579. If the difference is great, would it answer for the Company to contract for the manufacture in all places?—By no means. During past years, a number of places of manufacture have been closed, in consequence of their not being found to answer, the salt manufactured at those places lying unsold and unsaleable at the minimum price, which, according to the principles on which the revenue is managed, the Government are obliged to sell it for. Whenever the Government find that the salt manufactured at a certain agency is not selling, and that it is accumulating unsaleable upon their hands, their only course, if they cannot reduce the cost, so as to reduce the price at which they are able to offer it to the public, is (and this is the course which they have pursued in four or five agencies already, and which there is some prospect of their having to pursue in all the agencies) to close the agency where the salt is so unsaleable, the consequence of which is, that a very great number of families are thrown entirely out of employment, and very great misery and destitution are for a long time occasioned.

7580. What does the difference of which you have spoken of arise from; is it from the difference in the cost of labour, or is it from the inferior quality of the salt, or what is the origin of the difference of price?—A part of the reason for the difference of cost is more than I am able to explain, because it depends upon the lowest price which the contractors will take for their salt. The contractors, under the pressure of this occasional closing of the agencies, have come down very much in the prices which they demand for their salt in making their contract with the Government. But of course to that there is a limit, and the lowest price which the contractors deliver their salt at varies in different agencies. This arises out of local circumstances known to the contractors, but with which I am not familiar. They put the price down as low as they can, and under the threat of having the agency closed, they will probably put it down as low as it is possible to put it. But that is the chief cause of variation. It varies as much as from 7 annas a maund to 12 annas, and even 14 annas a maund, depending upon the price at which the contractor can afford to deliver it. Besides that, some places of manufacture are liable more than others to accident. For instance, some are more liable to inundation and storms, which destroy quantities of salt occasionally, and the expenses occasioned by those destructions are always thrown into the average of the three years within which they occur. Again, some manufactories are more distant than others from the place at which it is necessary to store the salt, and the cost of transit is greater: that is another reason for the difference of cost.

7581. In what mode are the contracts made?—The contracts are made year by year by the salt agent with each individual manufacturer, or molunghee. They are made in the salt agent's office openly, and in writing. A great crowd of contractors come to the office of the salt agent, at the usual period of the year, at which those contracts are made, and the agent makes contracts with them all.

7582. The agent is appointed by the Government?—The agent is a covenanted officer appointed by the Government to manage the salt revenue of a particular tract of country.

7583. Is it decided by public tender who shall have the contracts?—It may be said, practically, to be decided by public tender who shall have the contracts, though not in the form which a public tender would assume in this country. There is a great crowd and a great clamour; the men offer the salt at such a price, but generally speaking, the price at which the contract is made is the same, if not all over one agency, at all events over large portions of one agency, and generally speaking the same over the whole agency, there being no great difference. Within each particular agency occasionally the endeavour is to make the price more or less to the contractor than it was the year before; the agent endeavouring to make his contract at a lower price, and the contractor endeavouring to get a higher price.

7584. Is there one price established with all the contractors, or is there a different price in the case of various contractors?—Generally speaking, the same price is established with all the contractors in one agency.

7585. And no special favour is exhibited?—None whatever; one thing which I know

I know influences the price of the contractor, is the distance of the place at which the salt is actually boiled from the markets, the manufacturer having to convey a great quantity of rice to those places to feed his labourers. There are a vast number of circumstances of that kind which are known to the agent and the contractor, and taken into consideration by both parties at the time the bargain is made.

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7586. Has the agent instructions, as to the quantity of salt for which he is to contract orders, he takes as much as may be offered at a certain price?—No; the agent is generally told beforehand, that he is to contract in the ensuing year for such a quantity, which is fixed according to the quantity which has gone off in the preceding year, and which is likely to be sold. The Government in that respect acts as any other manufacturer would do. It orders the amount which it thinks it can sell.

7587. Has the Government adhered to the rule of not selling under such a price as would cover the cost, and include an amount equal to the duty levied upon imported salt?—So far as the Government can, it has adhered *bond fide* and strictly to that principle. It has recently been a subject of consideration in consequence of the number of people who have been thrown out of employment by the successive closing of different agencies, whether in point of fact, owing to the method of calculation adopted, the Government was not putting too heavy a charge upon its salt, which would be to the detriment of its own manufacturers, of course rendering the salt unsaleable in competition with the cheaper salt coming in by import. An examination was accordingly instituted, the result of which has been a correspondence, which was not long ago concluded, in which it was shown that of the different items composing the charges of manufacture, some items really upon close examination were preventive charges. That has now been remedied by an order which has gone out from the Home Government to the Government in Bengal, and the effect will be that about 15 rupees per hundred maunds will be deducted from the charges of manufacturing salt in Bengal, and about 10 rupees per hundred maunds from the charges in Cuttack, thereby reducing the price at which the Government can offer their salt for sale by those amounts respectively, and so far improving the chance which the Government has of selling its salt in competition with imported salt. But the apprehension in Bengal on the part of the persons connected with the manufacture, certainly is, that they are in process of being undersold, and driven out of their manufacture by the salt imported from foreign countries.

7588. How many agencies have been thrown out of operation?—Within my recollection Bhooloa, Chittagong, the 24 Pergunnahs, Jessore, and half of Tumlooke. There remain now three agencies in Cuttack, which are small ones, not amounting in the whole to more than one ordinary agency, Hidgelee, and the half of Tumlooke; to which may be added the salt which is bought in Arracan, which constitutes a very small agency.

7589. The Government sells any quantity, not under 50 maunds, does not it?—Anybody who chooses may purchase at a fixed price, which is published in the Government "Gazette" at the beginning of the year, and the announcement repeated occasionally, so that the commercial public may know it; quantities of not less than 50 maunds.

7590. Is 50 maunds too large a quantity to be bought by any single individual, in your opinion?—I have never heard it alleged in Bengal that it was so. It was said, not by the people themselves, but by the officers of the Government assuming to speak for them, that when the minimum amount was 100 maunds, it was too large, and in consequence of that it was reduced to 50 maunds. I do not know that there would be any indisposition to lower it still further, if there was any general complaint made that it was too great a quantity.

7591. It has been stated, that not only is that too large a quantity as a minimum, but that there is a system of sub-monopoly existing in the country: are you aware of the existence of such a system?—There was, undoubtedly, a system of sub-monopoly existing under the old plan, for which this system of open golahs and purchases at fixed prices was substituted. The former plan was, that the Government put up for auction sale, once in every year, a certain fixed quantity of salt, and they used to imagine that they could estimate every year the quantity of salt required by the population, and could sell neither more nor less. Under that system, which prevailed for a great many years, no doubt a great sub-monopoly did grow up, which was complained of as being very

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oppressive to the people. I have always understood that the system of sales at fixed prices, as at present adopted, especially since we have lowered the quantity which may be purchased to 50 maunds, has completely destroyed that sub-monopoly. I think it is easy to suppose that it must do so; seeing that any man who can command money enough to buy 50 maunds of salt may, at any time he likes to buy it, set up a shop, or send it to any part of the country where salt is required, and any merchant from any part of the Lower Provinces supplied with this salt may send down and purchase any quantity he thinks may be wanted in his neighbourhood; in short, there is no restriction whatever, except this limit of 50 maunds, upon the manner of purchasing by any person who may be disposed to purchase. I may mention that, under this system, combined with the system of import, the consumption of salt has very much increased in the districts affected by it.

7592. A paper has been put in to the Committee which, according to its figures, would show that the net amount received by the Company, from its system of contractors for the manufacture of salt in Bengal, would not correspond with the amount which it would receive if an equivalent quantity of salt were imported, paying the duty fixed by the Government. It exhibits a very considerable difference. The sales of the Government salt ought, according to the statement referred to, to have produced 8,06,26,003 rupees during the space of seven years, from 1845-46 to 1851-52, while the official returns of the East India Company only show a net profit, during those seven years, of 6,92,53,633 rupees; can you explain to the Committee how that discrepancy arises?—I understand Mr. Aylwin to have attempted to show, by this statement, that the Government does not act up to its professed principle of selling at the minimum price, composed of the real costs and charges of the manufacture, plus the duty; but that, on the contrary, it sells at a less price, which, as the duty must remain the same, proves, in his opinion, that the Government under-calculates, and, as I understand him, purposely under-calculates the costs and charges; thereby committing a fraud upon the public, and imposing a differential duty in favour of its own salt and against the imported salt, for the express purpose of keeping out the latter. That is the understanding which I gather from his evidence. He shows it in this way: that whereas in those seven years, from the figures derived from the India House, and therefore not to be challenged in point of correctness, the Government has manufactured and sold wholesale and retail a total amount of 2,95,29,421 maunds, which, at the different rates of duty prevalent in those years, varying from 3 rupees to 2 rupees 8 annas, ought to have produced 8,06,26,003 rupees; they have, in fact, after deducting the charges of manufacture agreeably to the figures which he has here furnished, only realised 6,92,53,000 rupees. The difference between these two sums of 8,06,26,003 rupees and 6,92,53,000 rupees represents, in Mr. Aylwin's statement, the amount by which the Government has defrauded the public and evaded its own declared principle, by levying a differential duty against the imported salt. Upon looking at this statement, with the aid of details which are to be obtained at the India House, I find it open to the following corrections. In the first place, the total amount of salt sold and manufactured is composed of two items: salt sold at the golahs wholesale, and salt sold retail in the salt-producing districts. Mr. Aylwin has calculated the duty, during those years, upon both those columns alike, being probably unaware of the fact that the salt sold by retail in the districts of manufacture, in the manner explained to the Committee on the last day by Mr. Prideaux, is sold at a very much lower rate than the salt sold wholesale, which has been found to be necessary, in order to secure any salt being sold there at all. The average difference in those seven years between the profit, which in this case may be called revenue, realised upon the wholesale sales of salt, and realised upon the retail sales of salt has not been less, but in point of fact has been more than 1 rupee 2 annas a maund. That reduces the amount given in those columns by Mr. Aylwin, as the revenue which ought to have been realised, from 8,06,26,003 rupees to 7,32,33,697 rupees: a very important reduction from the amount which, on Mr. Aylwin's own principles, ought to have been realised by the Government under this system. On the other hand, in the column of charges of manufacture and collection, &c., which obviously, according to the principles assumed by Mr. Aylwin, and admitted by the Government, ought to include only the real costs and charges, exclusive of all costs of prevention, Mr. Aylwin has, from not having had recourse to the detailed

detailed accounts, included both. Now the costs of prevention, during those seven years, averaged more than 8 lacs of rupees a year. For the seven years, taking it only at 8 lacs, the amount to be deducted from this column is 56 lacs of rupees. After you have made that correction, the charge of manufacture, instead of being 2,51,42,976, is in reality 1,95,42,976. Deducting that corrected account from the column of gross revenue, instead of the amount which Mr. Aylwin has deducted, you have the actual net profit which should have occupied this column, according to the precise accounts of the department; not as Mr. Aylwin has stated, of 6,92,53,633 rupees, but 7,48,53,633 rupees; that is to say, whereas, in Mr. Aylwin's statement, the amount which the Government has received is greatly less than the amount which they ought to have received, which deficit he puts down to the account of fraud, the fact, upon correcting the accounts, is, that the amount which they have received is greater than the amount which they ought to have received; and therefore the Government system has told against itself, and in favour of, instead of against, the importer.

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7593. I understand you to say, that this difference arises, in the first place, from the Government not deriving upon the retail sales the profit of 2½ rupees, but only of 1 rupee and 2 annas; and, in the next place, from the column in Mr. Aylwin's statement of "charges of manufacture," including a large sum for the preventive service, which ought not in justice to be ascribed to the cost of production?—Precisely so.

7594. It appears that the retail sales amount to nearly one-fifth of the whole of the sales, and upon those retail sales there is a difference to the prejudice of the importer of one rupee and two annas per maund; how do you explain that?—It would be to the prejudice of the importer, if the imported salt could possibly find its way into the Bengal manufacturing districts; that in Bengal we hold to be impossible; but I imagine, if the importer should wish to try it, there would be no great objection to allowing him to do so. Considering that the salt is manufactured at a cheap rate in those districts, and in large quantities, and that the imported salt must be carried there generally in a roundabout way, it is not likely, we think, that any importer would ever endeavour to carry his salt there, even at the low rate at which the Government is obliged to sell its salt on the spot. If, however, any importer were to wish to try the experiment, and if any plan were presented to the Government for that purpose, which would reasonably secure it against smuggling arising out of the transaction, I dare say there would be no difficulty in allowing the importer his full share of any advantage arising out of it.

7595. If the importer could import salt, paying a duty of only one rupee six annas, you think he could not compete with the Indian manufactured salt, on account of the cost of transit to those places where the Government was selling with a profit of one rupee and six annas?—I think it very likely that he could not; I cannot imagine that he could; but if any importer thinks he could, and the experiment could be so tried, as to secure the Government fairly against the chance of increased smuggling arising out of the system, I imagine there would be no objection to allowing the experiment to be made. No importer has yet offered or dreamed of making such an experiment, and it still remains to be shown whether any importer ever will.

7596. Will you state to the Committee, supposing all duty were taken off the import of salt, and the Government abandoned any interest in the manufacture of salt, leaving the manufacture of salt free to the natives, without any excise duty or any impediment, what, in your opinion, would be the effect upon the importation of salt to India?—It is generally understood by those best acquainted with the subject, and it cannot be denied by any one who looks into the details, that the present price of the Government manufactured salt in Bengal is very much raised to the consumer in the market by the necessary want of economy, not to say extravagances, connected with the Government system of manufacture, and by those many peculations, and extortions, and corruptions which are inevitable in such a system, and carried on with such instruments. It has seemed almost certain under those circumstances to persons informed upon the subject, that if the Government were to withdraw, if there were no duty imposed, and the whole were left perfectly free, the native manufacturers in Bengal would forthwith completely and entirely undersell the imported salt, and there would not be a grain of salt imported into Bengal.

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7597. The result of what you say appears to prove, that the system adopted by the Government, though not prejudicial to the importer, is prejudicial to the consumer?—I have no doubt it is so, even independently of the duty. The Government, as far as in it lies, is obliged at all times for its own sake to look as closely as possible into the cost of manufacture, and to reduce it to a minimum; but do what it will, the costs of such an undertaking conducted by the Government, are sure to be very much larger than the costs of a similar manufacture conducted by a number of private individuals. To that extent, let the Government do what it will, the consumer is at a disadvantage under the present system.

7598. Could the Government now establish such a system of excise in Bengal as would secure its present revenue, and equally secure itself as it is secured by the present system against all frauds?—That is a question which has been very much considered in India, and certainly the balance of opinion there has been against the experiment. I confess, speaking a single opinion, I am in favour of the experiment. I should be very glad to see it tried. I am inclined to think that, under an excise system properly managed and gradually introduced, for that is essential to the experiment, the salt manufactured in Bengal could be brought to market at a much lower rate than it is now brought, which is the whole matter. If, after that, supposing the duty to be necessary, the importer of salt into Bengal could undersell the native salt, he might be allowed to do so; but I very much doubt, under such circumstances, whether he would. I think, if the manufacture were left in private hands, and the duty collected by an excise, the chances are that even then the home-manufactured salt would undersell the imported salt.

7599. What do you mean by "private hands;" do you mean that every individual should be allowed to make salt, subject to an excise duty, or that the permission to do so should be given only to persons who could give security against fraud?—I think it cannot be allowed to every person; the expense of an establishment to superintend such a system of excise as should allow any person who chose to manufacture upon ever so small a scale on all parts of the coast of Bengal, would be so great as to eat up the revenue; but I think, without insisting upon the manufactories being very large, but looking generally to the respectability and the sufficiency of the individuals allowed to manufacture, you might, without going the length of allowing all persons to undertake it, allow a sufficient number of persons upon a sufficiently small scale to undertake it, so as very much to reduce the cost to the public.

7600. Can you state for what price you think salt could be manufactured in India, apart from any duty or Government charges?—I have seen it stated, in print, that it might be manufactured so low as four annas a maund; that is, 25 rupees per 100 maunds. Our lowest cost now is, for Arracan salt, 52 rupees on the spot; our highest price being 107 rupees at the 24 Pergunnahs. I am not prepared to say, from any actual knowledge I possess, what is the lowest price at which it could be brought to market under those circumstances; all I say is, that I have seen it stated in print, that in 1765, for example, it was actually brought to market, in Calcutta, at four annas a maund, including all the expenses of manufacture and transit, before the Government interfered. It is stated, also, by a Mr. Bolts, in his evidence before a Parliamentary Committee in 1773, that he, a European concerned with natives, and therefore probably subject to a good deal of expense more than the native manufacturer would be liable to, actually produced salt, and brought it to market in Calcutta, at 55 rupees a hundred maunds; which is exceedingly low compared with the greater part of the prices in the statement I have given in to the Committee. It is 25 rupees or 30 rupees lower than the lowest price at which English imported salt has been sold.

7601. *Sir C. Wood.*] You said you saw it stated in print; what is the authority upon which that printed statement rests?—I think it will be found stated in the evidence which I quoted, given in 1773. It may be considered as bearing upon that question if I state that at Cuttack, being at present one of our dearest places, for at present we give a high price for Cuttack salt, I happen to have seen a letter written by an officer whose acquaintance with all things in Cuttack is undeniable, Mr. Wilkinson, who was for 25 years collector in South Cuttack; who says, speaking of the probability of doing away gradually with one agency after another, and its effect upon the ryots in the agencies,
"Sooner

"Sooner than lose the power of making salt at all, I have no doubt the molunghees in Cuttack would agree to make kurkutch, or solar evaporation salt, at two annas; and pungah, which is boiled salt, for four annas per maund, and perhaps even less."

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7602. From that do you conclude that those prices would yield them a profit?—I give it for what it is worth.

7603. The returns of the different presidencies show that there has been a much greater, proportionate increase in the revenue at Bombay, where the revenue is entirely derived from customs and excise, than in Madras and Bengal, where there is a more direct Government interference with the manufacture: in your opinion, does that tend to establish the fact, that a change of system in Bengal would produce a greater amount of revenue?—I do not think it affords any reason for believing that an excise system would produce a greater revenue; I do not believe the excess in Bombay is owing at all to the system of excise; a great part of that salt which pays revenue in Bombay is exported to Bengal and consumed there, and besides that, in the long run, there has been a considerable increase in the consumption in Bengal, and the increase is going on. I myself received a letter only the day before yesterday from an officer in a high position connected with the Government of Bengal, who tells me that the salt revenue in Bengal for 1852-53 is 16 lacs in excess of that in the previous year, which would bring the revenue of 1852-53 very nearly up to one of the highest previous years; at all events, it gives me ground for believing that the revenue is on the increase, and that the falling off, which arose from the reduction of the duty in 1849-50, is already in process of being recovered, as I have no doubt it is.

7604. What is the date of that letter?—Last May.

7605. There has been a great increase in the revenue derived from salt in the North-western Provinces, has not there?—Yes.

7606. How is that to be explained?—I think it may be explained partly by the gradual improvement in the circumstances of the people, but more from the immense improvement which has taken place of late years in the efficiency of the Customs' line of preventive establishments.

7607. Would not what you state as to the recent increase of the revenue tend to show that it would be advisable to carry out a further reduction of the duty on salt?—The revenue has not yet come up to what it was before those reductions began, and till it does so, I think it would be imprudent to attempt any further reduction; but as soon as it comes up to that amount and covers it, and the increase shows a tendency to continue, the Government may safely proceed in reducing the duty; they ought, in my judgment, gradually to proceed experimentally reducing it as far as they possibly can, without detriment to the revenue.

7608. Do you think there is any possibility of providing a substitute for the revenue derived from salt?—I see no way of doing it.

7609. It has been suggested to the Committee that the revenue might be increased by an increased duty on imports?—The imports are very largely from England. If the English people think fit, I dare say it would be a very good thing for India, and very practicable.

7610. Is there any other source of revenue which you can suggest?—I am not aware of any other great source of revenue sufficient to speak of as a substitute for the present salt revenue.

7611. Your idea is, that the profit upon the manufacture and the duty might be gradually diminished as the revenue would permit?—I think so. I look upon it that that is the principle upon which the Government has been acting; they have gone even a little beyond the point of prudence in acting upon it, but I think, keeping within the line of prudence, they ought to go on; it would be most unsafe to make a general reduction down to 1 rupee a maund, as has been suggested by some parties; it appears to me quite out of the question.

7612. The present tendency of your opinion seems to be that it would be desirable, instead of the manufacture under the Government control, to substitute an excise duty?—I should like to see it tried, certainly. I think the people have a right to see it tried in all those cases in which the Government has been obliged to stop its own manufacture, because of the competition of imported salt. There is a case of Mr. George Prinsep, which has been spoken of in some of this evidence. Mr. George Prinsep began supplying salt to the Government solely as

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a contractor, which anybody may do, and which Europeans other than Mr. Prinsep have done; Mr. Prinsep found it a losing concern. He took great pains with his salt; he made salt much better than the surrounding molunghees, but he was not allowed to receive for his salt in the contract more than they received; in fact, the general contract price of that district regulated the contract price of his salt, and that of all the neighbouring small manufacturers; he was therefore obliged to accept as the price of his salt, the same price as was given to the native molunghees, but by attention and skill he made his salt much better, and it was very much more profitable to the Government, though he himself reaped no advantage whatever. Upon seeing that he grew careless and made his salt no better, perhaps worse than the molunghees around him, it then became unsaleable together with the salt of the neighbourhood, and the Government intimated to him that they did not want his salt any more; they would not enter into any further contracts with him. He then said, "Let me come in under a system of excise. I will concentrate the manufacture so as to ensure you against loss by contraband dealing; you shall put your own excise agents into my premises; I will pay the duty, sell the salt, and profit by the improved manufacture which I shall be able to produce." He did so; it was allowed by the Government, and since that time the manufacture has been profitable. Now, I think that that furnishes a sort of key to what we ought to do in those districts, in which we are driven to stop the manufacture. It strikes me that we ought not only to wait till people are wise enough to come forward and say, "Let us manufacture salt under an excise system," but we ought to encourage them to do what Mr. Prinsep did; we ought to say, "We will not take salt from you any longer as manufacturers; but if you choose, in a manner which shall secure us from the danger of smuggling, to establish a manufactory of your own, pay the excise duty, and sell the salt, do so." I think the experiment might be tried. I think people would try it under those circumstances, and it would be the fairest and best way of gradually introducing a system of excise; unquestionably if it were found to answer in those districts where the Government have been obliged to give up its own manufacture it would be extended to others, and in that way, safely and gradually, the system of excise, if found practicable, might be extended over the whole country.

7613. In Mr. Prinsep's case, he was at liberty, paying that excise duty, to sell at whatever price he chose?—He was.

7614. Was that facility granted to Mr. Prinsep as a favour, arising from partiality, or what was the reason of the Government granting him that privilege?—It was obviously advantageous to the Government; I believe the Government at that time would have granted a similar privilege to any similar person who had come forward. He established the manufacture of salt on a new principle; he went to considerable expense in erecting machinery and pans, and in introducing an entirely new method of manufacture. These were the reasons which were assigned by him as being such as ought to influence the Government in allowing him to manufacture salt upon the principle proposed, namely, the production of boiled salt in a very considerable quantity on a limited and easily-guarded space, thereby affording an opportunity of the best possible description for trying the experiment of an excise, which had been so long debated in Bengal; next, a great reduction in the price of the article, and the substitution of hired labour for the advance system, which is fraught with so many evils both to the persons to whom the advances are made, and to those who are obliged to make the advances; upon those grounds, the Government allowed him to carry out his project, and their doing so was approved by the Government at home. I have no doubt, upon the same grounds, they would have allowed any number of persons to attempt a scheme of the same nature.

7615. *Sir C. Wood.*] When was the change made?—In 1835.

7616. *Sir G. Grey.*] Do you know whether any similar application has been made by any other party in any other part of Bengal?—I am not aware of any other application having been made.

7617. *Mr. Mangles.*] What is the case of Saugor Island?—That was a case similar to Mr. Prinsep's first experiment.

7618. Did the proprietors never ask to be put upon the same footing as Mr. Prinsep?—I am not aware that they did.

7619. *Chairman.*] It has been stated that the annual cost of salt to a native is

is a very great per-centage upon his annual earnings; are you of the same opinion, or can you give the Committee any idea as to what proportion of his earnings is expended in the purchase of salt?—No doubt the expense to the native is increased by the duty as well as by those excessive charges of manufacture, if they are to be so called, to which I have referred; but I think the estimate of what it really costs him, which is given in the statistics published by the East India Company, is correct. Mr. Aylwin challenges it in one part of his evidence, and endeavours to show that it is manifestly incorrect. It so happened that, long before I ever thought of coming to England, or being examined on this subject, and without the slightest regard to any inquiry of this kind, I had a casual conversation with a man likely to be very well informed upon these subjects: an East Indian, a deputy-collector, and a man who has mixed intimately and familiarly with the natives from his birth, and has been officially employed among them, and is thoroughly acquainted with all their concerns. I happened to ask him (and to jot down, as I was accustomed to do, the heads of his information) something about the cost of salt to the ryots in the Bengal villages. I had no conception whatever that it would ever turn to account in this way. When I saw this evidence of Mr. Aylwin's, I turned to it, and I found it remarkably corroborated the statistical tables which have been referred to. He told me that in a Bengal village salt costs to the peasant one anna and a half to one anna and three-quarters a seer; that will be at the rate of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. a lb. The consumption is about at the rate of half an anna a head per mensem; or six annas, equal to 8 d. a head, per annum. Their earnings he said he reckoned at from two to three rupees a month; so that the cost of salt is a little more than one per cent. upon their earnings. Mr. Thornton's tables give one and a half per cent.

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7620. Is the district where the salt is produced of a very unhealthy character, and the population of a very degraded description?—One of the districts where salt used to be produced, the Sunderbunds, was very unhealthy, but not the rest; and I am not sure that the Sunderbunds are unhealthy to native constitutions. The population in those parts of the Sunderbunds where salt was made used to be exceedingly dense; it was ascertained that the population in the salt-producing part of the Sunderbunds was as dense as in the district of Benares. The general opinion in India among the best-informed persons is, that the statements as to the depressed condition of the molunghees are entirely incorrect; that they have not a shadow of truth in them. That has been so often stated on good authority, that it seems very late in the day now to come back to these subjects, and to have to contradict such statements as those of Mr. Aylwin, in which he speaks of the molunghees as little beyond animals, and as being slaves, as their fathers were before them, and its being a matter of mere humanity to relieve them from their salt contracts, which depress them below the grade of civilised and almost of human beings. So far back as the inquiries which took place previous to the last Charter Act, Mr. Holt Mackenzie, whose opinion, I believe, every one will consider entitled to very great respect, gave his opinion on that point, and also on another point which I see touched upon in this evidence; namely, the comparative purity of the Bengal salt, which, as it states all I could state in a very few words, I may be permitted perhaps to read. He said: "As to the quality of the Bengal salt, I believe, there has been no small misapprehension. It is spoken of as being produced by boiling 'the dirty and slimy brine of pestiferous marshes.' Now, more than half of the agency salt is produced in the populous and well-cultivated districts of Hidgelee and Tumlook. At the other agencies a large proportion of the produce is manufactured amidst or closely adjoining to cultivated land; and all of it, when delivered from the Government warehouses, is decidedly superior in quality to the bay salt of the Coromandel coast. The boiling, indeed, being effected in small pots, supplied with clear brine, and skimmed from time to time as impurities rise to the surface, struck me, when I saw the process, as peculiarly favourable to purity, though laborious and expensive in the use of fuel; and I am not aware that the notion (possibly an ignorant one) has been contradicted by any analysis. The condition of the manufacturers has been made matter of complaint; but I believe that it will be found that they are now, and have ever been, better off than other classes of the same rank, and that any suspension or reduction of the manufacture would be considered by them as a loss. That they are in a virtual state of slavery

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slavery I consider to be a statement quite at variance with the fact, and the unhealthiness and danger of even the worst of the places in which they are employed has been much exaggerated." That is on record in the Appendix to the Report in 1832.

7621. Is your opinion in accordance with that statement?—I was officially employed for three years in a very large salt-producing district, and I made the remark then, which I have often repeated from personal observation, that the condition of the salt contractors, the molunghees, was very much superior to that of most of the other ryots of Bengal with whom I came in contact; they are more comfortably off; their dwellings are larger and better, and more comfortable, and everything about them gives signs of wealth, which it would be natural enough to expect, but such as you do not find in other districts where the molunghees are not employed.

7622. Sir *J. W. Hogg.*] You said, that in some districts the manufacture of salt had been discontinued by the Government, on account of its cost; have representations been made to the Government from those districts, stating the distress of the people in consequence of the discontinuance of the manufacture?—Such representations have been made, and every endeavour has always been made by the people concerned, to work upon the pity and commiseration of the Government, so as to prevent the manufacture being put an end to. It has been represented sometimes, with loud outcries and clamour, by people who have come up to Calcutta for the purpose, that thousands of families would be ruined and destroyed by closing the manufacture; and that has very often indeed had so great an effect upon the officers of Government, they have persisted for one year or two years, after they saw they were manufacturing at a loss, in giving further orders for manufacture in those districts; because, as I have heard them say, they could not find it in their hearts to persist in closing the manufacture in the face of the pitiful outcries and remonstrances of those wretched people.

7623. Sir *G. Grey.*] If there were permission given under a system of excise to any person in those districts to manufacture salt, do you believe it would be manufactured by private persons?—I think it would. At all events, I think it is fair to the people to give them an opportunity of manufacturing it.

7624. Employment would then be afforded to that class of people who were before employed under the system of contracts?—Precisely.

7625. You stated, that Mr. Prinsep's private manufacture has answered since he has manufactured under an excise system; but that before, when he was manufacturing under contracts with the Government, he incurred a loss; did the profit which he made under the excise system arise from the higher price which he obtained for his salt, owing to improvements in the manufacture, or from the reduction which he was able to effect in the cost of production?—I am not sufficiently acquainted with the details of the manufacture to be able to answer that. I have no doubt that the details might be procured; but the fact that he lost under one system, and gained under the other, was communicated to me by one of his executors, I think only yesterday.

7626. Are you aware whether the price he sold at exceeded the price he obtained before?—It exceeded the former price; in that way he gained. He gained what the Government had previously gained.

7627. It has been stated to the Committee, that it is impossible to manufacture salt in India at a profit; I understand, from your evidence, that you are of a different opinion; you believe that, under a free system of manufacture, subject only to an excise, a sufficient profit would be obtained from the manufacture of salt, to induce persons to enter into that employment?—I think so; under a free system, with no excise, I am quite certain of it. The restrictions necessarily belonging to an excise system might affect the manufacture, and would doubtless be found to do so in practice.

7628. Sir *J. W. Hogg.*] Your plan, I understand, would be to try the system of excise in some of those districts where the manufacture of salt has been discontinued, retaining at the same time the Government manufacture, so that if the excise failed the Government manufacture might be still carried on; but, on the other hand, if the excise system succeeded, the Government manufacture might be gradually abolished?—Precisely so.

7629. Sir G. Grey.] You do not think it would be safe for the Government entirely to withdraw from the manufacture, and trust for a supply to imported salt?—I do not think it would be safe.

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7630. Mr. Hume.] You say you do not think the Government would be warranted in making a reduction to one rupee instead of two rupees eight annas; have you paid any attention to the great increase which has invariably taken place on the reduction of the price of every article of general consumption to the people of that country?—No doubt I am aware of that increase, but the consumption of salt would have to increase more than 150 per cent. in the lower provinces of Bengal to bring the revenue up to what it is now. It is not conceivable that the consumption of any article, saying nothing of such a thing as salt, could increase to that amount in any but a very long space of time, if at all.

7631. Do not you think that continuing the heavy duty actually prevents the trial being made, how far the consumption would increase by a decrease of price?—Continuing the heavy duty is undoubtedly against that experiment; and therefore it is that the Government, as I have said before, even beyond the limit of prudence, persisted in gradually reducing the duty.

7632. Have you considered what portion of the salt manufactured in India is smuggled?—I believe a very small proportion is smuggled. I believe we could not go on selling salt in so large a quantity, increasing year by year as it is in the long run, unless smuggling were very much kept down; on the other hand, I have ascertained from official reports, the attention of the Government being closely directed to this very subject, that, as far as they know, smuggling is kept down to its lowest possible limit. The Government is always doing its utmost to increase the efficiency of the preventive establishment, and it is believed that they do improve it year by year; and, in proportion as it is so improved, smuggling must of course decrease, and I have no doubt it will decrease.

7633. You say that the attention of the Government has been directed to keeping down the duty to the lowest possible limit; will you state on what principle the limit, which you say exists, has been calculated; is it on the price at which the article can be manufactured, or what is the principle you allude to?—What I mean is this, that taking one of the most favourable of those years as a standard, I think the Government, as far as I am aware of their views, would not be indisposed, but, on the contrary, would be very strongly disposed, to go on gradually reducing the duty so long as they had reason to see, and practically did see, that, notwithstanding the reduction of the duty, the increase of consumption continually brought the total revenue up to this standard amount. I mean to say they would not look to any increase beyond this standard amount; but, as the standard kept up to that they would prudently, and cautiously, and gradually go on reducing the duty, as long as they found it practicable to do so.

7634. Have you formed in your mind any idea of the amount, which I would denominate the pivot point of smuggling, at which the natives might be obliged to cease their manufacture?—No, I have not, but I do not believe that one rupee a maund would do it; the duty of one rupee a maund would be so much in excess of the intrinsic value of the article, that the inducement to smuggling would remain for practical purposes almost the same.

7635. You agree that if smuggling could be put down the consumption of the Government salt would greatly increase?—The question assumes that smuggling is not put down, and that the sale of salt in the long run does not increase, both of which assumptions I believe to be contrary to the fact.

7636. You do not think that the statements which have been made to this Committee, that one-third or even two-thirds of the salt manufactured is smuggled?—Certainly not.

7637. Have you any data on which to form the opinion which you have stated as to the small quantity which is smuggled?—What I rely on is the constantly recorded reports to the same purport of all the individual officers employed in the preventive service, and the gradually increasing sale of salt at this high duty, which is incompatible with the existence of such a large amount of smuggling.

7638. Are you aware of certain individuals having established a manufacture of salt, and having been obliged to give up the manufacture?—I think the

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Saugor Company gave up their manufacture; I do not exactly know on what grounds; the fact I believe is that one or two people did attempt the manufacture of salt, and afterwards gave it up; it is a long while ago, and I do not exactly remember the circumstances.

7639. You are not of opinion that an immediate reduction from 2 rupees 8 annas to 1 rupee would put an end to smuggling, or so increase the consumption as to bring up the revenue to the present amount?—I am not of that opinion.

7640. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] What are the means provided for preventing smuggling from the salt works of Mr. Prinsep?—The means are the superintendence and supervision of the agents of the Government employed in his works for that purpose; precisely as under a system of excise.

7641. Are you of opinion that you could introduce a similar system of check and safeguard, if you were to admit private manufacturers to establish works in many districts where the public contracts have been discontinued?—I think it could be done; I admit it has been disputed; a great deal has been said on both sides, but that is my opinion.

7642. Would it not be attended with a comparatively greater expense in small manufactories which might be established than in the larger one of Mr. Prinsep?—If you extended the permission to very small manufactories no doubt it would, but that would be very inexpedient.

7643. Are you of opinion that the present system of retail sales of salt in the manufacturing districts of Bengal, at prices considerably lower than the cost of manufacture, plus the duty, is in accordance with the resolution of the House of Commons' Committee in 1836?—I think it is in accordance with the spirit of the resolution. It is not strictly in accordance with the letter, but it is most perfectly in accordance with the spirit of the resolution, for the reasons which I gave before; namely, that the imported salt does not in fact, and cannot, as I believe, come into competition with that salt in the manufacturing districts; and next, that the difference given up in those districts is in fact a charge of prevention; it prevents a great amount of smuggling, which under any other circumstances must take place in those districts, and which to that extent would displace an equal quantity of either manufactured or imported salt.

7644. Do you recollect that this question was considered by the Bengal Government?—I am not aware of any special consideration.

7645. Have you the means of stating to the Committee the reductions which have taken place in the cost of manufacture in the last 10 years?—I have not, but I know they are considerable.

7646. There has been a diminution of the cost of manufacture, I believe, in every one of the agencies?—In every one of the agencies. There has been a great deal more care taken of late years in the manufacture, and a great deal more care as to advances. A great part of the losses which are thrown upon the cost of the salt have arisen from advances made to the contractors, and not afterwards recovered; that has very much diminished; it has now been reduced to a minimum, and also losses in other ways have been guarded against.

7647. Supposing that 1,250,000 *l.* sterling may be taken as the salt revenue of all India, what additional rate of customs' duties upon imports generally would be necessary to make up the difference?—That requires a calculation which I am not competent to go into at the moment.

7648. What is the average per centage of customs' duties in different parts of India?—Probably 5 per cent.

7649. Are you aware of the gross receipts of customs of all India?—I think they amount to about 2,000,000 *l.*, speaking from memory.

7650. Are you of opinion that an additional 5 per cent. might advantageously be levied upon imports, in case it should be considered advisable to abolish the duties on salt altogether, and to find a substitute in an import duty?—I have said, speaking from an Indian point of view, that I think it would be advantageous; speaking from an English point of view, I doubt whether it would be considered so.

7651. *Mr. Hume.*] You have stated that the condition of the molunghees is not so degraded as has been stated before this Committee; have you ever been in those districts?—I lived for three years in a salt district.

7652. Have the people any other means of employment besides that of the manufacture

manufacture of salt?—They are almost all connected with land; they have almost all of them land. *F. J. Halliday, Esq.*

7653. If the manufacture of salt were put an end to, would they be able to obtain employment from the land?—In the course of time no doubt they would turn to it, but it is not possible to put an end to an immense manufacture like that in a district, without causing a great amount of distress, however temporary it may be. *30 June 1853.*

7654. What has been the change which has taken place in another part of Bengal by the cessation of the weaving and the cloth manufacture?—It has scarcely taken place during the time I have been in India; I think the change had taken place before I arrived; I have, however, heard it described as one which at the time was exceedingly distressing to the population, and from the effects of which the district and city of Dacca have not yet recovered, if they ever will.

7655. Are you acquainted with the condition of the ryots at Mymensing, Jessore, and Dacca?—I have been in those districts.

7656. In what condition are the ryots compared with the molunghees?—My impression of the condition of the ryots generally, as compared with the molunghees, is that the former are not so well off as the latter, by any means.

7657. The condition therefore of the molunghees would not be a bar to the abolition of the manufacture of salt, if other circumstances should be favourable to it?—To abandon the manufacture would make their condition worse; it would reduce them from better to worse.

7658. You think there is not sufficient employment for those people if the manufacture of salt were removed?—There would not be for some time, I think.

7659. Mr. *Mangles*. You think they are in a better condition, because they have the manufacture of salt?—Yes.

7660. *Chairman*.] You alluded to recent advices which you had received as to the prospects of the salt revenue; have you any advices from the same quarter as to other sources of revenue in India, and any improvements which are going on there?—I should have no objection, if the Committee would permit me, to read some extracts from a private letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, which I received some days ago. The date of the letter is, "Calcutta, May 1853." Some of the things which it states very pointedly bear upon some suggestions which have been made to the Committee, some by myself, and some by others; and show that some of the more important improvements which have been suggested here have been, or are in process of being, anticipated in Bengal. He says, "After all we are doing something. The Mofussil Small Cause Court Act, including a clause empowering the Government to invest any judge, native or European, with summary jurisdiction, is drafted, and will be read a first time almost immediately. The Act for shortening and improving the procedure in regular appeals is ready to pass, and will, I trust, become law in the course of this month. A combined code of rules for administering the affairs in all departments in Arracan and Terrasserim has been drafted, and will be sent up to the Legislature with a short Act, giving the rules the force of law; I hope we shall do the like in Assam. Every branch of the public revenue is most prosperous. The prices of opium, notwithstanding an out-turn of 40,000 chests last year, and a probable out-turn of 50,000 chests this season, added to a rebellion in China, keep up to about 1,000 rupees a chest, and the gross proceeds in 1852-53, including Bombay, will not fall short of 5,000,000 *l.* sterling. Salt also is looking up; the receipts of 1852-53 being 16 lacs in excess of those of 1851-52." There is a little bit more of the letter I shall be glad to read, though it does not quite bear upon this sort of improvement. "Steps are being taken to carry out the plan of education, sanctioned by Lord Hardinge in 1845, and afterwards approved of by the Court of Directors, but which, for the most part, has ever since lain in abeyance; and, I trust, by the time you return, we shall have a school in every zillah in Bengal and Bahar, and, at least, one more central college. Arrangements are also completed for inspecting the whole of the Lower Provinces."

7661. *Chairman*.] What has been the reason of those educational improvements remaining in abeyance?—The want of funds, arising out of the state of war.

7662. Mr. *Hume*.] What is meant by the inspection which is there spoken of?—An administrative inspection of the whole of Bengal.

F. J. Halliday, Esq.

30 June 1853.

7663. What is that inspection to comprehend?—It is an administrative inspection of all the lower part of Bengal, in order that the Government may be satisfied as to the manner in which every institution and every officer is working.

7664. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] By whom would that be made?—First of all by officers deputed in advance, and afterwards by the Governor-General himself in person.

7665. *Mr. Hume.*] Does it allude specially to police, or to the tenure of land, or to the administration of justice?—It includes every part of the administration which can be examined, inspected, and improved in a tour of that description.

7666. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] Has that inspection been made by officers of the district, or by persons specially appointed for the purpose?—It has been made or is making by officers of the highest official rank, deputed specially for the purpose.

7667. And by officers unconnected with the district?—By officers wholly unconnected with the district; for instance, Mr. Colvin, one of the Judges of the Sudder Court, and Mr. Currie, a member of the Board of Revenue, Mr. Mills and Mr. Jackson, Judges of the Sudder Court, and Mr. Ricketts, and another member of the Board of Revenue, have each at different times been deputed to different parts of the territory to examine and report, previous to the arrival of the Governor-General in those parts, upon everything worthy of note, and requiring the attention of the Governor-General in his expected visit.

7668. I believe, had not it been for the war in Burmah, the Governor-General's projected visit, which you speak of, would have taken place before this time?—A part of it has already taken place. He has found time to visit a part of Bengal. But for the war, he no doubt would have visited much more of it, and he proposes to visit the whole.

7669. *Mr. Hume.*] Will not the proposed appointment of a separate Governor of Bengal hasten forward, and secure that arrangement being carried out?—The Governor-General has evidently found sufficient time to do it, and in the hands of the Governor-General it will be most effectively done, so that in one sense it seems almost to cast a doubt upon the necessity of there being a separate Governor of Bengal.

7670. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] But the appointment of a separate Governor would secure the continuity of that system of inspection?—Unquestionably.

7671. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] And a separate governor, not being confined to Calcutta by any duties connected with the council, would for the greater portion of the year be able to make such inspections?—He would have greater facility.

7672. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] The Bengal Provinces, I believe, hitherto have not had the advantage of that visitation which the North-western Provinces have enjoyed from having a separate governor?—No doubt this is the first instance in which it has been tried.

7673. *Mr. Elliot.*] It has been stated in evidence by Mr. Aylwin, that on one occasion the entire produce of the salt of the season was destroyed by inundation?—Nothing of the kind ever occurred.

7674. Has there ever been such a great destruction as to warrant a statement of the kind?—Never.

Francis William Prideaux, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

*F. W. Prideaux,
Esq.*

7675. *Mr. Hume.*] IN the statement which you put in on a former day, there are certain charges to which you alluded which ought to be deducted; have you prepared a statement of them?—I have a statement for one year, exhibiting the particulars which compose the total charges on the salt revenue, as given in the financial accounts of the East India Company, annually presented to Parliament.

[The same was put in, and is as follows:]

SALT CHARGES of the Official Year 1849-50.

F. W. Prideaux,
Esq.

30 June 1853.

Cost of Salt - - - - -	Co's Rs.	
Purchase of Salt - - - - -	12,86,979	
Payments to French Government - - - - -	68,734	
Establishments at the Presidency - - - - -	4,46,000	
Superintendent, &c., Sulkeah Golahs, including charges on receipt and delivery of Salt at Sulkeah - - - - -	1,16,873	
Salary of Commissioner of Cuttack - - - - -	76,235	
Salt Agents, and all Agency Charges - - - - -	10,954	
Superintendents, &c., of Salt Chowkies - - - - -	8,59,861	
Service Pensions - - - - -	2,93,902	
	13,217	
	31,72,755	
Deduct Salt Excise on the manufacture at European Works - - -	59,075	
		Co's Rs.
CHARGES of 1849-50 - - -		31,13,680

I may add that, as the excise on salt manufactured at the Narrainpore works could not correctly be credited under the head of "Sale of Salt," it has been the practice to bring the amount realised in each year to account as a deduction from the salt charges.

7676. *Chairman.*] Do you consider that in order to make the return correct, the amount of those charges ought to be excluded?—I stated in my former evidence that I considered that the charges of collection and of prevention ought not to be included in the cost price of salt, but only those charges which are strictly charges of manufacture, the remainder being debited to the general salt revenue, whether derived from home-made or imported salt: In the statement which I have now handed in it will be seen that the two first items are purely charges of manufacture; the next, "Payments to French Government," is a charge of prevention, being a payment made under convention, in consideration of the French authorities undertaking that no manufacture of salt should be permitted within their settlements, so as to interfere with the security of our salt revenue; so also is the charge for "Superintendents, &c., of Salt Chowkies," which is purely a preventive charge, consisting of the salaries of officers employed as police, to prevent salt passing from the manufacturing districts into the interior without having paid duty. The other charges in the statement are partly preventive and partly manufacturing; and, in order to show the opinion which the Bengal Government entertain of the manner in which those charges should be distributed, I wish to put in a letter from the Secretary of the Board of Revenue to the Government of Bengal, which gives the views of the Board of Revenue with respect to a revision of the charges of manufacture, and also a minute of Lord Dalhousie. (*The same was delivered in.*) I was also asked a question with reference to the salt deposits in Scinde. Some correspondence took place in 1847 between the Government of Bombay and the Supreme Government; the result of which was, that it was determined to take no steps in the matter, but leave it to private enterprise to work those deposits in any manner which might be thought best. I have brought a memorandum on the salt deposit in Scinde by the collector of customs at Kurrachee. (*The same was delivered in.*)

Vide Appendix.

Vide Appendix.

LIST OF APPENDIX.

Appendix, No. 1.

An Account of the Gross and Net Produce of the Revenues of Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, Madras, and Bombay combined, and the Gross and Net Charges defrayed out of those Revenues, for the Year 1850-51, and as Estimated for 1851-52 and 1852-53 (converted into Sterling at the established Rate of 2s. the Sicca Rupee), in continuation of an Account, dated 28 April 1852, which was laid before the Select Committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons on Indian Territories, and published in the Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons of 29 June 1852, pp. 276-279 - - - p. 235

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List of Petitions referred to the Select Committee on Indian Territories, Session 1852-53 p. 237

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Copy of the Regulations respecting the Allowance of Batta to the Officers of Her Majesty's Service, whilst within the Limits of the Company's Charter - - - - - p. 255

Appendix, No. 4.

Papers delivered in by Sir C. E. Trevelyan :

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Extract from the Sixteenth Annual Report of the Calcutta Bible Association - - - p. 260

Appendix, No. 5.

Paper put in by Mr. Prideaux :

Statement showing the Average Prices per Maund of Salt sold by the Company in Bengal, Wholesale and Retail, from 1836-37 to 1851-52, inclusive - - - - - p. 261

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Memorandum on the Salt Deposit in Scinde, by the Collector of Customs at Currachee - p. 261

Letter from the Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal - - - - - p. 262

A P P E N D I X.

Appendix, No. 1.

AN ACCOUNT of the GROSS and NET PRODUCE of the REVENUES of Bengal, the North Western Provinces, Madras, and Bombay, Combined, and the Gross and Net Charges defrayed out of those Revenues, for the Year 1850-51, and as Estimated for 1851-52 and 1852-53 (converted into Sterling at the established Rate of 2s. the Sicca Rupee), in continuation of an Account, dated 28 April 1852, which was laid before the Select Committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons on Indian Territories, and published in the Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons of 29 June 1852, pp. 276-279.

Appendix, No. 1.

	1850-51.	(PARTLY ESTIMATED.) 1851-52.	(ESTIMATED.) 1852-53.
PRINCIPAL HEADS OF REVENUE:			
Land Revenue, Sayer and Abkarree, Peishcush, Subsidy, and Tobacco - - - - -	£. 17,058,582	£. 17,079,158	£. 17,150,240
Charges - - - - -	4,299,146	4,332,207	4,287,924
Net Produce - - - - -	12,759,436	12,746,951	12,862,316
Customs - - - - -	1,501,624	1,565,207	1,537,500
Charges - - - - -	180,649	171,448	170,802
Net Produce - - - - -	1,320,975	1,393,759	1,366,698
Salt - - - - -	2,061,868	1,897,765	2,033,517
Charges - - - - -	388,118	380,923	354,976
Net Produce - - - - -	1,673,750	1,516,842	1,678,541
Opium - - - - -	3,558,094	3,683,373	4,622,229
Charges - - - - -	979,643	985,127	1,148,697
Net Produce - - - - -	2,578,451	2,698,246	3,473,532
Stamps - - - - -	450,475	459,289	459,975
Charges - - - - -	24,257	23,836	24,622
Net Produce - - - - -	426,218	435,453	435,353
Mint Receipts - - - - -	71,015	93,817	87,473
Charges - - - - -	50,919	52,999	49,045
Net Produce - - - - -	20,096	40,818	38,428
Post Office Collections - - - - -	{ Charges in	191,961	{ Charges in
Charges - - - - -	{ Excess in	189,852	{ Excess in
Net Produce - - - - -	{ this Year.	2,109	{ this Year.
	- - -		-

Appendix, No. 1.

AN ACCOUNT of the Gross and Net Produce of the Revenues of Bengal, &c.—continued.

	1850-51.	(PARTLY ESTIMATED.) 1851-52.	(ESTIMATED.) 1852-53.
	£.	£.	£.
Receipts from Rajah Golab Sing on account transfer to him of Territory in the Punjaub (under Article 3 of the Treaty, dated 16 March 1846) - - -	65,625	—	—
TOTAL Gross Receipts under the above Heads	24,767,283	24,970,570	25,890,934
<i>Deduct.</i> —Charges of Collection, Allowances, Assignments and Pensions payable out of the Revenues, in accordance with Treaties or other Engagements, Advances for the Manufacture and Purchase of Salt and Opium, &c. - - -	5,922,732	6,136,392	6,036,066
TOTAL Net Produce of the Revenues and Receipts under the above Heads - }	18,844,551	18,834,178	19,854,868
CHARGES UPON THE REVENUES OF INDIA :			
Post Office Charges - - - - -	189,220	Receipts in Excess in this Year. }	186,560
Receipts - - - - -	186,853		
Net Charges - - - - -	2,367	- - -	1,750
Charges of the Civil and Political Establishments, including Contingent Charges - - - - -	2,099,066	2,417,618	2,187,105
Receipts - - - - -	612,953	300,861	333,039
Net Charges - - - - -	1,486,113	2,116,757	1,854,066
Judicial and Police Charges - - - - -	2,119,104	2,221,777	2,223,486
Receipts - - - - -	127,818	134,811	144,586
Net Charges - - - - -	1,991,286	2,086,966	2,078,900
Marine Charges - - - - -	398,052	395,561	414,444
Receipts - - - - -	102,123	102,510	102,516
Net Charges - - - - -	295,929	293,051	311,928
Military Charges - - - - -	9,580,683	9,780,996	9,610,168
War Charges - - - - -	89,525	279,392	516,563
Interest on Debt - - - - -	2,255,470	2,246,392	2,274,024
TOTAL Gross Charges under the above Heads	16,731,120	17,341,736	17,412,350
<i>Deduct.</i> —Receipts under ditto - - - - -	1,029,747	538,182	764,951
Total Net Charges, ditto - - - - -	15,701,373	16,803,554	16,647,399
<i>Add.</i> —			
Prince of Wales Island, Singapore, and Malacca :			
Excess of Payments - - - - -	10,549	5,251	—
Ditto - Receipts - - - - -	—	—	5,243
Territorial Payments in England, exclusive of Stores Invoice Value of Stores exported to India - - -	2,352,800	2,318,260	2,366,566
	364,386	176,814	301,455
TOTAL Net Charges upon the Revenues - £.	18,429,108	19,303,879	19,310,177
Net Produce of the Revenues, brought forward - - - - -	18,844,551	18,834,178	19,854,868
Deficit - - - - -	—	469,701	—
Surplus - - - - -	415,443	—	544,691
Commercial Assets - - - - Amount realised - - -	423	—	—
Deficit, deducting Net Produce of Commercial Assets - - - - - } £.	—	469,701	—
Surplus, including Net Produce of Commercial Assets - - - - - } £.	415,866	—	544,691

East India House, }
28 May 1853. }James C. Melvill,
Secretary.

Appendix, No. 2.

Appendix, No. 2.

LIST of PETITIONS referred to the Select Committee on INDIAN TERRITORIES,
Session 1852-53.

PRESENTED.	PETITIONERS.	PRAYER.	PAGE.
4 May 1853	-- Chairman of the Newcastle and Gateshead Association.	-- Adoption of measures of reform in legislating for the future government of India	237
13 May "	-- Deputy Chairman of the Liverpool East India and China Association.	-- Suggesting measures for the good government and prosperity of the people of India	238
26 May "	Mayor of Bristol	Securing the better government of India	239
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24 June "	-- Catholic Chaplains in the East Indies.	-- Respecting the position of Roman Catholics	242
30 June "	-- Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures of Glasgow.	Government of India Bill (in favour)	247
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3 June "	-- Merchants, Manufacturers, and others, of Warrington		252
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17 June "	From Northwich	-- Complaining of duty levied by East India Company on salt	253
22 June "	From Droitwich " Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of Droitwich.		254
30 June "	-- Chamber of Commerce, Gloucester.		254

THE Petition of the Newcastle and Gateshead Commercial Association,

Sheweth,—That, as it is intended to submit to Parliament some measure for the future government of India, your petitioners record their dissatisfaction with the limited extent of our commerce with that country, and the little progress made in the development of its varied resources.

That your petitioners are of opinion—

1stly. That it be regarded as the imperative duty of the Government of India to promote the cultivation of the soil, and to remove all obstacles which impede the progress of industry.

2ndly. That, beyond making useful experiments, the Government should not be permitted to become cultivators, manufacturers, or traders.

3rdly. That the Government be compelled to expend a portion of the revenues collected in India, in the development of the resources of the country, as well as to afford every facility for its profitable occupation; that with this view such public works should be promoted as are calculated to facilitate intercourse with, or improve the physical condition of the population, to increase the production of cotton and other valuable raw materials, as also to encourage a system of general industry.

4thly. That ten per cent. of the revenues of India be applied to the public works above alluded to, such as the construction of trunk lines of railways, the formation and improvement of roads and bridges, the deepening and other improvement of rivers, the formation and care of reservoirs and canals, the erection of piers, and construction of harbours, breakwaters, lighthouses, and all other engineering agencies required in a civilised and commercial country, under the control of a board of works, nominated jointly by the Imperial Government and the Indian Executive.

Appendix, No. 2.

5thly. That prompt attention be paid to the removal of evils now existing in India, consequent upon the uncertainty of the due administration of justice and the prevailing ignorance of the people.

6thly. That an annual detailed report on all East India affairs should, as was formerly done, be laid before Parliament by a Minister of the Crown.

Your petitioners commend these propositions to the favourable attention of your Honourable House, and humbly pray they may have statutory effect in any legislation for the future government of India.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

For and on behalf of the Association,
E. Wilson Challoner, Chairman.

THE humble Petition of the Liverpool East India and China Association, by their
Deputy Chairman,

Sheweth,—That your petitioners are extensively engaged in trade with Her Majesty's possessions in India.

That your petitioners therefore feel deeply interested in obtaining for the people of that country an administrative government calculated to develop and extend the great commercial and agricultural resources of that important part of the British empire.

That at this particular juncture, when the future government of India is under the consideration of Parliament, your petitioners humbly desire to draw the attention of your Honourable House to several important matters, which, in the opinion of your petitioners, are highly essential to the good government and prosperity of its people.

That your petitioners cannot too forcibly impress upon your Honourable House the vast importance which they attach to the necessity of providing improved means of internal communication for produce and merchandise to and from the sea-ports of India, the want of which, your petitioners humbly submit, forms one of the main obstacles to the extension of trade and to the increased cultivation of the land; and your petitioners respectfully suggest that it should be made imperative upon the future government of India to make and keep in repair good and sufficient roads, bridges, water-tanks, and works for irrigation, at all times adequate to the requirements of trade and the public convenience; and to grant lands, and otherwise to afford every encouragement for the formation of docks, quays, and other appliances for the accommodation of all descriptions of shipping and craft, wherever such accommodation may be required.

That your petitioners consider that the land tax or rent paid by the cultivators of the soil in all parts of India is excessive; that it is injurious to the commercial and agricultural interests of that country, and highly detrimental to the moral and physical condition of the people.

That, owing to the imperfect system of collecting the tax, it is more injurious to the cultivators and less productive to the revenue than it might be if it were based upon sound financial principles; and that it is therefore, in your petitioners' opinion, expedient not only that the revenue system be improved, but that such laws be passed as may effectually protect the cultivators from oppression on the part of the collectors of taxes, zemindars, and others, and enable them to recover from the proprietors of the land compensation for exhausted improvements.

That your petitioners humbly desire also to represent for the consideration of your Honourable House the serious injury which private trade has long sustained from the mode resorted to by the Honourable the East India Company of making advances of money in India upon the consignment of produce to this country for sale: a practice which your petitioners have from time to time deprecated, and which is now all but universally condemned.

That your petitioners therefore humbly submit that the East India Company shall be expressly restrained from again making advances upon the hypothecation of merchandise unless on the ground of necessity shown; and that if such case arise, notice of at least two months shall be publicly given in this country, before application be made to the Board of Control to sanction the transmission to India of orders to make remittances in the objectionable mode now complained of.

That your petitioners further desire to direct the attention of your Honourable House to the state of the currency in India. Previous to the year 1835 gold equally with silver was a legal tender. In that year an act of the Governor-general in Council abolished the gold currency, and established the Company's silver rupee as the only standard of value throughout British India. In 1841 the Indian Government issued a proclamation, in virtue of which gold coined in the Company's mints was received at the public treasuries in liquidation of the demands of Government. This practice, which mitigated the inconvenience of the abolition of the gold standard, remained in force till the 1st January of the present year, when the Indian Government issued a notification that the receipt of gold at the public treasuries was prohibited. Your petitioners are not aware that these interferences with the standard of value in India were necessary, and they believe they have been productive only of disadvantage. Viewed in connexion with the late enormous addition to the supply of gold, your petitioners apprehend that the suppression of the gold standard may, if persisted in, lead to serious evils. The great importance of an abundant currency, free as much as possible from liability to disturbance and sudden fluctuations, is beyond question. Now it is evident that occasional large imports of gold into India, acting on an exclusively silver currency, and causing

causing a corresponding export of the latter, may at times occasion sudden and great contractions of the amount of circulating medium, and so induce the disastrous consequences which always accompany such occurrences. These hazards would be obviated by re-establishing gold as a standard of value. It has been urged that this would be an injustice to the Indian fundholder. The fallacy of such an objection is manifest from the fact that as yet gold and silver in the general markets of the world retain their long-established relative values. The experience of France, the United States, and the majority of European states, shows that no disadvantage results from a double standard of value.

That your petitioners also humbly invite the serious consideration of your Honourable House to the necessity of providing for a better administration of justice throughout India. The need for vigorous reforms in this department is now so generally recognised that any further notice of the subject is, your petitioners conceive, unnecessary.

That your petitioners also desire to direct the attention of your Honourable House to the generally defective state of the police in India, and of the necessity of such a re-organisation of that body as may afford increased protection to person and property, and remove the imputation of inefficiency and untrustworthiness.

That your petitioners have also to draw the notice of your Honourable House to the want of promptitude in obtaining in India redress and decisions in cases of complaint, and in matters connected with the Customs and other departments of the public revenue; and generally your petitioners are informed and believe that the delays complained of are in many cases owing to the necessity for making references to this country for the sanction of the home authorities. Your petitioners therefore humbly submit that it is highly important to adopt such measures as shall effectually remedy this serious disadvantage.

That, considering the variety and magnitude of the reforms (some of which your petitioners have herein alluded to) so urgently called for in the future administration of the general government of India, your petitioners believe that the accomplishment of so great a task must be hopeless unless measures be adopted to strengthen the hands and stimulate the action of the Government in India. In what mode they may best be accomplished it is for the wisdom of your Honourable House to determine; but, if no fundamental change shall be made in the existing arrangements for the government of India, your petitioners would with all humility suggest the expediency of extending to India in some form the immediate authority and supervision of the Board of Control.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray, that in legislating for the future government of Her Majesty's possessions in India, your Honourable House will be pleased to take into consideration the various matters herein set forth, and to adopt such measures thereon as to the wisdom of your Honourable House may seem fit.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Signed on behalf of the Liverpool East India and China Association by

George Malcolm, Deputy Chairman.

Liverpool, 13th May 1853.

The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the City of *Bristol*, in Public Meeting assembled at the Victoria Rooms, in the said City, on Monday the 23rd day of May 1853,

Sheweth,—That your petitioners, in common with the rest of their countrymen, feel that the question of the future government of India is one of vast importance, and would therefore earnestly entreat of your Honourable House to postpone permanent legislation on the subject until after it has undergone full and deliberate investigation and inquiry.

That Committees of your Honourable House and of the House of Lords are now sitting for the purpose of making such investigation, and of receiving evidence as to the condition and the wants of India; that to these Committees have been referred petitions, numerous and signed both by the Christian and native populations of all the Presidencies, complaining of heavy grievances, which they allege to be the result of misgovernment; and that therefore it is alike expedient and just that the full and finished reports of such Committees should be presented to Parliament before any proposition for the renewal of the existing form of government be entertained.

That, in the opinion of your petitioners, much of the mal-administration of justice, the neglect of public works, the insufficiency of police, the increase of the public debt, the deficiency of the public revenue, the oppressive nature of some of the taxes, the lamentable poverty of a large portion of Her Majesty's Eastern subjects, and the injurious consequences to the agricultural, the commercial, and trading interests of both countries, may be traced to the present imperfect system of government.

Your petitioners therefore entreat your Honourable House to take the premises into serious consideration, in order to devise a system of administration which shall secure to Her Majesty's vast Indian empire (the responsibility of well governing which rests upon this country) the blessings of peace and civilisation, and to both countries the advantages of greatly extended commercial relations.

Signed on behalf of the meeting,

Robt. Gay Barrow, Mayor.

Appendix, No. 2.

THE Petition of the Inhabitants of *Birmingham*, in public meeting assembled,

Showeth,

That your petitioners are of opinion that the present constitution of the Indian government is not favourable to a wise and just administration of the affairs of India.

That they have learned that the condition of the Indian population is one of general poverty and depression, that the industrial resources of the country are undeveloped, that little has been done to provide the means of communication between the ports and the interior, that works of irrigation necessary for the cultivation of the soil and to prevent the frequent recurrence of famines have been grievously neglected, that justice has been denied through the corruption or incapacity of the courts of law, that enormous sums raised by oppressive taxes have been squandered in wars of aggression upon neighbouring states and in expensive and excessive establishments, and that the Indian debt is constantly increasing and the Indian finances becoming more and more embarrassed.

That your petitioners believe that these evils are the necessary results of a system of government which is secret and irresponsible, and that no remedy will be provided until a thorough reform of the home administration for India is effected.

They therefore pray that your Honourable House, in any measures for the future government of India, will abolish the existing system of a double government, and establish a home administration appointed by the Crown, and directly responsible to the Imperial Parliament.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

On behalf of the said meeting,
H. Hawkes, Mayor, Chairman.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants and Residents in the Borough of *South Shields* and Neighbourhood.

YOUR petitioners beg leave to represent to your Honourable House, that the present Act for the Government of Indian Territories will expire on the 30th day of April, 1854.

That on former occasions it has been the practice of the Legislature to appoint Committees of either Houses of Parliament to investigate the working of the Indian Government, at a period considerably anterior to that fixed for the expiration of their existing arrangements; and that, in the opinion of your petitioners, great advantages have hitherto resulted from those investigations.

That on the present occasion such Committees were not appointed till the spring of 1852, thereby leaving a very short time for inquiry, and that this time was again abridged by the dissolution of Parliament last year.

That there prevails a wide conviction that the present government of India is capable of great and extensive improvement.

That, without pretending to pass judgment on the whole state of Indian politics, your petitioners are of opinion that the inconvenient machinery of administration, the evils of the judicial system, the anomalous administration of patronage, the exclusion of native Indians from the higher offices of government, the growing deficit in the public revenue, and the consequent increase of the public debt, call loudly for inquiry and amendment.

Your petitioners therefore pray your Honourable House to refuse your consent to any measure that does not embody a thorough reform of these admitted evils; and, in the first instance, to insist on such a delay as shall afford full space for deliberate investigation.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Geo. Potts, Mayor of South Shields.
Richd. Simtridge, J.P.
John Robinson.
&c. &c. &c.

The Memorial of the Spinners, Rovers, Twisters, and Self-acting Winders of *Ashton-under-Lyne*, in the County of *Lancaster*,

Humbly showeth,

THAT, as it is the intention of the Government to submit to Parliament a measure for the future government of our eastern possessions, we most sincerely hope that all available means of information will be had recourse to before legislation to a great extent takes place thereon.

In any measure of government affecting the destinies of a people variously estimated from a 100,000,000 to 200,000,000 of souls, it becomes not only the duty of Parliament, but the whole people of this United Kingdom, to weigh well and maturely the system about to be introduced.

Eastern India forms the most splendid proportion of our magnificent colonial empire; its destinies are linked with our own, and just in proportion to the measures of justice and equity dealt out to that numerous people, will it affect them and the mother country.

As

As a matter of mere policy, say nothing of humanity, your memorialists consider the Imperial Parliament is bound to give them a constitutional government suitable to their wants and wishes; and whilst depending on the British nation for support, they shall be enabled to carry out such principles of local and general administration as they think conducive to their welfare. Although the people of India are highly taxed, they have no such thing as good and thorough highways over which to bring their produce to suitable markets, and the consequence is that whilst one portion of the great Peninsula of Hindoostan has an abundance and to spare, another portion are dying for want.

Your Memorialists submit for your consideration the propriety of locating along the banks of their large rivers as numerous a population as possible, of giving encouragement to the building of steam-boats both of large and small water-draught, and by this means the noble rivers of India could be made the highways of commerce; encouragement should be given to the growth of cotton on the banks of the Indus, the Ganges, the Burrampooter, and their tributaries, the same as has been done on the western waters of North America; and by these means we are of opinion an impetus would be given to industry and to the bringing out of the fertility of that productive land all those articles of daily consumption used by the people, thus enriching both them and the mother country. By giving to the people of India good and efficient government, and examining the intelligent natives of the country as to what they really require, your memorialists are of opinion that you will link them more firmly to this country, do credit to the Imperial Parliament, and give satisfaction to the inhabitants of our eastern empire, and do much to spread the commerce of the United Kingdom amongst a people better qualified than any other, if properly governed and treated, to consume a large portion of the surplus production of the industry of Great Britain and Ireland.

And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Robert Wood.
William Thornley.
Joshua France.
&c. &c. &c.

The PETITION of the Committee of the *Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Shields, and Gateshead* Chamber of Commerce,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT a Bill is now before your Honourable House for regulating the future government of India.

That, in the opinion of you petitioners, a double and comparatively irresponsible Government, such as has hitherto existed with regard to India, and whose principle appears to be sanctioned by the present measure, is ill calculated either to maintain the dignity of the British empire, or to promote the interests, by developing the resources and protecting the properties of the Indian people.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray, that your Honourable House will be pleased not to pass the said Bill.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Signed by order and on behalf the Committee of the *Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Shields, and Gateshead* Chamber of Commerce, this 20th day of June 1853.

C. Allhusen, Chairman.

The PETITION of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures and other Inhabitants of the City of *Manchester*, in special General Meeting assembled,

Showeth,

THAT your petitioners unhesitatingly avow their extreme dissatisfaction with the results of the past government of British India, and their deliberate conviction that the gross neglect of the material advancement of the people of that country which has been exhibited during the currency of the last charter, is to be attributed to the irresponsible system under which the affairs of India have been directed.

That your petitioners cannot discover in the Bill which Her Majesty's Ministers have brought before your Honourable House, even a latent hope that their project for the future government of India will provide any sufficient remedy for the glaring omissions of the past, inasmuch as the system is not reformed in any essential degree, and no security can be found in it for an active development of agricultural resources, or that an adequate portion of the revenue shall be applied to the much-needed internal ameliorations of the country, instead of being, as heretofore, wholly lavished on territorial aggrandisement.

That your petitioners, deeply impressed with the magnitude of the interests at stake, protest against this imperfect attempt to legislate for India, and urge upon Parliament the propriety of passing, during the present Session, a continuance Bill for two years only, with a view to a more complete inquiry and more deliberate consideration before any measure of a permanent character be enacted for the future government of British dependencies in the East.

Your petitioners therefore humbly but earnestly pray, that your Honourable House may not assent to the Bill introduced by Her Majesty's Ministers, but pass a Bill to continue, for two years only, the Act of 1833, in order that more time may be afforded to consider and decide upon the future and permanent government of India.

By order and on behalf of a special General Meeting of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures at Manchester,

Thos. Bazley, President.

Manchester, 20 June 1853.

Appendix. No. 2.

The Petition of the Directors of the Manchester Commercial Association, by their
Chairman,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your petitioners have witnessed with extreme regret the very imperfect measure introduced by Her Majesty's Government for the future administration of the affairs of India.

That in the few changes contemplated by the Bill under the consideration of your Honourable House no allusion has been made to the subject of land tenures, commercial operations, or public works in India.

That the views of your petitioners were laid before the Right honourable the President of the Board of Control, on _____ last, by a memorial supported by a deputation of representatives from this Association, as well as from various other commercial bodies throughout the kingdom.

That on the occasion referred to it was suggested,—

“That it be regarded as the imperative duty of the Government of India to promote the cultivation of the soil, and to remove all obstacles which impede the progress of industry:

“That, beyond making useful experiments, the Government should not be permitted to become cultivators, manufacturers, or traders:

“That, in conducting their financial operations, the Government should be forbidden to become purchasers of any kind of produce on their own account, or to receive by hypothecation produce purchased by any other party:

“That the Government be compelled to expend a portion of the revenues collected in India, in the development of the resources of the country, as well as to afford every facility for its profitable occupation; that with this view such public works should be promoted as are calculated to facilitate intercourse with, or improve the physical condition of, the population, to increase the production of cotton and other valuable raw materials, as also to encourage a system of general industry:

“That 10 per cent. of the revenues of India be applied to the public works above alluded to, such as the construction of trunk lines of railways, the formation and improvement of roads and bridges, the deepening and other improvement of rivers, the formation and care of reservoirs and canals, the erection of piers, and construction of harbours, breakwaters, lighthouses, and all other engineering agencies required in a civilised and commercial country:

“That the application of the portion of revenue allotted to useful public works be under the control of a Board of Works established and conducted in India, the members of which should have full, extensive but defined powers, and be nominated jointly by the Imperial Government and Indian executive:

“That the Government should give every facility for the permanent occupation of land, by removing the objections so often urged to a fluctuating land tax, by encouraging the purchase for cultivation of the waste and other lands of India, and by giving such certainty of tenure as will insure the safe application of capital to the universal cultivation of the soil:

“That prompt attention be paid to the removal of evils now existing in India consequent upon the uncertainty of the due administration of justice, and the prevailing ignorance of the people:

“That an annual detailed report on all East India affairs should, as was formerly done, be laid before Parliament by a Minister of the Crown.”

That your petitioners regret to observe that those recommendations have been entirely overlooked or disregarded by the Right honourable the President of the Board of Control; either in the Bill already referred to, or in the remarks made by him when introducing the same to your Honourable House.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray your Honourable House to withhold its sanction from the measure for the future administration of the affairs of India, in which the foregoing suggestions are not substantially recognised.

Malcolm Ross, Vice-President.

Manchester, 22 June 1853.

The humble PETITION of the undersigned Catholic Chaplains in the *East Indies*,

Showeth,

Catholic Chaplains
in the East Indies.
Number of Catholics.
Catholic jurisdiction.

Present change in
favour of British
Government.

THAT the number of Catholics at present in India may be estimated at above 600,000, exclusive of about 16,000 Catholic soldiers. Independently of the British, there are but few European Catholics, the great bulk of the congregations being everywhere a native population, some of whom are recent converts, but the chief part are descended from the converts of the European Missioner of the 17th and 18th centuries. During these two centuries, whilst the Portuguese had influence in India, the crown of Portugal was considered as the protector of the Catholic religion in India, and exercised the right of patronage and presentation; but in 1838, decided steps were definitively taken to establish a new order of things, as it was considered necessary, on account of the great political changes in the country, to remodel the ecclesiastical government in a manner more consonant with its present political position. The Portuguese jurisdiction was confined to the small territory occupied politically by that country; and British vicars apostolic were appointed to the three Presidencies of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras; the rest of India, wherever it was needful, was divided into ecclesiastical districts, and European vicars apostolic appointed for

for all. Every effort was made by the Catholic authorities to meet the wants of the Catholics of British India in a way most in accordance with the Government of the country, and the vicars apostolic and Catholics often sought to have their position officially recognised by the British Government. This they have never been able hitherto fully to effect; and their unrecognised position has been to them a source of much trouble. It is one of the first principles of law in India, that all religions are to be considered equal, and therefore in all disputed cases the constituted and known laws of every religion are to be taken into consideration.

The ecclesiastical concerns of 600,000 Catholics must necessarily give rise to frequent correspondence with Government, and this correspondence can only be properly carried on by those who are the duly acknowledged and accredited heads of the Catholic religion in India.

The utility of this measure will be evident, from the fact that Indo-Portuguese clergymen, who have no Catholic jurisdiction, and who merely seek their own interests, sometimes appear in different places, and create dissension, and even bloodshed, by their violent efforts under the alleged authority of the crown of Portugal, to get possession of the Catholic churches in India; in other cases the old churches of India are a source of continual and unfortunately warm dispute: they are held by Indo-Portuguese priests literally on the authority, as they say, of the crown of Portugal, though the Local Government has frequently declared that no such authority could be in anyway recognised; yet the fact is, that many churches are so held by about a tenth part of the congregation, to the exclusion of the nine other parts, who are obliged to perform their religious services in the open air or in temporary sheds. For years it has been the effort of the Catholic clergy to keep their flocks from acts of violence; these efforts have succeeded so far that their congregations have refrained from using violence, though they have very frequently been the victims of violence from the Portuguese. The question, as it at present stands, is by no means a religious one, but a mere question of police and civil government for the preservation of the peace of the country. If a regulation were passed recognising at once the position of the present vicars apostolic of India, in the same way as they are in the British colonies, thereby officially enabling them to correspond with Government, they would effectually be able to hinder the transmission of unfounded or intemperate complaints arising from the inexperience of young clergymen or other causes: Government could likewise receive from them a return of the priests authorised by them as Catholic chaplains or missionaries, premising that none, save those declared to be so authorised by the vicars' apostolic official report, should be recognised as Catholic clergymen, or entitled to receive stipends as chaplains or as Catholic clergymen. Thus would the relations of the Government of India with the Catholic Church of the country be placed on a footing which would be more satisfactory to Government itself, and more conducive to right order, than what now obtains—for daily experience proves that frequent contests arise between the legitimate clergyman under the control of the vicars apostolic and the Indo-Portuguese clergy under the pretended authority of the Archbishop of Goa, or the crown of Portugal (which authority is now no longer admitted in any way by the Catholic Church). Is it not really desirable that the Government of India should thus have the means of knowing who, under the legitimate authority of the Catholic Church, are duly exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction in British India?

The following Table will give an average estimate of the present numbers of the Catholic Church in India, both as regards the ecclesiastical divisions, the number of clergy, and of their flocks.

NAME OF VICARIAT.	Number of Clergy.	Number of Members in Congregations.
Western Bengal - - - - -	14	15,000
Eastern Bengal - - - - -	3	13,000
Madras - - - - -	21	46,500
Bombay - - - - -	26	30,000
Pondichery and Cuddalore - - - - -	35	96,600
Madura - - - - -	50	150,000
Hyderabad (Deccan) - - - - -	4	4,000
Vizagapatam - - - - -	9	4,000
Verapoly.* Latin rite - - - - -	43	70,000
Ditto Syriac rite - - - - -	-	160,000
Guilon - - - - -	15	20,000
Mangalore - - - - -	18	18,000
Cojmbatore - - - - -	7	20,000
Mysore - - - - -	15	19,100
Putna - - - - -	10	3,000
Agra - - - - -	17	20,000
Ava and Pegu - - - - -	13	3,000
Vicariats, 16.	Clergy, 303	People, 690,100

Efforts of the Holy See to effect this change.
In accordance with the present political position.
Remedy of existing causes of complaint.

Authorised correspondence with Government.

Interference of Goa essentially Portuguese and anti-English.
Subversive of peace and the rights of property.

Recognition of Catholic vicars apostolic.
Vicars apostolic alone authorised to correspond,

A measure to secure peace and order.

Present numbers of Catholics in India.

* There are also near 400 clergy of the Syriac rite in this district.

Number of Catholic clergymen.

Add to the 303 clergymen the 16 vicars apostolic, and there are 319 clergymen in India, of whom above 200 are Europeans, and many of them are employed as chaplains in the military stations. Every one of these clergymen have gone out to India at their own expense or at the expense of the Catholic Church. Besides the above, there are several nuns employed in the Catholic female orphanages. The number of European Catholic soldiers is estimated at about 16,000, besides which are the women and children, European and Indo-British.

Number of Protestant clergy.

By late official returns, it appears that the disbursements of the Indian Government for ecclesiastical purposes in general in 1850-51, may be resumed as follows:—

Presbyterian.

According to the official report before the India Committee, the number of paid clergymen of the Established Church is—for Bengal 65, Madras 31, Bombay 25. There are also two clergymen of the Scotch Kirk in each Presidency; and in the whole of India, as was stated, 78 Catholic clergymen receiving more or less pay for attending to the spiritual wants of the soldiers in garrison.*

Thus for the whole of India there was expended in one year—

		Total Expenditure.	Number of Clergymen.	Average receipt of each.
		£. s. d.		£.
Comparative pay.	Established Church - - -	107,855 14 -	121	891
	Scotch Church - - -	6,480 12 -	6	1,080
	Roman Catholic - - -	5,496 - -	78	70

This average is roughly taken by dividing the expenditure by the number of clergymen.

Comparative numbers of Europeans.

These figures, however, speak for themselves, and show how immensely underpaid the Catholic chaplains are, for the number of European Catholics is little inferior to the Protestants; and they are five or six times more numerous than the Presbyterians, who scarcely exceed 3,000 in the whole of India; and yet the duties of the Catholic chaplain are most arduous, and in general most conscientiously fulfilled. Chaplains of stations have frequently, at the request of the poor Catholic soldiers, marched with them into action, and assisted them in their dying moments on the most distant battle-fields of India; yet these long marches have been performed by the Catholic priest entirely at the expense of the poor Catholic soldier, or from his own private funds, which have often been cheerfully expended to the last farthing in the conscientious discharge of his arduous duties. Some have fallen on the battle-field, as Father Francis, at Moodkee, whilst consoling a dying soldier; very many, whose names are nowhere written on earth, have found their death by their constant attendance on the sick in hospitals. Let the question be put to the military surgeons, is the presence of the priest beneficial or not to the sick soldier? At all events, one-half of the British army in India is Catholic; they earnestly desire the presence of their clergy, and they prove this by themselves voluntarily supporting their priests out of their small pay. Do they not deserve the same consideration for their wants and requirements as their comrades of other religions? Are they less brave or less devoted?

Arduous duties of chaplains.

March with the men, unpaid and unassisted.

Killed in action.

Hospitals.

Desire of Catholic soldier to have his chaplain.

Remarks on number of chaplains.

The number of Catholic chaplains stated above, is taken from the official report of Mr. Cosmo Melvill, before the House of Lords. The number stated by him as receiving pay, was 78; but we believe that 56 would be nearer to the correct number, many of whom receive but 3*l.* or 4*l.* per month, whilst 15*l.* a month is the highest received by any Catholic chaplain. The sum given to the Catholic Church is likewise stated as 5,496*l.*, yet perhaps 3,700*l.* would be much nearer the mark; whilst the Protestant Bishop of Calcutta alone receives as his individual pay, 4,600 rupees per month, or 5,500*l.* per annum, the highest pay of a Catholic chaplain is 180*l.* per annum, and only four receive this sum; and this small pay of the chaplains has been practically considered as sufficient to enable the chaplain to build and repair his church, to keep it clean and lighted, and meet all other expenses. The exceptions in which Government has from time to time contributed something towards these expenses are very few, whereas a different course has been always pursued as regards the Protestant churches for Europeans, where the maintenance of the fabric is abundantly provided for. There is not, we believe, one instance in which Government has erected a church for its Catholic servants, and in very few cases have they even assisted in their erection, though upwards of 16,000 soldiers have to be provided with church accommodation.

Remarks on funds.

For all denominations of Protestants even churchyards are provided at the expense of the Government, whilst the Catholics have either to purchase their own burial-grounds, or, contrary to their principles and the discipline of their church, to have recourse to places of interment which, not being duly consecrated, are regarded by them as unhallowed and profane. It is, therefore, respectfully urged on the part of the Catholics, that all expenses for repairs of churches and for public worship, for providing suitable burial grounds, &c. for the British Catholic servants of the Government, be provided for them in the same manner as is done for Protestants. In many places where there are handsome Protestant churches, hundreds of Catholic soldiers have nothing but an outhouse or a barrack-room in which to perform their religious duties.

It

* See a more correct statement on the numbers later on.

It should be remembered that there is no regiment in India in which there is not a large proportion of Catholics, in many more than half. Besides the deficiency of pay, the inadequate number of Catholic chaplains should be noticed. In many of the large stations there should be two Catholic chaplains, as there are Protestant chaplains and assistants; for they are often grievously overworked, and in many cases are entirely incapable of meeting one-half of what is strictly expected of them.

Inadequate number of chaplains.

Instances might be cited of Catholic chaplains being called to hospital four or five times between sunset and sunrise, living at a mile from the hospital, and he had to walk this distance if too poor to keep a horse or pony. As long as things remain upon this footing, it cannot possibly be expected that educated gentlemen should devote themselves to this arduous service from any other motives save those of a conscientious discharge of a sacred duty.

Over work.

Motives which support them.

The very statement of this case, which is perhaps unknown in England, may contribute to procure its redress; for it would be unwarrantable to suppose that Government would deliberately traffic upon these high motives, and not pay the priest sufficient for his position, because higher and holier motives than mere gain induced him not to shrink from his task. Serjeants' pay is, it is true, sufficient to procure the bare necessaries of life, but it is quite insufficient for a chaplain to support himself according to his proper station, and even obliges him, from its smallness, to deprive himself of actual necessaries to meet in part those constant calls of charity which are one of his holiest duties. In most cases this deficiency has hitherto been met by voluntary subscriptions raised by the poor Catholic soldier out of his hard-earned pay; and, though these contributions are cheerfully and presingly offered, yet it is a pain for the chaplain to have recourse to them, and a constant source of irritation to the soldier to remember that they are rendered necessary by the inadequate support given by the Government. Pay in India, more than anywhere else, is a standard of respectability; and thus the very fact of offering the equivalent of serjeants' pay to an educated gentleman, is a humiliation to himself and a real degrading of his religion in the eyes of the natives, and this slur is extended to all the European Catholics of the station.

Remark on insufficient pay.

Voluntary help offered by soldiers.

One effect of small pay.

The fact of insufficiency of pay and want of a proper number of chaplains being admitted, both might be remedied by the adoption of the following or of some similar regulations:—

1. That in all cases where a Protestant chaplain would be provided for a certain number of Protestants, a Catholic chaplain should be also provided where there is a corresponding number of Catholics.

Proposed regulation.

2. That in all respects as to pay, furlough allowances, and retiring pension, the Catholic chaplain should receive one-half of what is allowed to the Government chaplains of the Church of England. But travelling allowance should be the same for both.

Number. Pay.

(The reason of this difference is obvious; the Catholic chaplains are all single men, and can live much more economically, but travelling allowance is an individual expense.)

3. That due and proportionate allowances be made for the providing of churches and burial-grounds, and for keeping them in proper repair for the Catholics as well as for the Protestants.

However much the Catholic chaplains may feel the insufficiency of their own pay, there are other wants which touch them far more nearly, and occasion much deeper grief. The chaplain who has stood often by the bed of the dying soldier, can feel more than he can express the anguish of the dying father, when he reflects on the probability and almost certainty that the children whom he leaves behind him will grow up either without education, or incur the risk of losing the religion they were born in. These feelings have embittered the dying moments of many a brave man, and with good reason, for all regimental schools and all Government orphanages are conducted on principles exclusively Protestant, so much so, that it is almost impossible to procure the means and opportunity of religious instruction for the Catholic children who frequent them; for, in fact, all these establishments and all regimental schools are conducted, as an official letter cited below states, on principles exclusively Protestant, and under the sole and exclusive direction of the Protestant minister; permission formally asked to be allowed to instruct the Catholic children in these establishments has in a few instances been granted for a time, but always, and in a short time, taken away again. It is true that there are a certain number of Catholic orphanages; but they are in no way assisted by the Government; nay, it has often been with much difficulty that Catholic orphans frequenting them were enabled to draw the military pay they are entitled to. After those campaigns in the north of India, a few years ago, which left so many orphans and widows, large sums were publicly subscribed, and also voted by the Government, for the support of the widows and education of the orphans. No part of this money was applied to the Catholic orphanages; and it was in all cases so applied that Catholic orphans were excluded from all benefits to be derived from it, unless they were placed in institutions where their religion was imperiled. The Lawrence Asylum in the North West Provinces is an instance of this. The injustice of this state of things would be immediately removed if the principle of Indian government were acted upon, which regards all religions as entitled to equal consideration, and if funds supplied by Government, or at their disposal, for the orphans of Europeans, were to be equally distributed amongst the schools or orphanages, according to the respective numbers of orphans and scholars in each, and if a due provision were made for the Indo-British and natives in service of Government.

Orphans.

Difficulties in education.

Catholic orphanages unsupported.

Remarks on orphans of the campaigns in the north.

Proposed remedy.

APPENDIX TO REPORT FROM THE

Already adopted
in Bombay.

In Bombay alone has some effort been successfully made to obtain a partial assistance from the Government for the Catholic orphans.

Occasion of this.

In the month of May 1850, the Right reverend Dr. Hartmann, vicar apostolic of Bombay, made official application to the Bombay Government, that either a Roman-catholic clergyman might be allowed to give religious instruction to the Catholic children in the Byculla schools, or that at least the children might be allowed to attend Divine service in a Catholic chapel about 50 paces from the institution. To this application a negative answer was returned, on the grounds that the Byculla schools were exclusively governed on Protestant principles. The Right reverend Dr. Hartmann therefore judged it incumbent upon him to endeavour immediately to provide for the poor Catholic children, by establishing a Catholic orphanage; and in this view, on the 13th July 1850, he applied to the Local Government, informing them of his intention, and requesting that his new orphanage might enjoy the same benefits as the other Government orphanages, and that each European child should receive the Government allowance of 5 rupees (10s.) per month so long as the orphanage continues under the patronage and direction of the Roman Catholic Bishop and vicar apostolic of Bombay.

Catholic Bishop
founds an orphan-
age.

Applies for help.

Obtains it.

This application received a most favourable answer: the Catholic orphanage received the full sanction of Government, as will be seen by the answer of Government, given below; and in a second letter orders were given to enable not only orphans, but other Catholic children, to attend the Catholic schools and orphanages, and to draw their pay of 5 rupees for orphans, and 2½ rupees for other children, from the Paymaster.

The following is the correspondence on the subject:—

“ No. 238 of 1850, Ecclesiastical Department.

To the Roman-catholic Bishop, Bombay.

Sir,

I HAVE had the honour to receive and submit to the Right honousable the Governor in Council your letter dated 13th July last, and am directed, in reply, to intimate that instructions will be issued for extending to the children of deceased Roman-catholic soldiers who may be admitted to the orphanage under the patronage and direction of the vicar apostolic of Bombay the same advantages as are enjoyed by the children of soldiers at the Byculla schools.

I have, &c.

(signed) *G. T. Lumsden,*
Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle, 30 September 1850.

Military Department, No. 593.

To the Right Reverend Dr. Hartmann, R. C. Bishop, Bombay.

Right Rev. Sir,

Bombay Castle, 25 February 1851.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 14th ultimo, and in reply to inform you that the military paymaster has been instructed to disburse the allowance of rupees (5) five per mensem for such children of deceased European soldiers as may be admitted into the Roman-catholic orphanage, and also to disburse to you the usual Government allowance of rupees (2. 8) rupees two and eight annas per mensem for the children of such living European soldiers as may admitted into the orphanage, instead of paying the sum to the parents of children.

I have &c.

(signed) *M. P. Melwill,*
Lieut.-Col., Sec. to Government.

Military Department, No. 1,956.

Sir,

Bombay Castle, 3 August 1852.

5. With reference to the request submitted in the latter part of the 2d clause of the 4th paragraph of your letter, I am to state that his Lordship in Council considers that the orphan children of all soldiers, Protestant or Roman-catholic, whose guardianship, from their parents not having otherwise provided for them, may pertain by law to regimental commanding officers, ought certainly to be secured as far as practicable against being educated in any other than the religion of their fathers; and it will therefore be made obligatory upon commanding officers of the Honourable Company's European regiments in all such cases, either to place the children under the care of persons of the same religious persuasion, or to place them in the Byculla school or Roman-catholic orphanage at Bombay, as being the mode of disposal most likely to accord with what their fathers would have desired.

I have, &c.

(signed) *T. G. Lumsden,*
Secretary to Government.”

To Dr. Hartman, Roman-catholic Bishop, Bombay.

The following instance, as remarked in a pamphlet of the Catholic Archbishop of Calcutta, may serve to elucidate what has been here stated of the difficulties under which Catholics labour. The La Martinière school of Calcutta, the annual income of which can be little short of 10,000 *l.*, was founded and endowed exclusively by a Catholic, the late General La Martin. It was well known that the general's intention was to found and endow an establishment for Catholic education, yet the principles on which this school is conducted are such that no Catholic can profit by it.

We have hitherto alluded solely to the spiritual wants of the Europeans and their children; but there is another numerous though humble body which claims the consideration of Government, viz. the Catholic native servants of the East India Company, and of the Europeans in India. Whilst immense sums are expended by Government in founding and endowing colleges and schools for the Hindoo and Mahomedan natives of India, nothing has been done for this large and useful class, and no provision whatever has been made for their religious wants.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your Honourable House will take these circumstances into consideration, and that in any measure which may be enacted for the government of India it may be provided—

1st. That the present position of the vicars apostolic of India be recognised by government in the same way as they are in the British colonies, thereby officially enabling them to correspond with Government on ecclesiastical affairs, and receiving from the vicars apostolic a return of the priests authorised by them as chaplains or missionaries,—premiting that none save those so authorised and entered in the vicars' apostolic official report should be recognised as Catholic chaplains or missionaries, or in any way entitled to receive salaries as such from the Government; also that a salary proportioned to their rank be allotted to the vicars apostolic, at least to those who have European stations and chaplains in their districts.

2d. That in all cases where a Protestant chaplain would be provided for a certain number of Protestants, a Catholic chaplain should also be provided for a corresponding number of Catholics; and that in all cases as to pay, furlough allowance, and retiring pension, &c. &c., one-half of what is allowed to the Government chaplains of the Church of England be allowed also to Catholic chaplains; but that the travelling allowance should be the same for both.

3d. That all Government allowance and assistance for churches, burial-grounds, orphanages, schools and expenses of public worship be extended equally and in like proportion to Protestants and Catholics.

4th. That in all mixed hospitals, gaols, schools, and establishments for Europeans, whether military or civil, in which there are both Protestants and Catholics, the Catholic chaplains shall have the same access and facilities for the religious instruction of his flock, as are granted to chaplains of the Established Church.

5th. That all funds which may be allotted by Government for educational purposes amongst the natives be equally and proportionately divided according to the numbers of each religion in the district where such schools may be placed.

And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

William Strickland, R. Cath. Chaplain,
Bombay.
Ignatius Persico, R. Cath. Chaplain, and
Secretary to the Vicar Apostolic of
Bombay.

} Both Commissioners
for the R. C. Vicars
Apostolic of India.

The PETITION of the Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures,
established by Royal Charter in the City of *Glasgow*,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your petitioners, and the community which they represent, are deeply interested in the trade between Great Britain and Her Majesty's Indian territories, and therefore in all that concerns the good government of these territories, the further development of their natural resources, and the peace, prosperity, and general welfare of Her Majesty's native subjects in India.

That your petitioners have long seen the urgent necessity for extensive reforms in the government of India, for the removal of impediments to the free action of native industry, and the full development of the natural resources of the country; for a more perfect administration of justice and a less oppressive system of taxation; in short, for that on which the security of Her Majesty's Indian territories and the stability and prosperity of our Indian trade mainly depend, the establishment of a system of government more perfect and efficient in all its departments, and more acceptable to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in India.

That the details and provisions of so important and extensive a measure demand the most careful and deliberate consideration of Her Majesty's Ministers and of your Honourable House, with all the aid that can be obtained from the evidence of persons, natives of India as well as of Great Britain, who, from long residence in India or any other cause, are qualified to give important and useful information for the guidance of your Honourable House.

Appendix, No. 2.

That the Bill now before your Honourable House, entitled "A Bill to provide for the Government of India," contains certain very useful and important reforms; in particular, the reduction of the number of Directors of the East India Company, and the introduction to that Board of members to be nominated by Her Majesty's Government; the opening to public competition all appointments to the college of Haileybury and the military school at Addiscombe, and also to the office of assistant-surgeon; and that your petitioners would humbly express their approval of the said Bill, because, while it provides for important and desirable reforms in the existing system of Government, it also allows time for maturely considering all the information that may be found necessary to enable Parliament to introduce such other changes as may appear desirable for the permanent government of India.

May it therefore please your Honourable House, considering these premises, to pass the Bill to provide for the government of India, and to take such steps as your Honourable House may consider advisable for ensuring the further reforms that may be found necessary in the internal government of India, and in the form and constitution of the Indian Government at home.

And the petitioners will ever pray, &c.

*Hugh Cogan, Chairmn.
John G. Kinneer, Secretary.*

The respectful PETITION of Mr. *George J. Waters*, lately a Justice of the Peace in India, and a Covenanted Civil Servant of the East India Company on the Madras Establishment, now of *Clevedon*, in the county of *Somerset*,

Humbly sheweth,

1. THAT you petitioner twice passed the examinations of the college at Haileybury with credit, and (obtaining honourable mention of obedience to the rules of that institution) finally stood the fifth among eight of 120 students "highly distinguished;" also that he received a donation of 1,000 pagodas, or 400*l.* in the college of Madras for a knowledge of certain native languages.

2. Rising through the minor grades of the judicial branch of the service, your petitioner has held the office of zillah and civil and sessions judge, together with Her Majesty's commission of the peace, in various districts; also of judge of appeal and circuit in all four divisions of the Madras territories, which no other civilian has ever done. During these circuits, which have necessarily subjected him to every vicissitude of a most trying climate, to a wandering life, separated from his family for many months, to extreme danger from sudden inundation and swollen rivers, to hazard of destruction in the northern division from the rebel chief Paek Row, he has had, through a course of 800 miles, to clear calendars (especially in times of famine) consisting of at least 1,000 prisoners, with five times as many witnesses; the fatigue, both in a bodily and mental point of view, attendant upon such vocations, and of subsequently transmitting to Madras, with translations into English, the records of trial in numerous cases of murder, &c., and in cases where there may have existed a difference of opinion between the judge and the Mahomedan law officer, is left to your Honourable House to imagine. Receiving the repeated acknowledgments of different Governments, your petitioner (who has also acted in the Secret Department under Sir Thomas Munro, and as civil auditor and mint master at Madras), was at length appointed first judge of the Sudder and Fouzdary Udaltut (or chief court of civil and criminal judicature) at the Presidency, and naturally anticipated, in due course, a seat in Council.

3. Your petitioner respectfully represents that from the high and honourable position above designated he was removed by the Marquis of Tweeddale (the then Governor), without cause, on the 20th of October 1846, and his hope of providing for a numerous infant family frustrated; also that the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to which body he looked for redress, confirmed the act of the Marquis on the 20th January 1847, in utter disregard of the facts of the case, and unmindful of a long, faithful, and (it is hoped) efficient course of service of 35 years.

4. In laying before your Honourable House the reasons assigned by the aforesaid authorities for an act, which all who have seen the papers utterly condemn, your petitioner, who is unable to meet the expenses attendant upon legal proceedings, and who has striven in vain to induce the Court of Directors to reconsider the case, and to draw the attention of the proprietors of India stock to a matter so deeply involving (in its consequences) their very existence as a body, humbly and fervently implores your Honourable House to grant him a patient hearing; unless this prayer be acceded to, the door of justice must remain closed to him (and to the many dependent upon him) for ever in this world.

5. A simple perusal of the official acts of the Marquis of Tweeddale in this matter will (it is believed) lead your Honourable House to conclude that he was not qualified by previous pursuits to realise the facts of the case, or to deal efficiently with its circumstances, consequently that many of the mistakes apparent upon his writings may be attributed to errors of judgment. This cannot be said of the Court of Directors; their duty was to have fully informed themselves, and to have set matters right.

The

The facts, divested of Indian phraseology and technicality, are briefly these :

6. In the year 1845 the three judges of the Sudder Court (Messrs. Waters, Lewin, and Boileau) officially disagreed: first, upon a construction of law, originating with serious outrages perpetrated by the heathen upon the Christian converts of Tinnavelly; second, upon the propriety of furnishing the Government with certain judicial information which they had called for; and, third, upon the expediency of forwarding a protest against such call to the Court of Directors. This state of things was well known to the Government of Madras; and your petitioner, on the 25th June and 2d July, and subsequently (or on the 8th July, and 2d and 11th August 1846) the other judges officially informed the Marquis to the effect that the energies of the Court were paralysed, the administration of justice in the provinces suspended at the fountain-head, and numbers of men lying in gaol whose cases could not be adjudicated upon, consequently that his orders were immediately necessary. Now it will be obvious to your Honourable House, that had the Government not neglected the letters above-mentioned, and, forgetful of its duty, allowed the administration of justice to be placed in abeyance, the matter might at once have been set at rest. Instead of this, nothing effectual was done or communicated to the judges for months, or until September and October 1846, when the Marquis broke up the Court and removed the judges, with Mr. Philips, the registrar, from office.

7. Such procrastination and procedure certainly manifested no regard for the interests of the people, and no sense of humanity or justice towards the judges and their families; it moreover left the great legal question which had divided the Court, undecided. The order too of the Marquis stands in direct opposition to two Acts of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain, namely; Act 39 & 40 Geo. 3, c. 79, sect. 12, and Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 85, sect. 59, which placed him (as residing upon the Neilgherry Hills, and absent from his Council) in the position of a private individual, and lodged the powers of Government in the hands of Mr. H. Dickenson, the counsellor then at the Presidency. The Marquis may not have been aware of this; not so the Court of Directors, who affirmed the Act, for your petitioner brought it to their notice, in a letter dated 1st January 1849, and Mr. Sullivan, formerly a member of Council at Madras, had (it is said) brought forward the fact during the government of Mr. Lushington; and the temporary or "three months" Act, 1 of 1835, passed by the Legislative Council of India (possibly in consequence) can, under no circumstances, annul any Act of Queen, Lords, and Commons. It is undoubtedly the fact, that the Court of Directors have presumed practically to abrogate two Acts of the Imperial Parliament, and through such medium deeply injured your petitioner.

8. The dissensions which occurred in the Sudder might have been obviated from the beginning, had not the Marquis appointed Mr. Boileau as third judge. This gentleman, since deceased, a kind and warm-hearted man, but not qualified to sit in a court, vested with authority to pass sentences of death without appeal, and to decide civil claims in the last resort, unlimited in extent, himself told me (not in any confidence) that when his appointment to the Sudder Court was proposed, Mr. Dickenson, the junior counsellor, had placed upon record a minute noting his incapacity to fill the said office, and that he had, notwithstanding, been forced into it. The arrangement, to quote from his memorial, appears to have been made to save money: it runs thus: "His Lordship desires me (one of the assistant secretaries) to point out to you that, as you are at present drawing a salary above the amount now fixed for sessions judges, a reduction to that extent would most probably follow your refusal of the present offer,"—that is of a seat in the Sudder Court.

9. In the very order of the 17th September 1846, by which the aforesaid gentleman was removed from the Sudder Court on the grounds that he "was wanting in discretion and judgment, and in the independence of mind and character essential for the efficient performance of the important duties devolving on the court" (the very thing which it must be presumed, had been previously recorded in Council) he was promised another early appointment in the judicial branch of the service. Accordingly, at an early period, he was appointed to the situation of civil and sessions judge, a situation embracing vast power (though subordinate in some, not in all respects, to the Sudder Court), and calling for great "discretion and judgment." And this appointment, the Court of Directors (who, for reasons assigned, had confirmed the removal of the third judge from the Sudder Court) virtually affirm. In mercy to the millions of Hindostan, your Honourable House is requested to look into these things. Decrees, proceedings, and orders have frequently come officially in appeal before your petitioner (who can supply you with much valuable and astounding information) most disgraceful in their character, passed by men utterly incompetent to fill the office of a judge, and often unacquainted with the laws especially, were removed from the revenue branch.

10. As regards your petitioner, who had conscientiously sided with the Government in the matter of their call for papers, and the protest, and in consequence, been led to record minutes opposed to the sentiments of the second and third judges, his removal from office involved an enigma which astonished every person (even the second and third judges); and Mr. Dickenson (then by Acts of Parliament the Governor) suspended the order for a full month, and recorded minutes against it. Mr. Chamier, the senior counsellor, then absent on sick leave upon the Hills, is said positively to have refused to join the Marquis in his proceedings. Your Honourable House is implored to call for papers; the proceeding is very serious in its character.

Appendix, No. 2.

11. The Marquis, in his order of the 20th October 1846, for the removal of your petitioner, adduces no corrupt practices, no act of disobedience or neglect of duty, or of incapacity; no crime or moral offence, or failure in respect to the social or relative duties of life; nothing, in short, is adduced but alleged "irregularities," to justify the measure, and which, if they were such, should have been noted at the time when they were brought officially to his notice by your petitioner himself. He ought not to have been left to suppose that his measures were approved by the Government, perhaps to repeat the irregularity in consequence; and after the expiration of months, to find himself degraded and removed from office. Surely humanity, independently of still higher principles, should have been permitted to plead at least in behalf of the children of one who had faithfully toiled amidst death and suffering for 35 years in such a climate as India.

12. Your Honourable House will fully understand the force of this argument (and it is hoped, adopt a similar resolution), if you will turn to the decision of Lords Langdale, Brougham, Campbell, and Sir A. Johnstone, of Her Majesty's Privy Council, who condemned and reversed the order of the judges of the Supreme Court of Madras, for the removal of Mr. Minchin, who filled some honourable post under the judges. It was ruled upon the occasion in question, that if Mr. Minchin was in error, he ought to have been told so at the time, seeing that the judges had long been cognisant of the matter.

13. Your petitioner will apply this. The Marquis, in his order of the 20th of October 1846, assigns as one irregularity, that your petitioner had refrained from placing a certain letter addressed by him to the Government on the 25th June 1846, upon the records of the court. Now this very fact, which your petitioner himself brought to the notice of the second and third judges in court, and to the knowledge of the chief secretary, then with the Marquis upon the Hills; he also communicated officially to that nobleman on the 14th of July 1846. In this letter, the Marquis was requested to bring the fact, if necessary, to the knowledge of the Court Directors; and informed that if the letter were placed on record, it would probably, like many others, be sent with very injurious effects, to the newspaper by some one in the office, and perhaps excite tumult among the natives. The minutes of the second and third judges, or all they had to say upon the subject, accompanied. Now this proceeding was before the Marquis for more than three months; and if there existed any irregularity, why did he not say so at the time, especially as the Court of Directors had been referred to?

14. Your Honourable House will learn with great regret that this letter of the 25th of June 1846, made upon such extraordinary grounds the medium of his removal from office, was acknowledged by the Marquis, and acted upon in his minute of the 24th of July 1846, and when the letter of the 14th of July (above noted) must have been before him. The Marquis is here clearly shown, with knowledge of all circumstances, to have, as it were, adopted the very letter on account of which your petitioner months afterwards was removed by him from office. Such removal, were it just, virtually pleaded for the removal of the Marquis also, as the Court of Directors must have perceived.

15. The Court of Directors, speaking of this, call it a "secret transaction." How secret? when all were told of it, minutes forwarded, the Court of Directors referred to, and reasons assigned which, if deemed unsatisfactory, should have led the Marquis to have ordered it to be placed instantly upon the records, and not at a subsequent period. This nobleman himself, obviously annoyed at the remark of the Directors, as reflecting upon himself, says, in his minute of the 23d of March 1847 (no doubt referring to your petitioner's letter of the 14th of July 1846), "There was nothing in it to indicate that it was intended to partake, or did in any way partake, of the character of a private or secret accusation." What conceivable object, it may be asked (for none has been assigned), could your petitioner have had but the legitimate and humane object he from the first set forth, namely, that of preventing the possibility of revolt and bloodshed, in connexion with the Tinnavelly outrages, and of preventing the further spread of the bitter animosities which then agitated the Presidency?

16. The Court of Directors, in remarking that your petitioner should have communicated with the judges, have altogether overlooked the fact that his sentiments were already before them in a case precisely analogous, and where compliance with the orders of Government had been attended with the happiest result. They have also (though both circumstances were communicated to them) deemed it right to pass over the fact that the third judge, who had coincided with your petitioner, and endorsed upon the letter from Government, "This requisition (that is, the Government requisition for papers) should be conformed to without loss of time," suddenly changed his mind, and embraced the views of the second judge! Thus thwarted, and placed in a minority by a gentleman who ought not to have been appointed to the court, your petitioner deemed it the proper course to address, not the second and third judges, who knew his sentiments, and had placed their determination upon record, but the Government. If in this respect he erred (which is not admitted) he ought to have been told so at the time.

17. Another irregularity noted is that your petitioner had used the words "heathen and Christians" in his public writing. Now, in a minute dated the 23d of March, 1847, the Marquis himself admits that he had frequently done the same thing; and objects to the censure of the Court of Directors passed against him, on the grounds that they ought, at an earlier

earlier period, to have noticed the circumstance. Had the Marquis extended this consideration to your petitioner, he would not have been necessitated to seek redress from your august tribunal.

18. An other irregularity adduced is that your petitioner had on the 16th of July 1846, addressed a letter to a certain newspaper in self-defence when slandered in the newspapers. Now your petitioner, on the 23rd or 24th of July, informed the Government that he had done so. If incorrect, why was he not then rebuked instead of being left perhaps to repeat the irregularity, and meet with dismissal months afterwards? Your petitioner gave publicity to no official document, and consequently committed no offence. So strictly indeed was his letter confined, as the Marquis admits, to self-defence, that the public were requested to suspend all judgment till the truths, in deference to Government orders, could with propriety be made known. It was the duty of the Government themselves, by the Bengal letter of the 30th of August 1843, to have protected your petitioner upon other occasions when attacked by writings in the office, but this they utterly neglected to do. The letter in the newspaper was signed, it is remarked, in a feigned name. Yes, to prevent a paper war among the editors throughout the Presidency, and to prevent the spread of uncharitable remarks and ill-will it was so signed; and, seeing that it was solely written in self-defence, what does it signify how it was signed?

19. The Marquis adverts also to an altercation which took place (not in the court, but in chambers). Such altercation, had he (*vide* paragraph 6) attended to the letters of the judges, would have been altogether avoided. It is sufficient to remark that your petitioner regrets having, in an elevated tone of voice, asked for information (when denied) respecting an injurious letter. And, no doubt, Mr. Lewin regrets having, when excited, used expressions which otherwise would not have been thought of. As to remarks about religious expressions, indicating weakness of judgment, style of writing, and animosity, they merit no attention; if aught upon such grounds became apparent and was deemed objectionable, it should have been checked at time. The consistent walk of your petitioner as a gentleman and a Christian can be deposed to, were it necessary, by many men of high rank, both among the clergy and the laity; and to the last moment of life he will rejoice in the fact that he advocated the cause of the Christians of Tinnavelly, whose houses and schools were plundered by hundreds of armed midnight ruffians from the heathen; who also violated their females and perpetrated every possible outrage. As to animosity, if anything could sanction such a principle, it would be the conduct he has experienced at the hands of the Directors; but he cherishes no such feeling, it is abhorrent to his principles.

20. Your petitioner has every reason to believe that the onerous and responsible duty of dealing with such important matters, and the merit of crushing the first court in the Madras Presidency, devolved not upon the twenty-four members, who in October 1846, constituted the Court of Directors, but upon a secret committee, two members alone having signed the despatch of the 20th of January 1847. Be this as it may, the injustice is the same. Possibly a perusal of this paper may excite some compassion and regret in the hearts of those who perpetrated it.

21. Your Honourable House will deeply regret to learn, in addition, that your petitioner's removal was sanctioned before his memorial (written without delay) reached England; that is, without any opportunity being allowed him of making any defence, or even of presenting an answer. In the face of a proceeding, not adopted even in the case of the most abandoned criminal, an appeal preferred to the Court of Directors, subsequently to his reaching England, obtained no other notice than that the case had been "deliberately considered!" Surely this falls little short of adding insult to injury. "Deliberately considered," without permitting the accused to offer explanation or defence, and without detecting the weakness and rectifying the errors, so self-evident upon the proceedings of the Marquis.

22. Assured, as mentioned in his memorial, that the Court of Directors must necessarily restore him to the Sudder Court as soon as the case reached England, your petitioner, for the sake of his family, accepted a subordinate situation in the interim; when, however, the proceedings of the Marquis were confirmed, and the full salary drawn by him previously to entering the Sudder Court was refused, though granted to the third judge, Mr. Boileau, he felt constrained to resign the service. It is submitted that no man of proper feeling could act otherwise.

23. Your Petitioner, as one of Her Majesty's justices of the peace for not less than 20 years, was also a servant of the Crown, as well as a servant of the East India Company; he may, therefore, it is hoped, under sec. 51, cap. 85, Act 3 & 4 William 4, claim with greater confidence the intervention of Parliament, to which high authority it is reserved to control, supersede or prevent all proceedings and acts whatsoever of the Governor-general in Council, and of course of the minor Presidency of Madras. And the more so, because his removal was not opposed to justice merely, but, as shown in the seventh paragraph of this petition, to two Acts of the realm. In being deprived, upon grounds almost unintelligible, of a situation of 5,000 £, per annum, he cannot but feel that he has experienced deep ingratitude and shameful wrong, which it is the duty of his country, so long and faithfully served, to redress.

24. Lastly, your petitioner respectfully requests that you will, if necessary, call him to your bar to reply to any remarks which may be made, to produce or point out his documents, and to name his witnesses. Your Honourable House is further entreated, after due consideration, to pass such final orders as may appear in your wisdom to be just and proper, or,

Appendix, No. 2. with the consent of Her Majesty, to direct his appointment, under the last clause of sec. 61, Act 3 & 4 William 4, cap. 85, to any office which past pursuits may qualify him to fill under such form of government as may prospectively be determined upon for India.

And your petitioner will ever pray, &c.

Clevedon, 28 June 1853.

George J. Waters.

The PETITION of the undersigned Merchants, Manufacturers, Wholesale Traders, and Others connected with the Trade of the Town and Neighbourhood of *Warrington*, in the county of *Lancaster*,

Showeth,

THAT manufactured and other goods, to the value of many thousand pounds a year, are supplied by the merchants, manufacturers, and wholesale traders of *Warrington*, for use or consumption in the neighbouring salt district of *Cheshire*.

That the demand for such goods in that district greatly depends upon the prosperity of the *Cheshire* salt trade.

That the unfair and oppressive duty of about 7*l.* per ton, imposed by the East India Company upon salt alone on its importation to British India, while all other goods are admitted to that country at moderate *ad valorem* duties, prevents an immensely greater quantity than otherwise would be of salt from being exported to those territories, which is injurious to your petitioners in proportion to its prejudicial effect upon the salt trade of *Cheshire*.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that, whatever new charter or terms be granted to the East India Company, a clause may be inserted therein, stipulating that no higher duty shall be charged in proportion to its value upon salt, on its importation to British India, than is levied upon any other goods or merchandise whatever.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Joseph Perrin, Mayor.

Peter Rylands, J. P.

Benj. Pierpoint, J. P.

&c. &c. &c.

The humble PETITION of the Merchants, Manufacturers, Tradesmen, and Others of the City of *Manchester*,

Showeth,

THAT the period is close at hand when the Government of this country is expected to legislate for the future Government of India.

That the enlightened commercial policy of this country has tended greatly to ameliorate the condition of the masses of the working population, by placing within their reach the necessaries as well as many of the luxuries of life.

That your petitioners feel a great interest in the future well-being of India, and deeply deplore the existence of a law which all but deprives the working classes in that country of one of the most essential articles of life, namely, salt.

That a constant supply of salt, of good quality and at a reasonable price, is of the utmost importance to the extensive population of India, particularly to the poorer classes.

That at present they are mainly dependent upon this article manufactured in that country, which is impure in quality, uncertain and insufficient in supply, and most costly in price.

That if the salt manufactured in England could be imported into India upon the same terms as other imports, a sufficient quantity could be sent to meet the wants of that country, pure in quality, certain and sufficient in supply, and at a comparatively small cost.

That you petitioners believe it to be impolitic and unjust to impose a heavy tax on the importation of any of the necessaries of life.

That the East India Company impose a duty upon salt equal to 7*l.* per ton, which is not less than 2,000 per cent. upon its value, whereby the supply is become a monopoly in the hands of that Company.

That the imposition of such a duty is contrary to the commercial policy of this country, and highly oppressive towards the native population of India.

That the opening of the trade would materially benefit the commercial interests of this country, and your petitioners believe that so important a concession as is now suggested would not only lead to a vast increased demand, but would add materially to the happiness and comfort of the inhabitants of that enormous empire.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray, that in any arrangements for the future government of India, provisions may be made to permit salt to be imported to all parts of British India, either free, or at a merely nominal rate of duty.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Robert Barnes, Mayor of Manchester.

Thos. Houldsworth & Co.

Oswald, Stevenson, & Co.

&c. &c. &c.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood of *Northwich*, in the County of *Chester*, Appendix, No. 2.

Showeth,

THAT on an average of several years past, not less than 600,000 tons of salt have been annually made from brine and rock salt in the salt districts of Cheshire, giving employment by land and water to at least 5,000 able-bodied men.

That a constant supply of salt of good quality, and at reasonable prices, is of the utmost importance to the extensive population of British India, particularly the lower classes; but at present they are almost entirely dependent upon the article manufactured in that country, which is impure in quality, uncertain and insufficient in supply, and costly in price.

That if the salt manufactured in England could be imported into India upon the same terms as other produce, a sufficient quantity could be sent from the salt districts of Cheshire to meet the wants of that country, pure in quality, certain and sufficient in supply, and low in price.

That under no circumstances should any tax or duty be imposed on salt, but in proportion to its value, compared with other articles of commerce taxed by the East India Company.

That the East India Company have imposed an import duty upon salt equal to 7*l.* a ton, which of itself is not less than twenty times the value of the article, whereby the supply has become a monopoly in the hands of that Company.

That the imposition of such duty is contrary to the commercial policy of this country, and unjust and oppressive towards the native population of India; and thereby the manufacturers of salt in Cheshire and elsewhere, are shut out from the markets of that extensive country, or nearly so.

That the opening of the trade would materially benefit such manufacturers and others within such districts; and your petitioners believe that the great saving in the cost of salt would lead to a much greater demand by the native population of India for the cotton and other goods of English manufacture, and thereby greatly benefit the whole commercial and trading interests of this country.

Your petitioners therefore pray, that in any charter to be now granted to the East India Company, provision may be made that English salt may be imported into all parts of British India upon the same terms and conditions as other goods and manufactures.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Lee P. Townshend, Chairman,
Magistrate for Cheshire.

J. H. Harper,
Magistrate for Cheshire.

Henry Ashton,
&c. &c. &c.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of the Borough of *Droitwich*, and Others, interested in the manufacture of Salt, in the said Borough and District,

Showeth,

THAT your petitioners are largely interested in the manufacture of salt, and are injuriously affected by the restrictions at present imposed by the East India Company on the importation of salt into India.

That your petitioners would humbly represent to your Honourable House, that the manufacture of salt as at present carried on in India, under the control and protection of the East India Company, is in manifest violation or evasion of the Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, cap. 85, by which the Company were required to close their commercial business, and to discontinue and abstain from all commercial business which shall not be incident to the closing of their actual concerns; that by the monopoly thus created, the price of salt is rendered exorbitant, whilst the article itself is impure and inferior in quality, and the consumption is materially checked; so that while the consumption of salt in this country is estimated at 25lbs. per head per annum, the consumption in India is stated by the President of the Board of Control to be only 12lbs. per head per annum, although medical authorities are of opinion that a free supply of salt is essential to health in tropical climates.

That the import duty of 7*l.* per ton is entirely disproportioned to the value of the article, and that other disadvantages are entailed on the importer; so that the exportation of salt from this country to India is limited to about 50,000 tons per annum, while at the rate of 12lbs. per head, the consumption would be upwards of 800,000 tons per annum.

That to impede by fiscal restrictions the intercourse between this country and our own possessions in India, is contrary to those principles of commercial policy which have been applied to the removal of restrictions on our intercourse with foreign states; and that it is the duty of the Government and of the East India Company to provide for the collection of a revenue in India, without excluding the British merchant from the benefit of a market to which he has natural and paramount claims to be admitted.

Appendix, No. 2.

That the shipping and mercantile interests of this country will benefit largely by the cultivation of a salt trade with India, and that this and every other measure which tends to raise the condition and enhance the resources of the native population of India, will extend the demand for British manufactured products in India, benefit other branches of the home trade, and conduce to the benefit of Her Majesty's subjects generally, both in India and the United Kingdom; while, at the same time, your petitioners believe that moderate import duty on salt would yield a larger and more certain revenue than can be obtained under the present system, as the consumption would be vastly increased.

Your petitioners therefore pray, that in any measure for the future government of India, your Honourable House will provide a remedy for the evils herein set forth.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

J. H. Bradley, Mayor of Droitwich.

M. W. Lee.

T. G. Smith.

&c. &c. &c.

The humble Petition of the Mayor, Alderman, and Burgesses of the Borough of *Wych*, otherwise *Droitwich*, in the County of *Worcester*.

Showeth,

THAT the manufacture of salt is the staple trade of this borough, and that its inhabitants are frequently subjected to commercial depression, and the labouring classes, both salt-makers, bargemen, and others, employed in the conveyance of salt to the port of Gloucester, to deficiency of employment and consequent distress, arising from the want of a more extended market for the salt manufactured in the United Kingdom.

That a most extensive market for the salt of this country exists in our Indian empire, but that the East India Company, by monopolising the manufacture of salt in Bengal, and by the imposition of an enormous duty of 7*l.* per ton on its importation, have nearly excluded British salt from the Indian market.

Your petitioners therefore pray, that on the expiration of the East India Company's charter, your Honourable House will abolish the internal monopoly of the East India Company, which checks the consumption of salt, an article so necessary to the people of India, and will provide for the admission of British salt on fair and equitable terms.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Given under the seal of the said Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses, at the Court Chamber within the borough aforesaid, the 14th day of June 1853.

(Seal.)

The humble Petition of the Chamber of Commerce of the City and Port of *Gloucester*,

Showeth,

THAT your Petitioners are merchants and shipowners generally interested in the promotion of commerce, and especially so in the export of salt, Gloucester being the nearest port for the export of the almost inexhaustible resources of the Worcestershire Brine Springs; and that their trade is materially diminished and deprived of a fair opportunity of progressive development by the restriction at present imposed by the East India Company on the importation of British salt into India.

That your petitioners would humbly represent to your Honourable House that the manufacture of salt, as at present carried on in India, under the control and protection of the East India Company, is in manifest violation or evasion of the Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 85, by which the Company were required to close their commercial business and to discontinue and abstain from all commercial business which shall not be incident to the closing of their actual concerns; that by the monopoly thus created, the price of salt is rendered exorbitant, whilst the article itself is impure and inferior in quality, and the consumption is materially checked; so that while the consumption of salt in this country is estimated at 25 lbs. per head per annum, the consumption in India is stated by the President of the Board of Control to be only 12 lbs. per head per annum, although medical authorities are of opinion that a free supply of salt is essential to health in tropical climates.

That the import duty of 7*l.* per ton is entirely disproportioned to the value of the article, which could be shipped from this port at 10*s.* to 12*s.* per ton; and that other disadvantages are entailed on the importer, so that the exportation of salt from this country to India is limited to about 50,000 tons per annum, while, at the rate of 12 lbs. per head, the consumption would be upwards of 800,000 tons per annum.

That to impede by fiscal restrictions the intercourse between this country and our own possessions.

possessions in India, is contrary to those principles of commercial policy which have been applied in the removal of restrictions on our intercourse with foreign states, and that it is the duty of the Government and the East India Company to provide for the collection of a revenue in India, without excluding the British merchant from the benefit of a market to which he has natural and paramount claims to be admitted.

Appendix, No. 2.

That the shipping and mercantile interests of this country will benefit largely by the cultivation of a salt trade with India, and that this and every other measure which tends to raise the condition and enhance the resources of the native population of India will extend the demand for British manufactured products in India, benefit other branches of the home trade, and conduce to the benefit of Her Majesty's subjects generally, both in India and the United Kingdom; while at the same time your petitioners believe that moderate import duty on salt would yield a larger and more certain revenue than be obtained under the present system, as the consumption would be vastly increased.

Your petitioners therefore pray, that in any measure for the future government of India, your Honourable House will provide a remedy for the evils herein set forth.

And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Signed on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce,
T. M. Sturge, Vice-Chairman.

Appendix, No. 3.

Appendix, No. 3.

COPY of the REGULATIONS respecting the ALLOWANCE of Batta to the Officers of Her Majesty's Service, whilst within the Limits of the Company's Charter.

COPY CIRCULAR MARINE DESPATCH to Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, dated 10 March 1852.

Para. 1. Having received frequent representations as to the operation of the regulations respecting batta and other allowances made by the East India Company to the officers of the Royal Navy serving on the East India station, we have thought proper to revise those regulations, and we direct that in lieu of them the following be henceforth adopted. The batta payable shall be according to the subjoined scale, viz. :—

	PER ANNUM.
	Rs.
To the Commander-in-Chief, not being below the rank of Rear-Admiral, at the rate of - - - - -	30,000
To a Commodore, succeeding to the chief command by the death, resignation, or coming away of the Commander-in-Chief, at the rate of - - - - -	15,000
To a Captain, succeeding to the chief command by the death, resignation, or coming away of the Commander-in-Chief, at the rate of - - - - -	10,000
To the Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, at the rate of - - - - -	1,200
To the second in command, not being below the rank of Commodore, at the rate of - - - - -	10,000
To the Secretary to the second in command, at the rate of - - - - -	800
To every Captain, at the rate of - - - - -	5,000
To every Commander, at the rate of - - - - -	2,500
To a Lieutenant commanding a vessel of war, but not a transport, at the rate of - - - - -	850
To the ward room, or Lieutenants' mess of a first, second, or third-rate ship, at the rate of - - - - -	2,500
To the ditto, ditto, of a fourth-rate ship, at the rate of - - - - -	2,000
To the ditto, ditto, of a fifth-rate ship, at the rate of - - - - -	1,700
To the ditto, ditto, of a sixth-rate ship, at the rate of - - - - -	1,250
To the ditto, ditto, of a sloop or other vessel commanded by a commander, at the rate of - - - - -	850

2. The rate of a ship is to be determined according to the classification inserted in the Navy List, published by authority of the Board of Admiralty.

3. Payment of batta to the Naval Commander-in-Chief shall commence from the date of his arrival at the first port within the limits of his command, and shall cease on his departure from the last port within those limits, and during the same period the secretary and the flag-lieutenant of the Commander-in-Chief shall also be entitled to batta.

4. Batta shall not however be paid to any other officers, except while serving in that part of the Indian seas (or in the gulfs or bays communicating therewith) included within the 10th parallel of south latitude, and the 105th degree of east longitude; payment commencing on the arrival of the ship on board which they may be serving at the first port within the said limits, and ceasing on her departure from the last port within the same.

Appendix, No. 3.

5. Further, in supercession of our orders of 11th April 1848, addressed to your Presidency, and of all other orders hitherto issued relative to the accommodation of officers of Her Majesty's Navy, when required to be on shore upon the public service, we direct that allowances in lieu of house rent and accommodation on shore are to be paid to the officers specified according to the subjoined scale, viz:—

	PER ANNUM.
To the Naval Commander-in-Chief, not being below the rank of Rear Admiral, at the rate of	Rs. 3,500
To the second in command, not being below the rank of Commodore, at the rate of	2,500
To a Commodore or Captain, succeeding to the chief command by the death, resignation or coming away of the Commander-in-Chief, at the rate of	2,500
To each Captain, at the rate of	1,000

6. These allowances being payable to the officers in question whether actually resident on shore or not, for any period during which according to the regulations laid down in this despatch, they may be entitled to batta. These allowances being thus rendered continuous, are intended to provide for the accommodation on shore of the naval officers of superior rank in whatever part of the Company's territories they may happen to be, and as it has hitherto been customary to issue payments of batta to naval officers at Madras only, it will be more convenient if the payment of allowances in lieu of house rent likewise be henceforth paid at the same place.

7. In accordance with our letter to the Government of Madras, of 21st May 1844, the practice of requiring agents drawing batta for naval officers to give security for its refund, if overdrawn, must be carefully continued.

8. We shall communicate a copy of this despatch for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Marine Department, East India House,
the 10th June 1853.

J. C. Mason.

East India House,
14 June 1853.

James C. Melvill.

Appendix, No. 4.

Appendix, No. 4.

PAPERS delivered in by Sir C. E. Trevelyan.

EXTRACT from a Work on the Education of the People of India, by Charles E. Trevelyan, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, London 1838.

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.

CHAP. VII.

The Political Tendency of the different Systems of Education in use in India.

THERE can be no dispute as to what our duty as the rulers of India requires us to do. But it has been said, and may be said again, that whatever our duty may be, it is not our policy to enlighten the natives of India; that the sooner they grow to man's estate, the sooner they will be able to do without us; and that by giving them knowledge, we are giving them power, of which they will make the first use against ourselves.

If our interest and our duty were really opposed to each other, every good man; every honest Englishman, would know which to prefer. Our national experience has given us too deep a sense of the true ends of government, to allow us to think of carrying on the administration of India except for the benefit of the people of India. A nation which made so great a sacrifice to redeem a few hundred thousand negroes from slavery, would shudder at the idea of keeping a hundred millions of Indians in the bondage of ignorance, with all its frightful consequences, by means of a political system supported by the revenue taken from the Indians themselves. Whether we govern India ten or a thousand years, we will do our duty by it: we will look, not to the probable duration of our trust, but to the satisfactory discharge of it, so long as it shall please God to continue it to us. Happily, however, we are not on this occasion called upon to make any effort of disinterested magnanimity. Interest and duty are never really separated in the affairs of nations, any more than they are in those of individuals; and in this case they are in indissolubly united, as a very slight examination will suffice to show.

The Arabian or Mahomedan system is based on the exercise of power and the indulgence of passion. Pride, ambition, the love of rule, and of sensual enjoyment, are called in to the aid of religion. The earth is the inheritance of the Faithful: all besides are infidel

infidel usurpers, with whom no measures are to be kept, except what policy may require. Universal dominion belongs to the Mahomedans by Divine right. Their religion obliges them to establish their predominance by the sword; and those who refuse to conform are to be kept in a state of slavish subjection. The Hindu system, although less fierce and aggressive than the Mahomedan, is still more exclusive: all who are not Hindus are impure outcasts, fit only for the most degraded employments; and, of course, utterly disqualified for the duties of government, which are reserved for the military, under the guidance of the priestly caste. Such is the political tendency of the Arabic and Sanskrit systems of learning. Happily for us, these principles exist in their full force only in books written in difficult languages, and in the minds of a few learned men; and they are very faintly reflected in the feelings and opinions of the body of the people. But what will be thought of that plan of national education which would revive them and make them popular; would be perpetually reminding the Mahomedans that we are infidel usurpers of some of the fairest realms of the Faithful, and the Hindus, that we are unclean beasts, with whom it is a sin and a shame to have any friendly intercourse. Our bitterest enemies could not desire more than that we should propagate systems of learning which excite the strongest feelings of human nature against ourselves.

The spirit of English literature, on the other hand, cannot but be favourable to the English connection. Familiarly acquainted with us by means of our literature, the Indian youth almost cease to regard us as foreigners. They speak of our great men with the same enthusiasm as we do. Educated in the same way, interested in the same objects, engaged in the same pursuits with ourselves, they become more English than Hindu; just as the Roman provincials became more Romans than Gauls or Italians. What is it that makes us what we are, except living and conversing with English people, and imbibing English thoughts and habits of mind? They do so too: they daily converse with the best and wisest Englishmen through the medium of their works; and form, perhaps, a higher idea of our nation than if their intercourse with it were of a more personal kind. Admitted behind the scenes, they become acquainted with the principles which guide our proceedings; they see how sincerely we study the benefit of India in the measures of our administration; and from violent opponents, or sullen conformists, they are converted into zealous and intelligent co-operators with us. They learn to make a proper use of the freedom of discussion which exists under our government, by observing how we use it ourselves; and they cease to think of violent remedies, because they are convinced that there is no indisposition on our part to satisfy every real want of the country. Dishonest and bad rulers alone derive any advantage from the ignorance of their subjects. As long as we study the benefit of India in our measures, the confidence and affection of the people will increase in proportion to their knowledge of us.

But this is not all. There is a principle in human nature which impels all mankind to aim at improving their condition; every individual has his plan of happiness; every community has its ideas of securing the national honour and prosperity. This powerful and universal principle, in some shape or other, is in a state of constant activity; and if it be not enlisted on our side, it must be arrayed against us. As long as the natives are left to brood over their former independence, their sole specific for improving their condition is, the immediate and total expulsion of the English. A native patriot of the old school has no notion of anything beyond this; his attention has never been called to any other mode of restoring the dignity and prosperity of his country. It is only by the infusion of European ideas, that a new direction can be given to the national views. The young men, brought up at our seminaries, turn with contempt from the barbarous despotisms under which their ancestors groaned, to the prospect of improving their national institutions on the English model. Instead of regarding us with dislike, they court our society, and look upon us as their natural protectors and benefactors: the summit of their ambition is, to resemble us; and, under our auspices, they hope to elevate the character of their countrymen, and to prepare them by gradual steps for the enjoyment of a well-regulated and therefore a secure and a happy independence. So far from having the idea of driving the English into the sea uppermost in their minds, they have no notion of any improvement but such as rivets their connection with the English, and makes them dependent on English protection and instruction. In the re-establishment of the old native governments they see only the destruction of their most cherished hopes, and a state of great personal insecurity for themselves.

The existing connection between two such distant countries as England and India, cannot, in the nature of things, be permanent; no effort of policy can prevent the natives from ultimately regaining their independence. But there are two ways of arriving at this point. One of these is, through the medium of revolution; the other, through that of reform. In one, the forward movement is sudden and violent; in the other, it is gradual and peaceable. One must end in a complete alienation of mind and separation of interests between ourselves and the natives; the other in a permanent alliance, founded on mutual benefit and good-will.

The only means at our disposal for preventing the one and securing the other class of results is, to set the natives on a process of European improvement, to which they are already sufficiently inclined. They will then cease to desire and aim at independence on the old Indian footing. A sudden change will then be impossible; and a long continuance of our present connection with India will even be assured to us. A Mahratta or Mahomedan despotism might be re-established in a month; but a century would scarcely suffice to prepare the people for self-government on the European model. The political education of a nation must be a work of time; and while it is in progress, we shall be as safe as it will be possible for us to be. The natives will not rise against us, because we shall stoop to raise them; there will be no re-action, because there will be no pressure; the national activity will

Appendix, No. 4.

will be fully and harmlessly employed in acquiring and diffusing European knowledge, and in naturalising European institutions. The educated classes, knowing that the elevation of their country on these principles can only be worked out under our protection, will naturally cling to us. They even now do so. There is no class of our subjects to whom we are so thoroughly necessary as those whose opinions have been cast in the English mould; they are spoiled for a purely native regime; they have everything to fear from the premature establishment of a native government; their education would mark them out for persecution; the feelings of independence, the literary and scientific pursuits, the plans of improvement in which they indulged under our government, must be exchanged for the servility and prostration of mind which characterise an Asiatic court. This class is at present a small minority, but it is continually receiving accessions from the youth who are brought up at the different English seminaries. It will in time become the majority; and it will then be necessary to modify the political institutions to suit the increased intelligence of the people, and their capacity for self-government.

The change will thus be peaceably and gradually effected; there will be no struggle, no mutual exasperation; the natives will have independence, after first learning how to make a good use of it; we shall exchange profitable subjects for still more profitable allies. The present administrative connection benefits families, but a strict commercial union between the first manufacturing and the first producing country in the world, would be a solid foundation of strength and prosperity to our whole nation. If this course be adopted, there will, properly speaking, be no separation. A precarious and temporary relation will almost imperceptibly pass into another far more durable and beneficial. Trained by us to happiness and independence, and endowed with our learning and our political institutions, India will remain the proudest monument of British benevolence; and we shall long continue to reap, in the affectionate attachment of the people, and in a great commercial intercourse with their splendid country,* the fruit of that liberal and enlightened policy which suggested to us this line of conduct.

In following this course we should be trying no new experiment. The Romans at once civilised the nations of Europe, and attached them to their rule by Romanising them; or, in other words, by educating them in the Roman literature and arts, and teaching them to emulate their conquerors instead of opposing them. Acquisitions made by superiority in war, were consolidated by superiority in the arts of peace; and the remembrance of the original violence was lost in that of the benefits which resulted from it. The provincials of Italy, Spain, Africa, and Gaul, having no ambition except to imitate the Romans, and to share their privileges with them, remained to the last faithful subjects of the empire; and the union was at last dissolved, not by internal revolt, but by the shock of external violence, which involved conquerors and conquered in one common overthrow. The Indians will, I hope, soon stand in the same position towards us in which we once stood towards the Romans. Tacitus informs us, that it was the policy of Julius Agricola to instruct the sons of the leading men among the Britons in the literature and science of Rome, and to give them a taste for the refinements of Roman civilization.† We all know how well this plan answered. From being obstinate enemies, the Britons soon became attached and confiding friends; and they made more strenuous efforts to retain the Romans, than their ancestors had done to resist their invasion. It will be a shame to us if, with our greatly superior advantages, we also do not make our premature departure be dreaded as a calamity. It must not be said in after ages, that "the groans of the Britons" were elicited by the breaking up of the Roman empire; and the groans of the Indians by the continued existence of the British.

We may also take a lesson from the Mahomedans, whose conquests have been so extensive and so permanent. From the Indian Archipelago to Portugal, Arabic was established as the language of religion, of literature, and of law; the vernacular tongues were saturated with it; and the youth of the conquered countries soon began to vie with their first instructors in every branch of Mahomedan learning. A polite education was understood to mean a Mahomedan education; and the most cultivated and active minds were everywhere engaged on the side of the Mahomedan system. The emperor Akbar followed up this policy in India. Arabicised Persian was adopted as the language of his dynasty; and the direction thereby given to the national sympathies and ideas greatly contributed to produce that feeling of veneration for the family which has long survived the loss of its power. This feeling, which in Europe would be called loyalty, is common to those who have been brought up in the old learning, but is very rarely found in connection with an English education. The policy of our predecessors, although seldom worthy of imitation, was both very sound and very successful in this respect. If we adopt the same policy, it will be more beneficial to the natives in proportion as English contains a greater fund of true knowledge

* The present trade with India can give no idea of what it is capable of becoming; the productive powers of the country are immense; the population of British India alone, without including the native States, is more than three times that of all the rest of the British Empire. By governing well, and promoting to the utmost of our power the growth of wealth, intelligence, and enterprise in its vast population, we shall be able to make India a source of wealth and strength to our nation in time to come, with which nothing in our past history furnishes any parallel.

† The words of Tacitus are, "Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga. Paulatimque discussum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam; idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur cum pars servitutis esset."

knowledge than Arabic and Persian; and it will be more beneficial to us in proportion as the natives will study English more zealously and extensively than they did Arabic and Persian, and will be more completely changed by it in feeling and opinion.

These views were not worked out by reflection, but were forced on me by actual observation and experience. I passed some years in parts of India, where, owing to the comparative novelty of our rule and to the absence of any attempt to alter the current of native feeling, the national habits of thinking remained unchanged. There, high and low, rich and poor, had only one idea of improving their political condition. The upper classes lived upon the prospect of regaining their former pre-eminence; and the lower, upon that of having the avenues to wealth and distinction re-opened to them by the re-establishment of a native government. Even sensible and comparatively well affected natives had no notion that there was any remedy for the existing depressed state of their nation except the sudden and absolute expulsion of the English. After that, I resided for some years in Bengal, and there I found quite another set of ideas prevalent among the educated natives. Instead of thinking of cutting the throats of the English, they were aspiring to sit with them on the grand jury or on the bench of magistrates. Instead of speculating on Punjab or Nepaulese politics, they were discussing the advantages of printing and free discussion, in oratorical English speeches, at debating societies which they had established among themselves. The most sanguine dimly looked forward in the distant future to the establishment of a national representative assembly as the consummation of their hopes—all of them being fully sensible that these plans of improvement could only be worked out with the aid and protection of the British Government by the gradual improvement of their countrymen in knowledge and morality; and that the re-establishment of a Mahomedan or any other native regime would at once render all such views impracticable and ridiculous. No doubt, both these schemes of national improvement suppose the termination of the English rule; but while that event is the beginning of one, it is only the conclusion of the other. In one, the sudden and violent overthrow of our government is a necessary preliminary; in the other, a long continuance of our administration, and the gradual withdrawal of it as the people become fit to govern themselves, are equally indispensable.

Our native army is justly regarded as the pillar of our Indian empire; and no plan of benefiting either the natives or ourselves can be worth anything which does not rest on the supposition that this pillar will remain unbroken. It is therefore of importance to inquire how this essential element of power is likely to be affected by the course of policy which has been described. The Indian army is made up of two entirely distinct parts; the English officers, and the native officers and men. The former will, under any circumstances, stand firm to their national interests; the latter will be animated by the feelings of the class of society from which they are drawn, except so far as those feelings may be modified by professional interests and habits. The native officers rise from the ranks; and the ranks are recruited from the labouring class, which is the last that will be affected by any system of national education. Not one in five hundred of the boys who are instructed in the Zillah seminaries, will enlist in the army. If the sepoys are educated anywhere, it must be in the village schools; and the organisation of those schools will be the concluding measure of the series. The instruction given to the labouring class can never be more than merely elementary. They have not leisure for more. But, such as it is, they will be indebted for it to us; and as it will form part of a system established and superintended by ourselves, we shall take care that it is of a kind calculated to inspire feelings of attachment to the British connexion. After this the young men who enlist in the army will become imbued with the military spirit, and moulded by the habits of military obedience. I leave to others to judge whether this training is calculated to make better and more attached, or worse and more disaffected, soldiers than the state of entire neglect, as regards their moral and intellectual improvement, in which the whole class are at present left. I never heard that the education given in the national schools unfitted the common people of England for the ranks of the army; although the inducements to honourable and faithful service, which are open to them after they enter the army, are much inferior to those which are held out to our sepoys.

Religious instruction forms no part of the object of the Government seminaries. It would be impossible for the State to interfere at all with native education on any other condition; and this is now so well understood, that religious jealousy offers no obstruction to our success. The general favour with which English education is regarded, and the multitudes who flock to our schools, prove this to be the case. The Brahmins, it is true, ruled supreme over the old system. It was moulded for the express purpose of enabling them to hold the minds of men in thralldom; and ages had fixed the stamp of solidity upon it. Upon this ground they were unassailable. But popular education, through the medium of the English language, is an entirely new element, with which they are incapable of dealing. It did not enter into the calculation of the founders of their system; and they have no machinery to oppose to it. Although they have been priest-ridden for ages the people of India are, for all purposes of improvement, a new, and more than a new, people. Their appetite for knowledge has been whetted by their long-compelled fast; and aware of the superiority of the new learning, they devour it more greedily than they ever would have done Sanskrit lore, even if that lore had not been withheld from them: they bring to the task, vacant minds and excited curiosity, absence of prejudice, and an inextinguishable thirst for information. They cannot return under the dominion of the Brahmins. The spell has been

Appendix, No. 4. for ever broken. Hinduism is not a religion which will bear examination. It is so entirely destitute of any thing like evidence, and is identified with so many gross immoralities and physical absurdities, that it gives way at once before the light of European science. Mahomedanism is made of tougher materials; yet, even a Mahomedan youth who has received an English education is a very different person from one who has been taught according to the perfect manner of the law of his fathers. As this change advances, India will become quite another country: nothing more will be heard of excitable religious feelings: priestcraft will no longer be able to work by ignorance: knowledge and power will pass from a dominant caste to the people themselves; the whole nation will co-operate with us in reforming institutions, the possibility of altering which could never have been contemplated if events had taken any other course; and many causes will concur to introduce a more wholesome state of morals, which, of all the changes that can take place, is the one in which the public welfare is most concerned.

There has been a time at which each of the other branches of the public service has particularly commanded attention. The commercial, the political, the judicial, the revenue departments, have in turn been the subject of special consideration; and decisive steps have been taken to put them on a satisfactory footing. My object will be sufficiently attained if I succeed in producing a conviction that the time has arrived for taking up the question of public instruction in the same spirit, and with the same determination to employ whatever means may be requisite for accomplishing the object in view. The absence of any sensible proof that increased taxation is attended with any proportionate benefit to India, has long been extremely disheartening both to the natives and to the European public officers serving in that country.* The entire abolition of the transit duties, and the establishment of an adequate system of public instruction, would furnish this proof, and would excite the warmest gratitude of every body who from any cause feels interested in the welfare of India. The interest of a single million sterling,† in addition to what is already expended, would be sufficient to answer every present purpose as far as education is concerned. Even on the narrowest view of national interest, a million could not be better invested. It would ensure the moral and intellectual emancipation of the people of India, and would render them at once attached to our rule and worthy of our alliance.

EXTRACT from the Sixteenth Annual Report of the *Calcutta Bible Association*.

THE Scriptures obtained from the Depository during the past year have been in the English, Bengali, Hindustani, Hindi, Orissa, Italian, French, Portuguese, and Hebrew languages, but by far the greater proportions have been in English and Bengali. The increased demand of the natives for the Scriptures in English has doubtless been in a great measure caused by the advancement of education in that language—the pupils of the various colleges and schools can take home a copy of the Bible or Testament in English, without exciting those fears on the part of their relatives which the same books in the native languages would be likely to excite. The English schools and colleges may be instrumental in preparing the mind of the natives for the appreciation of truth, and so far may prepare for the reception of the Gospel, the Committee therefore conceive it to be their duty to embrace the opportunities now afforded for supplying the New Testament in English to those institutions in which that book is customarily read, and of furnishing the same to the pupils of other schools wherein the New Testament is not admitted, who manifest a desire to search the Scripture for themselves.

* A large proportion of the land in the Bengal and Agra Presidencies is held tax-free; but although nothing can be more unreasonable than that persons who benefit by the protection of the Government should contribute nothing to its support, and throw the whole burden on the rest, it is impossible at present to induce the natives to view the subject in this light. Their invariable answer is, that while it is certain that some will be worse off, they see no reason to suppose that they will themselves be better off if the exempted lands are brought under contribution.

† The Parliamentary assignment of ten thousand pounds a year still remains to be accounted for to the Committee of Public Instruction, from July 1813 to May 1821, with compound interest up to the date of payment.

Appendix, No. 5.

Appendix, No. 5.

PAPER put in by Mr. *Prideaux*.

STATEMENT showing the AVERAGE PRICES per Maund of SALT sold by the Company in Bengal, Wholesale and Retail, from 1836-37 to 1851-52 inclusive.

YEARS.	WHOLESALE	RETAIL.
	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
1836—37 - - - - -	4 3 6	2 9 11
1837—38 - - - - -	4 2 1	2 9 11
1838—39 - - - - -	4 1 3	2 10 7
1839—40 - - - - -	4 1 9	2 12 1
1840—41 - - - - -	4 2 10	2 13 2
1841—42 - - - - -	4 4 2	2 12 9
1842—43 - - - - -	4 3 9	2 11 -
1843—44 - - - - -	4 2 9	2 10 5
1844—45 - - - - -	4 0 1	2 9 1
1845—46 - - - - -	3 13 5	2 7 9
1846—47 - - - - -	3 12 6	2 7 -
1847—48 - - - - -	3 7 9	2 3 -
1848—49 - - - - -	3 7 -	2 2 11
1849—50 - - - - -	3 3 3	2 5 10
1850—51 - - - - -	3 3 9	2 - 5
1851—52 - - - - -	3 3 9	2 1 3

Appendix, No. 6.

Appendix, No. 6.

MEMORANDUM on the SALT DEPOSIT in *Scinde*, by the Collector of Customs at Kurrachee.

THE existence of extensive salt beds in the neighbourhood of Ullah Bund, was brought under the notice of the Scinde Government by Captain Baker, late Superintendent of Canals and Forests, in 1844, soon after which specimens of the deposit were sent here by the Collector of Hyderabad, which were forwarded to Bombay; but owing to the opposition of the salt merchants there, whose interests might be affected were Scinde salt to get in the market, the subject was for a time dropped. A partial examination was made by the Customs' Department in November 1845, of the country from Allah Bund to the *Sir mouth of the river, and an attempt was made to ascertain the commercial value of the deposit. It was found that no sea-going vessel can go higher up the Korie branch of the Indus than Cotasir, which is the port of Luckput; communication is carried on between these places by boats of light draft. The expenses attendant on procuring a cargo were found more considerable than was anticipated; camels, water, and forage had to be sent from Luckput to some distance inland from Kotree, where the article was shipped in boats and sent to Cotasir; there it was transhipped into a Malabar vessel. The Cutch authorities made a heavy claim for anchorage, which had to be met, and the proceeds realized at Mangalore were not sufficient to induce another speculation.

* Sic Orig.

Appendix, No. 6.
In December 1845.

A letter was addressed by me to the Collector of Malabar, explanatory of all circumstances connected with the shipment, and requesting information as to the value of the article there, and whether it was likely to meet with a permanent demand; to this no answer was returned. The cargo was, however, admitted to entry, and I have never been able to obtain any satisfactory information as to the price paid for it; the party induced to speculate stating in general terms that it did not pay.

In August last, a letter was received from the present Collector of Malabar, Mr. Blane, stating that a failure had taken place in the annual supply at Malabar, owing to gales of wind, and that the deficit, amounting to 15,000 tons, had to be provided for, and inquiring if the article could be supplied from Scinde, as the merchants of Malabar had taken advantage of the circumstances to raise the rates. Tenders were called for, and but one was received, which was six rupees the garce beyond the rate offered by the Malabar merchants.

Not having sufficient data as to the probable expense of shipping from thence, the requisite information was not supplied by this department.

Salt of an equally good quality is known to exist in the Goongra, the next branch of the Indus westward of the Korie, where a vessel can be laden at a comparatively small expense. A specimen of the article was forwarded to Bombay for an opinion, which is decidedly favourable, and at once sets at rest the query as to the salt being fit for human consumption.

"It is just the same as the salt obtained by evaporating sea water, the salt that is called bay-salt; it is not so pure as rock-salt, because it contains a little sulphate of soda, very little, and of no consequence, and also some muriate of magnesia, which latter renders it a little bitter, but it can readily be removed by washing the salt in fresh water; but as it is, I have no doubt it would find a ready market, for it is very much cleaner than what is made in the Government salt pans about Bombay."

(signed) *A. H. Leith.*

In the early part of 1847, Lieutenant Burke, of the Engineers, travelled overland from Scinde to Cutch, and becoming aware for the first time of the existence of this extensive deposit, addressed a letter to the head of his department, Major Peat, the superintending engineer. He estimated the quantity at (1,500) fifteen hundred millions of tons; and though, from his own showing, very imperfectly acquainted with the extent of the beds, yet I do not think his estimate over rated; but, he has certainly very considerably under-rated the expense of shipping the article at Kotasir.

The salt used in Kurrachee is brought from the direction of Sonmeanee, where it is found in deposit in beds of small size. It is found in the Mullier river, and is met with along the entire coast in greater or less quantity. In the interior of the country it is produced by parties who gain their living by its manufacture, which is as follows: Patches of salt earth are found scattered over the entire face of the country; this salt soil is saturated with water, and the drainage is exposed, in shallow vessels, to the rays of the sun.

The price of common salt in the Kurrachee bazar is, for a camel load of from five to six Bengal maunds, annas 10, by retail 4 lbs. for a pice.

(signed) *J. McLeod, Collector of Customs.*

(No. 685.)

Salt:
E. M. Gordon, H.
Ricketts, E. Currie,
Esqrs.

LETTER from the Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Sir,

Fort William, 29 June 1852.

I AM directed by the Board of Revenue, in continuation of the annual report on the salt revenue of the Lower Provinces, contained in my letter, No. 676, dated the 29th instant, to submit the following observations relative to the comparative advantages under which, on the one hand, salt manufactured in the Presidency on account of Government, and on the other hand, salt imported into Calcutta by sea, is brought to market, and to the measures it may be necessary to take in order to place the two more nearly on a footing of equality than they are at present.

2. It will be remembered that in 1836, a Select Committee of the House of Commons recommended that the Government should keep their golahs at all times open for the sale of salt at the cost price, the purchaser to pay, in addition, a fixed duty on removing the salt from the golahs, and that permission should be given for the import of foreign salt into Calcutta on payment of the same duty as that levied on salt sold by the East India Company. The Committee observed, that if their recommendations (of which those above mentioned are the essential ones) were fully and fairly carried out, the monopoly of the Company would be reduced to one solely of manufacture, and the difficulties that had previously stood in the way of a fair competition between native and imported salt would be removed.

3. So

3. So far as respects the importation of foreign salt, the recommendations of the Select Committee have been "fully and fairly carried out;" but it appears to the Board, and they hope to establish the same to the satisfaction of the Government, that in consequence of the meaning hitherto attached to the ambiguous term "cost price," the salt manufactured on account of Government has been offered for sale at much above legitimate rates, and that hence the consumption of the latter has gradually decreased, until it appears not an improbable contingency, that unless measures be taken to ensure for it that fair competition contemplated by the Select Committee, it will eventually be driven out of the market.

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4. The erroneous interpretation of the term "cost price," referred to in the preceding paragraph, arises from confounding the position of Government, as it was before the recommendations of the Committee were carried into effect, with that which the Government has since occupied; in other words, from regarding the Government, instead of the molunghee, as the local manufacturer. This may have been a correct view of the case in 1836, when a limited supply of salt was annually brought forward and disposed of by the Government at public auction, when the Government realised a profit from the sale of salt independent of the duty, and when the import of foreign salt was virtually prohibited; but now that the Committee's resolutions have been acted upon, it appears to the Board to be altogether and most mischievously erroneous.

5. When the Government had a monopoly of sale as well as manufacture, and could regulate prices at pleasure, it was in its power, first, by lowering prices, to prevent the importation of foreign salt (which even at that time might legally take place on payment of a fixed duty), and then, by raising them again, to derive a profit far in excess of the fixed duty, and limited only by the repressive effect of exorbitant prices on the consumption; under those circumstances, it was clearly the Government who competed with the foreign importer, and in the teeth of such competition no foreign salt could be imported.

6. But when the Government was restricted in its operations, and compelled to sell its salt at a price equal to the fixed duty added to the cost price, it seems evident, on the least reflection, that the position of Government towards the foreign importer was altogether changed; that it ceased to be a matter of the smallest importance to Government (speaking with reference to the salt revenue) whether that revenue was raised by a duty of 325 rupees the 100 maunds on the import of foreign salt, or by selling home-made salt at a price equal to that duty, plus the cost of production; and that the Government, instead of being any longer a competitor, in fact came to hold the balance between the home and the foreign producer, and was bound to regulate its interference for revenue purposes in such a manner as that both should compete on terms of strict equality.

7. This change in the position of the Government appears to the Board to have been lost sight of. The Government was still regarded as the manufacturer, and the competition as between the Government and the foreign importer; and hence it was determined (properly enough, on that hypothesis) that the cost price should consist of all charges incurred by Government in connexion with the manufacture, calculated on the average of a certain number of years immediately preceding.

8. Thus the home-manufactured salt, besides being burdened with the expense of a Government management, was also charged with a considerable outlay, which though incurred by Government nominally for manufacture, was really incurred for the purposes of collecting the revenue and preventing smuggling.

9. In the Board's opinion, the correct principle which ought then to have been, and now to be adopted, in calculating the prime cost of home-made salt, is to add to the price actually paid to the molunghees so much of the expense incurred by Government in bringing it to market as would be incurred by private individuals or a joint stock company for the same purpose, on the supposition that the salt were manufactured under an excise system, and subject to the restrictions inseparable from that mode of management, the operations of Government being confined to the collection of the fixed duty, and the prevention of illicit dealings.

10. Before proceeding to explain more fully the grounds upon which this opinion rests, the Board desire to refer to the discussions that took place between the authorities in India and the Court of Directors, relative to the fixation of price, and to show how, in consequence chiefly of the mode in which effect has been given to the recommendations of the Select Committee, the manufacture in Bengal has been affected by the import of foreign salt.

11. The Court of Directors, in their despatch, dated 4th January 1837, explanatory of the views as to the manner in which the recommendations of the Select Committee were to be carried out, observed that, "The duty only should be fixed, the price being variable, in relation to the original cost of the salt to Government," and desired that the plan which the Government might propose to carry into effect should be reported for their final sanction.

Mr. Secretary
Prinsep's letter,
No. 63, dated
9 August 1837.

12. Agreeably to instructions issued by Government on the receipt of this despatch, the accountant prepared a statement, showing the average cost and charges per 100 maunds of salt for 10 years, ending on the 30th April 1836, which was submitted to Government with the letter of the late Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, No. 907, dated the 28th September 1837.

Appendix, No. 6. tember 1840. The Board on that occasion* (*see* para. 14) questioned the propriety of including among the expenses of manufacture certain charges which would have to be incurred under any system of management, and referred again to the subject in their letter, No. 912, dated 21st September 1843, paragraph 16.†

13. On the 6th November 1843, the Government, addressing the late Board, observed, "It is obviously desirable, as it is in conformity with the views and instructions of the Honourable the Court of Directors, so to arrange the duty on imported salt, in connexion with the monopoly sale prices and the cost of production, that, on the one hand, the importer shall have no ground to complain that he is more heavily taxed than the home producer; and on the other, that the local manufacture and the interests of those engaged in it shall be in no way prejudiced by the admission of foreign salt on more favourable terms."

14. On the 4th December 1843, the Government transmitted to the late Board extracts from the Honourable Court's despatch of the 20th December 1843, in which it was explained, that the duty was to be exclusive of "the charges incidental to the manufacture, such as the price paid to the molunghees, aurung, and transportation charges, &c., all of which would become extinct in the event of the abolition of the present system of manufacture," but to include "all those charges, such as the maintenance of a preventive establishment, payments to the French and Danish Governments, and others, which would have to be incurred under any system whatever, by which a revenue should be derived from the article of salt."

15. This distinction, the Court observed, had been altogether lost sight of by the accountant in the statements prepared for the information of the Board, but as the Board seemed to be fully aware of the importance of maintaining it, the Court expressed their confidence that due care would be taken to distribute the various charges on the salt revenue into the classes to which they properly belonged.

16. In October 1844, the duty on all salt was reduced from 3½ rupees to 3 rupees a maund, and the Government at the same time pledged itself not to alter for a certain period the wholesale prices then fixed on the various kinds of salt at the several agency-ghats and the Sulke golahs. These prices were not based on any calculation of cost, but were those which happened to be fixed at the time by the Board, who, until then, regulated prices according to what they conceived to be the relation of supply to demand.

17. Revised statements for the 10 years ending with 1835-36, were furnished by the accountant on the 14th October 1844, and submitted to Government, with the Board's address of the 8th January 1845. In these statements the following items were assumed to be "charges incidental to manufacture," in the sense intended by the Honourable Court, which were to constitute the "cost price" of the salt.

1. Cost paid to the molunghees.
2. Aurung charges
3. Transportation charges.
4. Khalaree rents.
5. Salary of agents.
6. Charges for transporting salt to Sulkea.
7. Charges for receiving and delivering salt at Sulkea.
8. Cost of establishment at Sulkea.
9. Value of salt lost by accident.

There were also three other items included in the statements; viz., bounty to purchasers, charges for refining damaged salt, and proportion of irrecoverable balances; but these being obsolete, it will be unnecessary to consider.

18. On the 18th November 1846, the Government issued orders on the subject. It appears from the Under Secretary's letter of that date, that on the receipt of the Board's despatch of the 8th January 1845, the Government reviewed the several items of charge set forth

* Extract:

14. This abstract shows the 10 years' average ordinary cost and charges per 100 maunds of Bengal, i. e. Pungah salt. We will first select the Hidgellee salt as an example. We find it costs as per statement^a 92,100; the net sale proceeds are 4,12,610, and the profit 3,20,509. But there is included in the cost certain items which do not appear to us to be chargeable to the manufacture; as for instance, Moshaira proportion of salt office charges and proportion of Chokey charges; all these charges would equally exist if the manufacture on the part of Government was discontinued, and the revenue collected by a pure excise system, or entirely on the importation of salt by sea.

^a There is an exception, of no moment, in the case of Cuttack Abra salt.

^b The figures are Co's Rupees and decimal parts of a rupee.

† Extract:

16. Under these impressions, the course we would desire to adopt, is to arrive at what are the cost and aggregate charges of the several descriptions of salt; but we find a difference of opinion prevailed in 1840 what items were to be so regarded, that our Board laid statements before the Government on the 28th September 1840, No. 34, and requested the superior authority to determine, to which no orders have yet been received. Before proceeding therefore beyond the reduction already effected by us, simultaneously with the wishes of your Honor, we would request to be informed whether the opinions expressed by this Board in regard to the cost and charges and net profit have been decided on by Government.

forth in the accountant's statements, and was of opinion that the salary of agents ought not to be charged to the manufacture of salt, but to revenue, "as, in all probability, having to be incurred under any system for purposes of prevention." But as the statements then submitted only brought down the accounts to the 30th April 1836, the accountant was required by Government to prepare fresh statements on the same principle as before; first, for 10 years, ending with 1842-43; and afterwards for three years, ending with 1844-45.

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19. In the meanwhile the Court of Directors having received the Board's despatch of the 8th January 1845, with the statements first prepared by the accountant, had addressed the Government in the following terms:

"These statements have been prepared for the purpose of enabling you to carry into effect, as enjoined by us, the recommendation of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which sat in 1836, that the duty to be imposed should be fixed at the lowest rate consistent with the maintenance of the revenue, and not exceeding the average rate of the net profit of the Company's monopoly for the last 10 years."

The Under Secretary's letter, No. 3050, dated 18 Nov. 1846.

"We need only observe, that in these amended statements the salt accountant has rightly understood the principle on which it was our desire that they should be framed; the results above given being arrived at by deducting from the sale proceeds the charges incidental to the manufacture, store, and sale of salt on account of Government, excluding from consideration all charges belonging exclusively to the maintenance of the revenue, which would have to be incurred if the manufacture on the part of the Government were wholly abandoned, and the revenue derived by an excise on manufactured, and a Customs' duty on imported salt."

20. The Government, therefore, considering, apparently, that the Honourable Court had sanctioned not only the principle on which the accountant's statements had been prepared, but also the details, proceeded to fix the prices of the several descriptions of salt then in store, according to the accountant's average of those years, inclusive of the salary of the agents, and upon this footing the "cost price" of the several kinds of salt manufactured on account of Government has been calculated from time to time until now. The Court of Directors reviewing these proceedings in their despatch, dated 18th August 1847, observed, "The Government state (para. 2), that in their opinion the salary and commission of salt agents should be excluded from the cost of manufacturing and storing salt, as it appeared to them more properly chargeable to the collection of revenue, is, in all probability, having to be incurred under any system for purposes of prevention. We differ from the Government in this opinion; for although it may be admitted that some portion of the charge of the salaries of salt agents would have, under any system, to be incurred for preventive purposes, yet those officers are ostensibly and principally employed in superintending and controlling the manufacture of salt, and not in the collection of the revenue derived from it. We consider, therefore, that their salaries are fairly chargeable to the manufacture, and the exclusion of that item from the cost of the Government salt would undoubtedly give rise to cavils and objections on the part of importers."

Mr. Secretary Halliday's letter, No. 436, dated 3 November 1847.

21. From the following statement it will be seen that the imports of foreign salt, which up to 1844-45 were comparatively small, began to increase largely after the first reduction of duty, and that although the cost prices of Government salt have been intermediately reduced by economical arrangements to the extent noted on the margin,* yet the imports have continued to increase until, in 1851-52, they amounted to 56½ per cent. of the whole Rowannah supply.

	1844.	1852.
*Hidgeillee	- 74	- 66
Tumlook	- 85	- 68
Chittagong	- 87	- 76
Arracan	- 82	- 80
Sulkea:		
Cuttack	- 113	- 88
Balasure	- 118	- 75
Khorda	- 121	- 85

	WHOLESALE.	IMPORTS.	EXCISE.	TOTAL.
	<i>Maunds.</i>	<i>Maunds.</i>	<i>Maunds.</i>	<i>Maunds.</i>
1842-43	3,870,635	892,740	-	4,763,375
1843-44	3,907,624	967,013	-	4,874,637
1844-45	4,150,346	970,595	-	5,120,941
1845-46	3,399,275	1,581,986	-	4,981,261
1846-47	3,711,446	1,466,744	-	5,178,190
1847-48	3,988,541	1,615,084	-	5,603,625
1848-49	3,316,637	1,610,256	16,450	4,943,343
1849-50	3,383,833	2,103,219	23,630	5,510,682
1850-51	2,805,100	2,601,033	35,000	5,461,133
1851-52	2,239,952	2,926,866	18,600	5,185,418

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22. The result of this unexpected increase in the supply of foreign salt has, of course, been to compel the Government to contract the home-manufacture, and, in pursuance of that object, to abolish the agency of the 24 pergunnahs, to suspend the manufacture for an indefinite period in Chittagong, and to limit it in Cuttack to the quantity required for local consumption. The provision in the remaining agencies has also become less than in former years, and is likely, unless measures can be taken to alter the present tendency of affairs, to be still further diminished. No salt is now manufactured along the whole line of coast from the Hooghly to the southernmost point of the Chittagong district.

23. This state of things, so injurious to the home producer and to the industrial interests of the country, appears to the Board to demand close inquiry, and, if possible, the application of a remedy. The discontinuance in any district of a manufacture in which thousands of persons have been engaged all their lives, and from which they have derived a large portion of their subsistence, is a most serious calamity, which the Government is bound to avert by every possible means consistent with the maintenance of the revenue derived from salt, and with fairness to the foreign importers.

24. The Government has long ceased professedly to derive any advantage in the way of profit from the manufacture of salt, the principle upon which wholesale prices are adjusted having been, since 1846, at least to add the fixed duty to the cost of produce, calculated on an average of three years. The system of agency manufacture is therefore pursued, not with a view to make a profit by the manufacture over and above, or otherwise than in the form of the fixed duty, but as the cheapest and most convenient form of collecting the revenue. But, in fact, the Government does unwittingly continue to derive a profit from the home-manufacture of salt, to the great advantage of the foreign trader and the injury of the home-producer, by charging upon the agency salt several items of cost, which, though apparently connected with manufacture alone, are really incurred for the purposes of collecting the revenue and preventing smuggling.

25. That this is really the case will appear clearly, if it be borne in mind, what is undoubtedly the fact, that the Government is not the *manufacturer* of the salt, but the purchaser, collector, and storer of it for revenue purposes, and that the competition is to be regarded not as between the importer and the Government, but as between the foreign manufacturer and the molunghee, between the importer and the dealer, who, in the absence of Government interference, would bring the home-made salt to market.

26. Hence many of the agency charges which, so long as the Government was regarded as the manufacturer appeared to be, and on that hypothesis were no doubt rightly called manufacturing charges, must stand in a very different light when the molunghee is regarded as the manufacturer, and the Government as interfering between him and the wholesale merchant, simply for the purpose of revenue.

27. If the salt now made in Bengal, instead of being collected by Government agents and stored in Government golahs, were made under the system of excise, the Government would obviously realise nothing but the fixed duty, and all charges of collection and prevention would fall on the revenue. Wherever persons were permitted to make salt under such a system, it would be necessary to employ additional establishments to supervise the works and prevent frauds on the revenue, and it is probable that the regular preventive service would also have to be augmented, because the mofussil officers of the agencies are now employed in preventing smuggling, as well as in receiving the salt from the manufacturers. All the agency expenses which are now thrown upon salt would be swept away, but instead, there would have to be incurred an outlay in proportion to the number of works licensed, and the whole of this outlay must be a charge upon the revenue.

28. There cannot be a more apposite illustration of the truth of the foregoing observations, and of the disadvantage under which the native manufacturer now labours, than that afforded by a correspondence which has recently passed between the Board and the proprietors of the Narainpore Salt Works, regarding the special establishment maintained there to supervise the manufacture. The Government is aware that salt is made at Narainpore under an excise system, the fixed duty being paid on all salt cleared from the works under Rowannah, and the proprietors disposing of the salt to the best advantage.

29. The expense of this establishment, which it is necessary to maintain, in addition to the regular preventive force of the Barricpore division, has hitherto been borne by Government, but on an application being made by other parties for permission to make salt elsewhere, on similar conditions, it appeared to the Board that the above arrangement placed the proprietors of the Narainpore works in a better position than the molunghees, and the department in a worse position as regards the former than as regards the latter; because, in the case of the Narainpore works, the Government receives nothing but the bare duty, out of which it has to pay the additional establishment, whereas in the case of the molunghees, the Government clears the whole duty, and charges the whole expense of the extra preventive (included in what is termed the manufacturing) establishment to them.

30. But the proprietors, on being called on to say why on these grounds they should not be made to bear the expense of this extra establishment, employed exclusively for the surveillance of the works, protested against being placed in a worse position than importers of foreign salt, who pay the fixed duty and nothing more, all charges of collection and prevention being paid by the Government from the revenue.

31. This

31. This objection appeared unanswerable, and hence the Board being placed in the dilemma of either continuing to do injustice to the molunghees, by paying the expense of the Narainpore establishment from the revenue, or doing injustice to the Narainpore proprietors by imposing upon them a charge from which importers are free, were under the necessity of allowing matters to remain as they were; for it was not in the power of the Board, on the one hand, to charge importers with the expense of collection, or on the other hand to transfer any part of the charges which have hitherto been assumed to constitute the cost price from salt to revenue.

32. It seems, therefore, to the Board, that, in reconsidering each item of the charge, with a view to relieve the agency salt from all charges not borne by imported salt, or by salt made under the excise system, the question to be asked is, whether the charge would be incurred by private individuals; or a joint-stock company engaged in manufacturing salt and bringing it to market, subject only to the restrictions necessary, as in the case of the Narainpore works, for the protection of the revenue. If this question cannot be answered in the affirmative, the charge must necessarily, in the Board's judgment, be one either of prevention or of collection, not of manufacture, and therefore not properly chargeable on salt, but on revenue.

33. The Honourable Court have expressed their opinion that only those charges which would have to be incurred, under any system of management, ought to be debited to revenue; and in this category they include only those charges which are not ostensibly connected with the manufacture. But in the view taken by the Board, this opinion is defective, and its operation injurious to the Bengal manufacturers in two respects; for, in the first place, the revenue ought to be charged not only with the expenses that would be incurred under any system, but with all expenses that, under a different system, would be saved altogether, and, in the next place, many of the charges which are nominally of manufacture, are, in reality, of collection, and consequently debitable to revenue. No charge, in short, which, under a system of excise would either fall on the Government or be saved altogether, ought to be included in the "cost price" of salt. Such charges are incurred for purposes of revenue, and not of manufacture.

34. It is very possible that, even after making all deductions from the cost price of agency salt, which, on the principle above explained, may be found practicable, foreign salt will still continue to compete successfully with the produce of Bengal. This is especially the case with the salt of the United Kingdom, because of the great difference in bulk between the exports and imports, the former consisting entirely of raw produce, and the latter of manufactured goods. The excess tonnage must be filled up, and it is more to the advantage of the shipowner to import salt, at however low a freight, than to send a ship in ballast, for a salt cargo is considered beneficial to the timber of a vessel, and the salt is put on board, and landed free of all charge to him. It cannot, however, be doubted that every reduction in the cost price of home-made salt will have a tendency to remove the disadvantage under which it now suffers, and at all events the native manufacturers will have no ground, as they now have, for complaining that they are ruined, not by fair competition, but in consequence of being burdened with charges incurred by the Government solely for purposes of revenue, and not properly incidental to the manufacture.

35. The Board now proceed to apply the principle laid down in the 32d and 33d paras. to the several items of charge, as shown in the accompanying statement for 1856, S. S. prepared from the accounts furnished by the several agents.

I. COST PAID TO THE MOLUNGHEES.

36. This is no doubt purely a manufacturing charge, and must continue to be borne by salt. At the same time it may be observed, that the cost is somewhat higher than it would be if the trade were in the hands of private dealers, as it is perhaps impossible entirely to suppress extortion and speculation on the part of the petty officers employed in receiving the salt and paying for it, and these unauthorised perquisites must augment the price of the salt. This, however, is only to be remedied by vigilance on the part of the salt agents, and the adoption of the lowest rates consistent with a fair remuneration for the molunghee's labour.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hidgellee -	2,64,252	15	2½
Tumlook -	3,68,930	3	3
Balasore -	1,05,923	4	6
Cuttack -	67,124	13	11
Pooree -	1,10,363	6	6
	9,16,594	11	4½

II. AURUNG CHARGES.

(a). Fixed Establishment, Sudder and Mofussil.

37. The cost of the Sudder and that of the Mofussil establishments, though entered as one item in the statement, seem to the Board to rest on different grounds. The former, or something analogous to it, would probably have to be incurred by private individuals, on account of the receipt, storage, and delivery of salt, and therefore it is not proposed to relieve the salt of any part of the expense incurred under that head. But the

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hidgellee -	28,169	10	9
Tumlook -	24,965	-	-
Balasore -	16,157	14	11
Cuttack -	11,746	7	1
Pooree -	10,036	-	6
	91,075	1	3

* It must not be forgotten, however, that a portion of the time of some of the least paid officers of the Sudder establishment is taken up with the receipt of reports and disposal of cases connected with smuggling. It is not probable that the same amount of expense would be incurred by individuals or a joint stock company.

Appendix, No. 6. the Mofussil establishment is employed exclusively for preventive purposes, and the cost of it, under a different system, would either be wholly saved, not to the Government only, but to the producer, whoever he might be, or incurred by the former for the purpose of maintaining an additional preventive force. If, as at Narainpore, the salt were to be made within a limited enclosure, and stored on the spot, nearly the whole of the expense incurred for Mofussil establishments under the existing agency system would be saved; and if it were to be collected from molunghees, within a given extent of country and stored at a convenient ghât, the existing preventive force would not be sufficient to prevent illicit manufacture and removal, and an additional preventive establishment, corresponding to the Mofussil establishment of the agencies, would be required. Under any circumstances, therefore, the charge of Mofussil establishment, as it is not necessarily a manufacturing charge, ought not, in the Board's opinion, to fall upon salt.

(b). *Burkundaz Guard.*

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hidgellee	-	2,086	2 10
Tumlook	-	2,014	12 -
Cuttack	-	192	- -
		4,292	14 10

38. This item may fairly be treated on the same principle as the salaries of agents, to be noticed presently, two-thirds being charged to revenue and one-third to salt. The burkundazes are chiefly employed to guard large accumulations of salt collected together for revenue purposes, and the value of which (rendering a guard necessary) is enhanced sixfold by the duty. Under an excise system, a single chowkeedar would suffice to guard the store of a private merchant, so far as his interests were concerned, and any additional force which the Government might require, in order to prevent the removal of the salt without payment of duty, would not be a charge upon the manufacture.

(c). *Pensions.*

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hidgellee	-	120	- -

39. These are clearly chargeable to revenue.

(d). *Temporary Pokhtan Establishment and Dawk Runners.*

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hidgellee	-	5,488	- -
Tumlook	-	6,656	8 -
Balasure	-	3,462	- -
Cuttack	-	3,432	- -
		19,038	8 -

40. These expenses appear to the Board to rest precisely on the same footing as the regular Mofussil establishment, and to be incurred only in consequence of the mode in which the Government thinks proper to collect the revenue. Under any other system they would either be saved to all parties, or incurred directly and unquestionably as a revenue charge. They ought therefore to be charged to revenue.

(e). *Ferry Establishment.*

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hidgellee	-	352	7 2
Balasure	-	269	12 11
		622	4 1

41. This is not properly a charge on the salt department. Certain ferries within the limits of the Government fuel lands have been either established or resumed by the agents, and their rents appropriated. If the salt is charged with the expense of maintaining the necessary ferry establishment, it should be credited with the rents, but in fact, neither ought to be taken into account in estimating the prime cost of salt, and this item should therefore be excluded from the calculation.

(f). *Building and repairing Golahs, Bridges, Drains, &c. and Cutcherries, and excavating Docks and Canals.*

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hidgellee	-	4,484	5 7
Tumlook	-	3,234	3 11
Balasure	-	303	15 3
Pooree	-	81	15 -
		8,104	7 9

42. These the Board think must continue to be charged as expenses of manufacture. They would have to be incurred, perhaps to the same extent, under any system of management, by parties engaged in the trade.

(g). *Poonea Charges, Gotcha Salt Compensation, and Birtee Charity.*

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hidgellee	-	3,173	8 5½
Tumlook	-	1,741	8 -
		4,915	- 5½

43. These are obsolete charges, which have been discontinued, and require no notice.

(h). *Temporary*

(h). *Temporary Bhangah Establishments, and Baskets, Jute, &c. used for Bhangah Weighment.*

44. There are two weighments at the Hidgellee and Tumlook agencies; one in the Mofussil called the "Bhangah," and the other at the golahs, called the "Purtul" or check. If the manufacture were conducted by private persons, one of these weighments would cease, as the salt would only be weighed once, whether it was purchased from the molunghees at the golahs, or at the place of manufacture. In the latter case, an article of such small value as salt would not be weighed a second time by the dealer, though the Government, for revenue purposes, might think it necessary to take measures to ensure the storage of all salt purchased from the molunghees. The Board therefore propose to charge the salt with the expense of the Bhangah weighment, but to debit the cost of the purtul weighment (*see* next paragraph) to the revenue.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hidgellee	-	4,638	- 1
Tumlook	-	6,129	8 8
Balasure	-	124	6 6
Poorree	-	1,249	12 8
		<u>12,141</u>	<u>11 11</u>

(i). *Purtul, or Import Weighment.*

45. This item, as stated in the preceding paragraph, the Board propose to debit to revenue.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hidgellee	-	1,271	9 1½
Tumlook	-	2,439	2 2
		<u>3,710</u>	<u>11 3½</u>

(j). *Cutcherry and Golah Ground-rents.*

46. This is a manufacturing charge; rent would have to be paid for premises which any private trader might occupy.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hidgellee	-	13	15 10
Tumlook	-	600	- -
Balasure	-	20	5 8
		<u>634</u>	<u>5 6</u>

(k). *Fuel Watchers and Straw for covering Bahir Bantees.*

47. These charges, incurred in the Cuttack agencies only, may be left as manufacturing charges.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balasure	-	1,284	- -

(l). *Zemindars Moshahira.*

48. This, as in the Cuttack province, is a payment of 1½ anna a maund to the zemindars of the province of Cuttack on all salt made within their respective zemindaries, partly as an equivalent for the use of the lands which they might otherwise devote to other purposes, and partly as a compensation to them for the profits they formerly derived from the manufacture of salt. In the former light it is doubtless a manufacturing charge, and the Board are not prepared to recommend that it should be otherwise treated. If the Government were to cease making salt in Cuttack, the payment would naturally cease,* and the fuel lands would revert to the zemindars, but their privilege of manufacturing salt would not revive.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balasure	-	28,246	3 4
Cuttack	-	17,899	15 5
Poree	-	25,356	10 ¼
		<u>71,502</u>	<u>12 9½</u>

(m). *Value of Khorakée Salt to Zemindars.*

49. This is clearly a revenue and not a manufacturing charge. It occurs only in the Balasure agency, and appears to be a payment secured to the zemindars by way of compensation for the profits they enjoyed from the manufacture before the Government imposed a duty upon salt. The same amount would have to be paid to them under any circumstances, so long as a revenue continues to be derived from this source.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balasure	-	2,018	12 5

(n). *Cost and Revenue of Surruf Salt.*

50. This is a manufacturing charge, and ought properly to be included under the first head, viz., cost paid to the molunghees.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balasure	-	2,508	15 11

(o) *Contingencies.*

* It is an open question whether, under such circumstances, the proprietors of the tributary mehals would not be entitled to some compensation.

Appendix, No. 6.

(o) Contingencies.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hidgellee -	1,452	14	6
Tumlook -	208	2	5
Balasure -	547	11	5
Cuttack -	1,342	-	6
Pooree -	197	6	3
	3,748	3	1

51. The details of these are not specified in the accounts rendered to the Board, but the amount is small, and the Board would propose to charge one half to manufacture, and the other moiety to revenue; to allot it in any other proportions that, on further inquiry, might be found more accurate.

III. TRANSPORTATION CHARGES.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hidgellee -	14,422	15	10
Tumlook -	23,461	6	10
Balasure -	5,229	2	2
Cuttack -	1,740	5	7
	44,853	14	5

52. These are incurred for conveying the salt from the aurungs, or manufacturing grounds, to the agency golahs. So far as this operation, as conducted by Government, takes the salt out of the regular course of trade, which it would follow if manufactured under an excise system, the charge must be considered as one of revenue, and not of manufacture. For instance, the whole of the salt produced in the Tumlook agency, say, 700,000 maunds, is for the convenience of Government and the security of the revenue stored at Tumlook, contiguous to the agent's office and residence, and a large proportion of it is brought from the banks of the Huldee river, and other distant aurungs. Supposing the same quantity of salt to be manufactured under an excise system, and the average quantity made at each licensed work to be 50,000 maunds (nearly double the quantity made at the Narainpore works) it is obvious that a considerable proportion of the transportation charges would be saved. The proprietor of each licensed work would store his salt at a place conveniently accessible to merchants, and from thence, as in the case of Narainpore salt, it would be conveyed, under rowannah, direct to its destination. It appears, therefore, to the Board, that only a proportion of these charges should be debited to salt. It is impossible to say exactly what that proportion is, and indeed it must differ in every agency; but on the whole the Board believe that, under an excise system, the cost of transporting the salt to the local depôts would be considerably less than one-half that incurred by Government for the same purpose. At Narainpore, the cost is nearly nominal, as the store is immediately contiguous to the works, and on the banks of a navigable river. To transfer one half of the present charges of transportation from salt to revenue appears therefore to the Board a moderate proposal, and less than in strict justice to the manufacture might be made.

IV. KHALAREE RENTS.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hidgellee -	22,753	10	14
Tumlook -	3,880	9	8
	26,634	4	7

53. This item ought never to have been included in the cost price of the salt, even on a strict construction of the principle laid down by the honourable Court. The Board presume it to have been supposed by the accountant that these rents, as they are improperly called, were paid to the zemindars for the use of the khalaree lands, and would cease on the discontinuance of the manufacture; but this supposition, if formed, is certainly erroneous. The nature of the khalaree rents, or rather duty, in the agencies of the 24 pergunnahs and Chittagong, was fully investigated by a Committee in 1820; and by a resolution of Government, dated the 8th of September of that year, the amount of these rents was settled on the zemindars in perpetuity. By a subsequent resolution of Government, dated 30th March 1836, the khalaree rents paid to the zemindars of settled estates in Hidgellee, were declared to be of the same character, and precisely analogous to the moshaira paid in unsettled estates of the same district, which has already been specially excluded from the calculation of the prime cost of salt.

V. SALARY OF AGENTS.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hidgellee -	40,200	-	-
Tumlook -	32,400	-	-
Balasure -	17,422	3	2
Cuttack -	16,222	3	3
Pooree -	12,333	5	-
	1,27,577	11	5

54. Under this item may also be considered those of deputy and assistant salt agents, civil assistant surgeon and native doctor, and the Commissioner's salary in Cuttack.

55. These charges, it appears to the Board, are purely incidental to a Government system of manufacture, and are incurred solely for the purpose of collecting the revenue and preventing illicit manufacture. Were the manufacture and provision of the salt in private hands, it would either be necessary to employ trustworthy agents or gomasthas to look after the works, or the proprietor of the works must himself superintend the manufacture, and derive from it some remuneration for the time and labour, over and above the profit, with which, as an absentee, he might be satisfied. But the proprietors or their agents would, under those circumstances only, have to see that all salt paid for was brought into store and accounted for. It would be no business of theirs, as it is of the Government agents, to prevent other people from manufacturing salt. And the expense of employing any probable-

probable number of native agents on that footing would be very much less than the cost of a single European functionary, such as those whom to the Government find it necessary to entrust the management of an agency, whose duty is not confined to the mere purchase and delivery of salt as an article of merchandise, but comprehends the prevention of illicit manufacture, smuggling, and peculation, the prevention of extortion by the petty officers of the department, and, in short, the monopoly of an article of which the value is raised by the imposition of duty to six times its prime cost. The Board therefore propose to charge only one-third of the Bengal agents' salaries, or 10,000 rupees each to salt, and in Cuttack the difference between the salaries of the agents and those which they would draw if they were collectors only, viz. 5,000 rupees each.

The expense of deputy and assistant agents and medical officers ought, in the Board's opinion, to be borne entirely by the revenue, and no part of the salary of the Commissioner of Revenue in Cuttack (who is not paid differently from Commissioners employed exclusively in land revenue duties) should be charged to salt.

		Rs.	a.	p.	
VI. CHARGES FOR TRANSPORTING SALT TO SULKEA.		Balasure -	48,498	4	-
		Cuttack -	17,989	2	-
		Pooree -	54,895	8	7
			1,21,382	14	7

		Rs.	a.	p.	
VII. CHARGES FOR RECEIVING AND DELIVERING SALT AT SULKEA.		Balasure -	659	-	1
		Cuttack -	4,609	2	6
		Pooree -	13,172	5	7
			18,440	8	2

VIII. COST OF ESTABLISHMENT AT SULKEA*.

56. These are no doubt manufacturing or rather producing charges, as they would have to be incurred under any circumstances in respect to the salt of Cuttack, and to such portion of Hidgellee salt as the first-hand dealers might think expedient to bring to market at Calcutta, instead of selling to wholesale merchants on the spot. But it is to be apprehended that these necessarily heavy charges may oblige the Government to discontinue the manufacture, except for local consumption. This indeed has already happened in Cuttack itself; and the same result is likely to follow in Khurdah, the produce of which is for sale at Sulkea, at a higher price than that of Hidgellee.

IX. VALUE OF SALT LOST BY ACCIDENT.

57. Where salt is lost by accident in course of manufacture or transport (provided the latter is in the ordinary route of traffic), or even when stored in heaps in the aurungs, the value of the salt so lost is fairly debitable to the prime cost of the remainder, but when salt is lost in its passage to a central Government depôt, out of the regular course of trade, or after being stored therein, the value of such salt ought to be charged to the revenue. The Government consider it necessary for revenue purposes, and in order to prevent a possible dearth of salt, to keep in store a stock of 40 or 50 lakhs of maunds in addition to the ordinary stocks in the hands of the dealers; but under an excise system no such necessity would exist, and the risk attending such a vast accumulation would be incurred neither by the Government nor by the private dealers.

58. If, of the charges above detailed, those which the Board propose to charge to revenue be deducted from the present cost price of salt, it may be expected that at the next annual revision the wholesale price of the salt of the Bengal agencies may be reduced by about 15 rupees the 100 maunds, and of the Cuttack agencies by somewhat less. Supposing only the same quantity of salt to be sold by wholesale as in 1851-52, the gross proceeds would be diminished thereby by about 282,027 rupees, and as the actual expense would remain the same, the whole would be a net loss to Government, and this loss would increase in proportion to the improvement which the proposed deductions might create in the demand for home-made salt; supposing a corresponding diminution to take place in the import of foreign salt.

		Maunds.	Rs.
	Hidgellee	-	132,719
	Tumlook	-	30,200
			162,919
			162,919
	Bengal salt	-	1,535,260 at 15 p. %
	Cuttack salt	-	517,380 at 10 p. %
	Arrakan and Madras Salt	-	177,840
	Total	-	2,230,480
			282,027

59. Upon this a question arises whether the Government is to sustain this loss for the benefit of the molunghees, especially after the diminution which the salt revenue has sustained in consequence of the successive reductions of duty that have taken place since 1844. Undoubtedly, as it appears to the Board, if the measures above advocated are necessary in order to place the salt manufacturers of Bengal on a fair footing of equality with

* This item does not appear in the annexed statement; not being included in the agency accounts, but it enters into the triennial adjustment prepared by the accountant.

Appendix, No. 6.

with the foreign producer, and to annul the protection which the latter has enjoyed since the change in the system of regulating prices, and in the manner of conducting the sales of Government salt, was introduced, the expense necessary for the accomplishment of this object must be borne by Government. If it be thought that the result of reducing the duty upon salt is not favourable, and that the increase in consumption has not sufficiently compensated for the loss of revenue, the remedy for this is a partial re-imposition of the duty on all kinds of salt, both home and foreign, not the maintenance of an unfair charge upon one for the benefit of the other. The two questions, in fact, have no connexion with each other.

60. It may perhaps be thought, as apprehended by the Court of Directors in 1847, that the foreign producers, especially those of the United Kingdom, may cavil at the measure, and renew those objections to the mode of administering the salt revenue of Bengal, which, since the admission of foreign salt on such eminently favourable terms, have been silenced. The Government, however, as already observed, has no interest whatever, so far as the salt revenue is concerned, in maintaining the home manufacture. It is bound to take care that the industry of its native subjects is not subjected to any burdens which are not equally borne by the foreign importer, and no fear of misrepresentation or of clamour, unfounded in reason, is likely to induce it to swerve from this object when the means of attaining it are satisfactorily made out.

61. If it be asserted that, however the matter be disguised, the Government is actually the manufacturer of salt in Bengal, that it makes advances for the salt, and that, in fact, the molunghees are its labourers and servants, who are paid according to the quantity of salt they produce, instead of by daily wages, the reply must be that this assertion is founded in error. The fact that Government is precluded from deriving profit from the purchase and sale of salt, and that it is not interested in maintaining the manufacture, and the equally certain fact that it is the molunghee alone, and not the Government, who suffers by the discontinuance of the home manufacture, and benefits by its extension, are, in the Board's opinion, altogether inconsistent with the position which, for the sake of argument, has been supposed.

62. Mr. Gordon, I am desired to add, cannot concur in the recommendation of his colleagues; he does not object to the soundness of the reasoning by which it is established that much of what is charged as the cost of home manufactured salt in this country does not belong strictly to cost; but he holds, that as it is found necessary to derive an important revenue from salt, the Government is bound to charge unavoidable expenses either to cost or to duty. If this be not done, the loss, Mr. Gordon observes, will fall inevitably on Government, and that he imagines can be ill afforded at present. The proposed diminution in the price of salt cannot be added to duty, and Mr. Gordon would therefore leave things as they are until the Government is at liberty to re-adjust the rate of duty chargeable on foreign and home salt.

I have, &c.

(signed) Cecil Beadon,
Junior Secretary.Board of Revenue, Fort William,
29 June 1853.

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor of Bengal.

Salt.

1. THE letter of the Revenue Board is, to my mind, a convincing paper.

I hardly concur in their views that the Government is not the manufacturer of the salt; it is, at all events, the trader in that article, and the argument remains valid.

2. For reasons which are held to be conclusive, the Government of Bengal has long raised a portion of its revenue from salt. Instead of raising this revenue by the machinery of an excise, the Government has itself monopolised the sale of the article, and has thus obtained its return to the public treasury.

3. To warrant the Government of Bengal in continuing this system, I conceive it is essential that the operation of the system should clearly involve no injustice to the importer of salt from without, or to the producer of home salt in India.

The representations of the Revenue Board, in my humble judgment, have established that, under the existing system, no injustice is done to the importer of salt, but that great and growing injustice is inflicted on the native producer of that article.

4. The importer of salt from England or from elsewhere, has a right to expect that he should not be exposed by the determination of the Government of Bengal to retain the monopoly of salt in its own hands, to any greater competition than he would have to contend with if the monopoly were abolished, and the traffic in salt, like the traffic in any other article, were carried on by ordinary traders.

The-

The Government of Bengal, acquiescing in that principle, have long since given effect to it by establishing that the selling price of their native salt shall consist of the amount of the import duty on foreign salt, plus the cost of manufacture and conveyance for sale of the native article.

5. But I think the Revenue Board have conclusively shown, that in "the cost of manufacture and conveyance for sale," the Government have included many items which cannot correctly be classed under either of these heads, but which belong to other operations of the Government, such as collection of revenue or charges of preventive service. The selling price of the home salt has thus been enhanced beyond what the selling price would be in the hands of an ordinary trader, by the whole amount of these extraneous items. The direct effect of this has been to enable imported salt to compete with native manufactured salt so successfully, that it is thrusting the latter out of the market, while, if the selling price of native salt were what it would be in the hands of native traders, it might still hold its ground.

6. Thus the Government has unwittingly been doing a great injustice to the native producer. For by raising the selling price of his produce unduly, the Government is destroying its sale, and is thus depriving him of the employment whereby he gains his livelihood, and which he would still have retained under a system of ordinary trading, where the lower prices would probably have kept the article in the market.

7. The Revenue Board have shown that this is not a partial effect, but that it is felt so widely and severely as to call for the close and immediate attention of the Government.

8. If this Government be reproached with endeavouring to unsay its former conclusion as to the selling cost of Government salt, I reply that the conclusion of the Government has been, in my judgment, proved to be erroneous, and its calculations faulty, and that it is the duty of the Government to amend the error now that it has found it out.

The Government, in my opinion, should be far less ashamed of confessing that it has committed a blunder than of showing reluctance to remedy an injustice lest it should at the same time be convicted of having previously blundered.

Necessity may unfortunately compel this Government, for the present, to continue to raise an objectionable impost upon an article of first necessity, but nothing can justify the Government in pursuing, for this purpose, a system which unduly exposes a portion of its people to disadvantages that are rapidly depriving them of their means of livelihood. It is, therefore, I think, the plain duty of the Government to endeavour to remedy this evil at once, in the mode pointed out.

9. If it be objected that to do so will involve a sacrifice of revenue, I reply that, even if it should reduce the revenue, the plea cannot be admitted. This is a question of duty and justice, not one of expediency or profit. If it be admitted, as I think it must, that the people are bearing an unfair burden, it is the duty of the Government to lighten it, at whatever sacrifice.

10. It may be, too, that the imported salt, with the many advantages which it is shown to enjoy in its import over other articles of commerce, may still drive the native salt out of the market, even at its readjusted price. If this should prove to be the case, the Government will have to reconsider the question under that new aspect. Its present duty is obvious.

11. Lastly, if it should be objected that this revival of the selling price of native salt in India will create remonstrances, and raise clamour among the owners and exporters of salt from England to India, the answer is easy: the act of the Government here can be shown to be founded on justice and necessity; any clamour against it in England, therefore, will have no foundation in justice or reason, and accordingly it ought to be, and safely may be disregarded.

12. So great a change, however, cannot with propriety be carried into effect until a reference shall have been made to the Honourable Court of Directors.

Let this be done by next mail; and, as the case is urgent, an early reply should be requested.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*

11 September 1852.

STATEMENT of the Cost of SALT Manufactured in 1256 S. S., or 1849-50.

	HIDGELLE.E.		TUMLOOK.		BALASORE.		CUTTACK.		POOREE.					
									For Pangah.		For Kurkutch.		TOTAL.	
	<i>Co's.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Co's.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Co's.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Co's.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Co's.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Co's.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Co's.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
I. Cost paid to the Molunghees	2,64,252	15 2½	3,68,930	3 3	1,05,923	4 6	67,124	13 11	69,482	8 6	40,880	14 -	1,10,363	6 6
II. Arung charges; viz.—														
<i>a</i> Fixed Establishment, Sudder and Mafusil	28,169	10 9	24,965	- -	16,157	14 11	7,293	9 8	2,497	1 9	4,258	14 3	6,756	- -
						4,452	13 5	7,322						
<i>b</i> Burkundauz Guard	2,086	2 10	2,014	12 -	-	-	192	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>c</i> Pension	120	- -	-	- -	-	-	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>d</i> Temporary Poktan Establishment	5,488	- -	6,656	8 -	3,462	- -	3,432	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
Temporary Dawk Runners	-	- -	-	- -	315	- -	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>e</i> Ferry Establishment	352	7 2	-	- -	269	12 11	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>f</i> { Building and repairing Golahs	1,758	10 7	499	12 -	3	- -	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ditto, Bridges, Drains, &c.	668	6 10	-	- -	-	- -	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ditto, Cutcherries	1,070	14 5	517	7 10	178	12 6	-	- -	67	15 -	14	- -	81	15 -
Excavating Docks	141	11 9	-	- -	-	- -	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ditto, Canals for Embankments, &c.	844	10 -	2,217	- 1	122	2 9	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>g</i> { Poonea Charges	105	8 -	-	- -	-	- -	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gutchu Salt Compensation	2,433	- -	1,741	8 -	-	- -	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
Birtee Charity	635	- 5½	-	- -	-	- -	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>h</i> { Temporary Bhaugah Establishment	4,368	- -	6,017	- -	-	- -	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
Baskets, Jute, &c. for Bhaugah Weighment	270	- 1	112	8 8	124	6 6	-	- -	357	4 9½	892	7 10½	1,249	12 8
<i>i</i> Partcil or Import Weighment	1,271	9 1½	3,439	2 2	-	- -	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>j</i> Cutcherry and Golah Ground-rents	13	15 10	600	- -	20	5 8	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>k</i> { Fuel Watchers	-	- -	-	- -	960	- -	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
Straw for covering Bhar Kunder	-	- -	-	- -	324	- -	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>l</i> Zemindars' Moshaira	-	- -	-	- -	28,246	3 4	17,899	15 5	11,746	11 3½	13,609	14 8½	25,356	10 -½
<i>m</i> Value of Khorakee Salt to Zemindars	-	- -	-	- -	2,018	12 5	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>n</i> Cost and Revenue of Surruf Salt	-	- -	-	- -	-	- -	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>o</i> Contingencies	1,452	14 6	208	2 5	547	11 5	947	14 6	72	15 -	124	7 3	197	6 3
III. Transportation Charges	14,422	15 10	23,461	6 10	5,229	2 2	394	2 -	-	-	-	-	-	-
							Sudder							
							Arrung							
							394	2 -						
							1,740	5 7						

F I F T H
R E P O R T

FROM THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

ON

INDIAN TERRITORIES;

TOGETHER WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE,

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE,

AND APPENDIX.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
14 July 1853.

Lunæ, 15^o die Novembris, 1852.

Ordered, THAT a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the Operation of the Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 85, for effecting an Arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories till the 30th day of April 1854.

Martis, 16^o die Novembris, 1852.

Committee nominated of—

Mr. Herries.	Mr. Milner Gibson.
Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.	Mr. Mangles.
Lord John Russell.	Sir James Hogg.
Mr. Baring.	Mr. Hume.
Sir Charles Wood.	Mr. Bankes.
Mr. Baillie.	Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Gladstone.	Mr. Robert Hildyard.
Mr. Newdegate.	Mr. James Wilson.
Mr. Labouchere.	Mr. Spooner.
Sir James Graham.	Mr. Keogh.
Mr. Alderman Thompson.	Mr. Macaulay.
Sir William Molesworth.	Lord Stanley.
Sir Robert Harry Inglis.	Mr. Robert Clive.
Viscount Jocelyn.	Mr. Edward Ellice.
Mr. Cobden.	Viscount Palmerston.
Mr. Hardinge.	

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to send for Persons, Papers, and Records.

Ordered, THAT Five be the Quorum of the said Committee.

Veneris, 18^o die Februarii, 1853.

Ordered, THAT Mr. Wilson be discharged from further attendance on the Committee, and that Lord John Russell, Sir Charles Wood, Sir George Grey, Sir Thomas Maddock, Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. John Elliot, and Mr. Lowe be added thereto.

Martis, 22^o die Februarii, 1853.

Ordered, THAT Mr. Chichester Fortescue be discharged from further attendance on the Committee, and that Mr. John Fitzgerald be added thereto.

Jovis, 28^o die Aprilis, 1853.

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to Report the Minutes of Evidence taken before them, from time to time, to The House.

Lunæ, 2^o die Maii, 1853.

Ordered, THAT the Report of the Select Committee on Indian Territories of last Session, and copy of the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the same subject (communicated 1st December) be referred to the Committee.

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FIFTH REPORT.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to inquire into the Operation of the Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 85, for effecting an Arrangement with the **EAST INDIA COMPANY**, and for the better Government of Her Majesty's **INDIAN TERRITORIES** till the 30th day of April 1854, and to whom several Petitions, and the Report of the Committee on Indian Territories of last Session, and also the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords on the same subject, were referred, and who were empowered to Report the **MINUTES OF EVIDENCE** taken before them, from time to time, to **The HOUSE** :

HAVE made further progress in the Matters to them referred, and have agreed to make a Fifth Report of the Minutes of Evidence taken before them.

14 July 1853.

 PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE.

Jovis, 30^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Hardinge.
 Sir T. H. Maddock.
 Mr. Mangles.
 Sir C. Wood.
 Mr. Herries.
 Mr. Ellice.

Mr. Elliot.
 Sir George Grey.
 Mr. Hume.
 Sir J. W. Hogg.
 Mr. Lowe.

Mr. *Jefferies* examined.

[Adjourned till Monday next, at Quarter before One.]

Lunæ, 4^o die Julii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Sir J. W. Hogg.
 Sir T. H. Maddock.
 Mr. Elliot.
 Sir George Grey.
 Mr. Mangles.
 Mr. Hume.
 Mr. Newdegate.
 Mr. Lowe.

Mr. Spooner.
 Mr. R. H. Clive.
 Mr. Hardinge.
 Mr. Vernon Smith.
 Mr. Bankes.
 Mr. Ellice.
 Viscount Jocelyn.
 Sir C. Wood.

Mr. *Finlay* examined.Mr. *Gladstone* examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, at Quarter before One.]

Jovis, 7^o die Julii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Spooner.
 Mr. Vernon Smith.
 Mr. Herries.
 Mr. Newdegate.
 Mr. Ellice.
 Sir T. H. Maddock.
 Sir George Grey.
 Mr. Lowe.
 Sir R. H. Inglis.

Mr. Hardinge.
 Mr. Mangles.
 Mr. Elliot.
 Sir J. W. Hogg.
 Sir C. Wood.
 Mr. R. H. Clive.
 Mr. Hume.
 Mr. Bankes.
 Viscount Jocelyn.

Sir *Charles Trevelyan*, K. C. B., further examined.

Motion made (Mr. *Hume*), and question proposed, "That it is expedient to inquire by whom, and at what time, the orders for commencing the war against the Affghans were given, and the date when the despatches respecting the origin and progress of that war were laid before the Court of Directors, for their information."

Amendment

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN TERRITORIES.

v

Amendment proposed (Sir George Grey), To leave out all the words after "That," and to insert the words, "Whilst this Committee feel it their duty to require the fullest information as to the expenditure incurred on account of recent wars in India, they do not consider themselves competent to inquire into the policy of such wars, which can only be undertaken on the responsibility of the Government."

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question," put.

Committee divided :—

Ayes, 3.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Banks.

Noes, 12.
Mr. Herries.
Sir C. Wood.
Mr. Elliot.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Sir George Grey.
Viscount Jocelyn.
Mr. Hardinge.
Sir J. W. Hogg.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Mr. Ellice.

Words left out.

Question, "That the proposed words be there inserted," put.

Committee divided :—

Ayes, 12.
Mr. Herries.
Sir C. Wood.
Mr. Elliot.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Sir George Grey.
Viscount Jocelyn.
Mr. Hardinge.
Sir J. W. Hogg.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Mr. Ellice.

Noes, 3.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Banks.

Proposed words inserted.

Main question, as amended, put, and agreed to.

Resolved,—"That whilst this Committee feel it their duty to require the fullest information as to the expenditure incurred on account of recent wars in India, they do not consider themselves competent to inquire into the policy of such wars, which can only be undertaken on the responsibility of the Government."

[Adjourned till Monday next, Quarter before One.

Lunæ, 11^o die Julii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Mr. Hume.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Ellice.
Sir C. Wood.

Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Elliot.
Sir J. W. Hogg.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Newdegate.

Mr. Peacock examined.

Mr. Chapman examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, at Quarter before One.

Jovis, 14° die Julii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. THOMAS BARING in the Chair.

Sir J. W. Hogg.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Ellice.

Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Mangles.
Sir C. Wood.
Mr. Hardinge.

Mr. *J. C. Melvill* further examined.

Mr. *Macpherson* examined.

The Chairman was instructed to make a further Report of the Evidence to this day (Fifth Report).

[Adjourned till Monday next, at Quarter before One.]

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MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

Jovis, 30^o die Junii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.
Mr. Elliot.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Mangles.
Sir Charles Wood.
Mr. Herries.
Mr. Lowe.

Sir J. H. Maddock.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Labouchere.
Mr. Ellice.
Mr. Hume.
Sir J. W. Hogg.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Julius Jeffreys, Esq., called in; and Examined.

7677. *Chairman.*] YOU are aware that a petition was presented from the Liverpool East India and China Association to the House of Commons, which has been referred to this Committee; I believe you were requested by Mr. George Malcolm, the Deputy Chairman, to appear before the Committee, in answer to the invitation of the Committee to send some witnesses before it?—I had a communication from the East India Association, and met the committee on two occasions on the subject, and was then requested to appear before this Committee.

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7678. Will you state to the Committee in what capacity you were in India, and when?—I went to India on the Bengal Medical Service. I was employed chiefly as a civil surgeon during my service, though I also served in the military department at three or four different stations. My chief residence, as a civil surgeon, was at Furruckabad.

7679. You were a covenanted servant of the Company?—I was. I went out to India, and sought occupation in India, with the desire of endeavouring to apply to the improvement of the arts in India the science of Europe, to which I had somewhat attentively devoted myself in my studies. I always kept it in view to study the character of the people of India, and to ascertain the causes of their depressed condition. Among other curious facts connected with India, a considerable amount of civilisation and manufacturing progress seems to have taken place in times long gone by; but at that point the people seem to have been staticary, along with most other Asiatics, and to have made no progress whatever since.

7680. When did you go to India?—I went to India in the year 1822.

7681. How long did you remain there?—I staid in India 12 years. I may say that my occupation in India had more than usual intensity, if I may use the expression; for during the whole time I was very earnestly occupied, which led to undertakings that I had never contemplated in the first instance. I was engaged in various manufactories, which led me to employ, for a series of years, from 500 to 1,000 natives, and I have had indirectly in my employment many more; those men being of ail castes among the Hindoos, and all classes among the Mahomedans.

7682. To what description of manufactures do you refer?—I commenced by an endeavour to establish a basis for the metallurgic arts. That was what led to my

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my operations. The first work which I established was an extensive mineral water manufactory, which I was persuaded could be profitably founded, upon a discovery I had made. I found that in India, and I believe it is the case nearly throughout Asia, a proper furnace does not exist; it is not in their power to fuse iron, nor cast brass, on any large scale. Their large cannons are all cast in a great number of petty furnaces, in each of which they melt a small pot-full of brass, and a multitude of men run together and pour it into various holes in the mould. In fact, the metallurgic arts were in the lowest state. Iron they cannot melt; brass they cannot rightly manage, and I saw that it was a matter of the first importance, both to the metallurgic and chemical arts, to introduce the construction of good furnaces. With a considerable expenditure of effort and money I succeeded in producing what may seem an insignificant matter, but which is everything as regards the basis of the arts, a true fire brick. Possessing that, I had a starting point from which to work. The natives have no proper glass, and no vessels of any kind which are not porous; even their spirits they are obliged to keep in earthenware vessels, greased, to give them a degree of closeness. I established, also, a manufacture of stoneware; I established the means of making sound glass; I found a material with which it might be made with great advantage to the people of India, and also to the people of England. I also established the manufacture of oil of vitriol in Western India, and of soda; I was obliged to be my own engineer in the construction of machinery of different kinds. This led to my teaching the natives a variety of arts, and to my employment of a great many of them. I subsequently was led to establish a large saltpetre refinery. All those undertakings gave me an opportunity of studying the character of the natives, and the condition of the people. I was then led on to make inquiries into the agriculture, especially into irrigation, and their means of communication, and also into the manner in which the land revenue pressed upon the people of the country. With respect to the want of communication, I suffered myself so much from the imperfect means of communication in India, that it was one, among various fields of inquiry, which I directed my attention to, and I came to the conviction that the want of the means of locomotion was one among the causes of the great depression of the people, especially in the poorer districts.

7683. *Mr. Hardinge.*] What part of the country are you speaking of?— Throughout Hindostan. At an early date I tried to impress upon the minds of persons of influence the necessity of constructing in the first place canals, which should jointly be canals for navigation and for irrigation, inasmuch as both operations would bear a proportion of the expense, and also employing them for navigation would ensure their being more healthy. The canal must be kept full of water for navigation, and also pretty free from weeds, and that would do away with one of the objections which has been urged with some plausibility against canals for irrigation, that they are liable to run very low, and expose a slimy bed of mud, thereby engendering fever, especially hurtful to Europeans. I might say by the way, that I cannot see why those canals should necessarily run close to the stations in which the army is cantoned; what would be very destructive to the European constitution, and curiously enough to a considerable degree to our native army, would be borne very well by the native peasantry. In my opinion it would be better to make the canals four or five miles off from where the troops are cantoned; those views were set forth in different writings, and I was in frequent communication with the Government. I had communications with Lord William Bentinck, who was good enough to give me frequent interviews, and to correspond with me by letter. My convictions are, that the first great want of India is canals for navigation and irrigation, and next roads; for roads in some parts of India nature affords material, but in a large portion of the Presidency of Bengal, it must be admitted, great difficulty exists in procuring material. I know, over the plains of Hindostan proper, and Western India, of only two kinds of material which offer themselves for the purpose; one is the scanty limestone, which is found here and there on the surface, but which, generally speaking, you must dig out of the soil; the other is clay burnt into bricks, or into tubes, which would be the better form, and then crushed to make roads of. That absence of material certainly does present a formidable difficulty to the construction of roads in many parts of India. I am not speaking here of the more hilly districts, but I speak of the plain of Bengal, Western India, of Delhi and Agra, and the district of Rohilcund;

cund; in fact, of nearly the whole of the presidency of Bengal, except in the vicinity of the Rajmahal Hills, and some of the hills further to the south, and also the vicinity of the Himalayas, and the beds of the rivers just where they pass out of the hills, and bring down with them a large quantity of coarse rubble, which would be, no doubt, very useful. Generally speaking, it must be admitted that difficulties exist; and looking to those difficulties, I should have been very glad to have seen a plan adopted of constructing tramroads as an intermediate step between the construction of new roads and the construction of railways.

7684. You returned to England about the year 1835?—I did.

7685. Are you aware of all that has been done since that time?—I am. At the time of the renewal of the last charter, the views I had been led to form from what I had seen of India, and from having endeavoured to study pretty closely the state of the country, induced me to hazard an opinion which was contrary to that which was generally entertained. I remember having a conversation with Mr. Macaulay at the Government House in Calcutta, who was very sanguine that the provisions of the late charter would lead to the development of the resources of India in various ways, and mainly by the introduction of European skill and capital. I remember saying then, I believed, if we lived to see it, we should find at the end of that period of time, which has now come, matters would be as nearly as could be *in statu quo*; and so I believe they actually are, with the exception of what the Government has done in some measure towards improving the means of traffic. With respect to tramroads, I am glad to find that Mr. Finlay, who is a gentleman of considerable experience connected with Bombay, entertains the same view that I do; indeed, I had the same opinion myself, and he mentioned it to me as being his own. By constructing tramroads, you greatly facilitate, of course, the power of traction of a bullock; you get rid of the difficulty of finding hard material for the roads, while you save most of the prodigious expense which must be incurred in constructing and keeping up railways. Looking to what the expense of fuel in India will always be, to what the wear and tear of the machinery in that climate will be, and to the difficulty on such a soil of keeping up your roadway in the manner in which it must be kept up upon railways, I venture to predict that the guarantee which the Government has made of 4 or 5 per cent. it will always have to pay. Desirable as railways may be for India, and very desirable they are if the Government can bear the expense, the Government will really have to bear the expense; and if they cover their working charges, it is my belief that that is all which will be gained.

7686. Would you wish those tramways to be constructed by the Government?—My opinion is, that all the great works in India must be directly or indirectly done by the Government. It behoves them to do it out of the revenues of India, and to find the means of doing it; in the end, if they do not do it directly, they must do it indirectly by guarantees, the question being, whether it would be done more economically in that way or not.

7687. Mr. Elliot.] Do you propose to have wooden tramways?—No; I would lay them down with iron rails.

7688. On sleepers?—Yes; whether any means of kyanizing would make wood in India proof against the white ant, I doubt; but even if the rails were laid on sleepers liable to decay, there would not be the same danger attendant upon their giving way as there would be upon a railway. First of all, canals for irrigation and navigation, I consider to be a matter of primary importance. As many persons have borne witness, it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of irrigation. But while canals are of so much importance, and tanks too, I believe it will be found that nearly a moiety of the Indian territory will have to be irrigated by wells. I do not know that I could condense what I have to say on this subject better than in the closing paragraphs of some papers I wrote 20 years ago. "In her Eastern conquests, Britain has assumed, unasked, the position and responsibilities of the political guardianship of India, the duties of which, being those of highly civilised rulers towards a barbarous people, are far more extensive than the functions of any European Government. Although the word 'Government' may be the only term applicable to the supreme power in each case, it must not be supposed that, by employing the same term, the greater moral responsibilities of that of India can be escaped. The interests of the Government, as well as of the people, do indeed call for the commencement of a system of

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of suitable interference and paternal guidance on its part, in which no measure need be had recourse to at all offensive to the people. On the contrary, the very measure suited to the objects in view would have an air of benevolence on the part of the Government, at present incredible by the people, and would by degrees transform a fearful disaffection in the hearts of millions into a self-interested and loyal attachment to the Government, desirable for the security and happiness of all. As the agriculture of the country became relieved of a large part of the crowd resting upon it, a portion should receive instruction in the various useful arts of life while a portion of them, and that not a small one, together with their sustenance (no longer needing their aid in raising it), might then most justly be claimed by a Government so beneficent, as the means of strengthening its arm in the country, and of supplying produce for paying its charges without. With their fertility increased, the heaviest of the expenses of cultivation reduced, and the readiest means afforded for the exportation of their produce, the rent of the distant provinces of the country might, after leaving to the landowners half of the benefits, be raised to an amount almost incredible at present. What are now among the poorest parts of the country would become the richest, and could not fail of yielding many times the rent now obtained from them. The period of retrenchment in the public expenses is remarkably favourable for commencing great works, especially such as will facilitate the transportation of produce; for, in order to recover the funds expended, the taxation need not then be raised, since what would have been lost by the revenue declining from retrenchment, without other local expenditure, is saved by expenditure on such works which is sure to keep the revenue up to its full standard. Such appears to be the legitimate purpose to which to devote, at present, funds resulting from retrenchments. To employ them towards liquidating the debt of India, payable at a vast distance from the source of much of them, and thus to divert them from the prior object of enabling the produce of the provinces to follow its money representative, and of increasing the quantity of produce, does not appear expedient. It is like attempting with seed corn to satisfy a demand, which would prove trifling after the harvest. It is to be feared that, at present, no considerable part of the revenues of India is likely to be devoted to the purposes recommended. So long, however, as the Government shall not again, like an Indian devotee, tie its own hands up with a permanent settlement in Western India, the means will still remain in its power for commencing that movement, to which alone we can look for any advancement of the people towards a state of prosperity, and any increase in the revenues of the Government: not a movement, indeed, of armies, for the territorial enlargement of British India, but of mind, for the enlargement of her resources; not an increase of superficies, but of solidity; not an acquisition of more land, but a deeper cultivation of that we possess; a drawing of more produce from the surface of India, and more minerals from its bowels; not a heaping of people upon people, but a judicious distribution of those we have; a transfer of millions at present jammed in the agrarian crowd to all other pursuits of civilised men; a portion of them to the service of the State." It is that jamming of multitudes of the population in upon agriculture that I humbly conceive to be the great point which the Government has to look to. A vast number of people are crowded upon agriculture, and every day disposed to crowd themselves still more upon it. I believe that as it is now collected, the Government land rent presses with very great weight upon the people, not so much on account of its amount, as from the manner in which it is collected, and from the absence of what, I believe, a native of India absolutely requires for developing his powers. I do not think, and I speak now from trials which I have made of the native industry in various ways, a simple remission of the tax upon the land in the hands of the people would issue in the good which many of the friends of India expect. At first the people would appear to be eased, but in a very short time the zemindar's relations and friends would come in upon them; men who have been out as chokiedars, or otherwise employed; they would come back to the paternal home; his door would always be open, and as long as he could feed those idlers he would do so. That is one way in which good would not result to the people. Another case is this: the bulk of the zemindars are not hoarders, but, here and there, there is a man who is a hoarder for religious reasons; and if he begins to be a hoarder, he will not spend one shilling more upon cultivation. I have never been able to witness that they have extended their wants, or that they have improved their cultivation,

cultivation, by being in easy circumstances. All this, I believe, must be the work of the Government; and no matter whether you derive much or little from the people, without such works I believe they will be in a very grievous case in the end, and it is difficult to say what calamities will be the result, if you draw from the people of India a large revenue, and leave them to their own unaided operations.

7689. The petition states, "That your petitioners consider that the land tax, or rent paid by the cultivators of the soil in all parts of India is excessive." What you have just stated leads the Committee to believe that you do not consider it excessive?—Had I a part in drawing up that petition, I certainly should have demurred to that expression.

7690. The grievance you refer to is the social condition of India?—The grievance is the social condition of the people, I think, arising out of the neglect of the Government.

7691. In what way has the neglect of the Government been manifested?—The people cannot go on in a prosperous course unless their operations are looked to; you will see wells in many parts of India, constructed, I believe, in the days of Akbar, and large tracts of country out of cultivation, which in some cases, I believe, on historical grounds, were assessed very highly, and used to yield considerable revenue to Akbar and his descendants. There are many tracts now out of cultivation, the land being covered with jungle. I have spoken to the natives occupying those parts of the country, and they have said the ancient sirkar always made them advances; and that the man who took the rent was the man who must carry out improvements. There is no spirit or pride among the people to do it themselves.

7692. What part of the country are you speaking of?—Bundelcund.

7693. What measures do you think the Government ought to take?—I think that as the Government must construct canals for irrigation, so they must be pleased to leave their English notions behind them, and appoint a department of agriculture. I think there should be a minister of agriculture for India, a department to look to the drawing forth of the resources of the soil.

7694. Sir *G. Grey*.] What measures could the minister of agriculture in India take to remedy the evils you have pointed out?—He would find that the land has gradually lapsed into a state of defective cultivation from the wells falling, in consequence of their being imperfectly made. There are parts of the country where the subsoil requires that there should be some masonry in the well, and from that not being introduced, he would find the land falling out of cultivation, or yielding a very small produce.

7695. What would the minister of agriculture do under those circumstances?—Instead of remitting the revenue, he would assess the land to the extent that it would bear, and he must have advances made and devoted to the re-construction of the works which had gone out of use.

7696. Do you mean that the Government should make advances of money for the purpose of restoring those works?—Yes; if it does not do so, all that can be said is, that the revenue will decline. I believe a commission appointed for the purpose would find that the distress of India proceeds from that source.

7697. Mr. *Mangles*.] You left the North-western Provinces, I think, before Mr. Bird's settlement came into operation?—Yes.

7698. Have you any knowledge of the results of that settlement; do you know that it has been stated in evidence here that the cultivation has enormously increased?—These have been times, nearly all of them, of war, which has drawn a large portion of our army westward, and there has been an immense expenditure of revenue in the country. That fact is really a very notable and important one. I believe the distress of India will be found greatly to arise from our drawing a revenue from a district which has no means of locomotion for the produce. If you take that into account, you will find that a very great source of local prosperity has been the vast sums which have been spent in Western India, amounting to millions upon millions, which were not spent before.

7699. Mr. *Elliot*.] Do not you consider that Bundelcund is almost an exceptional case of distress, as regards the cultivation of the soil?—I think it is.

7700. It arose in the first instance, did not it, from a very injudicious settlement made some years ago, by which the country was very much oppressed?—It arose long before that. When Mr. — went there, he found that a considerable portion of the country had long since fallen out of cultivation in the Mah-

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ratta and Pindaree times. The difficulty in Bundelcund is this. It acquires a certain amount of masonry work for the wells; it is a fine surface soil, and there is water enough below, but a common clay well will not do. In the parts of the country where a common clay well suffices, which is the case in the Western Provinces of India generally, it requires no enterprise on the part of the natives to carry it out. The well is dug for 1s. 6d., and it lasts for several years. But, looking to the work of irrigation, in those different wells to which I have referred, the waste of labour is quite surprising. If you examine the rope, and the wheel over which the pulley is drawn, you will find a loss of labour and a loss of power which are quite deplorable. You may remonstrate with the native as long as you please, but he will not alter it. In the construction of the well, too, in the first instance, there is a great amount of lost labour; the well cannot be carried down below a certain depth, because the water, under the system pursued, overcomes the cultivator. Then in a season of drought the well is exhausted from not being deeper, and serious evil consequences follow. To support what I have been stating, I find, on reference to ancient Persian documents, it is again and again repeated, that the parties managing the revenue shall make advances to the cultivators, and that they shall look to it that the lands are severally cultivated, it being a matter of indispensable duty on their part to do so. A dozen paragraphs may be met with in their early writings, particularly dwelling upon the necessity of the sirkar doing those things.

7701. *Sir G. Grey.*] Do you mean that advances should be made by the Government, and that the Government having made advances to the natives, should compel them to restore those works and cultivate the land in the manner which the Government thinks proper?—The Government should do this: it should make those advances, requiring that different operations of husbandry should be carried on.

7702. You mean that the Government should prescribe the mode of agricultural cultivation, and should enforce compliance with that mode?—Where the Government is fully satisfied that the mode of agriculture would be thereby greatly improved, I should say so. You may see 1,000 wells in India with a common block of wood with an iron pin through it. It is not turned as a cylinder, and from the arrangements, the loss of work by friction amounts to 10 or 20 or even 30 per cent.

7703. *Mr. Ellice.*] Your answer would suggest that the Government should find the means for the improvement of the cultivation of the whole country. From what source would those means be derived?—On each plot of ground; from that very plot of ground.

7704. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] The advances you are speaking of are those called tuckavy?—Yes.

7705. When you were in Bundelcund, and in the North-western Provinces, was not the advance of tuckavy an ordinary operation on the part of the officers of the Government?—The Government had no department of agriculture to see that that money was devoted to the purpose.

7706. The tuckavy was advanced for some particular purpose, was not it?—I never heard of there being any department to see that the money was devoted to the purpose for which it was advanced.

7707. By whose sanction was it advanced?—I presume it was advanced by the Government.

7708. You mean the collector, probably?—Yes, by the collector, as agent of the Government.

7709. And that was done for the purpose of buying seed grain, for the purpose of buying bullocks, and perhaps for the purpose of digging and improving wells, was not it?—I dare say, wherever it has been done, for that purpose; but you have no department to see that it is carried out.

7710. The Committee is to understand that advances were made at the period when you were in India, but that they were not made under the control and superintendence of some department?—They have been very scantily made. I should conceive nothing to compare with what the Indian native governments used to do; hence their former prosperity. I have no doubt they derived a much larger revenue from the country than we do, and with less distress to the people. Advances have been made very scantily by us; and so far as I am aware, there has been no department to see that they were devoted to the purposes proposed.

7711. Have

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7711. Have you visited the iron mines of Bundelcund?—No.

7712. Have you visited the iron and copper mines in Almorah?—No.

7713. Then you are not in a position to give any opinion to the Committee whether those mines may be advantageously worked by Europeans individually, or by companies?—I should conceive that a company could not work the iron mines in Gurhwal with advantage.

7714. I think you mentioned that the natives of India are incapable of casting iron?—Yes.

7715. Are you aware whether, when you were in the North-western Provinces, shot and shells were not cast by Captain Presgrave in that neighbourhood?—His means of doing so were English imported fire-bricks; it was done, but done in a very different way from what any founder in England would think to be satisfactory. The Government engineers, if they choose, certainly, can cast iron; but their means are English imported fire-bricks.

7716. Are you aware that while you were in India iron was dug out of the earth in the Sangor district, to the south of Bundelcund, and from that iron a suspension bridge, of 200 feet in length, was constructed, and cast over the river?—That may have been the case without casting; smelting iron and casting are perfectly different things; the natives smelt iron in a rude and expensive way; there is no iron better than it. Smelting and casting iron are entirely different things; a very moderate heat will suffice, if you have sufficient fluxes to reduce the ore, and then bring it into a malleable condition.

7717. *Chairman.*] The remarks you have made are explanatory of the views of the association whom you represent, as respects the change of the system of land revenue. The next paragraph of that petition refers to the practice of making advances of money in India upon the consignment of produce to this country for sale; are you prepared to corroborate that statement?—I am not.

7718. The next statement of the petition relates to the currency in India; have you anything to state to the Committee upon that subject?—My own experience has led me to feel the great want of a concentrated currency of gold, as well as of silver; for the Government it seems to be of primary importance. Any person who is acquainted with the collection of the revenue in Western India must know, that a number of the districts yield a revenue, of which very little is expended in the district; the greater portion the Government has to carry away, and there are in consequence requisitions for the use of the military for treasure parties; there may be seen 100 bullock carts, laden with silver, which is continually being carried away from these districts.

7719. What are the practical suggestions which you have to make on that subject?—The Government have all the means of protecting such a large quantity of silver in carrying it out of the district year by year, but the native who has to bring back an equivalent has not those means; it is very plain that where there are no mines of silver and gold, the district will by these means be emptied of its revenues; hence the danger of decoity, and the risk of insurance, and so on, in carrying the silver back.

7720. What practical suggestion would you make to remedy the evils which you have mentioned?—To establish a gold standard, as well as a silver standard. In my operations I have repeatedly had to send from 500 to 1,000 rupees in all directions, and I was in constant alarm lest the persons who carried it forth should be robbed and murdered; the men had to tie a considerable amount of silver round their waists. Had I had gold, it would have been exceedingly convenient to me, and an improvement to my business. Further, it would increase the means of the zemindar to pay his rent. In many districts the poverty of the people, and the distress, consists in the difficulty of selling the grain which is to yield the rent; it amounts to a very serious question at various times.

7721. The remedy you would suggest would be to make gold as well as silver a legal tender?—Yes.

7722. The next two paragraphs in the petition are with regard to the system of justice and police. Since you left India, you are aware there have been considerable changes made in those particulars; do you wish to state anything to the Committee on that subject?—I was so particularly requested by the committee whom I represent to speak on that subject, that I should wish to make some suggestions. At the renewal of the late charter, the reasons I had for entertaining the opinion that British skill, enterprise, and capital would not enter

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India were these, and I feel bound to state them, however unsatisfactory they may be to the ears of some. I have had many relations and many friends in the civil service of India, and I have a high opinion of it; but I must think that they are so overpowered with work for the most part, bearing in mind that the men are often unfitted by the state of their health for the correct performance of their duties, that a great part of the work must be only nominally done; consequently the state of the administration of justice is such, that I could not recommend to any man who respects his honour, his character, or his English feelings, to place himself in the mofussil in India; and I would wish to know how it is, or how it should be the case, that a British subject, while he enjoys in every other part of Her Majesty's dominions the privileges of trial by jury, protection by the Habeas Corpus Act, and a public opinion through the public press, should on going into the interior of India be cut off from all those advantages, and made subject to the jurisdiction of the native courts.

7723. You say he has not the right of *habeas corpus*; is his person not secure?—I should say, from what I have seen of the courts in several of the districts in the mofussil, that man must be very fond of seeking money who would place himself in such a district, and be under the necessity of standing as a petitioner at the bar of such a court, and be subjected to what he might be subjected to, and what he would be subjected to, if the judge, as is the case in many instances, were a Mahomedan.

7724. Mr. *Ellice*.] Is it your opinion that the administration of justice in India should be conducted exclusively with a view to the interests of the settlers who may be there, and not with a view to the general interests of the great mass of the inhabitants of India?—Certainly not; but this I will say, it behoves the British Government to give to the natives of India the best civil government which the means of the Government admit of; it also behoves, not the Government of India only, but the people of England, to demand that a British settler in India shall be a free man there, as he is in England.

7725. Sir *George Grey*.] Would you confine the administration of justice exclusively to Englishmen, and deprive the natives of any share in that administration?—The question with respect to the employment of the natives opens up a distinct subject of inquiry.

7726. I understand you to complain of the insecurity which attaches to an Englishman settling in India by the circumstance of justice being administered by natives; does the better system of administration which the petitioners in that petition desire to see established, include the exclusive administration of justice by Englishmen?—I think I had the opportunity of influencing the minds of some gentlemen who were connected with the Indian Association and the Chamber of Commerce at Liverpool on that subject. My own belief is this, that for the good of India, as well as for our own interests (for I venture again to predict that at the end of 20 years, as far as the entry of Europeans into the interior is concerned, it will not otherwise be found to have extended), the employment should be confined as much as possible to British subjects, and their number should be greatly increased.

7727. I observe in the petition the following passage: "Your petitioners humbly invite the serious consideration of your Honourable House to the necessity of providing for a better administration of justice throughout India." The Committee are to understand them to contemplate the exclusion of the natives from any share in the administration?—I cannot say that they do so. I cannot say how far all of them entertain that view, but certainly I have heard some of them express to some extent the same opinion that I have held myself. As the question has been asked, I may state that I know no such thing in the history of man, as the average of men rising much above the standard of morality around them, or a man's moral feelings being much above the moral atmosphere in which he lives and breathes, and has his being. Some rare exceptions, no doubt, are to be met with; in our own country we meet with a few men far beyond their age; but I put it to any one, if in our own country men do not think and act very much according to the moral feelings which exist around them. This I may say, that whether it be Hindoo or Mahomedan, especially Hindoo, in my belief, the child sucks in deceit with its mother's milk. One of the best proofs of that is, that I have heard a very high native say, "Do not believe what my son says; he is a liar." Another will turn round and say, "Are you speaking lies, or not?" Neither party would be in the least
offended

offended by the imputation. If you do find a native, and such natives are to be met with here and there, who seem disposed to start with every resolution to proceed as you desire him to do, he must be a rare man who, living among Hindoos, has a standard of morality reaching higher than that of those around him, and who can long and steadily withstand the pressure.

7728. Mr. *Elliot*.] You have mentioned the disadvantageous position which a European is in as regards the courts of justice in the mofussil; has not the European now very great advantages over the native in the mofussil courts of justice, seeing that he cannot be tried for crimes committed there, but must be sent to Calcutta for the purpose; a circumstance which constantly allows crime to pass without any punishment at all?—Certainly, the native ought to be protected on the spot, by having for the trial of Europeans what you have here, a circuit court: I see no reason why you should not have that court, which every Englishman desires to have; you have always Englishmen enough present in the military establishments to form a jury; I do not see why you should not have a travelling court, as in England, and a jury of resident military men or resident planters, so that a man might be tried by his peers. The native would then be protected, and the European also. But it is not criminal cases which are so likely to affect Europeans as cases connected with property. I know of no way of proceeding in a native court with any safety at present, but by being prepared to employ false witnesses to an indefinite extent, and bribery of the native officials.

7729. Is not the European more apt to domineer over the native than the native over the European?—I have no doubt he is more apt to domineer over the native; but it is not to be desired that he should have an opportunity of doing so; but he is much more likely to suffer from the ill-doing of the native, than the native is from his ill-doing, unless he is prepared to open his purse in a very wrong way. I believe, without exception, a part of the price of every pound of indigo is money paid for bribery and false witness.

7730. *Chairman*.] What I understand you to recommend is the establishment of trial by jury?—What I recommend as a European resident is this: a circuit court of British lawyers, and with a jury to try European criminals; unless the European has that, he has not that which he has a right to claim as a British-born subject.

7731. You mean a jury of Europeans alone?—A jury of Europeans.

7732. You spoke of the absence of the right given by the Habeas Corpus Act in India; do you mean that the person of a British subject is not safe there?—I am not sufficiently acquainted with the Company's regulations to know what the provisions are as against the abuse of the power; but it lies in the discretion of a native judge to arrest anybody he pleases.

7733. Have you known any instances of the exercise of that power?—Yes; and I have known it to be threatened.

7734. How long has such a person, having been arrested upon a warrant, been kept in confinement in consequence of the want of the right of *habeas corpus*?—I cannot say how long he has been kept.

7735. Can you tell the Committee any instances in which such a power has been exercised?—I can speak of one instance which led to a man's death, from the mortification which it excited. The case to which I refer was the case of Mr. Morton, who was arrested by the judge of Furruckabad. I do not undertake to justify Mr. Morton's proceedings.

7736. Will you state whether he was arrested upon any specific charge, and whether it was a criminal or a civil case?—It was entirely a civil case.

7737. Was he arrested for debt?—Yes, and under circumstances that were so mortifying to him, that he was seized with inflammation of the liver, which brought on a rapid abscess, and ended in his death. He raved with delirium during his illness.

7738. Mr. *Mangles*.] Was not it the fact that Mr. Morton owed a large sum of money to a native of high rank, and that the judge merely executed a civil process, as he was bound to do, by arresting him in the way in which he did?—I cannot say; I speak to the fact of his being arrested.

7739. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] By whom was this gentleman arrested?—By the judge of Furruckabad.

7740. Was he arrested by the judge under any authority which that judge possessed, or was he arrested by the judge in obedience to a process from Her Majesty's Supreme Court of Calcutta?—I think he was arrested by process.

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7741. The process issued from Her Majesty's Supreme Court?—It did in that case. Mr. Morton was arrested, not in obedience to, but in the face of a writ from the Supreme Court of Calcutta with which he was entrusted against a native who was charged with defrauding him; and a short time before his death a mandamus arrived from the Supreme Court enforcing his release.

7742. And the judge or officer of the Company, in arresting Mr. Morton, only acted in obedience to the process so issued?—I believe that was the case in that particular instance; that is, simply in regard to the question of *habeas corpus*. It would be unpleasant for me to state the facts of another case, of a very different kind; so that I had rather leave my evidence upon this point almost imperfect than state that other case. It was so remarkable a case, that it would behove any one to warn his fellow men against its recurrence. I have particularly adverted to the subject of the *habeas corpus*, but I do not wish to let the evidence rest upon that only; it is in prosecuting the natives for fraud in various ways that I consider the European settler in India has no due protection; and that he cannot possibly have, with the best intention of the native courts. I never met with an indigo planter who did not admit that he was obliged to employ false witnesses and to bribe in order to protect his property; I think I speak advisedly when I say it forms part of the price of every pound of indigo.

7743. Sir G. Grey.] Would the employment of European judges, to the exclusion of native judges, improve the character of the testimony?—It would have a beneficial effect if connected with an increase in the number of functionaries.

7744. Therefore your proposal for administering justice would involve an increase in the number of judges, at the same time that it would confine the seats of justice to Europeans?—I would have great caution used in the increase of the number of natives sitting in judgment alone. ~~I may state a case which I have seen repeatedly;~~ I have seen the judge sometimes both a judge and a magistrate, overwhelmed with work, sitting with a sea of heads before him, of people all clamorous and urgent, signing a number of Persian papers, with a large packet of such papers before him; it is impossible he should have read all those papers; these papers fly about the district, and I should like this point to be ascertained, whether the purport of those papers in some instances is not the very opposite of what he intended; if it is not, I do not know what security there is against it. I have seen a judge from sickness hardly fit for his work; but taking him in his best moments, he is overwhelmed with work. I go from the court into the cantonment, and I find in the middle of the day a dozen fine lads serving in the army, men of the same family, the same school education with himself, the same English character and integrity, suffering from *ennui*, having nothing to do beyond their morning drill; and an impression has struck me from an early day to this hour, that the time will come, and nothing can help it, for the employment of every educated European in the service in various ways in the Government of the country. I see Mr. Prinsep in his pamphlet strongly recommends that the *élite* of the army shall be picked out, that a kind of intellectual emasculation of the army should take place, both to help the civil service, and also lest, in consequence of large numbers of superior minds in the army finding no field for the exercise of their faculties, disaffection should grow up among them.

~~7745. You mean among the European officers?—Yes;~~ I can conceive of nothing more painful than the position of a European officer in India, with no prospect of war before him, in times of peace, day passing by after day, he having nothing to do from morning till night. I have known many a fine youth come out one thing, and at the end of three years become quite another. I cannot believe he would be damaged if he were fully employed. ~~At every station you must have a civil surgeon.~~ I undertake to say, that the number of hours he has devoted to the acquirement of his profession would be more than the hours the magistrate had devoted to his. Five years is the ordinary period of study of a surgeon. It is not five years before a man in the civil service begins to draw some salary. This civil surgeon has nothing to do the whole day long, beyond half-an-hour or an hour's attendance in the gaol. You have medical men in full practice even employed as magistrates; why should not the civil surgeon in India be so employed; on his qualifying himself, a moderate addition to his salary would suffice, and that of the usual magistrates would be saved to the State.

7746. Sir

7746. Sir J. W. Hogg.] In your opinion, that system which you have suggested, of employing every educated European in India in the service of the Government, would be better than the system which has been lately adopted of making use of native agency?—Beyond all question I should think so, both for the sake of the Government of the country, and for the good of the army itself.

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7747. Mr. Mangles.] How, under that system, would it be possible to raise the morals and feelings of the people above the low level of which you speak?—It would not exclude the gradual employment of natives. If you can so educate a sufficient number of natives in each locality, near the larger towns, for instance, that not only the particular men you pick out, but a large number round them, shall partake of that good moral atmosphere, and shall contribute to the establishment of a right moral feeling to back those individuals, I think it will be safe then to employ them.

7748. *Chairman*.] The petition speaks of improved police. The Committee have had the defects of the present system pointed out to them; what suggestions for its improvement would you submit to the Committee?—Will India always be able to bear 200,000 or 300,000 men as soldiers in time of peace, having nearly nothing to do? What was the procedure of the ancient native governments? Why should not our sepoy, even if it is supposed to be at some sacrifice of their military *morale*, be brought in aid of the existing police?

7749. Sir G. Grey.] Would you substitute for the civil police a military police throughout India?—I would bring them in to aid the present police; and I think even it would be better to introduce them as a substitute, than to leave things as they are.

7750. The petition points to an improved organisation of the police; do the petitioners mean by that the substitution of a military for a civil police?—I cannot state that they do.

7751. You are not able to state the views of the petitioners upon that subject?—I cannot say that I can detail the whole of their views.

7752. Your own opinion is, that it would be better to have a military police exclusively throughout India?—Incomparably better than the inefficient system you have at present.

Continued

Lunæ, 4^o die Julii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT

Mr. Baring.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Sir George Grey.
Mr. Newdegate.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Ellice.
Mr. Bankes.

Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Hardinge.
Sir J. W. Hogg.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Viscount Jocelyn.
Sir Charles Wood.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Alexander Struthers Finlay, Esq., called in; and Examined.

7753. *Chairman*.] YOU have been connected with trade in India for some period?—I have, for about 20 years.

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7754. In Bombay and in Madras?—Only in Bombay.

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7755. You have resided there, have you not?—I have.

7756. You are acquainted with the petition which has been referred to this Committee; having been presented to the House of Commons, on the part of the East India and China Association of Liverpool?—Yes.

7757. You have been requested by the committee of that association to appear here to corroborate the statements made in that petition, have not you?—I have.

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7758. When were you last in Bombay?—I left in 1838, but I have been in constant correspondence with my partners in India since then.

7759. Have you any observations to make upon the paragraph in the petition which refers to the existing want of internal communication for produce and merchandise?—Yes, I have; I consider that at present there are no roads in India suitable for commercial purposes of any extent. I am aware that there are what are called roads; there is one from Calcutta to Delhi, but that is more of a military road than anything else; and it is not much used for commercial purposes; I believe it will be given in evidence by another gentleman that it is not practicable in many parts at certain seasons; therefore, as a commercial road it is of little use. The only good road on the Bombay side, which is that with which I am best acquainted, is from Poonah to Panwell; that extends about 70 miles, but is almost altogether a road for military purposes; there is a traffic upon it, but it is not of much value for commercial purposes, on account of its very limited length. One of the great trunk roads, which is put down as a made road, is from Bombay to Agra; but for practical purposes, especially for trade, it is of little or no use. I can corroborate that statement by a letter which I have here, written by the collector in Kandeish, through which that road passes, dated April 1852, to the secretary of the Government in Bombay. “The high road for the last two years, in consequence of the unprecedented increase of traffic that passes along it, cut up by numerous cart-wheels, is one mass of sand and ruts from March until the rains set in; the stone metalling is not of a sufficiently hard kind. It would be well if the Government were to order the collector of Tannah to send a special inspector to see and report on the insufficiency of water for cattle on the road below the Ghauts.” There is another extract which I beg to read to the Committee from the commercial circular of Ritchie, Steuart & Co., dated 25 June 1852, which quotes the report of a Government officer, Captain Wingate. “No previous season has shown more palpably how seriously the want of roads impedes the trade of the country; Berar, for instance, has produced this year the finest cotton crop we have seen for very many years, if ever; the quality of much of it is superior to the best Broach, and the cultivation of such cotton can be almost indefinitely increased in that province, but to what purpose, so long as it cannot be conveyed to the coast, where alone it can be converted into money? A large portion of the crop is still in the districts, and will not reach Bombay until November and thereafter; much of it, in fact, will not be despatched until the following crop is being picked, owing to the difficulties of transport over the wretched bullock tracks, which alone are available for two-thirds to three-fourths of the journey to Bombay; even the high road, which serves for the remainder of the distance, is in many parts in a disgraceful state.”

7760. Are you aware of any improvement having taken place since 1852, in consequence of the representations which have been made?—Not much improvement. I have been informed by the last accounts that there have been some men put upon it to improve the worst parts of the line, but that is merely a temporary improvement; there have been no bridges constructed; parts of the line are good, but other parts are hardly passable, which, in effect, is shutting up the whole line.

7761. You state that military roads are not useful for commercial purposes; why is that the case?—The great military road by the side of the Ganges is of little use for commercial purposes, because the Ganges itself is a cheaper means of transit; the road is also in a bad state. The Poonah road is too short to be of much use for the general commerce of the country.

7762. Can you give the Committee any idea of the number of miles of road which now exist in the Presidency of Bombay?—I cannot; it is not very easy to do so. I have not been able to find any statistical account of it. I am aware that there have been latterly some roads made in the Southern Mahratta country.

7763. In the course of the last 10 years have there been any fresh roads made in Bombay?—There have been some, but not any of very great extent, which is proved by the report given by the East India Company of the expenditure upon roads within the last 13 years, which, as there given, comes down to 1849. According to that statement, the whole amount expended in the three Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, amounts to little more than a half per cent. of the revenue. In Bombay it is only 31,721*l.* per annum upon the average.

7764. Will you state to the Committee in what way you think the wants of

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the country in those respects might be best met?—Allow me first to remark, that perhaps the Committee may not be quite aware of the immense injury which is caused to trade in India from the want of roads. In this country we have so many roads, that the want of them does not strike us so much. I think the delay caused by the want of roads is more severely felt in India than it would be even in this country, for this reason, that the monsoon begins in June, and lasts during the four months of June, July, August, and September. The crops are ripe early in the spring; so that if the produce is not brought down before the monsoon, it cannot be brought down till October or November; and as there are no good warehouses or means of keeping it during the heavy rains which fall, it is very much deteriorated, besides the immense loss of interest and the additional expenses, which are very great. It is difficult for a merchant to calculate upon any transaction with the interior, on account of the uncertainty of the communication.

7765. Mr. *Elliot*.] What crops do you speak of?—I speak of all crops; cotton, linseed, flax, hemp, and other productions.

7766. Does not the cotton crop grow generally in the monsoon?—It does, but it is not picked till after the monsoon; the time of picking varies. In the Southern Mahratta country it is picked in the months of February, March, and April. As the monsoon commences in June, and it has to be cleaned before it is ready for market, it is only by great exertions and by means of very good roads that it can possibly be brought to Bombay that season.

7767. In what month is the cotton crop gathered?—In February, March, and April in the Southern Mahratta country; in Candeish it is gathered earlier, but the distance is greater; therefore the greater is the necessity for good roads.

7768. *Chairman*.] Will you state in what way you think good means of communication might be best provided in Bombay?—In the first instance, I should say, all roads or railways, or whatever they are, should be undertaken and maintained by the Government. One reason is, that it always has been the practice; and the next is, that if you have railways carried on by companies, the capital will be raised in England, and the proprietors will have a Board of Directors in England to manage their railway. It is perfectly impossible for a Board of Directors in England to manage a railway in India. It is difficult enough to do it in this country, but there it is quite impossible; and as the dividend is guaranteed by the company, they will have no great inducement to pay much attention to the economical expenditure of the money at their disposal. In my opinion it is much better the Government should do it themselves altogether.

7769. Would not the objection as to the direction be remedied by having a local Board of Directors, or an agency in India?—I do not think you could so easily raise the money in this country for that purpose, if you were to trust it entirely to directors resident in India. What appears to me most advantageous for India at present is the formation of iron tram-railways, to be worked by cattle. Neither roads nor locomotive railways, I think, will answer so well. There is not sufficient passenger traffic at present in India generally, to support locomotive railways. A tram-railway has great advantages over a common road; in the first place, you can travel along it during all seasons of the year; in the next place, the conveyance is quicker and cheaper; you can get a profit by it, whereas you can get no return from common roads, the outlay upon them being so much money sunk. Tramroads will give a very good return, according to the estimates I have made. You can cross large rivers much more easily by merely having beams put across, upon which the trucks may be drawn by means of ropes; the cattle would not require to cross them. The advantages over locomotive railways are, that the cost is very much less; the management is a great deal more easy; they can be made more quickly, and by less experienced hands, and the risk of accidents is very much less. You will have less injury to your plant, and the plant is much cheaper. The trucks for tram-railways can be obtained for 8*l.* or 10*l.* apiece, while for locomotive railways they would cost from 60*l.* to 80*l.* apiece, and the destruction of the plant in the case of tramways will be very much less; few experienced workmen will be required. From the experience that I have had of locomotive railways in this country, I do not believe it is practicable to work them through India generally, now to advantage. They may be worked near the Presidencies, but not throughout India generally. What I would propose is, that you should now commence with the great roads through the principal parts of the country; for instance, from Calcutta to

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Delhi, not taking the main road which now exists, but varying it so as to run through the large towns which are not now touched by the road; then from Bombay to Delhi by Callian, Indore, and Gwalior, a direction pretty much the same as the Agra road now takes; from Bombay to Madras, by Callian, Poonah, Dharwar, Bangalore and Arcot; also from Bombay to Sattara, by Nagotna, for the cotton districts; which, with other branches, I calculate would require about 3,000 miles of tram-railway, the cost of which, at 3,000*l.* a mile, which is a rough estimate, would amount to 9,000,000*l.*, but say it would be 10,000,000*l.* I think with less than an outlay of 10,000,000*l.* it would be impossible to begin such a system of tramroads as it is desirable to make in India, capable of producing any great effect upon the agriculture and commerce of the country. That sum, as well as any other which it may be necessary to raise by loan, I propose should be raised by means of annuities payable in 60, 70, 80, 90 and 100 years, that is, a fifth every 10 years, and that it should be guaranteed by the British Government. Upon those terms I think there is no doubt it could be raised at 5 per cent., which is the rate of interest now paid by the Indian Government for their debt. It may be objected that the British Government have no right to guarantee such an outlay; I am not perhaps qualified to give an opinion, but it appears to me that in reality the British Government are responsible for all those debts, because the East India Company are merely acting for the British Government. There is not an independent Government; they are merely delegates of the British Crown, and morally as well as in reality the British Government must be held responsible for the debts as they exist. If that be so, why not take advantage of the credit of the British Government to raise money on more favourable terms? With regard to the return, which I think we have reason to expect from such an outlay, it is very difficult to make estimates which can be considered conclusive, but I think there are data from which we may obtain a result which may be trusted; for instance, just now the traffic upon the Ghaut through which the Agra road passes is 60,000 tons a year; the traffic through the Bhoze Ghaut, which runs from Panwell to Poonah, and which it is expected will come by this railway when it is completed, is 40,000 tons, without allowing for any increase, which makes 100,000 tons. But Mr. Chapman, who made the estimates of the traffic when the present railway was under consideration, estimates the traffic at 180,000 tons. I think it will be safer, however, to take half of it; if we take 90,000, which is a very low estimate, we shall be quite safe; 90,000 tons for 150 miles for 2½*d.* per ton per mile, would give about 140,000*l.* as the gross annual revenue, all the expenses having to be deducted from that sum. The cost of 3,000*l.* a mile, taking the length of 180 miles, which is about the distance to Candeish, gives a total cost of 540,000*l.*; the interest upon which at 5 per cent. is 27,000*l.* The result, after allowing for the 5 per cent. interest, the maintenance of way, and the expense of working, taking Mr. Chapman's estimate of 180,000 tons, will leave a clear profit of 214,550*l.*; I take half of that; instead of taking 180,000 tons of traffic, I take 90,000, which leaves 107,000*l.* of profit, being equal to 20 per cent., after paying 5 per cent. interest. However, I will not take that as a criterion of all the railways, but I think that we may safely take 10 per cent. I have already reduced the estimate one-half, and now I reduce it again another half, by taking 10 per cent. as the clear profit instead of 20 per cent.

7770. You and the petitioners would recommend that the outlay upon roads in India should not be confined to any surplus revenue which may be available, nor should it be entrusted to private enterprise; but that, for the purpose of those public works, loans to the extent, perhaps, of 10 millions, should be made on Indian credit, that Indian credit being guaranteed by the British Government?—That is my opinion; there may be a difference of opinion as to the way in which the money should be raised; some may wish to have it taken from the revenue. My own opinion, and that of a great many others, is that it should be expressly raised for the purpose, and that a department of the Indian Government should be established having the control of that money, for the purpose of carrying out a system of roads.

7771. You also think that tram-railways are preferable to railways worked by locomotive engines?—Yes.

7772. Would you leave the management of those works when made to the Indian Government?—The way in which I would recommend it to be done would

would be this; the Government should retain possession of the roads and maintain them, but they should let out the working of them. For instance, if the whole charge is $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per ton per mile, they might easily find contractors to work the traffic on receiving $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per ton per mile, which in most cases would be sufficient for the working of the line, the contractor would supply the waggons and the haulage; the haulage would cost about a farthing, and another farthing would be sufficient to supply waggons, generally speaking, which would leave 2 d. a ton clear revenue to the Government.

7773. How would you ensure the reception of it by the Government?—They must have collectors at the different stations, as is the case in this country; the money would all be paid into the hands of the Government officers.

7774. Mr. *Hume*.] Do you contemplate that these tramways would entirely supersede the great lines of road to which you before referred, from Bombay to Agra, and from Calcutta to Delhi?—I should think they would.

7775. Is anything now charged upon those roads by the Government?—There is no charge that I am aware of; there may be some charge for crossing the rivers, but it is not much.

7776. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Have you been much in the interior of the country?—Yes, I have, a good deal.

7777. How far have you been from Bombay?—I crossed once to Madras, and I also went north as far as Aurungabad.

7778. The country is not very populous, is it?—In the part which I visited it is not.

7779. Your objection to the introduction of railroads seems to be based upon the supposition that there would be no passenger income?—I do not think there would be sufficient to maintain a railway.

7780. You have never been in the North-western Provinces of Bengal?—I have not.

7781. Nor into Bengal itself?—No.

7782. If you were aware that considerable portions of those territories are as populous as the most populous countries in Europe, and that they abound in wealthy towns and large villages, would you continue in the opinion which you have expressed in favour of tramways?—I should; because the passenger traffic very much depends upon the nature of the inhabitants; upon their wealth and upon their habits. In this country we find that the cultivating classes do not generally travel much.

7783. Are you aware that in India a very large proportion of all classes of the people travel great distances on pilgrimages, as well as in search of service?—I have not had any means of ascertaining, from statistical accounts, what the number may be. From my own knowledge of the part of the country I am best acquainted with, I think there are very few people sufficiently wealthy to pay the necessary fare for locomotive railways.

7784. You resided some years in Bombay?—I did.

7785. There is a chamber of commerce in Bombay, is not there?—Yes.

7786. Is there much communication between the chamber of commerce and the organs of the Government at Bombay?—I do not know whether there may have been lately. When I was there the chamber was formed; at that time we had not a great deal of communication with Government.

7787. Are you aware that one of the objects of its establishment was to form a channel of communication between the mercantile community and the Government?—I believe that was one object; I do not think it was the principal object.

7788. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Are you aware whether the road from Allahabad northwards, is used for commercial purposes?—I do not know.

7789. You have stated, have not you, that it is wholly a military road?—Not wholly so; I say it is chiefly so; I believe it was made principally as a military road; it is not what I consider a road of much importance, in a commercial point of view. No doubt it and all roads will be used for commercial purposes.

7790. Mr. *Elliot*.] During your absence from Bombay, in going to Madras, did you reside for any considerable time in the interior?—I was there some weeks, not any great length of time. I stopped a few days here and there.

7791. You have had no long personal experience of that part of the interior?—No.

7792. With regard to the collectors which you have stated it would be necessary

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to have at the different stations, would you entrust them to native agency, or require Europeans to be placed at each post?—I should not think it necessary to have all Europeans. The collectors would not necessarily receive the money. What are called collectors in this country frequently only make out way-bills. If a person sends a certain amount of coal, for instance, at the place where it touches the railway he gets a way-bill, to indicate whence it came and whither it is going; it states the distance, and when it is delivered the money is paid.

7793. You think native agency would be sufficient for that purpose?—In many places you must have Europeans also.

7794. Sir G. Grey.] Do you recommend these tramroads as a substitute both for the existing roads and for the ordinary railroads with locomotive engines?—Yes.

7795. Are the Committee to understand, that you object to any encouragement being given in India to ordinary railways with locomotive power?—I would not say that; I think, generally speaking, tramways will be the most useful; I do not think a locomotive railway can be carried through the great extent of country I propose. It is possible that near Bombay and Calcutta, and Madras, where there is already a considerable passenger traffic for a short distance, locomotives may be used to advantage.

7796. Do you recommend, that in addition to the tramroads, the Government should also undertake the formation and management of railroads?—Decidedly.

7797. Mr. Mangles.] At what speed do you calculate you would be able to travel upon those tramways?—I should think you could not calculate upon going above three miles an hour with heavy traffic.

7798. One of the great political objects has been the transport of troops for the Government, and the facility which it would afford to moving troops with rapidity, thereby probably enabling the Government to reduce its military force, or at any rate to concentrate its forces with great rapidity; tramways would not be useful for that purpose, would they?—They would not be so useful as locomotive railways of course, but they would be a great improvement upon the present system; you could carry troops 60 miles a day in that way, whereas at present they can only go 10 or 12. By a locomotive railway, no doubt they would go much quicker, but I do not think India is ready for a system of locomotive railways.

7799. Are you aware that at the great towns on the Ganges, Benares, Mirzapore, and Ghazepore, and so upwards to Agra, the population is probably as dense as it is near the Presidencies; denser probably than it is near Bombay and Madras?—It is possible; I do not know the number of the population; but, as I stated before, I should not suppose they were of that wealthy class capable of paying the fares necessary for locomotive railways.

7800. Chairman.] On the subject of irrigation, in which the petitioners pray for improvement, have you any remarks to make to the Committee?—Yes; the evil of the want of irrigation must be pretty well known; it not only causes great loss of life and of cattle, but it discourages the cultivators; in the cotton districts in Candeish, with which I am connected, a want of rain occurs perhaps every six or seven or eight years, which destroys the cultivation entirely; it injures the seed and throws everything back for years; the apprehension of it is always felt; the advantages to be derived from the irrigation in a country like India are hardly to be calculated. In fact there is everything but water; that is the only thing required to make the country exceedingly productive.

7801. Mr. Mangles.] Have they the means of irrigation in Candeish?—I believe they have, in most parts of it.

7802. Will you mention what the means are; what is the water supply which would furnish irrigation?—There are several large rivers; there is evidence before the Committee to show that there would be sufficient water there; what I say now is with regard rather to the general irrigation of India than with respect particularly to Candeish; it requires a great deal of local and engineering knowledge, to speak of the best mode of irrigating any particular district. There are data given by the East India Company with respect to irrigation, from which very valuable results may be obtained. They state that the Ganges, the Jumna, the Ravee, the Chenaub, the Sutlej, and the Jhelum, are sufficient in dry seasons to supply 24,000 cubit feet per second. According to the data given, that is sufficient water to irrigate 30 millions of begahs, a begah being about half an English acre. I take the cost from their estimate of the great Ganges Canal;

Canal; applying the same ratio of cost to that quantity of water, it amounts to 6,000,000*l.*, or say 7,000,000*l.* The results in Madras, where irrigation has been tried, if we can believe the reports from the Coleroon River, are exceedingly favourable; it is stated that 150,000*l.* per annum were received in nine years after paying the cost; but without taking that as the basis, I think we may come to a result in this way; supposing the amount of water I have mentioned to be sufficient to irrigate 30,000,000 of begahs, at a cost of 7,000,000*l.*, that is 1,000,000*l.* more in proportion than the estimate for the Ganges Canal. If the native is willing to pay 1*s.* per begah for the water, which is a very moderate calculation, and no one who knows anything of the value of water in that country would deny that 1*s.* per begah for the use of it is not too much, that would give a revenue of 1,500,000*l.* If you allow 10 per cent. for expenses of management, it would yield a net revenue of 1,350,000*l.* upon an outlay of 7,000,000*l.*, which is nearly 20 per cent. I believe that is a very moderate calculation. I do not know these facts from my own experience, but judging from the evidence which has been given, and the testimony of those who are well qualified to judge, I think 20 per cent. is not an over estimate.

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7803. Is it your opinion that those works for irrigation should be undertaken by the Government?—Yes, decidedly.

7804. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Are you aware of the nature of the country concerning which you are giving this evidence?—I am not. I have mentioned that to go into details would require local and engineering knowledge, which I do not possess. What I have stated is based upon a Return made to this Committee by the India House.

7805. You are probably aware that the country through which the Ganges Canal is now being formed is an immense alluvial deposit of 400 or 500 miles wide, and 1,000 miles long. There is nothing at all similar to that, is there, in the condition of Candeish?—It is stated to be a very rich country, and only requiring irrigation. I have papers before me which prove it.

7806. From whence do you derive your authority for stating the acreage or number of begahs of land which are capable of being brought under irrigation?—From the same Return of which I before spoke.

7807. Mr. Mangles.] You spoke of a large quantity of water being available from the Ganges and the Jumna; are you aware that the Jumna canals already almost lay the Jumna dry, and that the great objection, indeed the only serious objection which has been raised to the Ganges Canal is, that it will ruin the Ganges for navigation, by taking away the whole of its water?—I am not aware of it.

7808. Sir T. H. Maddock.] You stated that there were 30,000,000 of begahs which might be irrigated in Candeish?—I stated, upon the basis of the calculation given in the Papers now before the Committee, that 30,000,000 begahs might be irrigated.

7809. From whence did you obtain the information that there were 30 millions of begahs lying waste, which might be irrigated?—I have no precise information on the subject; the fact cannot be denied.

7810. Are you aware whether a great portion of the province of Candeish is or is not altogether dissimilar to the alluvial bed of the Ganges, being for the most part hilly, and interspersed with valleys?—I am aware, from my own experience, that a great part of it is adapted for irrigation; the exact amount I could not say.

7811. This calculation of 30,000,000 of begahs applies to the whole surface of the province, does not it?—That calculation merely applies to the neighbourhood of the six rivers which I have mentioned: the Ganges, the Jumna, the Ravee, the Chenaub, the Sutlej, and the Jhelum. If all the water which is available in those rivers were applied to the purposes of irrigation, it would irrigate 30,000,000 of begahs, at a cost of 6,000,000*l.* sterling.

7812. Mr. Mangles.] Are you aware that large operations in the way of irrigation are in progress in the Punjaub, under the orders of the Government of India?—I am only aware of it from report.

7813. Chairman.] The petitioners go on to ask the Government "to grant lands, and otherwise to afford every encouragement for the formation of docks, quays, and other appliances; for the accommodation of all descriptions of shipping and craft, wherever such accommodation may be required;" do you believe that

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the Government have not done what was in their power, or that they have refused facilities to others to carry out such works?—I do not think it is intended in the petition to say that; I think what is intended is, that that is a necessary measure connected with the improvement of roads.

7814. You think it should be carried out on the same principle as that of which you have been speaking, in reference to the improvement of roads and irrigation?—Yes.

7815. *Mr. Hume.*] Can you point out any part of India where docks and quays may be formed, so as to afford the encouragement to trade which is spoken of in the petition?—There some places in the cotton districts, in the north of Bombay and Guzerat, where they are very much wanted.

7816. Can you refer to any particular places?—I may mention Surat and Broach; I know there is one of those cotton districts where the shipping of cotton is exceedingly inconvenient; it is obliged to be rolled through the mud at low water, and is very much injured. I am not quite certain which place it is, but I know it is in Guzerat.

7817. Do the observations made in this petition relate to Guzerat alone?—No; it is not intended to say that generally the Government have been unwilling to do it, but that it is necessary it should be done where required.

7818. *Mr. Mangles.*] Are you aware that there is a correspondence now going on between the Government at home and the Government of India, with regard to docks to be formed at Diamond Harbour in the Hooghly, and a railway leading from them?—I am not much acquainted with the neighbourhood of Calcutta.

7819. *Chairman.*] With regard to the allegation in the petition, that “the land-tax or rent paid by the cultivators of the soil is excessive, and that the mode of collection is very injurious to the interests of the country;” will you state to the Committee any facts upon that subject which you wish to bring before them?—If the Committee will allow me, I will state my definition of land-tax, as there seems to be a doubt whether it is a tax or a rent. I will state what I consider to be the difference between a tax and a rent, so as to make my subsequent observations more easily understood. It appears to me that a “tax” is levied without the consent, and generally against the will of the individuals who pay it. “Rent” is an agreement voluntarily entered into by landlord and tenant, by which the latter undertakes, of his own free will, to pay a certain annual sum for the use of the land. That appears to me to be the difference between the two. Upon that principle the Indian land revenue is a tax; it appears to me that, as a tax, it is unsound in principle; first, because it is a tax upon a particular class, the agriculturists, the lower class; the rich pay but little tax in India. Then, secondly, it is a tax on food, and the necessities of life. In the third place it is a tax upon industry; it hinders the export trade of India, by increasing the expense of cultivation. India, from the want of roads and other circumstances, cannot always compete with other countries in articles of export when prices are low; for instance, in the case of cotton, the competition of America destroys the Indian cotton trade when prices are low. By increasing the cost of production in India by a direct tax upon land, you render the export trade of India still more precarious, and frequently so unprofitable, that the cultivators cannot trust to it; the consequence is that most of the crops grown for export are not cultivated with that care that they ought to be, and are not brought to the perfection to which they might be brought. I think that is one very great evil resulting from the land tax. I have no doubt, from the knowledge that I have of the commerce and the agriculture of India, that if the land-tax were lower, good means of communication made, and irrigation encouraged upon a large scale, the agriculturists of India could compete with all the world in producing many articles, particularly cotton, many kinds of grain, tobacco, sugar, coffee, linseed, and hemp, and probably many other articles, those being only some of the principal ones. Another evil of the land-tax, and the extent to which it has been carried is, that it has destroyed the class of landed proprietors altogether; there may be exceptions to this statement in the case of the zemindars; but, generally speaking, there are not in India what would be called in this country resident landed proprietors. We know from experience, in this country, how much an estate suffers from the absence of the landlord. In Ireland, it has been proved beyond a doubt. No support is given to the cultivator; he has nothing to trust to when any little difficulty arises, and agriculture, instead of being improved, is depressed and deteriorated

deteriorated. The effect, both moral and physical, is exceedingly bad. That is the opinion of the commercial body generally, formed after a full consideration of the subject, which is no new one.

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7820. What would you recommend to be done?—What I would recommend, in accordance with the general opinion of the mercantile body, is that the land-tax should be reduced. I believe that the principle of it is not sound; but if it were reduced, the evil consequences of it would be a good deal diminished. That would be so if it were reduced 25 per cent.; that reduction I am aware would cause a loss to the revenue, supposing there were no increase of cultivation, of 3,294,000*l*.

7821. Mr. *Hume*.] Will you state to the Committee what proportion of the produce of the land you consider to be applicable to this land revenue, or land-tax?—I can only state what it is as regards some crops; it varies in different places; I know how much it is on the cotton crop in certain places.

7822. Upon the whole you would propose to reduce it 25 per cent.?—Yes; if you do that I think you would ultimately increase the cultivation upwards of 10 per cent., taking it in combination with irrigation and roads, so as to reduce the loss by the reduction to 1,000,000*l*. The salt tax is also very objectionable, and that I think should be removed. The revenue derived from the salt tax is 2,700,000*l*; the whole loss to the revenue, therefore, by those operations would be 3,700,000*l*. It appears to me that the way in which a direct revenue may be raised with the greatest advantage to a country is, by works which are advantageous to the country itself, such as railways and irrigation. There is also another way in which a certain sum might be raised with great advantage in India, that is, by making advances to the natives on the growing crops; I am aware that it is the opinion of many gentlemen connected with India, that one great means of improving cultivation in India, especially of cotton, is by European merchants making advances in the interior and buying the cotton from the natives, cleaning it and sending it down themselves; I am of that opinion also, because we have tried it. But the insuperable difficulty of carrying it on to any great extent is this; you cannot buy the produce from the cultivators without making advances of money to them before it is grown; you have no security for the repayment of that money; and from the nature and mode of cultivation, as well as from their habits and their connexion with the banyans and others, it very frequently happens that they will not give you the produce after they have got that advance; in fact it is frequently seized by some of their friends, under the pretence of a previous debt; therefore you have no security for your loan. In our case we have made advances through the Government; it was done as a trial, and the result has been so far to prove the great advantage to the general interests of the country of European houses making advances of that nature; but it has also proved the impossibility of carrying it on under the existing state of things; I have thought a great deal upon this subject, and the only remedy that I can see is, that the Government should make the advances themselves. The great evil of the present system is this; the natives are exceedingly poor; they have not the means of buying food for themselves and their bullocks till the crop is ready; they must, therefore, have advances from some one. The usual practice is for the banyans in the different villages to make advances at an enormous rate of interest; they have the cultivators quite under their control, and oblige them to sell their crop to them before it is grown, on very unfavourable terms. The consequence is, the cultivator does not care whether the quality of the crop is good or bad; he gets a fixed sum, according to the weight; what he wants, therefore, is bulk, and not quality; that is one great reason why the cultivation of cotton has not been improved.

7823. Mr. *Ellice*.] You would propose to constitute the East India Company capitalists for the cultivation of cotton in India?—I propose that they should do what was done by the old Indian Governments, which is to advance money to the natives.

7824. If they made advances to the natives, they must become capitalists interested in the cultivation of cotton?—In one sense they may be so; but I do not consider it is so, any more than a European making advances would be; it would be rather as occupying the place of the landed proprietors that they would make the advances.

7825. You would place the East India Company in the situation of European merchants,

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merchants, would you?—No; I would place them in the position which they actually hold in India, which is a very peculiar one. The cultivators of India, I think, have reason to expect a great deal of support from the Government. The Government have destroyed their natural supporters in destroying the resident landowners, and I think they are bound to a certain extent to take the place of those landowners. If a proprietor were looking after his own estate, he would not object to make an advance to his tenant when he found him in difficulty; in fact, it is a thing done in many parts of Europe; the proprietor advances a certain part of the expense of the cultivation.

7826. Do you think it a good system to prevail in any country, that the money employed in cultivation should be advanced, either by the proprietor of the soil or by the Government?—I do not say it is a good system; I say that it is the only system applicable to India in its present condition.

7827. In what manner have the East India Company destroyed the landlords of India?—Because there can be no proprietor where the land yields no rent, and the East India Company's land-tax absorbs the rent.

7828. Are there not such proprietors; are there not zemindars throughout India who derive rent from the land just as the Company derives a tax from the land?—I am aware of that, and I made that exception in a previous answer. I said there were no resident landowners; the zemindars no doubt are to a certain extent landowners, but they are absentees, and there are no laws to protect the ryots under them; they may exact whatever amount of revenue they choose. In fact, it is something like the old Irish system of subletting and absentee landlords.

7829. You think that all those evils can be remedied by the East India Company advancing money, as capitalists, to the present cultivators of the soil?—Not all those evils; the system in Bengal would not be remedied by that means; I do not apply my remarks to the zemindary system so much as to the ryotwary system. It would require other remedies to be introduced where the zemindary system prevails.

7830. So far as the ryotwary system is concerned, and the grower of cotton, as connected with it, you would be of opinion that it would be advisable for the East India Company to advance money to the cultivators, in order to promote the cultivation of cotton?—Decidedly.

7831. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Are you acquainted with the interior of the Bombay Presidency?—To a certain extent.

7832. Are you aware whether this system of advances does, to any degree, prevail there or not?—I am aware that the Government do make small advances called tuccavee, but the amount is a mere trifle; it certainly is not sufficient to relieve the cultivator from the thralldom to which he is subject under the banyan.

7833. Your proposition is to reduce the present rate of assessment on all the land of India about 25 per cent., and among other equivalents for this loss of revenue, you calculate that 10 per cent. more land would be brought into cultivation; am I correct in that statement?—Yes.

7834. You probably are aware that in some parts of India the whole or almost the whole of the cultivable land is already in cultivation, and that the population is as dense as it is in the most densely populated parts of Europe?—Yes.

7835. There, therefore, you would sustain a direct loss of 25 per cent. without the possibility of finding any equivalent?—I do not include the parts of Bengal where the zemindary system prevails.

7836. I am alluding now to a part of India which is not subject to the perpetual system, namely, the North-western Provinces of Bengal; do you perceive that by this system you would certainly sacrifice 25 per cent. of the present assessment, without the possibility of any indemnity in the shape of 10 per cent. more land being brought into cultivation?—It is possible that in some places the loss might be more than my estimate; over a large tract of country like India, the effect would be variable; I take 25 per cent. as the average rate of reduction; in some parts the reduction might be less, in some it might be more.

7837. With regard to those parts of the country which are the least cultivated, and where there is most waste land at present, are you aware by what rule the extent of cultivation is mainly guided; do you know that the rule is the amount of the population?—That may be one rule; it is quite possible, by means of irrigation, that the same population might cultivate a great deal more. In Candeish the

the population is quite capable of cultivating a much larger extent of land than is now cultivated; I can prove that the cultivation has increased in consequence of the encouragement lately given to the cultivators.

7838. It has increased of late years?—Yes; owing to some particular circumstances, which I shall allude to hereafter.

7839. Are you aware whether there has been a corresponding increase of population?—I believe there has not.

7840. Mr. *Hume*.] Are the Committee to understand you to say that as in the districts where the ryotwar system prevails, the East India Company have become the proprietors of the land, you think they should do what was done by the proprietors of old, namely, advance tucceavee to the ryots, to enable them to carry on their cultivation?—Yes.

7841. You say the experiment has been tried by you with success, but that not having the power which the Government would have of paying themselves by taking the crops, you are not able to obtain repayment of those advances, which have been made by way of experiment?—Yes; if the Committee will allow me, I will read some letters to prove that statement; they are letters from the collectors at Candeish to the Government at Bombay.

7842. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] When the East India Company were traders, and they had to supply the investments, I believe those investments were always supplied through the medium of advances made to those who produced the crops?—I believe so.

7843. And that system was entirely discontinued by the East India Company when they ceased to be traders?—It was.

7844. Are you aware that India supplies very nearly the whole, or at least nine-tenths, of the indigo that is consumed in the whole world?—I am aware of it; but I cannot give evidence upon that subject, because I am not acquainted with Bengal.

7845. Are you aware that the whole of that indigo is manufactured by means of advances made by the indigo planters to the ryots who produce the plant?—I have no personal knowledge of it, but I have several friends who have possessed indigo factories in India; I have put the question to them, how they secured their indigo; they said it was a mere scramble; that sometimes they got it and sometimes they did not, and that sometimes they took it by force.

7846. My question relates to a matter of fact; is or is not the indigo produced by the system of advances to the ryots?—Yes; but in explanation of that answer, I think that it is right to add, that it is with great difficulty that the cultivation is carried on, and that the produce cannot be obtained by legal means. I think evidence has been given before the Committee proving the great difficulty experienced by the indigo planters in getting the produce for which they have made advances.

7847. The fact, however, is, that indigo is produced by the system of advances?—Yes.

7848. About 50 or 60 years ago, I believe India produced a very small portion of the indigo which supplied the world, a great deal being produced by South America and Java?—I do not know anything about indigo.

7849. Having resided so long in India as a mercantile man, are you aware, from your own knowledge, or from common repute, that the advances made by the indigo planters to the ryots amount to, if they do not exceed, a million sterling a year?—I think it is hardly fair to put questions to me about a matter with which I have said I am not acquainted.

7850. Can you state any difference between the cultivation of cotton and of indigo, which would render it difficult, if not impossible, to make advances in one case, while it was practicable to make them in the other?—Yes, I can; one difference is a very evident one; that the cultivation of cotton covers a very large surface of ground; it is difficult, therefore, to superintend it. In the case of indigo, I understand it is grown on a comparatively small surface. In the case of cotton, in order to get enough to load a ship with 5,000 bales of cotton, you would require 30,000 acres of land. The difficulty of watching the cultivators over that space of country can be easily imagined.

7851. I believe an acre of land produces about 100 lbs. of cotton, does not it?—About 50 lbs. of clean cotton.

7852. Can you tell me how much an acre of indigo would produce?—I cannot.

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7853. Upon what then do you ground your statement, that the cultivation of indigo requires a small area?—If my calculation is wrong, then of course my inference is wrong; but I must leave it to others to prove that it is so.

7854. You speak from conjecture, and not from knowledge, when you say that the area required for the cultivation of indigo is small?—All I can say is, that cotton is grown over so large an area, that it is impossible for us to secure the delivery of the crops upon which advances may have been made by our own vigilance. I cannot say anything about indigo.

7855. Are you aware of the area of cultivation of indigo throughout India, for the production of the present amount of supply?—I am not.

7856. You are not therefore competent to speak of the comparative area required for the production of cotton and of indigo?—I am not.

7857. Mr. *Elliot*.] Can you state what greater facility is given to the native who advances money for the cultivation of cotton, of recovering his advances, than is given to the European?—There is no greater facility by law, but practically he has a means of recovering them which Europeans have not, from this circumstance; he is a resident on the spot, his family have been long located in the district, and he has considerable family influence. He has a means, therefore, of enforcing his agreements in that way which we have not. He is subject to losses, and for that very reason he exacts an enormous rate of interest, and very severe terms, from the native grower.

7858. His exaction of a larger rate of interest would not make it easier for the ryot to pay back his advances, would it?—No; but one paying makes up for the loss by another. Being resident there, and knowing the families, one can easily conceive that the native banyan has facilities which we have not.

7859. Supposing the ryot does not pay him back his advances, has not the European the same means of redress for the recovery of those advances that the native has?—I will read to the Committee what the collectors say with regard to the powers which we have of recovering advances. This is a matter which has been under the consideration of the Bombay Government, and of the collector. The following is an extract from a letter from the collector in Candeish to the secretary to the Government. It is dated 30th of April 1852. "With respect the alleged insecurity of advances by merchants or money lenders, there is certainly considerable risk attending its recovery; first, because Government have a prior claim to the year's crop for the year's revenue, as the chief security for the realization of the land rent. Private creditors' claims come afterwards, and there being no village registry of debts on the land, and the zillah registry of debts not being compulsory but optional, it does not give the priority of claim over other debts previously incurred. The mortgages effected on houses or lands may be effected more than once, because the subsequent mortgagees may not be aware of previous transactions, and thus property may be mortgaged for more than its value. A registry office might be established in every moonsiff's court, where land mortgaged ought to be witnessed by the revenue patel and coolkurnees of the village, and where the village registry should be produced to the moonsiff, that he may see whether the land was actually occupied by the cultivator who raised the loan." In another letter from Mr. Mansfield, the collector, dated the 29th of April 1853; he says, "The Government will, I should think, be satisfied with the manner in which the firm have availed themselves of their liberality, more especially if they knew, as I do, the great difficulties they have to encounter in the ryots not fulfilling those engagements, and for which there is practically no remedy. There are numerous instances of ryots taking from them advances, and sowing no cotton at all; others have planted, and have made over to the firm only sufficient to repay the amount advanced to them; and those who have fulfilled their engagements, and sold to the firm the whole cotton they have grown, are rather exceptions than otherwise. I had intended to have made a few examples of those individuals who had committed the most flagrant acts of breach of faith, by forbidding them to cultivate any Government land at all next year; but I consulted some of the oldest revenue native officials, and they were of opinion that such measures might produce a very general feeling of disinclination among the ryots to have any further dealings with the firm, and consequently might be seriously detrimental to their interests, and I therefore purpose not interfering in any manner whatever."

7860. Is there any difference between the case of a native who advances money

money and a European who advances money?—There is no difference legally; but there is, practically, the difference which I tried to explain before.

7861. *Chairman.*] I understand you to recommend advances to be made by the Government, only because individuals cannot advance upon growing crops with security?—Yes.

7862. Would there be no means of giving them that security by some law or enactment?—That subject has received our attention, and we have corresponded with the Government; and the Government officers also have corresponded with the secretary. A suggestion is thrown out in the letter I have read, which, on consideration, I do not think is practicable in all parts of the country; for this reason: however perfect the law might be, you could not apply it without prodigious expense. The number of people we have to advance to is exceedingly great. In one year we advanced to between 7,000 and 8,000 people. Now, the idea of prosecuting all those persons, however summary the process might be, is an impracticable one.

7863. Will you proceed to state the mode in which you would supply the defalcations which would arise in the revenue. You have proposed by a reduction of the land revenue, and by the abolition of the salt tax, to diminish the present revenue to the extent of 3,700,000*l.* Will you explain to the Committee how you would provide for that deficit in the revenue?—From the calculations which I have laid before the Committee, I assume that 10,000,000*l.* laid out in railways would give a net profit, after paying 5 per cent. interest, of 10 per cent., which is 1,000,000*l.* I propose that in different parts of India 10,000,000*l.* also should be laid out in irrigation. Upon that, I think, upon a very moderate calculation, the profit would be 15 per cent. beyond the payment of 5 per cent. interest. I believe there is no doubt that what has been done already has yielded a larger return than that. That may be taken therefore at 1,500,000*l.* Further, the advances which I speak of I would not make without a charge of interest; it would be a great boon to the people to have them even at a high rate of interest; that is, what would be considered high in this country, viz. from 6 to 8 per cent. Money is now lying idle in the treasuries. It is mentioned in the letter I have read that the treasuries are full, and the collector himself recommends that the Government money should be employed in that way; I calculate that 3 per cent. upon 5,000,000*l.*, which is a very low calculation, would give 150,000*l.* Then there is another point which it appears to me I ought to mention. I think the rich people should be taxed. There is no tax at all upon the rich people in India. The whole taxation falls upon the cultivators, with the exception of the tax upon opium, which is not paid by the people of India. Both the land-tax and the salt-tax fall very heavily upon the poor people; whereas the rich merchants, as well European as native, in the rich districts and in the towns, pay nothing at all. When I was in India I did not pay anything of any consequence except for local police and lights. What I propose is, that there should be a tax upon houses, upon carriages, and upon palanquins. It is very difficult to make any kind of estimate as to what that would produce; but I think 400,000*l.* is not a great deal to calculate upon from all the large towns where there is so much wealth. I think also something might be obtained from the Post-office, though it would be trifling, probably 100,000*l.* Taking all these items together, they amount to 3,150,000*l.* There is one very important point referred to in this petition, which is the mode of levying the land-tax. It is not necessary perhaps that I should say much about it, for it must be very well known to the Committee that it is objectionable. The zemindar system is allowed to be a very bad one; the ryotwar system is also very generally condemned. The way which appears to me would be an easier and cheaper mode of assessing the revenue is this: take Bombay for example: Let the Government divide it into a certain number of districts, say, for convenience sake, 10 districts. I will suppose that each of those districts pays 100,000*l.* of land-tax. Every field should not be valued by the collector as at present, but I would divide each of those districts into 10 sub-divisions; from each of those 10 sub-divisions two deputies should form a court for assessing each sub-division, with the collector of the district as chairman; and let them allocate the 100,000*l.* in suitable proportions to each district. If they were all equal, which is not likely, 10,000*l.* would be assessed upon each district. Such a court would probably assess it in as equitable proportions as any European assessor could. Each of those 10 districts I would again sub-divide into 10 smaller divisions; that

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that would give about 1,000 *l.* to each smaller sub-division, which should also be allocated by the natives; and then again there would be a division into villages; the principle being that all the detail should be managed by the natives, who are much better acquainted with the means of payment of each district than any European officer can be, however well-intentioned or intelligent. The whole should be under the supervision of the collector, with a power of reference to the Government. In case of anything going very far wrong, he should have the power of veto, or of appealing to the Governor in Council. If that system is practicable, and I cannot see any objection to it, it would cause a very great saving in the cost of assessing and collecting the tax, which I put down at one-third, but I think it would be a great deal more. That would be 574,000 *l.* as the saving in the collection; which, added to the items of additional revenue I have mentioned, would be 3,724,000 *l.*, which would fully make up for the deficiency.

7864. Mr. *Mangles.*] You said that the Indian land revenue was a tax and not rent, because the engagements were not entered into of free will; is there not, quite apart from any such consideration as that, upon all cultivated land in populous countries, something which is over and above the profits of stock and the wages of labour, which is what has been defined to be "rent"?—My definition of "rent" is not quite the same as that of the Honourable Member; my definition is, that rent is an agreement voluntarily entered into between the landlord and the tenant, by which the latter undertakes, of his own free will, to pay a certain annual sum for the use of the land. My definition does not go further than that.

7865. Does rent depend upon an agreement between the parties?—Yes.

7866. Does not land cultivated in this country, or in any country, by the proprietor himself, yield rent?—The profit may be thus defined.

7867. Is not rent always defined to be what remains over and above the payment of the wages of labour and the profits of stock?—Some scientific writers on political economy have thus defined it; I have given a practical definition of rent.

7868. Supposing the Government do not take more than that which remains over, in that case how can it be said to be a tax upon food and a tax upon industry; is rent in this country a tax upon food?—No doubt it is.

7869. And a tax upon industry?—Certainly; but then it goes into the pockets of individuals, and so far it is a property for which you are entitled to have a return.

7870. Has not the farmer obtained his profit and his return before he pays that rent?—Yes, that is the proof that it is a voluntary agreement; he expects to make a profit out of it; it is a voluntary agreement for the benefit of both parties. The landed proprietor thinks that the tenant will make more out of the land than he would, and the tenant expects that he will make a profit after paying the rent.

7871. Are you aware that in the North-western Provinces the settlement is made, not upon the gross produce, but upon the ascertainment of the rent, a certain portion of that rent being taken by the Government?—Yes, a considerable portion too, I believe.

7872. Why do you suppose that the Government of India have destroyed the class of landed proprietors?—Because there are none, except under the zemindary system.

7873. Are you aware that Sir Thomas Munro, when he introduced the ryotwar system, made a settlement with every person whom he found in possession of land, and that those persons, or their descendants, still remain in the possession of that land?—I am not prepared to go into what has been done in India; I can only speak of things as they exist now. Where the ryotwar system prevails there are no landed proprietors, or what we should consider in this country landed proprietors; that is to say, men of independent property, who have some little means, and who in fact get a revenue from the land.

7874. Are there no such classes in India?—Not under the ryotwar system.

7875. Are not you aware that, under the ryotwar system in Coimbatore, there are very considerable purchases of land going on; that the ryots sometimes accumulate very considerable properties, even as much as 1,000 acres?—I am aware that there are some instances of that kind, but it is to be proved whether the

the money they have so laid out has not been made by other means; such as banking and mercantile operations.

7876. Still they do buy land, and acquire money and become landed proprietors?—I cannot speak to that, I can only say that there is sufficient evidence to satisfy me, that in the country, taking it all in all, there are virtually no landed proprietors in the districts where the ryotwar system prevails; there are no independent resident landed proprietors who are able to assist the cultivators.

7877. The land revenue having been a system which has obtained from all time, and which we have only inherited, how could you shift the burden of taxation, as you propose, upon the merchants and shopkeepers, and bankers, and the richer classes, without doing injustice to them?—It appears to me that because an act of injustice has been done to the cultivators long ago, it is no reason why it should be continued any longer; the sound principle of taxation is, that it should press equally upon all classes.

7878. Supposing the rent of the land to have been always a fund set apart for the purposes of the Government, what injustice can there be in continuing to take it?—I think there is great injustice.

7879. Those men never possessed it, and their forefathers never possessed it?—Nevertheless, I think the sound view of this subject is, that all taxation should be based upon the principle of pressing equally upon the whole population.

7880. You think there would be no injustice in shifting it from those upon whose shoulders the burden has always been placed, and putting it upon the shoulders of those who have never hitherto borne it?—There would be no injustice in diminishing the taxation of the cultivators, who are taxed beyond their means, and putting a small portion of it upon the rich classes, who at present pay nothing.

7881. Why do you assume that the cultivators are taxed beyond their means?—I think it is proved; I gave the reasons for it.

7882. Do you know the state of things in Bengal and the North-western Provinces?—I take my information from a book which I dare say is very well known to you, and also from the evidence which has been given before this Committee, proving that they are in a state of great poverty.

7883. Do you speak of the cultivators, the ryots?—I do.

7884. Not of the persons who pay rent to the Government?—In some cases they are the persons, in some cases they are not; it does not apply to the zemindars, but to the cultivators.

7885. Where the permanent settlement is in force, the cultivating ryots would not be benefited by the Government giving up its whole revenue, instead of one-fourth part of it, would they?—I said that they would not; some other measures are required there; there should be some measures for protecting the ryots against the zemindars.

7886. It is in evidence that very extensive districts of India are held rent-free; why should not the same results take place in those districts which you think would take place in the country generally, supposing the Government revenue were very much reduced?—I have no knowledge on that subject.

7887. Have you any reason to believe that the ryots cultivating such estates are in a better position than the ryots who are cultivating estates which pay the Government revenue?—I do not know; if they are not, there is probably some reason for it.

7888. Did I understand you rightly to say that an acre of cotton land yielded 50 lbs. of cotton?—It varies in different districts; that is about the usual quantity.

7889. What is the value of that cotton on the spot?—It varies very much; I can tell you what the cost is supposed to be in the Southern Mahratta country.

7890. Supposing the ryot has 50 lbs. of clean cotton, what will he sell that for?—It varies as much as 50 per cent.

7891. Between what points would it vary?—It varies according to the locality, according to the distance from the market; you may say the range will be, on the spot, from about 1½ *d.* up to 2½ *d.*; the lowest price I have mentioned would leave no profit to the cultivator at all; it would just pay his expenses; the highest price would give a profit.

7892. The return varies, according to your figures, from 6 *s.* 3 *d.* to 10 *s.* 5 *d.* for the 50 lbs.?—I have not made that calculation.

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7893. How do you suppose it can be profitable for a man to cultivate cotton, obtaining only such a return as that, compared with the profits of cultivating rice or sugar-cane, or other articles of produce?—The lowest price I have mentioned will not leave him any profit; it will merely pay his expenses.

7894. Is it wonderful, under those circumstances, that there should be a difficulty in getting cotton cultivated?—The question respecting the cultivation of cotton I can enter into, if the Committee wish; I am satisfied, from my own experience, that if we had good roads and irrigation in India, and if the system of advances by the Government were adopted so as to admit of Europeans forming agencies in the interior and buying from the growers, India is capable of competing with America in the lower classes of cotton.

7895. Would the introduction of good roads and irrigation alter the relative profit of cultivating cotton and cultivating sugar and grain; would not the facility of getting to the market be the same as regards all those articles of produce?—Yes; but cotton is an article, the cultivation of which can be carried to a greater extent than any other; it is more important in that point of view.

7896. Do not you think one great cause of there not being more cotton cultivated is, that it is more profitable to cultivate other crops?—At present it is so; but if you adopted my recommendations, I think cotton would be a very profitable crop to the natives.

7897. Did you not say that improved irrigation and roads would be of equally great advantage to other articles of produce, as well as to cotton?—Cotton of good quality can always be sold for export. Sugar and other articles produced in India, are so much competed with by other growers all over the world, that their cultivation is not of so much importance.

7898. Is not there an enormous demand for sugar, and many of those articles, in their own native bazaars?—There certainly is now, and it might be increased. I do not say that the cultivation of sugar would not be increased. I think the cultivation of everything would be increased. My observation went to show, that cotton, under those improvements, could be cultivated with very great advantage to the country.

7899. Why do you suppose there are no resident landowners, but that all the zemindars are absentees?—The tendency of all the evidence that I have seen is to prove that they are so.

7900. Are the zemindars of Bengal generally absentees?—I understand so.

7901. Where do they live?—I believe a great many are living in Calcutta.

7902. Does the number of such zemindars bear any proportion to the number of zemindars throughout Bengal?—I am not prepared to give evidence on that subject.

7903. You said that they were absentees?—I understand that the great bulk of them are absentees.

7904. Mr. Hume.] You have been understood to say, that although the cultivation of cotton is not now profitable to the ryots, if certain suggestions which you can offer were adopted it might be made so; will you state what those suggestions are?—At present, it is not the interest of the cultivators to grow other than inferior cotton. I have tried to explain that, owing to the system of advances by the banyans, they get no more for good cotton than for bad. That could be remedied by the Government advancing to the cultivators. Then it is necessary that Europeans should have establishments up the country for the purpose of buying it from the cultivators. I have stated that they cannot do that at present without making advances and that the advances are insecure; but by the Government making advances, you would remove that difficulty. As I have stated also, you cannot expect any great improvement, without improved means of conveyance, nor without irrigation in dry seasons, which has a great effect upon the quality of the crop. At present, a bad season not only destroys the crop and destroys a great many cattle, but it injures the seed. We all know the value of having good seed in this country for cultivating wheat and other things, and it is just the same as regards cotton; you cannot improve the quality unless you have good indigenous seed. Even American seed, which is imported, fails and is deteriorated, unless the land is irrigated at the proper time. There is also another thing to be considered. In addition to the losses to which Europeans would be liable if they undertook to make advances, there is a very great practical difficulty in the enormous staff it would require in order to make the advances.

advances. To get enough cotton to load a ship, you must advance to 5,000 or 6,000 people; for which you would require an immense staff, maintained at an enormous expense; whereas, the Government have already their officers, who could do it without any additional expense.

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7905. You think that advances could be made by the Government officers already established, to a sufficient extent to enable the cultivators to produce their crops?—Yes.

7906. The repayment of those advances could be secured by those officers who have the first lien for the land-tax on the produce?—Yes.

7907. Are the Committee to understand from you that the great number of individuals required to produce any considerable quantity of cotton, and the expense of superintending them, must place the purchasers of cotton in a very difficult situation, unless they have the means of securing returns for every advance which they make?—It is undoubtedly the case; so much so, that we shall withdraw our agency from that quarter unless the Government undertake the advances.

7908. The petition which you come here to support suggests an alteration in the revenue system; are the Committee to understand that the present mode of levying taxes on the ryots, who are already poor, is objectionable, and that you would recommend that a fair proportion of the taxation should be levied from those who are rich?—I should like to see that principle adopted.

7909. Do you consider that the present class of ryots are so poor that unless they have advances and are relieved from a portion of their present taxation, we cannot expect them to resume a comfortable situation?—I can prove the necessity of making advances by a letter from one of the collectors, in which it is also suggested that the only means of increasing the revenue is by increasing the cultivation of export produce. It is of no use increasing the cultivation of grain, of which they have already sufficient.

7910. You mean to say that the market for grain being limited, there can be no increase, while the market for cotton being unlimited, it could be increased to any amount?—Yes; this is a letter from Mr. Elphinstone, in which he says, "There is no doubt that the poverty of the ryots keeps down the cultivation and the revenue. The ability of the ryots to cultivate is proportionate to the amount of plough oxen he can command; a man with two pairs of bullocks will cultivate double what he would do if he had only one pair. Those who have no bullocks cannot cultivate; two people, each with one bullock, make up a pair, and cultivate least of all for two. If money sufficient is advanced, seed, bullocks, labourers, and grain, food for the men and cattle is purchased. If only grain were grown, Government might fear its becoming too cheap to pay, and so discourage what might seem over-production; but cotton being an article of exportation, to pay for which large sums are yearly sent up from the Presidency, no fear can be entertained that too much will be produced; and it is particularly deserving of Government encouragement." The following also is a very important statement upon that question: "There is perfect truth in what Messrs. Ritchie, Stuart & Co. state, that the granting of advances to the ryots is immeasurably more for the advantage of the state revenue than to the interests of the firm, because the latter has agreed to give for American cotton 10 per cent. higher than the bazaar rate of the indigenous cotton in the bazaar. The native merchant, by grinding terms, makes cultivation redound more to his own profit than to that of his debtor, the ryot cultivator. But imprudence and their necessities compel the ryots to resort to money lenders, or else they are forced to reduce their agricultural operations to the smallest scale consistent with a mere maintenance to themselves." In another letter is shown the increase of cultivation, from the system of advances which we introduced; Government making advances in our name. I do not see why the Government should not make advances directly.

7911. You say that the experiment which has been tried, of making advances through the Government officers, has been attended with great success, but that if the system were generally adopted the produce of cotton would be very great?—If the advances were made by the Government, I think it would. I should not like it to be understood that the experiment has been altogether successful, because it has not been made hitherto on the proper foundation; there has undoubtedly been an increase; but I wish to guard my evidence to this extent.

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The system cannot be carried on as it is now. The advances should be made by the Government.

7912. If the principle on which the experiment has been made by you were carried out by the Government you consider it would be successful?—Yes.

7913. *Mr. Elliot.*] Are the Committee to understand that the system of Government advances upon your part has proved successful?—I had rather put it in this way, that the advantage to the ryots from the system of advances has been proved. I should not like it to be said that the present system of advances is a good one; I think, on the contrary, that the system on which those advances have been made is bad, and that the Government ought to do it all themselves.

7914. *Chairman.*] You mean that the system of your advances being made through the Government, has been productive of benefit to the ryots?—Yes.

7915. *Mr. Elliot.*] In the event of the Government making the advances in the way you now propose, would not this effect be produced, that if there were a profit, you would obtain the profit, and if there were a loss the Government would suffer the loss?—No; the Government could not suffer any loss, because they have the power of laying hold of the crop whenever they choose.

7916. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Suppose the crop fails?—If the crop fails, they lose the revenue, at any rate.

7917. *Chairman.*] You gave security to the Government, did not you, for the advances which were made?—Yes.

7918. So that in case the Government could not recover from the cultivators, they could recover from you?—Yes; we did not consider that risk to be great.

7919. But still you were responsible?—We were; we consider that it is objectionable, and many mercantile houses would not like to do it.

7920. *Mr. Elliot.*] In the event of the crop failing, would not the Government lose their advances?—It does not follow; that, however, is a matter of detail which I cannot answer. I do not think it is necessary that they should lose them, though they might not get them repaid that year. If the whole system were altered, as I propose, and irrigation and roads introduced, I do not see how there could be a failure of the crops.

7921. If the crops failed, would not the Government that year lose the advances?—If the country is irrigated and there are roads, there is no risk of loss; but even if the crop did fail for one year, from some unforeseen circumstances, there is no reason why the advance should not be recovered in the following year.

7922. In that year the Government would not be able to recover their advances? It is possible.

7923. And they would become a charge upon the ryots for future years?—Yes.

7924. Therefore there would be a greater difficulty still in future years in realising the revenue, and the advances which would be due to the Government?—I consider the risk of that to be nothing.

7925. But you consider the risk to the person who advances money, not being the Government, considerable?—If the land were irrigated, and roads are made, I should not be afraid myself to run that risk, if I were in the position of Government.

7926. If the land were irrigated and roads made, you would not require the Government to make advances?—That does not follow as a necessary consequence.

7927. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] There are persons who speculate in sugar, in indigo, and in silk; to all those persons, I suppose, it would be an advantage that somebody should make advances to the ryots, would not it?—I suppose them to be made for all crops.

7928. Is your calculation of the amount to be advanced based on the supposition that the Government will make advances on account of all crops?—Yes.

7929. Grain crops?—Whenever it is necessary, I consider it is the duty of the Government, holding the position they do in India, to advance to the ryots.

7930. According to that plan the Government would take the place of all the banyans of the country?—I think it is most necessary for the benefit of the country that that class should be held in check by the Government making advances.

7931. *Mr.*

7931. Mr. *Hume*.] Would not the Government in that case rather occupy the position of a landlord, and make those advances to assist the poorer classes?—According to my view, they would then but perform the duties of landlords, which they do not do now.

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7932. You consider them, as in fact, the landlords of India generally?—I consider they are called on to perform the duties of landlords.

7933. Mr. *Elliot*.] Have you made any calculation what sum the advances would amount to for the whole of India?—I have not; whatever it is, the Government should do it; the larger the advances the more their profit will be; I think they could, with great advantage to the ryots, and while doing them a great benefit, raise a revenue of three per cent. upon the whole sum which they advanced.

7934. Sir *F. H. Maddock*.] You are of opinion that, under this system, the Government would be able to increase very greatly its direct assessments, particularly in those districts which have periodically to be re-assessed?—Yes; in all districts I consider that would be the case.

7935. *Chairman*.] The next prayer of the petition is, that the East India Company should be personally restrained from again making advances upon the hypothecation of merchandise, unless on the ground of necessity shown. Is not that really carried into effect at present; the Company do not usually make such advances?—No; they do not; what the merchants wish is, that they should have timely notice of any intention of doing it, because it deranges very much their own transactions; it affects exchanges so much; we have seen it make five or six per cent. difference in the course of a fortnight, which is very detrimental to commerce. I dare say the merchants would be satisfied if it were ordered that the advances should only be made in a case of extreme necessity, and that timely notice should be given.

7936. The power ought to be left within the reach of the East India Company, in order to make all funds from India available in England; is not that your opinion?—If that were the understanding, I think it would be sufficient.

7937. You are opposed to advances upon goods for shipment, but in favour of advances upon growing crops?—That is a very different matter. It is rather an evil in some respects to advance upon shipments, because in reality the Company provide the capital where it is not wanted. There are plenty of merchants in Calcutta and Bombay to provide funds for making the necessary shipments, but there are not in the interior of India.

7938. If there are plenty of merchants who have money to make such advances, the Government then only comes into competition with those merchants; and if the merchants can do it as favourably, or more favourably, than the Government, no injury is done to trade?—The competition is injurious. The practical effect is, that it introduces into the trade men having no money whatever. Men have made enormous shipments of produce both from Bengal and Bombay, by getting the full amount advanced. The Government having no means of knowing the value of the produce, instead of three-fourths, needy merchants demand an advance of the whole value, and sometimes more.

7939. Is not it an inducement to the increase of cultivation if the grower of a particular description of produce knows that he can get an advance upon it for shipment to this country?—The grower does not benefit by it generally.

7940. There will be more buyers, will there not?—I think not; a trade of that sort is only carried on by fits and starts. If it had the effect of keeping the prices always higher, it might to a certain extent do them some little good, but in my opinion any rise in price in Bombay or Calcutta, for the reasons I have stated before, is little felt by the cultivator; the benefit is felt, generally speaking, by the native who buys the crop.

7941. As a general principle, you would consider, would not you, that a knowledge that facilities in the way of advances of money upon the shipment of goods could be obtained, would be an encouragement to production in that country?—On general principles it would be so, but those principles, I think, are not applicable to India.

7942. The same objection would of course exist to advances made by bankers as to advances made by the Government?—Yes, except that bankers can better look after their own interest; they have better means of knowing the value of the articles, and they will not advance so much as the Government.

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7943. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] They have better means of knowing the capital of the applicant?—Yes.

7944. Will you describe what you meant by the cases of extreme necessity under which you would permit the Government to hypothecate goods?—I cannot state that.

7945. Did you allude to a necessity arising out of the difficulties of the Government?—Matters of exchange are not always easily regulated. At present they can get as much money as they require in this country, by selling their bills here drawn upon India, but it is possible that that could not be done always; then the only way would be to get bullion remitted from India, which might also be inconvenient. If their usual modes of getting money home were not available, then, of course, you could hardly say that they should not have the advancing system left open; but it should be, perhaps, a last resort.

7946. Is it possible that such a state of things should ever arise, that the Government would not be able to raise its 3,000,000 a year by bills drawn on India?—I think so, except at a very ruinous rate of exchange; it is possible to lower the exchange sufficiently. Of course, if you sell your bills sufficiently cheap, there will be always the means of getting the money, but that can hardly be rendered compulsory on the East India Company in extreme cases.

7947. *Chairman.*] Were you in England in 1847?—Yes; that was an exception.

7948. Do you believe that in the autumn and winter of that year the East India Company could have sold its bills on India?—Not to any large extent.

7949. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] How long is it since the system of hypothecation has been discontinued?—I do not know. We have not had much to do with it in Bombay. I think it is three or four years.

7950. About the year 1850?—Yes.

7951. Are you aware whether the exchanges have been more even and regular since the cessation of hypothecation than they were before?—Not much so; indeed I do not think they have been at all.

7952. Have been more irregular than they were before?—I think they have; I think they have been as irregular during the last 18 months as they ever were.

7953. If that is the case, should you attribute it to the discontinuance of that system?—No; I attribute it to other causes altogether.

7954. *Chairman.*] The next question referred to in the petition, is the question of making gold coin, as well as silver coin, a legal tender; is it your opinion that that would be desirable?—Yes; my reasons are, generally, that it is of immense importance to the commercial classes, that they should have at all times a sufficient currency. The evils of a deficient currency are hardly to be calculated; it leads to commercial failures; and I am of opinion that this country has been brought to the brink of ruin by the want of a sufficient currency. There are other reasons why they should have a gold coinage in India; for instance, it is a metal which is more easily sent up the country, and it is more easily kept by the natives. In fact, for all purposes gold is a more convenient metal for making payments than silver, because it is more easily carried. Formerly there were objections to a gold currency, because there was not enough gold. It may be said by some, gold might do very well by itself, but we object to having a double currency. I myself do not see any objection to a double currency.

7955. Are you of opinion that it would facilitate payments from India to the mother country if the precious metal, which was a legal tender in the mother country, were a legal tender also in India?—Yes; it might be a great advantage to this country if India had a gold currency. For instance; supposing another crisis to occur, such as took place in 1847, when there was a deficiency of gold in this country, the exchange probably at that time would be in favour of bullion remittances; but if in India merchants have only a silver currency, they can only remit silver, which would be of no use as currency when it came to this country, as we know from our experience in 1847. If, however, they had a gold currency, they could remit gold, which would be a great relief to the currency of this country.

7956. The drain of silver from India, as against gold from Australia, would only take place in proportion as the profit was found to arise from that operation?—Certainly.

7957. So that while there might be a considerable inducement to carry it on when gold in Australia was 60 s. an ounce, there would be no inducement when gold was 77 s. 6 d. an ounce?—Precisely so.

7958. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] Do you think there has been any deficiency in the circulation of India?—There has at times.

7959. Have any of the banks in India, more especially the Government banks, ever issued notes to anything approaching the extent to which, by law, they have been authorised to issue them?—I think not lately; I do not, however, know so much of the currency of India of late years, since banks have been established. When I was there, there was no bank but the bank of Bombay, which was established just as I was leaving; therefore my experience of the currency in India was when it was purely a metallic currency.

7960. You know nothing of the currency of India probably since 1838?—No.

7961. As regards the people of India, I suppose there can be no doubt that that a silver and copper currency is more calculated to supply their wants than a gold currency?—For the small payments which are made among the cultivators, I have no doubt it is so; but there are large sums sent by the Government to different parts.

7962. Taking the great mass of the population in India, is not what they require a very small coin; the difficulty being to make the coin small enough?—For such payments small coins are necessary; but in India the practice of hoarding the precious metals prevails. Gold is more easily carried about the person, which is the usual way of keeping it, than silver.

7963. Have you no apprehension that if there were a double standard, the gold would drive the silver out of the country?—I have not.

7964. Mr. *Mangles*.] Have you ever considered the question what has become of the great preponderance of the imports of silver into India over the exports from it during many years?—Yes, I have thought of it; I never could obtain any exact returns on the subject, but I have a general idea that it goes up into the interior of Asia, and comes back in some roundabout way by China and other countries.

7965. What road is there into the interior of Asia except by the mountains of Afghanistan?—I suppose there is no other way, except by sea through Persia.

7966. Does any considerable portion of the population go by that road?—I do not know, and cannot give any particular explanation of this fact.

7967. Are you aware that the preponderance of imports over exports has been very enormous?—I have not the returns. I had some conversation with the mint officer in Bombay, and he told me that a large quantity was annually coined and disappeared in a manner which he could not account for. The disappearance of the silver specie is one proof that there is a large circulation of money through the country.

7968. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Has your recommendation in favour of establishing a double currency in India reference principally to the transactions of the Government with the people, or to the transactions of the people among themselves?—It is with regard to the general transactions of the country.

7969. You spoke of gold as being a more useful metal for transport?—Yes.

7970. Are not you aware that all money transactions in India of any extent are carried on by bills of exchange from one part of the country to another?—They are so in this country, and in all countries it is the case, to a considerable extent. The payments in specie in India are also very large, at least they used to be; you cannot carry on a large trade without bills of exchange.

7971. In what way would the establishment of a double currency in India operate in favour of the money market in England in a crisis of difficulty, such as you have alluded to?—A crisis is caused in various ways; one effect of a crisis is, that it discredits bills of exchange. The largest transactions in this country are carried on by means of bills of exchange; when they become discredited, payments which were before made in bills of exchange must be made in specie or bank notes, besides that, bankers and others keep larger balances of specie; there is a much greater demand for it. The circulation which in times even of brisk trade might be sufficient, would not be sufficient in a great crisis, when bills of exchange were discredited; therefore a much larger circulation is required for the wants of the people. In 1847 the specie in the Bank of England was reduced so low that there was very great danger to the whole commerce of the country;

A. S. Finley, Esq. if we had had a silver currency at that time, we could have obtained plenty of silver from France and the neighbouring countries. Before the recent discovery of gold mines, there was not sufficient gold to be had in other countries to make up the currency which we then required. The crisis of 1847 and previous ones were checked by the Government allowing an extra issue of notes to represent specie.

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7972. I think you observed, in a former answer, that on that occasion the silver remitted from India was of very little avail for the relief of the Bank?—Yes.

7973. What greater relief would be afforded by a remission from India of the same value in gold coin?—The coin would be circulated and payments made with it.

7974. The great advantage which you contemplate is, that you would recoin the gold coin of India in a much less space of time than you could recoin silver at our Mint?—You cannot make payments in silver; it is of no use coining silver, for you cannot make a payment of above 40*s.* in silver; if you had a double currency you could make payments in silver as well as in gold.

7975. *Mr. Hume.*] In speaking of a double currency, have you any means of stating what should be the relative value between gold and silver?—That must be settled by persons more conversant with the relative value of gold and silver than I am; it is a matter of detail.

7976. Are you not aware that the maintenance of both gold and silver as a currency in a country must depend upon their relative values?—If one were made too cheap it would have an injurious effect, and expel the other.

7977. Is there any means by which you can prescribe what the relative value should be?—I think there is no reason why you should take any other relative value than that which is established in France, and what formerly existed in India, 15*l.* to 1.

7978. *Mr. Mangles.*] Has the trade of Bombay increased much of late years?—It has.

7979. The import trade?—Yes.

7980. How do you reconcile that fact with the alleged impoverishment of the country?—The greater part of the import trade in Bombay does not go into the interior, it is sent to Persia, and up and down the coast. The exports have also increased. What I have tried to prove is, that the cultivators have not gained anything by our trade; their condition is not much improved by the profit which is made from trade. Any profit made in India by increased trade does not go to the cultivator, at least, a very little of it; he receives a bare subsistence, his means being taken from him by the banyans and others.

7981. Has not there been an increase of consumption in India?—I have no doubt there has.

7982. Is that reconcileable with the allegation of the general impoverishment of the country?—The great consumption is in the towns and villages; I doubt very much if the consumption among the cultivators has increased.

7983. *Chairman.*] The next subject referred to in the petition is the administration of justice; the Committee have received a great deal of evidence upon that subject; do you wish to add anything to what has been already stated?—No; I have nothing new to state upon that point.

7984. With regard to the police, is there any evidence which you desire to give?—The Committee, no doubt, have had full evidence upon that subject, to which I need not add anything.

7985. In matters connected with the customs, and others connected with the inland revenue, there is stated to be a want of promptitude in the means of obtaining redress; have you any facts upon that subject which you wish to lay before the Committee?—No; I think the meaning of that statement is this; that the local Governments are so bound down by the Supreme Government, that they cannot give the answers which are necessary. Reference is made to the Supreme Government, and then the Supreme Government refers the matter home; and the merchants eventually get no answer at all. I think that is the ground of their complaint.

7986. Does that apply to any case in which the merchant has a complaint against the Customs department?—There have been a good many instances of it, but I am not prepared to state one. The fact is so well known, that very few
merchants

merchants now make references of that sort to the Government, because it is known that they cannot give an answer.

7987. Mr. *Hume*.] To what particular department do you refer?—I refer chiefly to the Customs, and indeed to almost every department of the Government.

7988. Mr. *Elliot*.] Can you state any instance of that nature?—I am not prepared to give any instance at this moment.

7989. *Chairman*.] Is the present system of postal communication between Bombay and England upon a satisfactory footing, in your opinion?—I do not think we have any great complaints to make with respect to Bombay, except that I think it might be accelerated by having better steamboats. I think the whole postage system in India might be very much improved, more especially in the interior; of course I cannot say how that could be done.

7990. Mr. *Elliot*.] Are you aware that orders have gone out for the establishment of a penny postage system in India?—No.

7991. Then your calculation of 100,000 *l.* gain upon the Post-office is not made, having regard to that fact?—It is not.

7992. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Would you recommend the present line of postal communication to be continued, or would you prefer one through the Persian Gulf?—I have no doubt that one through the Persian Gulf would be the most direct course to India, if you had a railway from Aleppo to Bassorah.

7993. Mr. *Mangles*.] Are you aware of the state of the law in this country with regard to differences and litigations between the Customs department and private individuals?—I am not.

7994. Are not you aware that the Government here pays no costs?—I am.

7995. What is the state of the law in India?—I have never had any actions with the Government. I suppose they pay their own costs.

7996. Are not you aware that the Government of India placed itself many years ago on a footing of perfect equality with all its subjects in every case of litigation?—I am not aware of it, but I daresay it is so.

7997. Is not that a great advantage?—I do not suppose the merchants would generally go to law in such cases.

7998. Are not you aware that many people in India do go to law with the Government?—Not upon Customs matters.

7999. Does not that show that the people are not subjected to much grievance?—It does not exactly show that, I think

Murray Gladstone, Esq., called in; and Examined.

8000. *Chairman*.] A PETITION was presented to the House of Commons, and has been referred to this Committee, signed by Robert Barnes, the mayor of Manchester. That petition represents the sentiments of the Chamber of Commerce and the Commercial Association of Manchester, does not it?—The petition was got up by the two bodies; they met and amalgamated their views as well as they could. There was, as usually occurs in such cases, a compromise; one party wanted more and the other wanted less; but generally those are the views which the Manchester gentlemen desire to impress upon the Committee. I had no hand in drawing up the petition, and it was only when asked by the East India and China Association of Liverpool to attend the Committee that, upon their request, I looked into their petition. Having examined the Liverpool petition, I found the one from Manchester entered upon so many points, that it was better that I should keep entirely to that which had emanated from our own body.

8001. You now attend, I believe, at the request of the Manchester Commercial Association?—Yes.

8002. Will you put in and read the petition to which you refer?—“To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled. The Petition of the Bankers, Merchants, and Manufacturers of Manchester, in public meeting assembled, sheweth, That Her Majesty’s Ministers having announced an intention to submit to Parliament during the present Session, some measure for the future government of India, your petitioners are anxious to record their dissatisfaction with the limited extent of our commerce with that country, and their regret that so little progress

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progress has been made in the development of its rich and varied resources. That your petitioners are of opinion that, in any enactment of the future government of India, the following suggestions should be adopted: Firstly, that it be regarded as the imperative duty of the Government of India to promote the cultivation of the soil, and to remove all obstacles which impede the progress of industry. Secondly, that beyond making useful experiments, the Government should not be permitted to become cultivators, manufacturers, or traders. Thirdly, that in conducting their financial operations, the Government should be forbidden to become purchasers of any kind of produce on their own account, or to receive, by hypothecation, produce purchased by any other party. Fourthly, that the Government be compelled to expend a portion of the revenues collected in India in the development of the resources of the country, as well as to afford every facility for its profitable occupation; that with this view such public works should be promoted as are calculated to facilitate intercourse with, or improve the physical condition of the population, to increase the production of cotton and other valuable raw materials, as also to encourage a system of general industry. Fifthly, that 10 per cent. of the revenues of India be applied to the public works above alluded to, such as the construction of trunk lines of railways, the formation and improvement of roads and bridges, the deepening and other improvement of rivers; the formation and care of reservoirs and canals; the erection of piers and construction of harbours, breakwaters, lighthouses, and all other engineering agencies required in a civilised and commercial country. Sixthly, that the application of the portion of revenue allotted to useful public works be under the control of a Board of Public Works established and conducted in India, the members of which should have full, extensive, but defined powers, and be nominated jointly by the Imperial Government and the Indian Executive. Seventhly, that the Government should give every facility for the permanent occupation of land, by removing the objections so often urged to a fluctuating land-tax, by encouraging the purchase, for cultivation, of the waste and other lands in India, and by giving such certainty of tenure as will ensure the safe application of capital to the universal cultivation of the soil. Eighthly, that prompt attention be paid to the removal of evils now existing in India, consequent upon the uncertainty of the due administration of justice and the prevailing ignorance of the people. Ninthly, that an annual detailed report on all East Indian affairs should, as was formerly done, be laid before Parliament by a Minister of the Crown. Your petitioners commend the foregoing propositions to the favourable attention of your Honourable House, and humbly and earnestly pray that the same may have statutory effect in any legislation for the future Government of India."

8003. Will you state to the Committee when you were in India, and what were your engagements there?—I was resident in Calcutta for eight years, in connexion with the firm of Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Company, which has been established there since 1825. I came home two years ago. I attended the Committee on Steam Communication, and gave the result of my experience to that Committee. The steam communication has since then been greatly improved. I wish, however, the Bombay communication had been carried out by the contract-boats, for we might have had our accounts several days earlier if the contract-boats had carried the mail.

8004. Your experience has chiefly been confined to Bengal?—It has.

8005. Will you state to the Committee upon what points in this petition you wish to bring your opinion before them?—Upon the hypothecation question; the petitioners make it their prayer, that in conducting their financial operations, the Government should be forbidden to become purchasers of any kind of produce on their own account, or to receive by hypothecation produce purchased by any other party. They trust, however, that question has been settled. There have been no advances made upon hypothecation in India since 1849-50. Public works are a subject that they have thought very much upon; they conceive that the making of roads and communications will be of vast importance, and if you will allow me, I will read upon that point an extract from a letter which I received from our house in Calcutta on Saturday. They are discussing the probability of an increased consumption; and they say, "With our present limited means of transit, such a desirable consummation is not very probable. As a necessary preliminary, we must have good roads to the extremest mart to which our internal commerce extends, instead of the existing state of things.

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For many months of the year the trunk road of India is impassable; and only passable at any time by the slowest and rudest conveyances. Since Government have taken their inland steamers off the Ganges for service in Burmah, the communication by that route is so inadequate, that thousands of packages, consisting even of the private luggage of individuals, are at this moment, as they have been for weeks past, lying in godowns in Calcutta, without any prospect of reaching their destination for months to come."

8006. Have you heard the evidence of the last witness?—Yes; I have.

8007. Without repeating what he said, do you concur in the general tenor of his evidence?—I concur in the general tenor of his evidence. I have no doubt that, upon our side of India, the cheapest possible railway that can be made will be a valuable feeder to the main line. I think, however, we shall require upon our side of India the best form of railway we can get, to be used with steam-power; I mean by the best form, the best for the money. There is a very large population in the country, especially in the North-western Provinces. I think the average of the population of India is about 150 to a square mile, or thereabouts. In the North-western Provinces, it is about 320 to the square mile.

8008. Do you think you could not dispense with a railway with locomotive engines?—I think not.

8009. Do you think that it should be provided by the Government?—I think it must. We see that the Government at the present moment guarantee 4½ per cent. for a certain number of years to the railway which is to be made from Calcutta into the interior. If the railway is unprofitable, the Government must take it over, and I feel quite sure that they could have raised the money at a less rate of interest than 4½ per cent. Then beyond Mirzapore, between Mirzapore and Allahabad, the railway should be begun again and carried up the country, because between Mirzapore and Calcutta you have the river. When the railway is finished, of course it will be so much the better; but there is no cheap and useful mode of communication in the Upper Provinces, except the road, and that I consider to be inadequate, looking to what is required at the present day.

8010. Is there any other topic mentioned in that petition to which you wish to call the attention of the Committee?—The allegations are very general. They state that it is the duty of the Government to promote the cultivation of the soil, and to remove all obstacles which impede the progress of industry. They think that beyond making useful experiments, the Government should not be permitted to become cultivators, manufacturers or traders.

8011. What is your view as to the Government promoting the increase of the cultivation of the soil?—I can only suggest that roads and irrigation should be introduced, and the administration of the courts of justice improved. We think that where a native presides in a court, there should be a European superintendent not far off. We, perhaps, cannot ask that there should be a European superintendent at the head of every native court; but we think that they should be under complete control. The next paragraph of the petition refers to hypothecation. The next is, "That the Government be compelled to expend a portion of the revenues collected in India in the development of the country, as well as to afford every facility for its profitable occupation; that with this view such public works should be promoted as are calculated to facilitate intercourse with or improve the physical condition of the population, to increase the production of cotton and other valuable raw materials, as also to encourage a system of general industry." It is stated, in the statistics published by the East India Company, that if a railway were made to the cotton field of Berar there is a sufficient extent of land there, taking the rate of production in Guzerat and Broach, and the upper part of the Bombay Presidency, as a guide to calculation, to supply the demand for cotton of the whole of England. That is one of the objects with which we consider public works should be made.

8012. Is it your impression that all those works should be done at the cost of the Government, or are there any obstacles now to the application of private capital towards the improvement of the country?—We find no obstacle to the expenditure of private capital in the country. For instance, in the article of sugar, certain merchants in Tirhoot spent no less than 400,000 £. in trying to grow

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sugar, but the experiment was unsuccessful. There is no obstacle to a merchant coming in and spending money, but I consider that this is not an object for which a merchant should be expected to come in and spend his money.

8013. *Mr. Mangles.*] Do you wish the Government to engage in the cultivation of those articles?—There is no necessity for the Government to engage in the cultivation of sugar or of any article. We say, if the native merchant had the means of sending down his produce freely to the market, his position would be improved. The Commercial Association has been particularly desirous to avoid all political views in their recommendations. The main object they have in view is to extend the trade between the two countries.

8014. *Mr. Hume.*] Are the Committee to understand from you that, in your opinion, if the facility which would be afforded by railroads and tramroads were given to the producers in the various districts, there would be no want of capital to carry on the requisite trade?—I believe it would be forthcoming readily.

8015. *Mr. Mangles.*] How do you account for the fact that, up to this hour, nine-tenths of the whole of the capital which is employed in indigo is European, and not native capital?—Indigo is an article which will bear expensive carriage, and therefore it is one in which the European can embark his capital. Sugar is an article which almost every native makes. The quantity of sugar exported from India bears no proportion to the quantity which is made in the country. The people eat it themselves when the price is low, and when the price rises they send it down to the coast for shipment.

8016. Can there be a better road from west to east, than is afforded by the Ganges?—The Ganges is almost impassable, from banks and other difficulties, at times; the delays upon the river are so great, that a steam-boat is preferable when you have one. Two private companies were established to work steam-boats upon the Ganges: one of them, the Ganges Company, I think, lost all their boats; the other was the India General Steam Navigation Company; they have done rather better. But when those boats were at their best, the Government boats were running in direct opposition to them, that is to say, they carried at the same time goods which the private boats calculated on obtaining; and those steam-boats now are all taken away. We hear from Calcutta that thousands of packages are lying in Calcutta, unable to get to market.

8017. Why do you suppose that increased facilities of communication alone are necessary to induce the natives to grow cotton and other articles of produce, when you find that in the course of 50 years the greatly increased facility of communication with the indigo districts has not induced the natives to go into that trade?—Indigo is an article which does not so much depend, as some other articles of low cost do, upon a moderate rate of freight; supposing the conveyance is 1 s. upon an article which costs 2 s., it is still only 1 s. upon an article which, weight for weight, costs 10 s.

8018. Is not there a great want of enterprise on the part of the natives?—A very great want of enterprise (in those of Bengal) but very much of that may arise from a prejudice which it is difficult to get over; in time it may be done. They do not know, perhaps, that the rule of the East India Company is permanent; that feeling, possibly, may operate in preventing them from laying out capital; they prefer hoarding, in many cases, to laying out money; they have seen so many changes, or have known of so many changes having taken place, that they do not know when the next change may occur.

8019. *Sir G. Grey.*] Do you mean that they apprehend that the Company will be overthrown by some other power?—It is difficult to define the feeling, but it is one which undoubtedly exists.

8020. *Mr. Elliot.*] Do you mean that there is a doubt as to the permanence of the English Government?—Not of the English Government; but it is a feeling that India rests upon not a perfectly secure basis; they have heard of the great changes which have taken place; they do not know that another equally great change may not come and sweep away all their property.

8021. Have the natives of India any doubt, do you think, of the permanence of the English Government?—There are very few who know anything about it; therefore they can only argue from what they know has happened in their own country, that it has been before times completely changed in its government.

8022. If they have that feeling, what advantage would be gained by the introduction

duction of roads or anything else?—If a road existed to-day, a person who had produce to send to market would have the means of sending it; no road existing, he can do nothing with it. They say “Why should we lay out our money for the benefit of a company which may not last our time?”

8023. If they had a road, would not they have that same feeling?—They might have that feeling; but still, their produce being obtained, they would secure a better return for it than they could do if no road existed.

8024. *Chairman.*] The main improvements to which the Commercial Association of Manchester look are the increase of public works, and an improvement in the administration of justice?—That is the case; in the administration of justice, and in the police.

8025. *Mr. Mangles.*] You think European superintendence is essential to the good administration of justice?—I do.

8026. The Committee has had evidence that the natives might be trusted altogether to administer the whole justice of the country; is that your opinion?—My experience of the native is such, that I consider he is only to be trusted when he is watched. Education is making a very great change in the natives; and it is very important to consider, whether, along with the education which is destroying their belief in their own system, there is not some necessity for giving them a foundation upon which to build up a new one.

8027. Is there any other point which you wish to bring before the Committee?—The petitioners desire that a portion of the revenues of India should be applied to the construction of trunk lines of railways, the formation and improvement of roads and bridges, the deepening and other improvement of rivers, the formation and care of reservoirs and canals, the erection of piers, and construction of harbours, breakwaters, lighthouses, and all other engineering agencies required in a civilised and commercial country. They wish also that the money should be put under the control of a Board of Works. At present, the sum to which the Governor-general is limited is about 5,000*l.*; that is the sum which he can lay out at once upon the public works; that of course has to be divided among a great many departments. Some of the works have to be abandoned, and others postponed. They wish the Board of Works to have a certain sum at their disposal, without the qualifying reference which is now necessary, that they may expend it in the public works of the country.

8028. Do you mean that they wish a Board of Works to be established at Calcutta, to superintend the whole of India?—No, they wish for such a Board at each Presidency, with funds placed at its disposal.

8029. Do the petitioners mean that there should be 10 per cent. of the revenue of each Presidency applicable to the works in that Presidency?—Yes; they see that the amount expended of late years has been very small, and they consider that a much larger amount ought to be expended upon the public works of the country.

8030. With regard to a gold currency, do you agree with the statements which were made by the last witness?—Yes. Gold ceased to be a coin taken in payment in January last. It had previously been always received in payment of the revenue by the Government, at 15 rupees for the gold mohur, fixing 15 to 1 as the relative value of gold and silver. There is no doubt they were apprehensive that gold would come up from Australia in such quantities, that they would receive payments in gold, and have to make payments in silver; so that it appeared to be the natural step to take to do something of that kind. I maintain that it would have been better to have fixed a lower value, because the real value of gold to silver being 15½ to 1, 15 was tolerably safe; and if that was not sufficient, 14½ to 1 would have made them quite safe. It would be a great misfortune to India if she should ever feel the evils of a want of currency.

8031. *Sir C. Wood.*] Are you sure that the Government have refused to receive it at all, or only that they have refused to receive it at the former rate?—The proclamation runs that they are not to receive it.

8032. Have you any knowledge of the fact beyond what appears in the proclamation?—I do not know that it has been offered to them at a lower value. All that holders of gold can do now is, to take it to the Mint, and there it will be coined at a certain charge. But those coins, although they come out at a certain fineness and mark, are not received as coin in the country; they are simply merchandise; and if you suppose that a large quantity of gold came up

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from Australia at a low price, it would be possible to denude the Calcutta bazaar of silver, and produce great distress; because if you give the native gold cheap enough he is sure to take it.

8033. *Chairman.*] With regard to the salt revenue, have you any observations to make to the Committee?—The amount raised by that means is so large, that any proposal to do away with it, and to make up the amount by increasing the duty on imports, would be, in my opinion, a very imprudent step. The amount raised apparently by salt is 2,500,000*l.* The net amount received from imports is only 740,000*l.*; so that you would have to provide 2,500,000*l.* from a source which now only produces 740,000*l.*

8034. You think it would be better to leave the salt duty as it now is, and not to raise the customs, than to do away with the salt revenue and rely upon an equivalent revenue to be raised by the customs?—Yes.

8035. *Mr. Mangles.*] What is your experience of the administration of the Customs department in Calcutta?—I saw a good deal of the administration at Calcutta, and I considered it to be satisfactory. There is however a great deficiency of arrangements for landing goods at the Custom House. There are no cranes, for instance; and packages are landed on the banks of the river, and exposed to the sun in a manner that often causes them to receive considerable damage.

8036. *Mr. Elliot.*] Have you ever been resident in the interior?—I was at Bombay a short time, and I crossed over to Madras.

8037. Have you been in the interior as a resident?—I have not.

8038. Have you visited the North-western Provinces?—No. We have a number of indigo factories under our charge; we lay out between 20,000*l.* and 30,000*l.* annually in the cultivation of indigo.

8039. *Mr. Mangles.*] Is there any difficulty in doing that?—We have frequent difficulties. There are, for instance, the difficulties connected with the courts of law, which every person engaged in the cultivation of the soil must have experienced.

8040. *Mr. Hume.*] Has it ever occurred to you that it would be well to substitute a duty on tobacco for the duty on salt?—I do not think the amount you would raise by that means would be sufficient.

8041. There is no excise on the growth of tobacco in India?—There is none.

8042. *Chairman.*] Is there any other duty which occurs to you, which might be substituted for the duty on salt?—I can see none that would produce a revenue so easily collected as the duty on salt is. The evidence before the Committee as to the increase of trade is so great, that I need scarcely put in any figures on that subject. I find that of British manufactures and twist the consumption in India ranges from 5½*d.* to about 10*d.* and 1-8th of a penny per head, comparing it with England, where the consumption in 1847 amounted to 7*s.* 9*d.* a head; in 1852, it was 31*s.* 6*d.*

8043. *Mr. Mangles.*] Do you believe, under any circumstances, the consumption, taking the ratio of the population, could be as large in India as in England?—You must take it in reference to the wages of labour; measuring it in that way, you have in England an amount used equal to 5½% per cent. upon the wages of labour, estimating them at 15*s.* a week, or 60*s.* a month; whereas, taking the wages given in India at three rupees a month, the range is from one-half per cent. to 1¼th per cent.

8044. Would not the difference in climate, habits, and social position of the two nations always establish a great difference between the consumption of British manufactures in England and in India?—Yes; it is important to notice that a very small increase to the purchasing power of the natives per man would furnish a very large increase to their power of taking the manufactures of this country.

8045. *Mr. Lowe.*] Is not 15*s.* rather a high average to take for wages in England?—It is so, perhaps; but a lower scale of wages would have made the disproportion between the consuming powers of the two countries greater.

6. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] Is not the little bit of covering which the natives only wear generally manufactured in their own country?—Generally.

7. *Mr. Mangles.*] Has there been a great increase in the consumption of manufactured goods on the side of India with which you are acquainted?

—Yes;

—Yes: but very much of the increase is due to the lower cost at which we send them out. *M. Gladstone, Esq.*

8048. *Mr. Hume.*] Is it not in the lower priced goods that the great increase has taken place?—Yes. *4 July 1853.*

8049. In goods adapted to the consumption of the lower classes?—Yes. The value of plain cottons that went out to the Bay of Bengal in 1832, was 401,000 *l.*; last year, it was 2,227,000 *l.* To Bombay, it was 351,313 *l.* in 1832; in 1852, it was 1,325,000 *l.*

8050. Were not these goods calculated for the very poorest class of the community?—Those figures include all classes; the bulk of the goods would be for the poorer class.

8051. Do you know whether any portion of those imports into Bengal were exported to the eastward or to the Arabian Gulf?—No; some of them were exported to Burmah, and some to Madras.

8052. You consider the increase to have taken place generally in what may be called strictly the Company's territory?—I consider it to be so.

8053. *Chairman.*] Can you give a similar comparative statement of the importation of twist?—In 1832 it was 731,937 *l.*; in 1852, 3,102,256 *l.*

8054. *Mr. Mangles.*] Is that state of things compatible with the alleged continued and continuing impoverishment of the people?—It has to do with the increased quantity of imports we have taken from that country.

8055. If the people can buy more and sell more, is that compatible with their impoverishment?—The population must have increased very much in 20 years.

8056. *Mr. Elliot.*] Or else they must have improved in condition?—I was not there long enough myself to judge upon that subject.

8057. *Mr. Hume.*] In what exported produce have those goods been paid for?—In sugar, in grain of various kinds, linseed, silk, indigo.

8058. *Mr. Mangles.*] The exportation of oil seeds has sprung up since 1852, has not it?—It has sprung up very lately, chiefly since 1848. With regard to docks and public works, I should wish to state that I sat as one of a committee with Colonel Forbes, who reported upon a dock which was proposed a short distance below Calcutta, with a railway to communicate with the river below.

8059. *Mr. Hume.*] Has anything been done to carry out that plan?—No; nothing has been done.

8060. What was the date of that report?—I do not recollect the date accurately, but I think it was about 1845.

8061. Was the report laid before the Government?—The committee sat by order of the Government, and it reported to the Government.

8062. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] You refer to the railway communicating with the proposed dock at Diamond Harbour?—The idea was to let the ships remain at Diamond Harbour.

8063. Are you aware that the subject is now under the consideration of the local government by the desire of the Home authorities?—I am not aware of that. I am happy to hear that it is so. The river is in a terrible state. Between Calcutta and the sea, ships are unable to move with safety unless they have steam; it has been particularly bad lately, because of the dry weather which preceded.

8064. *Mr. Hume.*] Can anything be done to improve the state of the river?—Undoubtedly, the proposed scheme of docks and the communication from Diamond Harbour would be a great advantage.

8065. *Mr. Mangles.*] The state of the river in itself is beyond all human control, is not it?—Scarcely beyond all human control. You can do a great deal for it where the Roopnarain river comes in at the James and Mary; unquestionably something might be done to remove that great sand.

Jovis, 7^o die Julii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Mr. Herries.
Sir J. W. Hogg.
Mr. R. H. Clive.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Elliot.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir Charles Wood.
Sir George Grey.

Mr. Ellice.
Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Lowe.
Mr. Bankes.
Viscount Jocelyn.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Newdegate.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Hume.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan, K.C.B., called in; and further Examined.

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8066. *Chairman.*] BESIDES your acquaintance with Indian finances, you have been for some 13 years connected with the finance arrangements of this country. The Committee would be glad to receive your opinion as to the mode of accounts, and as to the general system of finance adopted in India?—I have held an appointment during that period at the British Treasury, and have been engaged, not only in carrying on the current financial business, but in assisting in revising and improving various parts of our financial system; and having spent the first 12 years of my active life in India, I have had constantly in view a comparison between the system of English finance and the system to which I had been accustomed in India. The conclusions at which I have arrived are as follows:—The financial system of India is the least perfect and advanced of all the branches of administration in India. In fact, it is still in a crude and elementary state. I well recollect that Lord William Bentinck used often to complain of the complex and unintelligible nature of the accounts. More than once he mentioned to me that he had often thought of sending to England for one of our ablest official accountants, to revise and recast them. I remember that when Sir Charles Metcalfe succeeded to the Government of India, on the departure of Lord William Bentinck, he called for a balance-sheet of the finances, and a document was presented to him which led him to infer that the finances were heavily in deficit. He wrote one of his serious and able despatches to the Court of Directors on that supposition, taking a gloomy view of our prospects, but before the despatch had been sent many weeks, he saw reason to believe that the conclusion at which he had arrived from those accounts was incorrect, and that, instead of a deficit, there was a considerable surplus; upon which he wrote a second despatch, correcting the former. I mention these circumstances, as representing the authority of persons of greater experience than myself. Besides other defects of the system, to which I will allude hereafter, there are two leading imperfections. One is, that there is no periodical revision of the Indian expenditure in connexion with the estimates in the manner which takes place every year in this country in reference to the bulk of our public expenditure. It is true that annual estimates are furnished; but they are sent home to the Court of Directors for general financial purposes, and they are not made the basis and the means of a thorough annual revision of the whole of the expenditure, as is done in this country. Finance committees are also occasionally appointed in India, but a finance committee is a very imperfect instrument of financial revision. Nothing is more transitory and variable than the relation which establishments and expenditure generally bear to the public business to be transacted by means of them. They are continually undergoing a process of repletion and depletion. The establishments which may be

be quite necessary this year, two years afterwards may be to a great extent superfluous; while in other cases the establishments which were quite sufficient one year, two years after may be quite insufficient. According to the system of finance committees, those redundancies and deficiencies are allowed to accumulate till they become no longer bearable. Then a finance committee is appointed, which revises them, and then the same process begins again till the same necessity for revision occurs. It often happens that before the finance committee has even finished its labours, the parts of the system which they began by revising have become inapplicable and require further revision. A system of annual revision, on the other hand, such as that which prevails at home, effectually meets the case. The whole public expenditure in all its departments, the revenue establishments, the judicial, the military, and the public works, comes annually under revision. For instance, with respect to the important measure which has been in progress in India for a series of years past, of fixing the land revenue, the moment the land revenue is fixed, the establishments for the assessment and collection of it would come under revision according to the annual system, and would be cut down to the point which the altered circumstances would admit of. The other great defect of the Indian financial system is that there is no annual comparison of the whole of the income with the whole of the expenditure, nor any systematic and deliberate apportionment of the surplus for the public benefit according to the circumstances of the time. The Committee will observe, that through the whole of the evidence which has been given before them, two opposite principles have been dwelt on. It has been strongly represented on the one side, that it is absolutely necessary that the Supreme Government should have entire control over the expenditure of the subordinate presidencies, because without it, it is impossible that it can be responsible for the proper regulation of the finances of India; while those who advocate the interests of the subordinate presidencies urge that it is extremely hard and inconvenient that they should not be able to employ a chowkeydar at Cape Comorin, or repair a tank in Tinnevely, without writing to Calcutta to ask the consent of the Supreme Government, and entering, probably, into a long correspondence on the subject; and there is said to be a total want of reasonable freedom and discretion in the subordinate governments in matters of finance. Then again, with respect to other parts of the empire, it is made a matter of complaint that the inhabitants should not receive their fair share of the surplus revenue of India, for carrying on public works and other beneficial purposes, merely from the accident of there being a local deficit within these districts. For example, for many years past, it has been objected to the Bombay Presidency that their revenue does not cover their expenses, and any expenditure for public works in that Presidency has been very much grudged in consequence; the fact being, that the reason why their expenditure exceeds their income is, that the general policy of the empire requires that a large proportion of the army should be stationed in the Bombay Presidency, in comparison with its revenue. It is quite reasonable and just that all the inhabitants of the British Indian territory who pay taxes and contribute to the general funds of the empire should receive their fair share of the surplus available for general purposes. I conceive the principal causes of this imperfect state of Indian finance to be two; one is, that till the period of the last Charter, when the commercial concerns of the Company were separated from the territorial, the two were habitually mixed up together. That was the policy of the Company, and it led to a very complex and confused state of the accounts. The other cause I conceive to be this: the financial administration is the only branch of the Indian administration which is attempted to be carried on from home. The power of effectually dealing with Indian finance resides in the local central government. That government has to deal with all the exigencies of income and expenditure as they arise, and is in daily communication with all the parties through whom the financial system is carried on; and where the power is, there should be the responsibility; whereas the practice has been to bring all the strings of Indian finance to one point, in the hands of the Court of Directors, who are too far removed from the scene to effectually exercise a current supervision over the income and expenditure of India. That the Government of India is kept in a state of tutelage on this subject will be apparent to anybody who reads the general letters which the Company occasionally send to their Government in India on finance. In those letters the Company take a general review, and point out what ought to be done in each

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respect; and then they call upon the Government of India to do it, often long after the time has passed when it could be effectually done, and after a great deal of loss has been incurred, which might have been prevented if it had been done on the spot, at the proper time. Now it is proposed, in the Bill now before Parliament, to strengthen the Government of India, in a manner which will make it a very satisfactory fulcrum for controlling and effectually dealing with Indian finance. The Supreme Government of India will be detached from all local administration; it will stand in the same relation to all the Presidencies, and it will be very much strengthened by the addition of representatives from all the Presidencies. Therefore I conceive the time has arrived for installing the Government of India in the effective administration of Indian finance; and I will proceed to state the manner in which I think it ought to be done. Our English system of finance, by estimate and budget, and Appropriation Act, is a very perfect and beautiful system. It has not been carried out to the full extent required; but so far as it has been carried into effect, it is, as I say, a very advanced and improved system indeed. In the year 1832, Sir James Graham reformed the Admiralty system on improved financial principles, and the reform so initiated by him has since been extended to all the great departments of expenditure. Commencing early in the year 1840, we have revised the estimates of all those departments on an uniform plan, under votes and detailed heads. We have opened books of account, on the principle of double entry, in each of the departments, under the same general and particular heads. We have enforced the principle, that after the votes have been taken, the appropriations sanctioned by them shall not be departed from, even in the most emergent circumstances, without the previous sanction of the Treasury, the central financial department. We have provided for an annual account, corresponding to the Estimates and Votes, being laid before Parliament, showing the result of the expenditure as compared with each vote, which account is certified by a body of independent auditors, the Commissioners of Audit. Any excess of the votes has to be justified to them, and is reported by them to Parliament. This system commenced in the early part of 1840, and was completed in the year 1846; and the documents which describe it in its perfect state are the Treasury Minute, dated 13th January 1846; the Act of 9 & 10 Vict. c. 92, intituled, "An Act to provide for the Preparation, Audit, and Presentation to Parliament of Annual Accounts of the Receipt and Expenditure of the Naval and Military Departments;" the 24th clause of the Appropriation Act, by which it is provided, "that if the exigencies of the public service shall render it indispensably necessary to alter the proportions assigned to any of the separate services comprised in the aggregate sum granted by this Act for naval services, for army services, or for ordnance services, the department in which such necessity shall have arisen shall represent the circumstances which may have led to it, in writing, to the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, and it shall be lawful for such department, on Her Majesty's pleasure to that effect being signified by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, or any three or more of them, for the time being, to apply in aid of the deficient grant a further limited sum out of any surplus or surpluses under other heads of service in the same department;" and the Treasury Minute, dated 8th September 1846. This system has been in satisfactory operation ever since, and it has not been found necessary to make any material alteration in it. We have been able to carry out the plan in this satisfactory manner mainly by an attention to two important principles; the votes used to be taken for sums due on account of the year, instead of for sums to be actually paid in the year, the consequence of which was, that the books of each department had to be kept open for an indefinite period, till the whole of the claims against that year were settled; in other words, the books could not be closed at all for any practical purpose, and it was impossible ever to make any exact comparison between the results of different years. The other principle has been this: it used to be the practice to deduct the incidental receipts from the sums voted, instead of voting the gross expenditure; these were called credits in aid, and the inevitable consequence of them was to make it impossible to present a full and clear statement of the whole of the expenditure, and very much to confuse the accounts. This has now been altered. The system which I have described in its most improved form, had been previously extended in all its essential features to the British colonies with great success. The old system of finance in the colonies was simply this: the Governor raised what he could on the spot by local taxes, and drew upon

upon the Treasury for the remainder; but those drafts became so exceedingly onerous, that the Treasury interfered in defence of the public interests, and it was arranged between the Treasury and the Colonial Office, at the time when Mr. Wilmot Horton was Under Secretary of State, that the English system of finance by estimates and Appropriation Act should be extended to the colonies, which it has been; and it has been engrafted upon the political system of the colonies with great success. I would propose that this system should be extended to India in the following manner: first of all, I would revise the annual estimates of each of the Presidencies, dividing each branch of the expenditure, judicial, military, public works, and so forth, under suitable principal and subordinate heads. I would do this on one uniform plan, so as to allow of an exact comparison between the expenditure of the different Presidencies under the same heads; and I would require that when once settled, those heads should not be departed from without the sanction of the Supreme Government, in order that the comparison between the results of different years might not be impaired. Having done that, I would require each of the subordinate Governments, through their executive officers in each department, to furnish a detailed estimate, according to the prescribed form, and I would require those estimates to be sent by the subordinate Governments to the Supreme Government, accompanied by explanatory statements of all the cases in which an increase of expenditure was proposed. One head of estimate will be for public works, and it will be annually for the serious consideration of each of the subordinate Governments, what are the most necessary and beneficial public works at that time. A detailed estimate of the probable income for the succeeding year should also be prepared and sent up to the Supreme Government, with the estimate for expenditure. Those estimates should be very carefully revised by the subordinate Governments before they are sent up to the Supreme Government; and it is an important circumstance that the chief virtue of this system of finance is, that it fixes the responsibility of all the parties concerned in the preparation and revision of the estimates, and especially of the practical subordinate authorities. For instance, the revision which is given to the estimates by Parliament is really of secondary importance, compared with the revision which is given to them by the Treasury under its responsibility to Parliament, and with the knowledge that if any questionable item appears, it will be likely to be objected to in Parliament. When the estimates of income and expenditure have been so sent up to the Governor-general, I would propose that he, with the assistance of his Executive Council, should carefully revise them; that he should then add an estimate, obtained from the Court of Directors, of the probable home expenditure for the same year; that he should then compare the revised estimates of expenditure with the revised estimates for income, and should determine the balance; and that if the balance was on the side of surplus, he should carefully review all the public works which had come up from the different Presidencies in their estimates, and determine how the surplus could most beneficially be laid out. As a general rule, it would be expended in proportion to the population of the different Presidencies; but cases may occur where a public work in a particular Presidency, an aicut, for instance, yielding an annual revenue of 50 per cent., may be so obviously more advantageous than any public works in the other Presidencies, that it may be advisable, in any particular year, to give an advantage to that particular Presidency. Thus the problem which has been found so difficult of solution will be satisfactorily settled. The subordinate Presidencies will have a reasonable discretion, combined with a regulated and sufficient control on the part of the Supreme Government. The Madras Presidency, for example, will be able deliberately to consider what public works it will be most beneficial to carry out during the ensuing year in that Presidency, and the Supreme Government will deliberately consider how far that view is correct, and how far the means can be afforded, out of the general revenues of India, for carrying on those public works. When the appropriation has once been decided on, the Madras Government will be left at full liberty to carry out those public works during the ensuing year; and if in the course of the year it should be found, as must occasionally happen, that the whole of the sums so appropriated cannot be beneficially expended within the year, it will be at the discretion of the Supreme Government, on a representation of the circumstances, to permit the available surplus to be expended on some other analogous public work which may be beneficially initiated or carried on with greater rapidity during the

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When the Governor-general, with the assistance of his Executive Council, has so revised the income and expenditure of the whole of India for the ensuing year, I would propose that he should lay his budget before the Legislative Council, comprehending the Executive and the Legislative Members of the Government; that the estimates should be examined into and discussed and voted, item by item; that the result of the votes should be incorporated in an Appropriation Act; that that Appropriation Act should be the law for the ensuing year, and that the only power of departing from any of the appropriations sanctioned by it should be, as already stated, in case of a representation from a subordinate Government of an obvious emergency, or an obvious case of public expediency, requiring that the surplus of one vote should be appropriated to make up the deficiency of others, approved by the Governor-general, according to the rule contained in the English annual Appropriation Act. I further propose that books should be opened at all the Presidencies, on the principle of double entry, under the same general and particular heads included in the estimates, and that auditors should be appointed to see that the several heads are not exceeded without legal sanction, and that the sums voted for one purpose are not misapplied to other purposes without such previous sanction. Then I would propose that a line should be drawn, and the books should be closed on the last day of the financial year, and that the accounts for the year should be made up at the earliest possible date and rendered to the Supreme Government. I have omitted one point which I ought to mention; I would recommend that when the budget has been voted, the estimates, with the explanatory statements and the Appropriation Act, and the proceedings of the Council, should immediately be published in India, and be sent home for the information of Parliament. I would also propose that when the account for the year has been made up, in the manner suggested by me, according to the general and particular heads corresponding with the estimates, that also should be sent home, with a report from the Governor-general, to be laid before Parliament; and as the revenue and expenditure of India are comprehended, for the most part, within the continent of India, the most distant station being Singapore, I believe that the accounts might be made up and sent home within a very short period after the termination of the financial year. The accounts of the Admiralty, which are closed on the 31st of March, are made up and rendered to the Treasury in November in each year, and laid before Parliament at its meeting, although they include expenditure incurred in the most distant parts of the world; and the Indian accounts certainly might be laid before Parliament within the same period. I attach great value to the mere fact of publishing the accounts on the spot, and at the time. I wrote a paper on the "British Indian System of Taxation," in the year 1833, to which I entirely adhere to this day, and there is one passage in it which correctly describes my present view of the beneficial effect of annually publishing the budget of India, which I will read, if permitted. "If Government is only commonly faithful in the performance of the serious trust which has been reposed in it in the management of the public revenue of this great country, the measure of publishing the accounts will be sure to give confidence, and to convince all those who are capable of understanding them (and through them the impression will reach the body of the people), that we really take, and desire to take, no more revenue than is absolutely necessary for the purpose of carrying on the public business of the country. Whether there be or be not a surplus revenue, the effect produced by the annual publication of the accounts will be exactly the same. In either case, it will convince the people that we really take only what is absolutely necessary, and that we desire to take no more. If we did desire to do so, or in other words, if we were dishonest and regardless of our trust, we dare not publish the accounts. The confidence this measure will diffuse will make everybody pay his contribution to the State more readily. Who, whether native or European, would not pay more willingly what he knows is necessary, and what he knows will be well applied, and will soon have before him the means of satisfying himself in what manner it is applied? Everybody will feel that he is a moral instrument, instead of a subject of rack-rent taxation. He will consider himself a member of a great society, in the general prosperity of which he is deeply interested, and has a part assigned to him in common with the others in promoting it. The payment of taxes will by degrees come to be regarded as a duty; and in proportion to the increase of

of confidence in the Government, and the spread of intelligence among the people, they will cease more and more to be felt as an involuntary burden, until they are paid, as they are in the United States of America, with the same good will as any other duty to society is performed. Another consequence of publishing the accounts will be, that all the intelligence and local information of the country will be made available to assist Government in conducting the financial affairs of the country. At present Indian finance is a mystery in India itself, where alone it can be understood, mistakes corrected, and the experience of the country applied to its improvement. The financial secretary and the accountant-general, who are the depositaries of the financial knowledge of the Indian Government, may or may not be highly experienced and intelligent men. Here, as in every other department of the Indian Government, the interests of the State are left to the chance of the qualifications of two or three individuals, instead of calling in the assistance of the country, and putting the business of Government on a secure and intelligible basis. But, however experienced or gifted these two officers may be, their knowledge cannot bear any comparison with that which is possessed by an infinite variety of individuals scattered throughout the country, every one of whom is deeply engaged by his own interests to obtain a thorough acquaintance with his own department of business. If the accounts were published, the attention of each of these individuals would be drawn to reflect upon the manner in which the financial operations of the Government affect his particular business. Government would be kept constantly informed from all quarters regarding the manner in which the taxes affect each of the interests of the country, and a variety of suggestions would be offered by practical men, some of which, at least, would be found worthy of adoption. An essential change would also take place in the feeling with which retrenchments are regarded. The main reason why Indian retrenchment has hitherto been so unpopular is, because people feel no security that what is taken from the stipendiaries of the state will in any respect diminish the burdens of society. The prevalent idea among all classes is, that whatever is gained by retrenchment goes to increase the English tribute, or at the best is applied to the reduction of the debt, and that the last thing thought of is the limitation of taxation or its positive diminution. Under these circumstances, retrenchment is a hopeless, heartless process. It is only adding so much to swell a channel which is perpetually draining off the resources of the country into a boundless ocean, whence they are never destined to return, instead of economising them, with a view to prevent any diminution of those salutary streams which spread over the surface of the country, fertilise, and cause new riches to appear wherever they reach. It appears to be even an act of merit to retain in the country funds which, but for the public officers intercepting them in the shape of salaries, would, it is believed, be sent out of the country without any return. But when, by the publication of the accounts, the Indian public are obliged to yield to the conviction that every saving will go to diminish the burdens of the people, or at least will help to enable the Government to place a limit to further taxation, whereby security will be given to every kind of property, and an impulse to every kind of production, retrenchment will be regarded in a very different light. Saving in the expenses of Government will then become as popular as it is now unpopular, and Government will be relieved from the trouble of looking out for reductions which will be pressed upon it from every quarter. In this manner Government will by degrees derive a strength greater than that of the army, the strength of an attached and confiding people. The army must by no means be overlooked. On the contrary, it ought to be maintained in a high state of efficiency, and every regard should be paid to its just claims; but the army alone will not keep India. We must govern only for the benefit of the people, and make them sensible that we do so, if we wish to keep India. Education is also as necessary to enable the natives to understand our financial system, as to enable them to appreciate every other benefit which they derive from our Government. They ought to be taught the difference between the Indian system of taxation which had always been pursued before, and the English system which will now be adopted. They should be shown that under the scheme which makes the capability of paying the basis of taxation, no kind of property can be secure beyond the limited period of the assessment. No accumulation of productive capital can take place when the resources of the country are perpetually drained from it as fast as they appear, instead of being allowed to accumulate in reservoirs, whence they may be drawn

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by innumerable channels to fertilise and replenish the earth. On the other hand, they should be informed that the English system of taxation is in strict accordance with the true object and meaning of Government, calling upon the people, as it does, to make only that exact degree of sacrifice which is necessary for their benefit; that they may make themselves acquainted with the extent of the unavoidable expenses of Government by means of the published accounts and the explanations which are appended to them, and, that whatever may be produced beyond this, will accrue to the producers, and not to the Government. In this, as in everything else, it is education which must reconcile the natives to our Government. The greatest benefits may be lost upon them, if they are not taught to understand and use them. It is education which must give their ideas an English direction, and teach them to look to better their condition by the improvement, and not by the destruction of our Government and institutions." It may be said, probably, that all which I have stated has reference merely to the regulation of the finances, and that the real point is the existence of a surplus; the improvement of India depending upon the existence of a surplus revenue more than upon any other single circumstance. I conceive that if the finances of India are properly administered, there will certainly be a considerable surplus at an early period, and the grounds of my opinion are these: First of all, I rely upon the searching and effective annual revision which will be given to the whole of the expenditure, which is an entirely new element in Indian finance, the result of which has yet to be tried. I am confident, from the tenor of the whole of my Indian experience, that the effect will be very considerable. Secondly, I rely upon that financial process which has been attended with such admirable effects in this country, namely, relieving the springs of industry, and adjusting taxation so as to interfere as little as possible with the application and the productiveness of capital. So far as that system has been attempted in India, it has been attended with equally satisfactory effects. Not many years since the whole of British India was intersected by subordinate custom-houses, like squares in a chess-board, kept by ill paid officers, and the general trade had to run the gauntlet of all those lines of custom-houses, paying heavily in the shape of exactions at all of them. This system has been entirely swept away, and so has the system of town duties, which scared away the general trade from the towns, besides subjecting the inhabitants to great annoyance. Instead of an omnipresent custom-house, we now have no custom-house except on the sea and inland frontiers, and instead of a long list of articles, amounting to about 150, liable to duty, the articles liable to duty on the inland frontier have been limited to salt sugar, and cotton. The effect has been, that the exports and imports of the valley of the Ganges have doubled within the last 20 years. I do not mean that it is entirely owing to that cause, but I conceive that it is mainly owing to the trade of the country having been relieved from the incubus which the former system imposed. In Bengal the salt duties have been lowered. The salt revenue has recovered, and exceeded its former amount. In Bombay, where not only the transit and town duties, but the very objectionable and vexatious duty called moturpha, have been abolished, the export and import and excise duties have shown great elasticity; therefore, one main means which I rely on for increasing the revenue, is to carry out this beneficial system, and to relieve the industry and trade of India from injurious exactions. I will only mention two instances at present. One is the moturpha, which still prevails in the Madras Presidency, after having been abolished in all the other Presidencies, and which is a most objectionable tax, an income tax without any fixed rate, levied at the discretion of the subordinate officers collecting it, who probably levy, in the shape of exactions, as much more as they receive on account of the Government. The other instance I will mention is the abstraction from the ryotwar system, as left by Sir Thomas Munro, of the very objectionable principle which has since been imported into it, of levying a tax upon the improvement of land. That tax on improvement in the Madras Presidency operates far more effectively in discouraging the application of capital to land than the old tithe system did in England. Nothing which has been said of the evil effects of the insecurity of our land tenures in Australia is to be compared with the injurious influence of this noxious principle in India. The only thing with which it can be compared is the state of the land-revenue previously to the adoption of the present excellent land revenue system in the Upper Provinces, which state I have described in the same paper on the

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British Indian System of Taxation to which I have before referred. When the moturpha has been abolished, and the ryotwar system has been purged from this objectionable foreign principle, the collection of the land revenue will be very much facilitated. I regard that as a point which has not been nearly sufficiently attended to. I was in hopes that I should have had the means of submitting to the Committee a comparative statement of the expense of collecting the land revenue in Bengal, where the land revenue has been fixed for a long series of years past; in the Western Provinces of India, where it has been fixed for the last 12 or 15 years; and in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, where it still has to be fixed. But it appears that the expense of collecting the land revenue is not separated, but is mixed up with the expense of collecting the stamp duties and the sayer and abkarry revenues. It is stated in the paper on British Indian Taxation, written in 1833, that at that time the expense of collecting the land revenue in Bengal was very much less than the expense of collecting the land revenue in the Upper Provinces, according to the system which still prevails at Madras and Bombay; and there can be no doubt whatever, that if the land revenue were fixed in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, not only would it lead to a great increase of cultivation, and be attended with a great increase of revenue, but the expense of collecting that increased revenue would be much less than that of collecting the present smaller amount of revenue. Although coming under the general head of collection, the two things are entirely distinct. One is the mere mechanical collection of a fixed sum due by certain individuals, which is done in this country by a subordinate class of officers, and which might be done in India; when the revenue is fixed, by a class not much more highly paid; but the other function of the collector, namely, that annual assessment, that annual collectorial legislation, by which he fixes from the recesses of his own breast what each individual shall pay, and which determines to that individual whether he shall be in easy circumstances during the year, or whether he shall be utterly ruined,—and all the subordinate establishments for mapping, and measuring, and reporting upon crops and soils, and all the details of a revenue assessment; all that is a very expensive machinery, and I am confident that if the land revenue were fixed in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and the establishments were thoroughly revised, on the principle of reducing them to the point really required for the collection of the revenue according to this improved system, a very great reduction of the expenditure might take place. I believe also, that even in the Upper Provinces and Bengal this reduction has not been carried nearly so far as it might have been. We entered upon a partial system of land revenue assessment in Bengal some years ago for assessing the Muafee tenures which had been resumed. A considerable establishment was then set up; and taking that and other circumstances into consideration, I believe that even in Bengal the establishment for collecting the land revenue might be much diminished. This is a branch of our administration in which the employment of the natives might be greatly extended. The Hindoos have a remarkable genius for revenue arrangements. They were always employed by the Mahomedans to manage their revenue. The great revenue settlement of India which preceded Mr. Robert Bird's assessment, was made by Raja Todur Mul, the minister of Ackbar, and those two assessments will stand out in all future Indian history as two great epochs of Indian improvement. Formerly in the Soubah of Bengal, and to this day in Hyderabad, in Lucknow, and in all the native states, the Hindoos have been employed in managing the revenue, and they have a remarkable aptitude for it, as the Mahomedans have for judicial employment; when they are trusted they are found to be quite faithful and honourable in their transactions with the Government. I have known several able and superior Hindoos in the situation of Tehsildars or native assistant collectors, who were worthy of being employed in the discharge of much higher functions than those on which they were actually employed. I principally, however, rely on the result of our general measures for the improvement of India. I rely upon increased value being given to property, and increased facility to all transactions connected with land and commerce, by the improvement of our judicial system, making justice more cheap, and speedy, and economical than it is. I rely upon beneficial public works being carried out. I rely upon a system of irrigation being carried out through the construction of more canals, tanks, and embankments, which at once convert even an arid desert within my personal experience into a flourishing and productive district.

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The elements of sun and water convert even a barren waste in that climate into a garden. Those works are of the most productive kind; and it will be found, on reading the history of India, that those native princes who were most remarkable for their superiority in other respects, always paid great attention to improving the means of irrigation. I rely upon a greatly increased number of roads being made, by which the subdivision of labour will be carried out to the fullest practicable extent, so that every part of the country may be employed in growing that particular kind of produce, or manufacturing those particular articles, for which it has peculiar advantages, and exchanging them with its neighbours, and by means of which the manufactures of England, and other articles of import, will be distributed in increased quantities to every part of the country, and an increased and increasing export of the commodities of India will be sent in exchange. Above all, I rely upon the progressive construction of railroads, by which every description of industry will be promoted, and the whole machinery of society will be stimulated. It is possible to estimate the effect of a single improvement, but it is beyond our power to estimate the effect of that which will give increased intensity to every other improvement whatever, both physical and moral. I rely upon the progressive education of the natives, by which they will be fitted to co-operate with us in every purpose of improvement, both administrative and social, and by which their attachment to our Government will be increased. I rely upon the field of employment for the natives being opened to them in proportion as they qualify themselves for superior employment; and I rely also upon the effect of all these measures of improvement in enabling us gradually and safely to reduce our army. The great expenditure of India has always been the military expenditure. I do not of course presume to give an opinion as to the amount of military force which is necessary at any particular time to meet the exigencies of a particular state of circumstances, but those circumstances for which a military force has to be maintained are, to a considerable extent, in our power; and there are some general considerations affecting this subject, which are of importance. After the Nepal, the Mahratta, and the Pindaree wars, by which our supremacy in India was established, there was a period of peace and financial prosperity. That was during the latter part of Lord Hastings' administration and the commencement of Lord Amherst's administration; the consequence of which was even an inconvenient accumulation of balances in our Treasury. Then came the first Burmese war, which exhausted our balances and threw us into deficit. Then Lord William Bentinck went out as Governor-general of India, and by his courageous and effective economy, he again restored prosperity to the finances of India; and during the latter part of his and the early part of Lord Auckland's administration we had an increasing surplus. Then came that most unhappy Affghan war, which threw us again into deficit for a series of years, and retarded the progress of improvement in India to an unknown extent. I mention these circumstances to show that whatever we may do in carrying out financial economy in other departments, the vital point is the military expenditure, and that should always be the final object of all our efforts. Another important consideration bearing upon this part of the subject is, that till quite of late years, we not only had to maintain the peace of the whole of India, including all the native states, but we had to counterbalance very considerable and effective armies, maintained by some of those native states. One of them was at Gwalior. The main business of the Agra and Cawnpore force was to keep the Gwalior army, which was full of combustible materials, in check. Another still more formidable army was the Sikh army, which at last broke its bounds, and made a violent irruption into our territory. The main object of the Meerut and Kurnaol force was to keep in check the Sikh army. Now those two armies no longer exist. The Gwalior territories and the Punjaub have been disarmed; no organised elements of resistance whatever exist in those countries, nor, with very limited exceptions, in any other part of India. Speaking generally, we are now the sole military power in India; and if we refrain from offending the religious prejudices of our subjects, and govern them even tolerably well, we have no insurrections to fear. The people of India are a very docile and easily governed people, and if they once become thoroughly persuaded that we have their interest entirely at heart, and that it is our desire to govern India for the benefit of India, and with the co-operation of the natives of India, such a change will take place in the state of native feeling that it will become practicable very much to reduce our military force. Another subordinate

subordinate consideration is, that railways will act in a very effective manner in increasing the power of the military force, by making any force which may be maintained, more available for general service. I conclude by again guarding myself against giving what is commonly called a military opinion. I by no means profess to say what military force is necessary under any particular state of circumstances. All I propose is, that we should so act in the administration of the government of India, that a greatly diminished military force may be necessary. As a familiar instance, I will mention, that I am quite sure that if we abolished the Moturpha and removed from the Munro Ryotwar system the noxious tax upon improvements which has been introduced into it of late years, it would give us more strength than a dozen regiments. The only remaining point is, that having to be examined upon the finance of India, I have considered it my duty to go into the two latest accounts of the Indian and Home revenue and expenditure which have been laid before Parliament in obedience to the Act the 3d and 4th William the Fourth, chapter 85, section 116, with the ablest official assistance I have been able to obtain, and the result is shown in a paper which, with the permission of the Committee, I will read. "The accounts presented to Parliament under the provisions of the Act 3d and 4th William the Fourth, chapter 85, section 116, are, first, a return containing a series of 12 accounts respecting the annual revenues and charges, and the cash transactions and debts of the several Presidencies; and, secondly, a return containing the accounts of the Home Treasury, and other statements relating to salaries and pensions. The accounts of the annual revenues and charges of the several Presidencies are neither accounts of gross nor of net receipts and payments. From the receipt side of the account, the charges of collecting the revenues, and the allowances and assignments payable under treaties, are abated; while from the payments are deducted the receipts for unclaimed deposits, compensations, indemnities, and contributions for military protection. Thus, at page 4, the revenues and receipts for Bengal in 1848-49, amounting to 10,11,54,209* rupees, are reduced to a net sum of 7,89,15,235 rupees; and the charges, amounting to 12,44,84,333† rupees, are reduced to a net total of 10,22,45,359 rupees." In fact, the objectionable practice which I described in the early part of my evidence, the taking of short credits, that is, deducting certain receipts from the expenditure, and only accounting for the difference, still prevails in the Indian accounts; and they even go beyond that, for they adopt the same practice on the other side of the account, and take short debits also; that is, from the receipt side of the account they make deductions of expenditure, thereby reducing the receipts below their real amount. "These deductions in the accounts of the several Presidencies for the year 1848-49, amount to 5,95,38,799 rupees. This mode of stating the accounts is calculated to mislead those who may consult them in Parliament. In the general abstract view of the accounts, at page 21 of the Return, the revenues and receipts of the several Presidencies in 1848-49, are stated at 18,227,350*l.* sterling net, and the charges at 19,700,465*l.* net. From both these totals a sum amounting to nearly 6,000,000*l.* sterling has been deducted. This account, No. 10, at page 21, is the general statement of the Indian and Home revenues and charges, which professes to give the most comprehensive view of Indian finance; yet a sum nearly equal to one-fourth of the whole revenue is thus excluded from it. In the accounts of the Presidencies, the sums deducted are stated on the face of the accounts; but this practice has not been adopted in all cases. In the statement No. 9, page 20, containing the charges defrayed in England, the following item occurs: 'Charges general, being for the several home establishments,

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* "9,95,09,343" D.
"16,41,823" C.
"3,043" D.

"10,11,54,209"

† "8,29,82,278" C.
"2,09,03,037" C.
"24,98,519" D.
"1,80,98,632" D.
"1,867" C.

"12,44,84,333"

In order to arrive at these gross amounts of revenue and expenditure, the items have had to be picked out of both sides of the account, and to be put together; they are marked D or C accordingly as they have been taken from the debtor or creditor side of the account.

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establishments, and for civil, military, and maritime pensions, recruiting charges, and miscellaneous, deducting charges of establishments put upon outward invoices, and interest realised on investment of cash balances for the year 1848-9, 617,720*l*.' In this case the amount of the deduction is not stated; therefore the actual expenditure for the services described cannot be ascertained from the account. Moreover, it does not appear that the receipts suppressed bear any analogy to the items of expenditure from which they have been deducted." The "interest realised on investment of cash balances," for instance, has no necessary connexion with home establishments. "This practice of introducing net sums into these accounts, instead of recording the whole facts, is carried still further. The Act 3d and 4th William the Fourth, chapter 85, requires that a statement shall be laid before Parliament, showing the effects and credits of the East India Company at each Presidency or settlement, and in England or elsewhere. Such a statement appears in the Home Accounts, No. 3, page 6. The seventh item is thus stated: 'Due to the Government, 26,227*l*.' This item is the difference between two very large claims which have no connexion with each other. The claim on the Company for advances made by the Secretary at War and Paymaster-general for recruiting, pay, clothing, and other charges for Queen's troops in the service of the Company, and for pensions, supplies of stores, &c. paid on their account, is for a continuous service, which has no reference to the China expedition; and the acknowledged liability of the Company for those advances, which is at present probably not less than 800,000*l*., should have appeared among their debts, while any credit which they may lay claim to on account of advances for the China expedition, not yet sanctioned or voted by Parliament, should have appeared among their assets." In other words, those two large items of the claim upon the Queen's Government for the balance alleged by the Company to be due to them for the expenses of the China expedition, and the claim of the Queen's Government upon the Company for the large arrears due for the ordinary annual advances made at home for recruiting, pay, clothing and other charges of the Queen's troops in the service of the Company, are totally excluded from the account, and the only item which appears is the difference alleged to exist between the two, to the amount of 26,000*l*. "It appears to be worthy of consideration whether the general abstract account, No. 10, at page 21 of the Territorial Accounts, might not be prepared in stricter conformity with the provisions of the 116th section of the Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, chapter 85. That clause requires that an 'account of all the Company's annual receipts and disbursements at home and abroad, distinguishing the same under the respective heads thereof,' shall be prepared. In addition to the account No. 10 being one of net sums, the respective heads of revenue and expenditure are not stated; so that among all these accounts there is no one statement which gives the 'complete and accurate view' of the whole revenue and expenditure of the Company at home and abroad contemplated by the Act. There is another point which calls for remark in these accounts; the classification of the expenditure appears open to improvement. In the first place, some of the heads appear too general to afford clear information as to the nature of the expenditure." The items I refer to are in pages 5 and 17 of the account: "Charges of civil and political establishments, including contingent charges in Bengal, 92,94,705 rupees." "Charges in the territory ceded by the Burmese, 11,81,875 rupees." "Buildings, roads, and other public works, exclusive of repairs, 5,35,688 rupees." "Charges of the Province of Scinde; civil, military, revenue, judicial and police charges, including allowances to ex-Ameers and others, and charges on account of construction of buildings and other public works in Scinde, 48,30,504 rupees;" and "Charges of the Sattara State; civil, judicial and revenue charges, including political stipends and allowances, payable out of the revenues, 28,09,348 rupees." "In other cases, the information is too much scattered; for instance, the military expenditure, besides appearing in the accounts of each Presidency, is scattered over various items of the home accounts, and the total charge for that service is nowhere shown. The cash balances in the several treasuries in India, on the 1st of May 1852, are stated at 13,84,06,003 rupees, and in the home treasury, at the same date, at 2,365,848*l*. 18*s*. sterling; together, about fifteen millions sterling," exclusive of upwards of one million sterling invested in Government stock. With a gross revenue which at the outside is thirty millions a year, the Company have cash balances of fifteen millions; while with a revenue of upwards of fifty millions a year, the cash

balances

balances of the Queen's Government amount only to seven millions. Now the necessity for having a large cash balance is much greater in this country than it is in India, because the debt is much greater. The annual interest of the debt in England amounts to between twenty-six and twenty-seven millions sterling, which has to be paid at two annual periods, whereas the interest of the Indian debt, both at home and abroad, is only 3,000,000*l.*; and the great bulk of the expenditure of the Company flows out at regular intervals, principally monthly. I desire to guard myself, in all I have said as to the accounts of the Company, against being supposed to impute all these imperfections to neglect. The subject of public accounts is one which is only partially studied and understood, and, even in this country, we have made our principal reforms in the public accounts of late years; so that it could hardly be expected that the accounts of the Company should come up to the improved and advanced point to which our English accounts have been brought under the constant supervision of Parliament, and the continual remarks and investigations of an intelligent community like that of Great Britain. If it should be determined to adopt the system of Indian finance which I have recommended, so that the annual account of the actual expenditure in India should be divided under votes and subordinate heads, with the addition of the annual expenditure for the corresponding period at home, for stores and pensions and home establishments, and interest of home debt, and the actual revenue of the same year, it will give a comprehensive and perfectly clear and intelligible balance sheet, which may be read either in summary or in detail, and will entirely supersede the necessity of the present scheme of accounts. By way of explanation, I wish only to add, that in proposing that the revenue of Madras and Bombay should be fixed, I do not mean that it should be fixed in perpetuity, but merely that it should be fixed for a sufficient period to establish the security of property, and to promote general confidence.

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K. C. B.

7 July 1853.

[The following is the Paper, printed consecutively, read by the Witness in the course of his evidence.]

EAST INDIA ACCOUNTS.

THE accounts presented to Parliament under the provisions of the Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 85, s. 116, are: 1st. A Return containing a series of Twelve Accounts respecting the Annual Revenues and Charges, and the Cash Transactions and Debts of the several Presidencies; and, 2d. A Return containing the Accounts of the Home Treasury, and other Statements relating to Salaries and Pensions.

The accounts of the annual revenues and charges of the several Presidencies are neither accounts of *gross*, nor of *net* receipts and payments. From the receipt side of the account the charges of collecting the revenues, and the allowances and assignments payable under treaties, are abated; while from the payments are deducted the receipts for unclaimed deposits, compensations, indemnities, and contributions for military protection. Thus, at page 4, the revenue and receipts for Bengal in 1848-9, amounting to 10,11,54,209 rupees,* are reduced to a net sum of 7,89,15,235 rupees; and the charges, amounting to 12,44,84,333 rupees,† are reduced to a net total of 10,22,45,359 rupees.

These deductions in the accounts of the several Presidencies for the year 1848-9, amount to 5,95,38,799 rupees.

This mode of stating the accounts is calculated to mislead those who may consult them in Parliament. In the General Abstract View of the Accounts, at page 21 of the Return, the revenues and receipts of the several Presidencies in 1848-9 are stated at 18,227,350*l.* sterling net, and the charges at 19,700,465*l.* net. From both these totals a sum amounting to nearly six millions sterling has been deducted. This Account, No. 10, at page 21, is the General Statement of the Indian and Home Revenues and Charges, which professes to give the most comprehensive view of Indian finance, yet a sum nearly equal to one-fourth of the whole revenue is excluded from it.

In the accounts of the Presidencies, the sums deducted are stated on the face of the accounts; but this practice has not been adopted in all cases. In the Statement No. 9, page 20, containing the charges defrayed in England, the following item occurs:

"Charges, general, being for the several home establishments, and for civil, military, and maritime pensions, recruiting charges, and miscellaneous, deducting charges of establishments put upon outward invoices, and interest realized on investment of cash balances, for the year 1848-9, 617,720*l.*"

In this case the amount of the deduction is not stated; therefore the actual expenditure for the services described cannot be ascertained from the account. Moreover, it does not appear that the receipts suppressed bear any analogy to the items of expenditure from which they have been deducted.

This practice of introducing net sums into these accounts, instead of recording the whole facts, is carried still further. The Act 3 & 4 Will 4, c. 85, requires that a statement shall

* 9,95,09,343
16,41,823
3,043

10,11,54,209

† 8,29,82,278
2,09,03,037
24,98,519
1,80,98,632
1,867

12,44,84,333

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be laid before Parliament, showing the effects and credits of the East India Company at each Presidency or settlement, and in England or elsewhere. Such a statement appears in the Home Accounts, No. 3, page 6. The seventh item is thus stated:

“ Due to the Government - - - - - £. 26,227.”

This item is the difference between two very large claims which have no connexion with each other. The claim on the Company for advances made by the Secretary-at-War and Paymaster-general for recruiting, pay, clothing, and other charges for Queen's troops in the service of the Company, and for pensions, supplies of stores, &c. paid on their account, is for a continuous service, which has no reference to the China expedition, and the acknowledged liability of the Company for those advances, which is at present probably not less than 800,000 *l.*, should have appeared among their debts, while any credit which they may lay claim to on account of advances for the China expedition, not yet sanctioned or voted by Parliament, should have appeared among their assets.

It appears to be worthy of consideration whether the General Abstract Account, No. 10, at page 21 of the Territorial Accounts, might not be prepared in stricter conformity with the provisions of the 116th section of the Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 85. That clause requires that an “ Account of *all* the Company's Annual Receipts and Disbursements at Home and Abroad, distinguishing the same under the respective heads thereof,” shall be prepared. In addition to the Account No. 10 being one of *net* sums, the respective heads of Revenue and Expenditure are not stated; so that among all these accounts there is no one statement which gives the “ complete and accurate view” of the whole revenue and expenditure of the Company at home and abroad contemplated by the Act.

There is another point which calls for remark in these accounts: the classification of the expenditure appears open to improvement. In the first place, some of the heads appear too general* to afford clear information as to the nature of the expenditure; in other cases the information is too much scattered; for instance, the military expenditure, besides appearing in the accounts of each Presidency, is scattered over various items of the Home Accounts, and the total charge for that service is nowhere shown.

The cash balances in the several treasuries in India on the 1st May 1852, are stated at 13,84,06,003 rupees, and in the Home Treasury, at the same date, at 2,365,848 *l.* 18*s.* sterling; together, about 15 millions sterling.

* See the items marked (A), at pages 5 and 27.

p. 22. Territorial.
p. 2. Home.

Lunæ, 11^o die Julii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT. ●

Mr. Baring.
Mr. Hume.
Mr. Hardinge.
Sir Charles Wood.
Sir J. W. Hogg.
Mr. Newdegate.

Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Ellice.
Mr. Elliot.
Mr. Lowe.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Thomas Love Peacock, Esq., called in; and Examined.

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8067. *Chairman.*] WHAT situation do you hold at the India House?—I am Examiner of India Correspondence.

8068. That makes you conversant with the state of the public works in India?—Yes; almost all the correspondence concerning them passes through my office.

8069. The Committee have determined to inquire into works and local improvements executed, in progress, and now under consideration, in India. It will be desirable to know what progress has been made with respect to great works since the year 1834?—I should begin by observing that much more attention has been paid to public works during the latter part of that period than in the earlier portion.

8070. Will you state first, with regard to Bengal, what has been done?—The principal works in Bengal are these: there are canals of two kinds, for navigation and for irrigation, sometimes both objects being combined; the first class includes the Calcutta canals, which are between six and seven miles in length, which form an easy navigable communication round the greater part of Calcutta. They were commenced in 1830-31, and completed in 1836-37; they cost

cost 164,500 *l.*; the annual charge for maintenance averages 3,100 *l.*, and the tolls 6,600 *l.* By a letter just received, it is proposed to make a new communication between the Calcutta canals and the Sunderbunds. Several canals of magnitude have been under consideration, and either postponed in contemplation of a better plan, or of the probability of their supersession by railways. The Rajmahl Canal is an example. It was proposed to make the canal from Calcutta to Rajmahl, which is 200 miles. That plan, after being modified and considered and re-considered, the Court of Directors rejected on account of the expense and the difficulty of the work, and also in anticipation that railways would supersede canals, and that it would be better to wait to see if the locomotive principle, as it is called, would not take their place. It was in a despatch dated December 1844, where the first mention of Indian railways was made either by the Court or by the Government. The principal works of irrigation have been in the North-western Provinces. The Western Jumna Canals were commenced in 1817. Up to the 1st of May 1847, the expenditure on the original works alone amounted to 12,04,749 rupees, whilst the annual expenditure on establishment was about 70,000 rupees, and on current repairs upwards of 50,000 rupees, the annual direct income being about 3,00,000 rupees. The Eastern Jumna Canal was commenced in 1822. Up to May 1st, 1847, the expenditure on the original works had amounted to 8,14,492 rupees; the annual expenditure on establishment was 34,000 rupees, and on current repairs about 35,000 rupees, the annual direct income being about 1,20,000 rupees. In the Dehra Dhoon, in Rohilcund, and on the Nujjufgurh Jheel, near Delhi, works for draining and irrigation have long been maintained by the Government; many of those are old works. The Doab Canal is for the double purpose of irrigation and navigation. It has been for some time available for the first, but is yet only partially so for the second of these purposes. The most compendious notice of this canal is in the report of the Madras Commissioners, where they give an account of what it has cost, rather with a view of showing the superior value of such works in Madras; still it is very compendious and very correct. The Ganges Canal is a work of great extent and importance; it was sanctioned in 1847 at an estimate of 1,000,000 *l.* An additional half-million was subsequently added to the estimate, more on account of changes in the design than of errors of original calculation. Its principal purpose, and at first, sole purpose, was irrigation; navigation has been subsequently included. Lord Ellenborough's desire was to make it available for navigation, if possible; but it was said that the inclination which was required was greater than was consistent with holding up a head of water for navigation.

8071. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Was that objection overruled by the present Government of India?—Lord Ellenborough overruled it to a certain extent. Its course is from Kunkul, near Hurdwar, along a high table land of the North-western Provinces to Cawnpore, 540 miles, with branches of 270 miles; in all, 810 miles. It will fertilise a vast extent of country. The cost, returns, advantages, objections, and changes of plan are briefly summed up and considered in the Court's despatches of 7th July 1847 and 2d June 1852.

8072. To prevent misapprehension, will you state what you understand to be the meaning of high table land, looking to the levels of the country?—Yes; I conceive that high table land is land on which, if water rose, it would divide and go both ways.

8073. Without meaning to express that it has any very great elevation?—I do not mean that it has a great elevation; I mean level land that would cause the parting of the waters. The works of irrigation planned and executed by Colonel Dixon and his predecessor, Colonel Hall, in Ajmere, as detailed in his admirable report on Mhairwarra, present in their result one of the most striking examples which can possibly be found of the fertilising of an impoverished country, and the reclaiming of a predatory people to peaceful agricultural pursuits. The Court of Directors considered these measures so valuable, that they desired that an historical report of them should be prepared by Major Dixon, and that it should be printed and circulated among all public officers who might have the opportunity of rendering similar services in other quarters. This has been done. The publication is most interesting in its details, and most valuable as an instance of intelligent administration systematically directed to beneficial purposes. I will now speak of the Punjaub. On the acquisition of the Punjaub, the British Government

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Government turned its immediate attention to the maintenance and extension of works of irrigation and public roads there. The Governor-General requested sanction to an annual expenditure of 50,000 *l.* for these and similar purposes. This sanction was gladly given by the Court, and a further sanction was given to an expenditure of 500,000 *l.* for works of irrigation and navigation in the Barea Doab. In the Presidency of Madras some great works of irrigation have been sanctioned. Of these the most remarkable are the Godavery annicut, and the proposed Kistna annicut. The project of constructing an annicut across the Godavery river was, on several occasions, under the consideration of the Madras Government; but the engineering difficulties which attended it were so great as to make them hesitate in giving it their sanction. The plan now adopted was prepared by Colonel Cotton in 1844, and received the Court's sanction in 1846, and the work was commenced in 1847. The work is carried partly over islands, in an oblique line of great length, two miles of water besides islands, which breaks the force of the fall. Its success justified the determination to construct a similar work on the Kistna, a river of great depth and velocity, and presenting greater engineering difficulties. When the plans of the proposed Kistna annicut reached home, they were taken into immediate consideration. They embraced some principles not common in the construction of weirs. The annicut was to be built, not as usual, in an oblique line, but at right angles with the stream, not in the broadest and shallowest, but in the narrowest and deepest part of the channel, and consequently not in the gentlest, but in the most powerful flow of the river. On the other hand, the position selected offered paramount advantages over every other that could be selected. Several eminent engineers, including experienced Indian officers, were consulted on the part of the Court. On the result of the opinions thus collected, the required sanction was given, and no time was lost by this necessary inquiry, because the Government, intending to transfer the Godavery engineers and workmen to the Kistna, only required the sanction in time to prevent the breaking up of the establishment. The sanction was given on the 8th January 1851, but the works have been only recently begun, from the want of engineer officers; they are now in progress, officers having been withdrawn from the Godavery works for the purpose. The Godavery annicut, and the works connected with it, have cost, up to the present time, about 130,000 *l.*: it is anticipated that 110,000 *l.* more will be required, making 240,000 *l.* for the whole system of works, including a most important line of navigation, and 15,000 *l.* of expenditure on roads. The receipt from increased revenue has exceeded the expenditure.

8074. Do you mean that the annual receipt has exceeded the whole of the expenditure?—What the Madras Commissioners state is this: "In 1847 the work at the annicut commenced, and the revenue instantaneously felt the benefit of it. In that first year the collections were larger than in any one of the preceding 11 years, and each of the succeeding six years has shown an advance above the preceding one, with the exception of the single season 1849-50, in which there was a destructive flood in the Godavery, and even in that year the collections exceeded those of any one of the 11 years before the annicut was begun. Nor is this all; in the very first year of the works, and in every subsequent year, the increase of revenue above the previous average exceeded the sum expended on the works, so that the net revenue, after deducting the amount of that expenditure, has been actually greater in every year, even while the works have been in progress, than the average of the antecedent 11 years; and up to the close of the revenue year 1850-51, with which the statement closes, the aggregate amount of such net gain was no less than 6,89,391 rupees. The total expenditure on the works had been 12,65,361 rupees, and the total increase of revenue above the previous average was 19,54,802 rupees, leaving a net surplus gain, as already said, of 6,89,391 rupees."

8075. Are the works now completed?—No, they are not completed; there is still some expenditure going on. The Government intended to complete the Godavery annicut before they began the Kistna, but they have recently sent off some portion of the engineer officers from the Godavery to begin upon the Kistna.

8076. Is the main and heavy portion of the expenditure completed?—Yes. The cost of the Kistna annicut is estimated at 155,000 *l.* The actual cost will materially

materially exceed that amount, I have no doubt; it is the most difficult engineering work I have ever seen laid down upon paper, it being deep and rapid water, and the works being at right angles to the river. Many engineer officers, both in India and in England, were consulted before it was determined to sanction it. If successfully executed, it will yield an abundant return of revenue. The Coleroon annicuts are works of importance, though of less magnitude, which have materially benefited Tanjore and Trichinopoly, though the Trichinopoly branch, connected with the upper annicut, does not appear to have been attended with increase of revenue; low prices, arising from other causes, appear to have counterbalanced its advantages; but the works, in the aggregate, have been profitable, as well as beneficial. Irrigation from tanks is a point of great importance; these are of two kinds; reservoirs of rain water and reservoirs of river water, created by embankments across the valleys of small streams. Some of these are works of magnitude; one has an embankment 45 feet high and four miles in length, waters 23 villages, and returns 4,300 *l.* per annum; another has an embankment 21 feet high, and nine miles long, waters 149 villages, and returns 11,400 *l.* per annum. The present expenditure on irrigation works is about 104,000 *l.* per annum. The Madras Commissioners recommend that it should be raised to 225,000 *l.*

8077. Mr. *Hume.*] In speaking of the Commissioners, do you allude to those who have drawn up the report just presented to The House?—Yes.

8078. Sir *T. H. Maddock.*] Are any of those tanks modern tanks, or are they all ancient tanks?—I cannot say positively; with respect to those I have mentioned, I believe some of them are old; some new ones have been made, but I cannot classify them without referring to that specific point.

8079. Mr. *Hume.*] Shall you be able to show how many of those tanks are new works, and how many are old works which have been repaired, and also how many of the old works still remain in ruins?—I cannot state that from the materials now before me; I can do it at a future time.

8080. Mr. *Elliot.*] You said that 104,000 *l.* was now expended at Madras; does that include the Kistna works?—I believe so. In Bombay the expenditure on tanks and wells has averaged 6,400 *l.* per annum; there are no great works; the nature of the country does not require nor admit of them.

8081. Sir *T. H. Maddock.*] Have you any other information to communicate to the Committee regarding works of irrigation in the Bombay Presidency, particularly in the province of Candeish?—I will put in an answer to that question. I will now give information to the Committee as to roads and bridges; and first as to those under the Government of India. The length of the great trunk road from Calcutta to Delhi is about 900 miles; it consists of seven divisions; the total length of the road from Calcutta to Peshawur is about 1,420 miles; this road is the great thoroughfare by land between Calcutta and the North-western frontier, and since its completion wheeled carriages have been introduced upon it, by which the Government mails and travellers are conveyed at a much more expeditious rate than has ever before been attained in these provinces, the average speed, including stoppages, being often 10 miles an hour.

8082. Mr. *Hume.*] Are the Committee to understand that the whole of the trunk road is completed?—I think it is finished up to Delhi.

8083. Mr. *Elliot.*] Does that road follow the same track that the old trunk road to Benares and Allahabad followed?—I do not recollect the old line. This work is noticed in the Court's despatch, of 30 January 1850: "The statement submitted to Government with the Military Board's letter, dated 21 August 1846, showed the expenditure to 30 April 1845, as 38,41,489 rupees; the expenditure in the three years succeeding was 10,50,108 rupees, making the total expenditure, to 30 April 1848, 48,91,597 rupees. The estimate for the completion of the works was given, in August 1846, as 43,68,818 rupees, which included 18 lacs for the Soane and Jumna Bridges. In December 1848 it is given as, for the road works, 33,02,507 rupees; for the bridge over the Soane, 6,000,000 rupees; for the bridge over the Jumna, 10,00,000 rupees, making a total of 103,02,507 rupees. The estimate for the completion of the works, after deducting the intermediate expenditure, remains nearly the same in 1848, excluding the Soane and Jumna bridges, as it was in 1845 including them. It therefore appears that there is an increase on the estimate, for road works, of 18 lacs, and a new estimate of 70 lacs for the two bridges in question, making a total addition to the estimate of 88 lacs. We observe, on your proceedings of an

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an earlier date, that the Governor-General, in anticipation of railways and in consideration of the great outlay in 1848 on the Ganges Canal and on Aden, had proposed that the construction of all great bridges on this road should be suspended, and that this proposal had been adopted, one exception being made in favour of the Burrakur bridge, in consideration of its forward state, and of the great accumulation of materials. The estimate for the maintenance of the road, after completion, was roughly given by the Military Board (21 August 1845) at 350 rupees per mile, or 3,50,000 rupees per annum for the entire distance from Hooghly to Delhi. We attach great importance to the completion of the great trunk road. We desire to see it completed with substantial bridges. Those over the Soane and Jumna should be for the present suspended, but you will carefully consider whether the prospect of a railway through the North-western Provinces is sufficiently near to justify the suspension of any other portion of this great work." There are, on this road, a very great number of well constructed bridges, as will be seen in Lieutenant Beadle's beautiful drawings and plans of the second division of the road, which I have brought to show to the Committee. The construction of the two great bridges has been postponed. The bridge over the Soane was to be three miles long. Its cost was variously estimated from 600,000 *l.* to 1,000,000 *l.* Lord Dalhousie's proposal, that the execution of this and the Jumna bridge should be suspended, was partly on account of the great cost, partly on account of the anticipated progress of the railway, which might render it desirable that the bridges to be there constructed should be suited for railway bridges. It has been said that if the river were three miles wide, the bridge should be five; but the bridge would not materially increase the height of the maximum inundation; there would be a greater velocity through the arches, but according to the description of the flooded river, not a dangerous velocity. Since this despatch of the Court was written, an engineer officer of eminence has stated that he had consulted with Messrs. Fox & Henderson, and they would undertake to build and complete an iron pile bridge over the Soane for about 200,000 *l.* In addition to the expenditure from the General Treasury, special funds are assigned for local public works. The ferry funds yield about 20,000 *l.* per annum in the Lower and North-western Provinces respectively; and in the North-west Provinces there is the one per cent. road fund, a sum to that extent contributed by zemindars on the amount of their assessment; respecting which the Lieutenant Governor of Agra observes, "Whenever the per centage is levied, voluntary engagements have been entered into with the zemindars to that effect, on the condition of their being exempted from the duty of making and repairing the roads themselves." The annual amount of this fund is about 40,000 *l.*

8084. Sir *T. H. Maddock.*] Are you aware to what extent that road is used for commercial purposes as well as for the purposes of Government?—I believe it is used for commercial purposes, and for every description of purpose to which a road is applicable.

8085. Mr. *Hume.*] Is there any toll or charge upon that trunk road for those who use it for commercial purposes?—I think there is no toll; if there is a ferry, of course there will be a toll. In Madras, the Government, some years since, proposed, and the Court approved, the setting apart of 40,000 *l.* per annum for expenditure on trunk roads; out of the amount thus assigned, some large bridges have been constructed, especially those over the Cauvery and Coleroon. The defects of plan and execution in the Madras district roads were noticed in the Court's despatch of 30th January 1850; it is there said, "The roads in some instances, from want of previous survey and other causes, have not been well planned with respect to the line, so that a road on a new line becomes desirable and even necessary for permanent traffic; they have been carried below the level of tanks when they might have been carried above it, and embankments have been broken and bridges carried away by inundations, which, on the higher line, would have been comparatively innocuous; they have been constructed without due provision for their permanent maintenance, so that either the entire road has gone to decay, or one portion of it has become unserviceable, while another portion was in progress of construction. In many parts of the Presidency it is impossible, from the want of local materials, to construct metalled roads, except at an altogether disproportionate cost." Subsequently allusion is made to the great cost and difficulty of constructing

structing a system of trunk and branch roads on a permanent and generally useful principle. The Madras Commissioners, in their Report just received, enter fully on this question. They say, in their recapitulation, "We sketched a system of main lines of communication for the whole Presidency, to consist, 1st, of lines running inland from the coast; 2d, of lines running along both coasts; and, 3d, of roads connecting principal places in the interior. Of these three descriptions we computed that 7,700 miles would be required of what are called first-class roads, besides the subsidiary lines, the mention of which we reserved for the following section. We concluded that part of the section with a discussion upon the degree of perfection which should be aimed at in our roads; contending against the opinion brought forward by the late superintendent of roads, and adopted by the Government, 'that really good roads are not wanted in this country.'" That was an opinion generally entertained in Madras not much more than 20 years ago. "We argued against that opinion, and stated both facts and calculations to show it to be erroneous, and which we think fully bear out the conclusion at which we arrived, that, far from its being true that the common tracks, slightly improved, will suffice for this country, a very moderate amount of traffic is sufficient to pay for making a first-class road and for keeping it in perfect repair, and that it is truly wise and economical to make and maintain such roads."

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8086. What you are now reading is an extract from a Report just presented to the House of Commons?—Yes.

8087. Are there any maps which came home with that Report to show the localities to which it more immediately refers?—No; nothing came but five copies of the printed Report. It is probable that some will come, but none have been received. The Commissioners divide the roads into three classes, "The first composed of the main commercial and military lines of the country; the second of roads to connect towns and places of second-rate importance; and the third, of the village or cross roads, to connect the villages with towns, or with roads of the superior classes." They calculate "that the first class ought to comprise 7,700 miles; the second 20,000 miles, and the third, 150,000 miles. The two former," they propose, "to be constructed by the Government, the last by the people of the respective localities." They estimate the completion of the first and second class at 7,750,000 *l.* sterling, and propose that 20 lacs of rupees a year should be steadily devoted to this purpose. They estimate the ultimate annual charge at 80 lacs of rupees, but are of opinion that tolls will repay a large portion of this outlay. This proposal will of course receive full consideration, but it will be evident from the statements of the Commissioners themselves that the Government cannot, unassisted, undertake this expenditure, and to raise, as proposed, a large portion of the money by loan could not have been, till within a few years, effected at a moderate rate of interest. It will be observed that the Madras Commissioners speak of the parsimony of the Government, but their remarks must be taken to be in a great measure retrospective, for they admit that the British Government found no roads, and for a long time made none, thinking they could not be durable nor materially useful; but that of late years much has been done in these works where formerly the attempt to make them had been all but abandoned in despair. In one part of their Report they say when roads were first begun to be made in the Madras territory, the first rains turned them into ravines down which the water rushed in torrents, and the only use of those watery ravines was to mark out the best line of country to follow, and the people made their way by courses as nearly parallel to them as they could. With respect to roads in the Presidency of Bombay, the great road from Bombay to Agra, on which 35,000 *l.* had been expended, is noticed in the Court's despatch of 30th January 1850; and sanction is given to an annual expenditure of 2,870 *l.* for its repair and maintenance. "This road was laid out with great engineering skill, and the pass down the Vindhya range, by which the valley of the Nerbudda is gained, was an arduous and costly undertaking." Generally, however, the management of roads under this Presidency, as noticed in the above-cited despatch, has been very unsatisfactory, and the report of the Bombay Commissioners is anxiously looked for, in the hope that a comprehensive system of trunk and branch roads and an efficient management of the department may be suggested. An important work was proposed and sanctioned in 1850 and 1851, of a mole two miles in length,

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from Kurachee to Kumara Point, and of a road, also two miles in length, from the camp to the mole. The correspondence on this subject is given in the Appendix to the Sessions Paper, No. 622, of 1851. The estimated cost is 27,500 *l.* In the important works of recent years must be included the great trigonometrical survey of India, and the land revenue survey of the North-western Provinces. From a report on the trigonometrical survey, I will read one passage, if the Committee will permit me: "In reviewing the whole progress of the trigonometrical survey of India, from its commencement by Colonel Lambton, to the year 1848, it will be seen that the grand total of area triangulated amounts to 477,044 square miles, and the grand total of cost to 34,12,787 rupees, showing an average cost of seven rupees, two annas, and five pice per square mile, or about 13 *s.* 1 *d.*, which cannot but be considered remarkably moderate, especially when the nature of the country and climate, as well as the absence of all the usual resources to be found in Europe, are taken into account. The hardships and exposure of surveyors working in the field for the greater part of the year, in such a climate as India, and living under canvass, whilst all other servants of the Government seek the protection of cool houses, are either little known or little appreciated. We have on several occasions kept the field throughout the year; the duties of the trigonometrical survey likewise are often unremitting day and night, because the best observations are obtained during the nocturnal hours, when the dust raised by hot winds subsides, and the atmosphere becomes clear and calm. The fatigue and exposure are trying to the most hardy constitutions, and this history will show how few officers have been able to withstand their effects. The loss of trained officers entails a considerable increase of expense, for their places cannot be efficiently taken by newly appointed officers until they have been thoroughly trained, while the cost of training is always an unproductive item in the account." "With regard to the duration of the survey, it has been already remarked by the late Colonel Blacker, that the question depends on the strength of the establishment employed, which statement is true within certain limits defined by the power of supervision and training; the chief point is the rate per square mile, which I have shown to be on an average 15 *s.* 4 *d.* The survey has been about 48 years in operation, chiefly on a small scale; now, as the area of India exceeds Great Britain and Ireland some 12 times, we have, comparatively speaking, been only four years at work. Since the commencement the object in view has perpetually extended. Successive wars have added continual accessions of territory to be surveyed; the late wars alone have given new kingdoms with no less additional surface than 169,827 square miles, as will be apparent from the following statement: Scinde, 60,240 square miles; Jalandar Doab, and Kohistan, 16,400 square miles; Protected Sikh and Hill States, 15,187 square miles; the Punjaub Proper, 73,000: making a total of 169,827 square miles. The limits of our empire, however, appear to have been at length reached. The total area of British India as it now stands, including Scinde, Punjaub, Jalandar Doab, and Tenasserim, has been carefully estimated at 800,758 square miles, and the native states at 508,442 square miles, making a grand total of 1,309,200 square miles, as the area of survey under my charge. A complete delineation of this vast superficial extent, amounting to one million and a third of square miles confined within an external boundary of 11,260 miles in length, including every variety of configuration and climate, is an undertaking of unprecedented magnitude, demanding considerable time to accomplish with any pretensions to mathematical accuracy. The exertions hitherto made have been unremitting, and it is but justice to say that the progress has been, generally speaking, as honourable to the officers employed as the results have been useful to the country."

8088. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Can you inform the Committee whether the trigonometrical survey has extended its operations to the north-western limit of the British territory?—I cannot state that. This survey is not in my department.

8089. *Mr. Hume.*] Does that expense include all the establishment employed in the survey?—Yes, it includes the entire expense of the survey. The last land revenue settlement of the North-western Provinces, which came to a close about 1842, was founded upon a scientific survey of the whole country. This cost the Government 23,56,555 rupees, and provided an accurate map of every village in the whole tract of more than 70,000 square miles. It was the founda-

tion

tion of a complete system of registration of the rights in land. The maintenance of that registration requires constant reference to the survey maps, and an acquaintance with both the English and native modes of survey.

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8090. Will you prepare a statement to show to what extent the same system which you have now stated to be in existence in the North-western Provinces has been carried in other parts of India?—I will. I now come to the head of "Superintendence." In all the proceedings relating to public works the deficiency of engineer officers is prominently brought forward. The Company's engineer officers are perhaps as efficient a body of men as any in the world, and their number has been increased, but the demand for their services has outstripped the increase of their numbers. The Roorkee College in the North-western Provinces was instituted for the training of civil engineers, and promises very satisfactory results, but is still in its infancy; Mr. Thomason says, "The Government has not the same superintendence at command that it had; officers are procured with the greatest possible difficulty from the army. Roorkee College will, I trust, materially aid in developing engineering talent in the army, and in fostering it out of the army; but Roorkee College is only just commencing its operations, and some time must elapse before it can come into full operation. The Roorkee workshops are well calculated to improve our local resources." He then gives some description of Roorkee College.

8091. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Can you inform the Committee whether any similar institutions have been founded in any other part of the British dominions in India?—Not exactly like that; one is in contemplation in Bombay, and some progress has been made towards it.

8092. Is it attached to the Elphinstone College?—I think so; I am not quite certain. A professor of civil engineering went out to that college to lecture and to teach engineering practically to the young men; I think there is still a class of that kind, but the students could not get employment after they were educated; the Government could not guarantee them employment; and therefore it was discouraged, and it is not now in a flourishing state.

8093. Is there no institution of this kind either in Bengal or Madras?—I know it has been talked of in all the Presidencies, but it has not been properly carried out. I can lay before the Committee a memorandum showing how far institutions similar to Roorkee College have been proposed. Mr. Thomason says, "At Roorkee now every nerve is strained to complete the Ganges Canal and bring it into operation, so as on the earliest opportunity to obtain some return for the heavy outlay which has been incurred. To this primary object all others must give way, and I even begrudge the diversion occasioned by the simultaneous erection of the college buildings; some time, therefore, must elapse before we can fully devote our attention to the highly important object of developing the resources of the country otherwise than is indispensable for the progress of our own works." I think I have now given an outline of the main public works in India.

8094. Mr. *Hume*.] Will you prepare a statement showing what progress has been made in works of irrigation and roads in Kutch, Scinde, and the newly acquired districts?—Yes.

8095. Mr. *Elliot*.] The cost of certain works of embankment is charged to the zemindars in Bengal, is not it?—Embankments of certain kinds; some are maintained by the Government, and looked after by the Government officers. The charge of some was included as a portion of the permanent settlement; the zemindars bound themselves to maintain certain embankments.

8096. There are a considerable number beyond those which they are bound to maintain?—Yes; there are a considerable number in charge of the Government.

8097. Has any estimate ever been given of that description of work?—We can give an account of the expenditure of the Government, not of the expenditure of the zemindars. Upon that subject to which the Honourable Member has alluded I have here a memorandum. The embankments of the great rivers of Bengal had the effect which is universal in such cases, and of which the Po is so striking an example, of silting up the bed of the river, and the land within the embankments, and leaving the protected land beyond them at its ancient level. A breach in the embankment caused therefore a more destructive inundation than would have been experienced if they had never existed, for the silting up under every inundation would have been equal over the whole of the flooded

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flooded space, and rather deepest in the most remote and stillest portions of the expanded water. A committee of inquiry, reporting on the question, 15th September 1846, "proposed a return, to that state of nature which, in their opinion, ought never to have been departed from. The proposal," they added, "simply amounts to a system of drainage for one of embankments, or in other words, reversing the present system, and instead of raising embankments to clear out old channels, and thus to allow free ingress and egress of those high and destructive inundations, called 'burka bauns,' to and from the interior of the country, that after spreading uniformly the waters be allowed a ready return into the rivers on their subsidence."

8098. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Are you aware whether the Government have taken any measures in consequence of the suggestions of that Committee?—I do not think they have.

8099. Chairman.] Have you anything further to state to the Committee?—I have already alluded to a letter just received, dated 6 May 1853, respecting some additional canals, which will be seen at once by reference to the plan. The following is the letter: "We beg to lay before your Honourable Court copies of the papers noted in the margin, relative to a plan submitted by the Government of Bengal for the improvement of the navigation of the two canals connecting the river at Calcutta with the Soonderbuns. The cost of the work is roughly estimated at 3,50,000 rupees, but considering that the canals are quite inadequate to the large and increasing amount of traffic constantly passing through them, and that Government has already derived considerable profit from them, we have sanctioned the carrying out of the proposed scheme, subject to the confirmation of your Honourable Court." I have a paper here which I should like to put in; it is a minute by Sir Charles Metcalfe, in 1829, in which he says that he does not agree with persons who think that the roads in existence in the central part of India are not good enough for all the purposes for which they were required. The same opinion has been expressed in Madras, and there was a similar opinion in Bombay; so that it is only of late years that the great necessity for roads, and for great exertion to make them good, has been apparent to the authorities in India. (*The same was put in.*) A good deal has been said about the roads in Broach, which is one of the principal cotton districts. I have some papers here which show the great difficulty of making roads there. This is a report to the superintending engineer, from Mr. Davies, the collector, dated October 1850: "Intersected in all directions as the Broach district is with rough though practicable roads, there nevertheless occur formidable obstacles to intercourse and traffic, where the highway is found, through lapse of time, to have sunk so low between high banks as to leave no room for carts to pass each other at the bottom; these sunken roads are usually found where creeks or nullas interrupt the line of communication, and in seeking the lower level to cross these no care has been taken to preserve a sufficient width of way, and unless the drivers of carts are sufficiently vigilant (which is not always the case) to ascertain that the lane is open to them throughout before entering it, they are compelled to unyoke their cattle, turn their carts round on a pivot, as they best can manage, and find their way back again. Not unfrequently the encounters that take place in these narrow lanes lead to hours of useless altercation before either party gives way; and where strings of many heavily-laden vehicles approach from opposite directions, the evil is, as may be easily imagined, greatly aggravated. It is most desirable that a remedy should be early applied to so great a nuisance. I am now engaged in widening all the public approaches to the town of Broach, cutting down banks, filling in ruts, and opening the roads to an average width of about 16 feet. These are, in fact, the only measures of improvement the Broach roads are susceptible of receiving."

vide Appendix.

8100. Has the work which is there pointed out as being necessary been continued up to the present time?—I believe so. A return has been ordered of all public works since 1834. Before the formation of the Military Board there was not a sufficient record kept of the public works to enable a return to be made. The Government of India in 1840 collected all the information they could upon the principal matters for an antecedent period; but it is only an imperfect statement. I have it here, if the Committee wish to see it. I may say that some works have been carried out in the Marine department; for instance,

instance, a dockyard and a factory at Bombay. As it has been stated that the Court of Directors is indifferent to works of public improvement; I wish to point out what they did in respect to steam navigation a few years ago, when the public attention was directed to that point. The first great movement in the way of public improvement at all was made by Lord William Bentinck; he was very anxious to carry out good roads, canals, and works of irrigation; to establish steam navigation between India and England, and upon the Ganges, and the great Indian rivers. Those were all things he had at heart, and he did a great deal in respect to them all. In the year 1829 he sent home Captain Johnson on a deputation to get steam vessels made for the Ganges. Captain Johnson studied the matter very attentively, and was of opinion that nothing would be of sufficiently shallow draught except iron boats. His proposals were adopted by the Court, and the first iron steam-boat which turned wheels on the Thames was a vessel called "The Lord William Bentinck." Four of those boats were sent out to India, with four accommodation boats. The East India Company took the lead in making iron boats, which were considered a novelty then. The next thing was the establishment of steam communication between England and India. "The Enterprise" had made the voyage out partly under steam and partly under sail, the voyage being a very long one. It was considered very doubtful whether it would be possible to make a complete steam voyage to India, in consequence of the great distance that there must be between some of the stations. The East India Company however tried that experiment, and sent out the "Atalanta," and the "Berenice," having established coal depôts at different points, some of which were 2,400 miles apart. No steam voyage of that length had ever been accomplished in one run; the "Atalanta" and the "Berenice" made their runs from station to station without a single failure of fuel; and the length of time they took in steaming the distance was about 63 or 64 days. The result showed that a steam voyage could be made to Calcutta, by changing the vessels at the stations, in about 60 days. It is very probable that the Cape of Good Hope line would have been adopted to Calcutta, had it not been that the transactions in the West of India gave so much greater importance to Bombay, as the point of immediate communication. The next step was in the year 1837, when it was determined to establish steam communication by way of Bombay. There were not vessels enough for the purpose to do it in the way proposed; the East India Company bought the most powerful vessel then afloat, of 300-horse power, and 750 tons burthen; those engines were then considered very stupendous; nothing like them was in existence at the moment. They took an opportunity of trying the experiment of making a straight line against the south-east trade wind; they sent coals to St. Helena, and other stations, having changed the name of the vessel to "Semiramis," and directed Captain Brucks, of the Indian navy, who had the command of her, to try his utmost to draw a straight line on the chart from St. Helena to the Cape: he said he would do it or go to the bottom of the sea: he did it. That line was never drawn before, and I believe it has not been since. That vessel accomplished her steaming from station to station without any deficiency of fuel; so that there are three completely successful experiments in which the East India Company took the lead. Afterwards they placed many steam vessels on the Indus; they placed the first that was ever there, and a great many others. At the time of the China war there were four vessels constructed, which were sent to China, which were of an entirely new character, the "Nemesis," the "Phlegethon," the "Proserpine," and the "Pluto;" they were constructed as perfectly safe sea boats, to go round the Cape of Good Hope, and also of such a draught of water as to go up the Indian rivers; they would go round the Cape of Good Hope, drawing about four feet nine, and they could reduce that draught to three feet six, to go up any river that would bear a vessel of that draught; the consequence of which was, that when the "Nemesis" got to China, where there had been no possibility of getting up the back water to Canton, the "Nemesis" went up like a boat; when the fleet got into deep water at Nankin, the "Nemesis" landed the troops like a boat; she took 1,000 men on her own deck, and she took about 1,500 more in tow in small boats; she landed the men over her own bow upon the beach by a gangway, and succeeded in landing between 2,000 and 3,000 men in a manner in which it never could have been done by a vessel not of that description. The "Proserpine" pre-

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viously and subsequently went to Ava, where the whole of the four vessels are at present employed. After the close of the China war, when there was a great deal of piracy in the Indian Archipelago, those vessels were all employed to put it down, and they have been employed in that or similar services ever since their first construction to the present time, more than 12 years, and they are still perfectly efficient; they have been placed in positions of extreme peril, in which any other vessel in the world would have been lost; they were divided into 10, or 11, or 12 water-tight compartments; they have struck upon rocks and knocked great holes in their bottoms, and let the water sometimes into one, sometimes into two compartments at a time, but they have been floated off by means of their own floating power from the bulkheads that remained; there are no other vessels like them in the world. This was another great experiment tried by the East India Company, and most successfully executed. I mention this to show that a body which has done thus cannot be considered as indifferent to works of public improvement or works of public enterprise. I wish also to refer to the marine surveys of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the coast, which have been undertaken by officers of the Indian navy; and also I have here some beautiful surveys of Nineveh and Nimrod, which have been made and brought home by Captain Jones, which I produce, as showing the kind of work which has been done by the Company's officers. For the same purpose, I wish to lay on the table of the Committee the work of Captain Baird Smith, on the Irrigation of Northern Italy, which he was deputed to investigate and report on by the Court of Directors.

8101. Have you any report to produce of the marine works which have been executed at Bombay?—Yes; I will put in a paper with respect to them.

(The same was put in, and is as follows:)

PUBLIC WORKS in the Marine Department in *India* sanctioned by the Court of Directors, and completed by the Indian Government.

AT MADRAS.

Survey of the Gulf of Manaar and Coast of Ceylon.—This important work has been completed, though but lately, having been commenced many years since. The sum expended has been 2,46,255 rupees (24,600 *l.*), of which 53,174 rupees (5,000 *l.*) will be a charge upon Her Majesty's Government in respect of that portion of the work applicable to Ceylon.

Pamboun Passage.—Widening and deepening the channel so as to admit vessels of larger tonnage (about 150 tons), drawing about 10 feet water, to pass through. The work was begun about 1840, and has been lately completed. Independent of the cost of providing a steam-engine and machinery as a dredge to be fitted to a vessel at Madras, the Government have expended at least the sum of 1,13,000 rupees (11,300 *l.*)

AT BOMBAY.

In 1839 a steam factory and foundry was established for the manufacture and repair of steam-engines and machinery.

Cost of Machinery	- - - - -	£.	13,878
Buildings	- - - - -		24,000
TOTAL	- - - - -	£.	37,878

In 1839-40, to meet the increased demands of the service, the Bombay Docks were altered and widened, the dockyard premises were enlarged, and sanction was given to the construction of three slips for building ships of the first class for the Company's service, and also for the Royal Navy; the cost of these works may be taken at 3,10,120 rupees (31,000 *l.*)

It has been proposed to construct a wet dock or basin, with coffer-dam, &c., preparations for which have already been made at considerable cost; the whole expense will probably amount to 1,30,000 rupees (13,000 *l.*)

8102. *Chairman.*] Is there any further remark which you wish to make?—With respect to the land revenue system of the North-western Provinces, the village system, which is now generally considered, I believe, the best system of revenue

revenue administration, is well described in a very excellent minute of the Lieutenant-governor, on joint and separate responsibility in co-parcenary mehlas, which I beg to put in.—(*The same was delivered in.*)

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8103. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Are there any other works, such as railways, upon which you have any observations to offer to the Committee?—There is a letter and minute from the Governor-General, which has been just received, in which he proposes to make a line of railway to Peshawur, and to make a great triangular system of railway to connect the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay with Calcutta. He proposes to do this by a single line in the first instance, but to secure a foundation for a double one. One point I wish to speak on is this. He seems to have exceeding difficulty in finding his way up to the table land above the Ghauts. He discusses all the proposed modes by the Ghauts, and he rejects them all. He seems to think it practicable to find the way round by Baroda and Neemuch to get to the table land; he does not point out the line he proposes to make, but leaves that for consideration. There are a good many projects for carrying roads from Bombay up the Ghauts, but if a railway can find its way to the table land, it will be very desirable that district roads should be made to bear upon it, instead of having a great many minor roads constructed at great expense up the Ghauts, which will be of no use after the railway is made.

8104. Have you any other observations to make upon that subject?—I have not.

8105. Does the Governor-General propose to begin that work immediately?—Yes.

8106. Does he give an estimate of what the amount will be?—Yes; which I think is very low. I am inclined to think that the ultimate cost of railways has been under-estimated. There is not only their first construction, but there will be a great deal to be re-made.

8107. *Chairman.*] A previous witness has said that in the present state of India, the construction of tramways would be preferable to the construction of railways worked by locomotive engines; and that they would answer all the purposes of the transport of merchandise. Have you any opinion which you would like to express upon that subject?—I should be very much inclined to agree with that witness. The great trunk road might be made very available for a tramway. There would be less rapidity, but I think quite equal efficiency, and much less cost. I should be very favourable indeed to the construction of tramways.

8108. Mr. *Hume.*] Do you contemplate their being of iron?—They can be made of any strong materials; the Romans made a great many tramroads, and they made them of stone.

8109. *Chairman.*] Will you explain to the Committee, when a public work has been sanctioned by the Government at home and in India, what steps are taken to carry it into effect?—It is given to the officers of the department to which the work belongs, to be carried out. When a work is sanctioned, the Military Board would be one of the instruments of sending it on. The mole and road at Kurrachee was referred for the Court's sanction, and the sanction was given. In the first instance some questions were asked. There were some doubts upon points which the Court wished solved. Those questions were answered very satisfactorily, and then they sent out the sanction, and the sanction was immediately sent by the Government, through the Military Board, to the officers on the spot to carry out the work. That is what is always done; when a work is referred for sanction and the sanction is given, it is sent on without any further delay, unless the Government have some new light on the matter.

8110. You have stated that some works have been suspended or postponed, on account of doubts as to their eligibility. Have there been any works postponed on account of the want of money?—Some have been postponed on account of doubts as to their practicability or eligibility, and they have been reserved for further consideration. I do not think any have been postponed for want of money, except the bridges on the Soane and the Jumna; those bridges have been suspended partly from the want of money.

8111. You stated that there was some difficulty felt in obtaining the service of engineer officers?—Yes; a great many engineer officers have been taken off by the war.

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8112. Has that been from the want of a sufficient number, or was it on account of the inefficiency of the engineer officers?—The want of a sufficient number. The Company's engineer officers are very efficient. Mr. Thomason's letter, dated 5 March 1853, from which I have read an extract, will show how that matter stands. In a subsequent part he says, "Government has its hands full with projects now in course of execution, and there are hundreds of others in embryo. If we can throw off on others part of the burthen, we will not work the less hard, but we will so dispose our means as to effect much more. For myself, I am always ready to do my utmost, as the Government may require, but I feel that I am drawing towards the close of my course, and I should not enter on a new undertaking with the spirit I once had, nor with the same hope of seeing the work to a successful termination. The progress of improvement in our old territories is greatly impeded by the constant acquisition of new countries. During the last 10 years we have had to put forth all our strength to meet new emergencies in Scinde, in the Punjaub, and now in Pegu. This, of course, cripples our means of improvement in our old provinces. Generally speaking, the best men must go to the front. I am only astonished that we have been able to go on so well as has been the case."

8113. Have you any statement with regard to works which have been undertaken for the improvement and building of barracks, and if so, will you hand it in?—I will hand it in.—(*The same was put in.*)

Vide Appendix.

8114. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Have any public buildings of a useful nature, for the purposes of education, or otherwise, been constructed at the Presidency towns of late years?—Yes, at all of them I think; I will prepare and give in a statement of them.

8115. Mr. Hume.] It has been stated to the Committee, by a previous witness, that the boats which were employed by the Company on the Ganges for commercial communications have been taken away, and that great inconvenience has been suffered by the merchants in consequence; are you aware whether that has happened?—I am aware that some of them have been taken away for service in Ava.

8116. Does the Company continue the means of conveying goods to Allahabad?—To a certain extent; they have only removed some of the boats; they have not removed them all.

8117. You do not know to what extent the inconvenience has arisen?—I do not. There were some private companies formed for the commercial navigation of the Ganges, and also for employing tug-boats on the Hooghley, but they do not seem to have prospered. They seemed to think that the Company was deriving a great degree of profit from its boats; and therefore private companies were formed to compete with them. An order was given to the Government never to undersell the private companies; nevertheless, I believe they have not prospered.

8118. Then it is not a fact that the Government have undertraded in that respect?—I believe it is not at all the fact.

8119. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Under the head of public buildings, in the Presidency towns, have you any information to give to the Committee respecting the mint at Calcutta?—The mint at Calcutta was not in my department. Some information respecting it will be found in the minute of Sir Charles Metcalfe, in which he speaks of it as an enormous expense, which ought never to have been incurred. He was not a great advocate for extensive expenditure on public works. I know that Colonel Forbes, then Captain Forbes, came home a good many years ago to obtain machinery for the mint, and to study the means of using it at the Royal Mint here. The machinery was prepared, and Colonel Forbes went out taking with him the means of setting it up and working it. It has been worked very successfully and efficiently; and not long ago Colonel Forbes was sent for from India to be a member of a committee of inquiry here on the subject.

8120. Among the public works which you have stated, I did not observe that you have mentioned any in the newly acquired Eastern territory?—I have not much information on that subject at the present moment; my object, in the evidence I have given, has been to point out some of the principal works, and to show the spirit with which they have been carried out.

8121. Mr. Hardinge.] Do you know whether round the new barracks which have been built the Government has constructed outer verandahs?—I think they

they have; on that subject I maye merits there has been a continued and would have called addition to the new barracks and expenditure in adding to the barracks at old stations, to provide design ed strength of regiments, in improving barracks by adding to the be occup; by increasing the accommodation for married men; by adding it , plunging-baths, and washing-houses, and by enlargements and imprus ts in hospitals.

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8122. *Chairman.*] Have you any objection to make on any other subject connected with public works?—No. I wish, however, to make an observation upon what I heard said the other day about the circumstance of the ryots not being allowed the benefit of their own improvements being a great blot upon the revenue system of Madras. I wish to say that the ryots are allowed the benefit of their own improvements; very peremptory orders to that effect were given long ago, which were reiterated in the year 1852; they are to have the full benefit of their improvements, and are not to be charged for them in any way; this was not done for the first time in 1852; the order then was only explanatory of what had been done many years before. With respect to the salt monopoly, I wish to say a single word; what is called the salt monopoly proper, is that which belongs to the salt agency system of Bengal; the limits within which that monopoly acts are as nearly as possible the limits of the permanent settlement, where it is not possible to impose any new tax; therefore there is a peculiar justification for the salt monopoly tax of Bengal Proper, as distinguished from the salt-tax anywhere else. In other territories where we can increase the land revenue when we make new settlements, or where we can impose new taxes bearing upon agricultural produce, there may be a question about the policy of keeping the tax at its present amount, or retaining it at all; but within the limits of the permanent settlement nothing can be substituted for the salt-tax; and as the zemindars, to whom all the rights of the ryots have passed away *sub silentio*, get all they can out of their ryots, the remission of the salt-tax would be a benefit to the zemindar and not to the ryot.

8123. *Mr. Hume.*] Do you mean that the zemindars would exact more from the ryots in consequence of the removal of the salt-tax?—Yes. I wish to add that it was shown before the Committee of 1836 that the salt-tax and the land-tax of Bengal put together are less than the land-tax alone anywhere else. There is another point on this subject which has been mentioned, namely, the giving up the salt agency system, the manufacture of salt on account of the Government, and having a free manufacture subject to an excise. There are some objections to that. The Government salt agency system is its own excise, as it were. It prevents the illicit manufacture of salt by the very same agency which looks after the manufacture. The Government advances money to the molunghees who make the salt, charging them no interest upon those advances, but receiving back a certain quantity of salt for the money they advance. The Government duty of 2½ rupees per maund is all the profit which the Government derive; they derive no commercial benefit. If there were a free manufacture there must be a profit to the employers of the molunghees; the molunghees would not get the same advantage of advances without interest which they now do from the Government. It would be absolutely necessary to fix upon certain points at which alone the manufacture should be carried on; therefore there would be an additional expense to the Government in carrying on the excise system, without any corresponding benefit, or without any benefit at all, to the manufacturers of salt, but rather a detriment to them.

8124. Do you know how the excise on salt is carried on at Bombay?—I do not know exactly how they manage it at Bombay; but they are there in very different circumstances. They have not that vast extent of territory for making salt which there is in Bengal.

8125. Are you able to state what the effect would be if the manufacture were put an end to altogether, and the whole supply of India depended upon importation?—The effect would be, that as long as freights were exceedingly low, it is very probable that there would be an abundant supply, but a very small rise of freight would leave India without any salt at all.

8126. In such a case, would not there be likely to be a great deal of smuggling?—No doubt there would; there must be a great establishment kept up to prevent smuggling and to prevent manufacturing.

8127. Whatever change takes place in the admission of salt, the excise must be kept up, to prevent smuggling and manufacturing?—Yes.

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8128. *Chairman.*] YOU have been occupied with public works in India, have you not?—Yes.

8129. When were you so occupied?—I began in 1842, and in 1844 I had so far advanced the investigations, by my private efforts, that the company, which afterwards took the name of the Great India Peninsular Railway Company, or at least the provisional committee was then formed. In that year, previously to the formation of the company, I obtained access to the records of the East India Company, and spent a considerable time in examining them, with a view to the formation of my plans. In the latter end of 1845 I was sent to Bombay to complete the investigations there; I spent some months in the interior, and I then came back to Bombay and spent there the rest of the 12 months that I was out; I returned to England in November 1846. My reports were republished in England, having been previously published in Bombay and transmitted to the Government there. Negotiations were resumed with the East India Company, but nothing was done till late in 1849, when the arrangements were made, and from that time I have had nothing to do with the company but to obtain my own settlement with them.

8130. Will you state to the Committee your opinion as to the extent to which public works have been carried in India compared with the wants of the community?—I should apprehend, from all I saw and all I can learn, that the public works of India are very small indeed in proportion to the wants of the community.

8131. What course would you recommend to be taken to meet that deficiency?—That the freest course should be given to private enterprise, and that private capital should be suffered to find its own way.

8132. Would you recommend that the Government should not undertake public works?—I do not say that under no circumstances should the Government undertake public works; but the principle of Government interference I do not think a sound one, nor one to be relied on.

8133. Will you state what course you think ought to be pursued?—The way in which I would put it is this: there are two classes of public works, works of transit and works of production; I think the works of transit should be made first, generally speaking, and that considerable mistakes are often made with respect to the importance of works of production; for example, irrigation. If works of irrigation are made before there are works of transit to carry away the produce, I conceive you do nothing but accumulate the produce upon a spot where it is not wanted; and some very remarkable instances of that kind have taken place. I think works of transit are those which are first wanted, and those, I think, should be made by private companies, and not by the Government.

8134. Without any assistance from the Government?—I think, generally speaking, the assistance of the Government has been accompanied, and, I fear, must be accompanied, with conditions which hinder the great extension of public works much more than they can advance it; that was my own impression from the beginning, and I think events have shown that I was right.

8135. Are there sufficient means in India to carry the public works which are most necessary into effect, without any assistance or guarantee on the part of the Government?—There are not means in India. I take India to be a very poor country, and as not having anything like sufficient means to carry out its own public works.

8136. To what resources would you have recourse?—I believe you must come to England for capital, as a great part of the world does.

8137. Has not it been shown that English capitalists will not embark in those works without the guarantee of the Government?—I believe it was said so; and it was said so so frequently and so strongly as to produce that impression, but I do not believe that there was any reason for it. As I was very much concerned in these affairs at the time, perhaps the Committee will allow me to state that in 1844 and 1845 the Bombay Company was considerably ahead of the Bengal Company. The letter which commenced the proceedings with the Court in respect of the works in Bombay was a month earlier than the address by the parties who were concerned in the Bengal works. At that time my own conviction was, and I believe the circumstances fully warranted it, that if we had

had gone to the public upon the merits of our own design, and under the circumstances of that time, we should have had no want of capital. But the parties concerned in the Bengal designs went upon a very different footing; they assumed at once that it would be better to get the Government guarantee, and they said strongly, everywhere, it was impossible to obtain capital without it. The fact of their having any plans of their own they said very little about; and the consequence was, that the impression was made upon the public mind that it would be utterly unsafe to go into Indian works without a Government guarantee. I believe it was entirely from that circumstance that we failed at that time in getting the necessary capital. The plan which I proposed, and which for a time was acted on, though it was afterwards abandoned, was to carry on our affairs ourselves, make our investigations, deduce our conclusions, provide our own evidence, and go to work upon the strength of our own merits. But the other company, which was by far the strongest company in the city, took the other plan, and public opinion went along with them, for they had the means of influencing it. At that time, and ever since, I have seen English capital going in large masses to other countries, where I am sure there is no better prospect of profit, where I do not believe there is any greater security, and where I feel satisfied the public objects to be accomplished, either with respect to English or Indian interests, are not to be compared with those which these designs would accomplish; and yet we are told that English capital will not go to India without a Government guarantee; I attribute that entirely to the mistake which I have alluded to, which was made at the beginning of our enterprise.

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8138. Under existing circumstances, would you recommend that the Government of India should not advance any money for public works, nor give any guarantee to public works undertaken by private enterprise?—I do not mean to say that, situated as the whole country is, that should never be done. I have pointed out what I think would be the sound principle to be worked towards, if I may say so. I apprehend that it would be possible to make arrangements which should offer less difficulty, and produce less obstruction than exists at present to the extension of public works, if they should be, in some sense, associated with the Government. Supposing, for instance, a company were to make a certain length of railroad, as part of their general design, and then the Government were to consent to guarantee a certain sum for the execution of the next works, that is, a sum which they themselves may judge to be proportionate to the amount which has been properly expended upon the line already made, leaving the detail much more freely to the execution of the private company themselves than is now the case. At present there is a 5 per cent. guarantee given to the shareholders, which acts as an effectual quietus to them; they care nothing at all about how fast or how slowly the works go on; they have their 5 per cent. without any difficulty; there is no inducement to any party to extend such works beyond what may arise from a general wish to see them extended.

8139. Evidence has been given to the Committee that it would be more desirable to carry into effect the extension of tramroads worked without locomotive engines, than railroads with locomotive engines; what is your opinion upon that subject?—I do not think there is a universal road, any more than there is a universal ship, or a universal engine of any sort. Where the traffic is large, and the earth-works must necessarily be great in order to obtain any good levels, you had better go to a little more expense and make it a railroad; where the country is level, and the traffic approaches to, but is not above a certain amount, you may then find it advantageous to construct a tramway; but, generally speaking, I apprehend those last mentioned cases are very few, and nothing between a railway and a common road is in most cases eligible. I do not mean to say that no case can be found in which a tramway would be advantageous; but a general system of tramways, I apprehend, is not to be depended on. If the traffic is large, the cost of the earth-works necessary to bring down the roads to a level, which would make a tramroad of any value, would be so large in proportion to the whole cost of the railway, that you had better go on and lay down rails for locomotive engines also; but in other cases the figures might not so turn out. It is entirely a question between the amount to be annually realized for carriage, and the capital to be laid out upon the works; in one case it may turn out in one way, and in another case in another way.

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8140. You stated that you thought the first and most important object was to carry out works of transit?—I think so.

8141. With regard to works to improve and increase the production of the country, is it your opinion that those should also be carried into effect by private enterprise?—Yes; I think so. I think it is impossible for the Government to pay anything like the necessary amount of attention to them, and it is also impossible for the Government to see where they will pay, and where they will not. If such works are to wait till so clear a case can be made out in every instance as that it shall force itself upon the attention of the Government, notwithstanding everything else they have to do, I apprehend you may wait very long before you will have anything like a sufficiently extensive system of works of production executed; but if you devise terms by which people can be induced to lay out their private capital in the promotion of those works, you will find them springing up all over the country. But, as I said before, there must be works of transit first to carry off the produce.

8142. Will you explain to the Committee what you mean by devising terms?—Irrigated lands, as far as I have been able to observe, yield about three times the tax, employ about twice the labour, and produce several times the profit of an equal area of dry land. Out of three times the tax, and several times the profit, it is quite clear there are funds to pay, generally speaking, for the construction of the works necessary to produce the irrigation. I apprehend that if the Government, on the one hand, has a claim to a larger tax, and the owner, on the other, has an opportunity of obtaining a larger profit, it would be possible to make arrangements by which the rights to the increased tax, and the rights to the increased profit should be so leased out to those who would find the capital and labour necessary for the construction of the work as to induce parties to go into it. Supposing, instead of irrigating land it were a proposal for supplying water to a town, there would be no difficulty then in assigning the terms of a water rate; nor do I apprehend there would be any great difficulty in assigning the terms of an irrigation rate; only there would be this difference, that it would be a matter of option with the parties whether they took the water or not, upon the terms assigned.

8143. You mean that for any improvement an additional sum, in the form of a rate or a tax, might be levied?—Yes; a rate or tax, or an agreed price. There are funds to be created as the effect of the work, and therefore there must be, in some way or other, the means of bringing the various interests together.

8144. Therefore you think the permanent settlement would not interfere with such a mode of raising the revenue?—If the permanent settlement did interfere with such a mode of raising the revenue, I should say it was a proof of an error in the principle of the settlement, and such an error as should be set right, for other reasons than that.

8145. With such inducements, as you say exist, to expend capital in carrying out works of public improvement in India, what are the obstacles which have hitherto prevented capital being so applied?—There have been obstacles in England and some in India; I will mention those which I myself have met with. The first difficulty which arose in the prosecution of the design of the Great India Peninsular Railway was one arising from the change in the English law, which I dare say was not intended to produce any such effect. While preliminary arrangements were being made here, the Joint Stock Companies Registration Act was passed in England, which reduced the deposits which might lawfully be taken to five per cent.; previous to that time it was proposed to take 50*s.* deposit on each share. If that had been taken, there would have been funds enough in hand to carry the railway as far as it is at present carried; the works would have been as forward in 1848 or 1849 as they are now; but that law was passed which made it impossible to take more than 5*s.* instead of 50*s.*, and those funds were barely sufficient to pay for the surveys in India, and keep the company alive till 1849, when the terms were made. That was one difficulty arising out of the state of the English law.

8146. Sir C. Wood.] That applied to all railways, did not it?—The law applies to this country, and I believe was never intended to apply to Indian railways. At first there was a doubt whether the law did apply to them or not, but it was decided eventually that it did, and it very much crippled our operations; if it had been otherwise, I believe the Bombay Railway would

would have been four years more forward than it is. I mention that as showing that incidentally, without any design, changes in the law in England may interfere with works in India. The next difficulty was this: So long as it was a matter which required only information and general concurrence, every facility was given by the Indian authorities; but the moment it came to action it appeared that there were differences of opinion among the Indian authorities, and it took a very long time to get rid of those differences. I apprehend that all the time, from the beginning of 1847 when I returned, to 1849, was lost by that circumstance chiefly; by references to Calcutta, and differences of opinion whether there should be railways in all the Presidencies, or only in one; whether there should be experimental lines, and so on. The frequent references to Calcutta much discourages Indian enterprise in England; people who can find plenty besides to employ themselves upon will not wait the result. So also the tendency to centralisation at Calcutta, in India leads to the same discouragement; besides that, serious errors may easily be committed at Calcutta in industrial questions, for want of local knowledge. There is another difficulty which I found a very considerable one. I do not wish here to complain of it, but I only mention it as a fact coming within my own knowledge, since these matters rested very much with myself during the very discouraging times from the panic in 1847, during 1848, and a great part of 1849. The practice at the India House and the Board of Control is such, that I found it impossible to get any subject discussed, or at least to get it completely and sufficiently discussed. I found a great deal of personal courtesy and individual assistance. There was not an officer at home whom I applied to, nor an officer in India, from the Governor down to the lowest of all, who did not give me every possible assistance; but when it came to a matter of decision as to what should be actually done, I could not find any existing arrangement which gave me the opportunity of laying the subject before the gentlemen, whoever they were to be, who would have to decide the question, in such a manner and with such facilities as would lead to any decision, or at any rate to any satisfactory decision. I saw first one, and then another, but I never could make out what the obstacles were which obstructed us, nor where I could make my representations in such a way as to meet the difficulties which appeared to exist. Another difficulty was this: these works required not only the concurrence of the authorities, but that also of other parties, particularly capitalists in the manufacturing districts; but such I found to be the general want of knowledge of Indian affairs here, on the part of capitalists and manufacturers, and members of the press, that there was no moving any one; in fact, so long as there was anything else to be attended to, it was almost impossible to get Indian affairs listened to at all, let them be as important as they might; and I believe they are more important to English interests than is generally believed; it was impossible to get anybody to take the interest in them which was necessary, in order to carry out considerable public works. Things have mended considerably since then; but I think the degree of attention given to the industrial progress of India is not yet what it ought to be. Great attention is now bestowed on the political aspects of Indian affairs, but I do not think that that is the chief way to elevate India. Since there was this want of interest in Indian affairs in England, it seemed that that difficulty was most likely to be got over by drawing the attention of parties in the manufacturing districts to the subject, theirs being the interests which were more particularly to be benefited; for example, the cotton manufacturers. It did appear at one time that if they could have been induced to take a strong pecuniary interest in Indian public works, they would not only have benefited themselves very much, but have promoted important public objects also. The failure of the American cotton crop in 1846 cost Lancashire 4,000,000 £ sterling more than they would otherwise have paid for the cotton itself; and I was told that it cost 4,000,000 £ more besides that, in the loss of employment and poor-rates; so that the failure of a single crop cost Lancashire 8,000,000 of money. Now, as it could be pretty clearly proved that the execution of certain works in India would effectually secure them against the recurrence of such a disaster as that, we might have supposed that they would have gone into them with earnestness. Instead of that, I found that there was no such thing as inducing them to go into Indian public works; and the difficulty, I conceive, arises from this: instead of taking that view which, to me, appears to be the

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true one, that the political elevation of India is to be effected by means of its industrial and social elevation, they inverted that course, and supposed that political faults of our own Government were the cause of the social and industrial debasement of India. The natural consequence of that being their view was, that they said, "No; till these political matters are set to rights, we will have nothing to do with carrying out works in India." I think that was an entire error, and I mention it as a difficulty arising from the want of information on Indian subjects in England.

8147. *Chairman.*] Is there any statement which you wish to make to the Committee as to the means of correcting that state of things?—In what I am saying I am not speaking of the works which peculiarly belong to the Government, such as barracks or Government buildings; I conceive if public works generally are to be extended with any effect, and the Government is to have anything to do with them beyond affording them its protection, investigating carefully all the rights which arise out of such enterprizes, and protecting each, and being a fair and unprejudiced arbitrator among all rights; if the Government is to go beyond that, which I think to be its proper province, the arrangements should be such as to leave much more of responsibility and much more freedom as to detail in the hands of the companies than is left at present; but if it were practicable in any way to call into existence or to suffer to come into existence private companies, with which the Government should have nothing to do, except as they would have to do with all other persons, whether they built a ship or a house, or anything else, you would have 10 or even 100 times as much done in the way of carrying out important works in India as you have now that the Government has almost everything to do with them; supposing that principle for a moment be admitted, I think it would require that the joint-stock companies for the purpose should be of a somewhat improved constitution. And here I think is one of the difficulties which the English law has put in the way of Indian public works; the English law, I believe, does not permit, or at all events does not encourage, the constitution of joint-stock companies upon anything like the principle of French partnership *en commandite*. I think we have stumbled by accident on something like the best form of company for the purpose in the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, in which there is a sort of inner proprietary much more deeply interested than the outer and more general proprietary, and I conceive a joint stock company with a constitution of some such kind would carry Indian works into effect much better than one in which all the proprietors stand upon a level, and choose directors in the ordinary way; I do not trouble the Committee with the details of any such plan as that; I only throw out the suggestion, and I think it is one which is necessary to be considered in promoting Indian public works.

8148. What do you mean by an inner and an outer proprietary?—That there should be a body of shareholders having no right to interfere so long as they receive a certain dividend, and have proof that the capital is not diminished; and that, at the same time, there should be an inner proprietary, much smaller in number, who should be much more deeply involved in the matter, and should be responsible to the Government, to the public, and to the other shareholders, but who should be at liberty to make all the profit they could beyond that. My reason for saying that that, which would be an improved constitution of a joint stock company, for many purposes, would be particularly valuable in regard to India, is this: one of the great difficulties of the case is, that people are unwilling to send their capital to India, because they do not know whom to trust there. If a constitution could be devised, by which persons could be assured that those who had the chief management of the undertaking were more deeply concerned in it, their fortunes more thoroughly involved in it, than others, that difficulty would be, to a considerable extent, removed. If we get so far as that, then I think railroads should be made wherever there is a sufficient traffic at present, and it would very often be found that there is a district ahead of that into which a railroad can at first be profitably carried. Supposing a railway would pay if 100 miles long, but the next 10 miles would not pay, you might attach the 10 miles in the non-paying district to it, which would gradually improve the country, and make that 10 miles pay, and then you might carry on the line another 10 miles, and so on; and by that means you would get railroads introduced into districts though which you would not carry

carry them otherwise. Common roads, in connexion with the railway, should be made, to be supported by a toll; and I think the case might sometimes occur which, I believe, would have occurred in connexion with the Great Indian Peninsular Railway. If my investigations were not very much in error, and I think they have been confirmed very much by subsequent inquiries, that railway would have paid from 11 to 18 per cent. per annum; and I believe that it might still be made to pay that rate. If so, then I think the common roads branching from that railroad might have been made under an arrangement with the Government out of certain extra profits to be realised by that railroad. I think that might be done in some other cases; though I believe that is the best line for a railway which can be found at present in India. Then I think village district roads might be made by clubbing villages together, making the roads in each district of villages by means of the villagers themselves, under the superintendence of officers who should exercise a general oversight over them, to see that there was fair play, but still leaving the expense very much to be borne and the operations to be managed by the villages, subject only to that supervision.

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8149. *Mr. Elliot.*] Would you make that compulsory?—Not without allowing a considerable time for it to be done voluntarily; if they were given the option of putting themselves under the provisions of a legislative Act, to be passed for the purpose, it might be done much more cheerfully than if they were compelled to do it. If there were districts interposed between others which had roads where they would not voluntarily make them, it might be right to step in eventually and say it should be done. As far as I could judge, from inquiries I made in the districts which I traversed, where I had occasion to make many observations which others had not much occasion to make, I believe neither tolls, nor such roads as those, would meet with any objection; certainly, tolls would not meet with any. The tolls on the Bhoré Ghaut are an instance of that. I made frequent inquiries of the natives themselves (for I was living near some of their wildest villages for some months), whether they would make any objection to tolls for the support of roads? I explained to them what was done in England and in other quarters by private capital, and I found universally a recognition of the fairness of the principle, and a willingness to pay the needful tolls. But if the Government were to make the roads, then I believe the people are so much in the habit of thinking that the Government ought to do everything, and that the roads ought to be made with the Government funds, that very likely they would expect the Government to keep them in repair and let them be used without any charge. Everything would depend upon the main line being first made, and then subordinate parts of the system being made to correspond with it, so that the people should feel the advantage of the whole combination. Besides, if you make the little district roads first, you do not know but that they may be thrown out of use entirely by the railroad which may be made afterwards.

8150. *Chairman.*] Would you apply the same system to works of irrigation and improvement of production?—Yes, wherever it was practicable to do so, and I think, generally speaking, it would be practicable to insure by that means as much irrigation as the country can possibly want. On the western side of India, the only part of it of which I can say anything from personal examination, works for irrigation would generally include works for lifting the water from the bed of rivers 30 or 40 feet deep; that is, you would want a steam-engine, or some power of that kind; it is not, as in some other parts of India, where works of irrigation have been constructed by damming up the rivers.

8151. How would remuneration for such works by private enterprise be obtained?—I apprehend you would have to pass Acts by which the relations between the persons supplying the water and those using it should be fixed, just in the same manner as if you were to establish a company for the supply of Calcutta or Bombay with water,

8152. A private Act must be passed?—Yes, or rather a general Act converted into a private one on its being adopted by the parties.

8153. A revenue from the land being paid to the Government out of any improvements effected by works of irrigation, those who carried such works into effect by private enterprise must receive an additional payment from the occupiers of the land?—Yes; I conceive where there is a large fund to be

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created by the application of capital and industry, there must be the means of paying for the application of those requisities, and all that is wanted is to devise an administrative machinery by which the two interests can be brought together.

8154. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] A former witness has stated his opinion to the Committee, that not only should such works as you have alluded to be carried on by the Government itself, but that also it is the duty of the Government to aid in the cultivation of cotton especially, and of all other agricultural produce by making advances to the cultivators. What is your opinion upon that subject?—First, that it would be about the greatest departure from sound principle that I can very well think of; and in the next place, the very necessity which could have led any person to form such an opinion would be got rid of by better means of communication. The condition of the ryot now, I apprehend, is made almost desperate by this circumstance, that he has only his village money-lender to go to; that village money-lender has almost a local monopoly, and he always has his hand upon the throat of the cultivator; but if the means of communication between the centres of commerce, enterprise and capital, and the agricultural districts, were made easy, speedy, cheap, frequent, and safe, you would soon find plenty of capitalists who would go into the interior, and would displace, I think, the present system of what I may, in a certain sense, call extortion.

8155. Mr. *Hume*.] Do you think there would be natives of capital to be found able to raise sufficient means to carry on the works you have mentioned?—Not native Indian capital. I think India is a poor country, and that neither by means of extra taxes, nor by means of voluntary associations, supported by natives only, would you be able to make anything like the system of public works which India requires, both for its own interest and ours.

8156. How would you carry out the plan which you suggest?—I know of no other way than that by which a mining company for South America, or gas works in a continental city, or an Italian railway, or anything else may be carried out, and often is carried out, in England.

8157. Leaving it to individuals to associate together for the purpose?—Yes.

8158. Do you think any part of Western India is prepared for that system without the assistance of the Government?—It is not so much whether I conceive that the western part of India is prepared for it, as whether English capitalists are prepared for it; I believe in the western part of India there is all that is necessary to make English capital pay when there; I have no doubt there is nearly as much peace and security on the western side of India as there is here. I may relate a circumstance which occurred to me, and which impressed me very much: I was talking with a patell in the wild Ghaut country, and asking him whether he could remember the times of the native rule; he said, "Yes; he was about 18 years old when Bajee Row was taken to Benares." "How did you get on then?" he said, "We could not go to the khind (about three miles off) except three or four in company." "How do you get on now?" he said, "You may put a purse of gold at the end of a stick and throw it over your shoulder, and go all over the country in perfect safety." The circumstance which struck me most was, that some of the descriptions of the change which took place in England in Alfred's time employ exactly the same expression.

8159. Are the Committee to understand that the security to property since the period you mention has so greatly increased, that there would be no difficulty now in finding capital to carry on those works?—I am not now speaking about capital being found; what I mean is, that there is no reason arising from any insecurity in the country why capital should not locate itself there.

8160. You consider the protection to be sufficient for every purpose which commercial or other transactions might require in that district?—Quite so, as far as I have observed. I may mention a circumstance in confirmation of my view. The year before I was among the Ghauts there were disturbances, but they were disturbances between different parties of the natives; they put the Government to considerable trouble, and they spread over a considerable extent of that part of India, but they were entirely violent differences among various classes of the natives, over whom the Government had to exercise control, for the benefit of all parties. My horses were in the ruined house of a patell, whose son was transported for his share in those disturbances, but I had no fear

fear or apprehension or anything of the kind. I was there without any arms whatever, my only weapons being my table knives; but I never appeared to be in the slightest danger. I could add other facts to the same effect.

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8161. You say the natives have not capital themselves, but that capital might be easily advanced from England. It has been stated to the Committee that if Europeans were to advance money for the growth of cotton or any other cultivation, they would have no means of securing the repayment of those advances. What is your opinion upon that subject?—I think that is very likely to be true, but I do not think that would affect this question. Those men have, all the days of their lives, and their fathers for generations before, always had upon their throats the grip of the tax-gatherer or the banyan. If that grip is instantly released they will be in much the same condition as negroes are who suddenly come to freedom, and who for a time think the best thing they can have is to be exempted from work. I do not think there is any probability of such men willingly fulfilling their contracts till they have been brought under a better system; but I do not apprehend that that would be the case here. In providing the needful legislation for great public works, the Government would make those laws which would reach the case.

8162. Are you aware how far the laws at present existing would reach and provide for such cases?—That I have not had an opportunity of inquiring into so far as to enable me to answer the question. As to everything connected with the obtaining of land, and the general security of property, and that class of objects, I have no doubt whatever. Though I think at Calcutta, in the Act which they proposed to pass there, they made some considerable mistakes, supposing it to be applied to the very different circumstances of Bombay, yet, upon the whole, it does not seem to me that there would be any difficulty.

8163. You are of opinion that an intervening period must exist between the present state of things and that improved state of things which you anticipate; how is that to be brought about?—I think the present difficulties might be very well met in the case of railway companies by their own arrangements; they might make contracts with individuals for the carriage of large masses of goods, which those individuals would collect, leaving the natives to dispute among themselves about the details.

8164. Do you propose that there should be European servants exclusively employed to carry on the railways, or that there should be a large proportion of natives?—I propose a considerable establishment of Europeans in the first instance, to be afterwards filled up, in a large proportion, with natives, as fast as natives could be found to manage the different parts of the business; but it would be necessary to compose the establishment in the first instance, to a considerable extent, of Europeans.

8165. Sir *J. W. Hogg.*] From your experience, do you think there is anything in India to prevent a European who has capital, and who wishes to invest it in land, or in any other speculation, from doing so?—As far as my own observation goes, I think there is some difficulty, but not a difficulty which a resolute man would shrink from. About the time it was concluded that the railroad had better go over the Malsej Ghaut, I made application to the Government for a transfer of the Government rights over three villages, of which two were deserted, and one was a very small one. It includes the great mountain mass of Hurrychunder, which has a habitable plain very nearly 4,000 feet above the sea. It appeared to me if that district could be put into the hands of a small company great improvements might be made in it, and it might become a sort of suburb and sanatorium for Bombay, being about four hours railway ride from it. I wrote to the Governor on the subject; it was referred to the collector. I was informed that the collector recommended a grant on the terms of 30 years' purchase of the Government realizations. A copy of those realizations, as a matter of private favour, was sent to me. In the course of those inquiries I found that some such application had been made with respect to a grant of land at Ahmednugger for some private purpose. The difficulty in that case was this, not that the Government was unwilling to make the grant, but they encumbered it a good deal with conditions respecting the use to be made of it, so that if the purpose for which the purchaser wanted it failed, it should come into the hands of the Government again. That is the only difficulty which I see in the case.

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8166. If a European wants to purchase land, he has as good an opportunity of doing it as a native has, has he not?—I apprehend so. Generally speaking, the natives will not sell their land; that is, those who are hereditary owners of the land.

8167. If land is sold by public auction, from the necessity of the individual, or whatever cause it may be, it is open to a European to purchase and hold it upon the same terms as a native can, is not it?—In the particular district I am acquainted with, I found that the meerasdars, those who had a hereditary right to the land, were very unwilling to sell it; they would exchange one piece of land for another, but they would not sell land for a pecuniary price.

8168. In the case of land which is for sale, is there anything to prevent a purchase by a European any more than a purchase by a native?—Not that I am aware of, except that there is a dormant law by which a European may be prevented from settling in a great part of India. I was in a district from which I might have been excluded, but I heard nothing of the application of the law, and, on the contrary, was everywhere welcomed and aided; nevertheless, the existence of such a law can hardly be laid out of account. This law, which is found in the 81st and following clauses of the Act of 1833, would exclude Europeans from nearly all the continental parts of the Bombay Presidency, from the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, from the upper part of Gangetic India, from Scinde and the Punjab, from Assam, and from the east side of the Bay of Bengal.

8169. You truly mentioned that the advances now made to the ryots are generally made by natives at a very exorbitant rate; those natives are repaid from the crop, are they not?—Yes.

8170. If Europeans were to advance their money at a more moderate rate, they would have exactly the same means of recovering that advance that the native money lender now has, would they not?—In law, I apprehend they would, but in practice I apprehend they would be in a very different condition, because the native money lender, living in the same village with his debtors, knowing all their circumstances, and being able to put his hand upon them just when and how he pleases, can wring his demand out of them, with law or without law, pretty nearly as he likes; but a European, living probably at the Presidency, and employing only a local agency, perhaps very little interested in the matter, has not the same power over them.

8171. Have you been in any part of India except the Bombay territory?—No; I am speaking now with reference to that territory.

8172. Do you think, that the knowledge which the native money lender has of the native character would afford him superior facilities?—Yes, and his residence among the people themselves, and his knowledge of all their circumstances.

8173. Do not you think the native, if he obtained money from an European as an advance without interest, would very soon learn to estimate the advantage of doing so, rather than of paying, as he frequently does now, 3 or 4 per cent. per month, and that in a short time that advantage, being appreciated, would produce good results?—I think so, but I think it is very unlikely that you would find Europeans in India who would attempt that, for this reason, situated as they are necessarily at the principal seats of commerce, the Presidencies, they cannot have that intimate local knowledge which should enable them to make their advances with any safety, or collect their dues with any sort of regularity; but if there were ready means of communication, so that the outlying districts were practically brought much nearer to Bombay for instance, then I think you would find a class of men spring up very rapidly who would employ large capitals to assist the cultivators on far more favourable terms than at present.

8174. Whatever the means of communication may be, it is impossible that produce can ever be raised at such a price as to be remunerative, unless the producer gets his advances either free of interest, or at least at a moderate rate of interest?—My inquiries chiefly relating to cotton, I think I may say, that even bad as things are now, and taking the cotton which is raised in the Nizam's dominions, where the land-tax is often more than the whole value of the crop, and the interest on advances most exorbitant, cotton might be brought

brought down to Bombay at a profit, if you had a railway; but you cannot bring it down now; if you had all the cotton stacked in Berar which England could possibly use next year, it would be perfectly useless, because there are not the physical means of bringing it down. I mention that, because a supply of capital upon better terms to the cultivators is not the only thing, or even the principal thing, which is wanted in order to a supply of cotton; and if it is so in cotton, then I apprehend it is so as to the general exports of the country.

8175. *Chairman.*] Have you any other observation which you wish to make?—From all the inquiries which I have made, from the workmanship of the natives which I saw, and from the facility with which they seem to acquire new capabilities, I should have no fear of finding the practical means of the execution of railways in the country, under suitable English superintendence. I saw the Government foundry, and arsenal, and dockyards at Bombay, and I observed the habits of the natives very much, with respect to their workmanship in different parts of the country, and I do not think there is any difficulty existing in that respect; all that they want, in my opinion, as to eventual capabilities, is capital, plans, and English superintendence, although no doubt machinery, &c., will long be better supplied from England.

8176. *Mr. Newdegate.*] Do you mean, that railways should be constructed by independent capital, as they have been in England?—Yes.

8177. But with the same authority to take land, and the same security for the good conduct of the company and the safety of the lines?—Yes; whatever the general interest may require in the way of legal regulation, I should not ask for Indian railways any exemption from, any more than I should in England.

8178. You would expect them to be authorised by a law of the Supreme Government, so far as the purchase of land went, and so far as concerned the good conduct of the line and the safety of the passengers, and that they should also be under the regulation of the Supreme Government?—Exactly so. I should not ask for an Indian railway any exemption from the law, any more than I would for an English one.

8179. *Mr. Hume.*] Generally speaking, you think railways might be constructed very beneficially, not only to the proprietors, but also to the country?—In certain parts of India I think they might be constructed very beneficially to the proprietors; but I think it is very possible that railways might be again proposed in India, as sometimes they have been, which no man who had to see how they could be made to pay ever would propose.

Jovis, 14^a die Julii, 1853.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Baring.
Sir J. W. Hogu.
Sir T. H. Maddock.
Mr. Vernon Smith.
Sir Charles Wood.

Mr. Mangles.
Mr. Spooner.
Mr. Hardinge.
Mr. Ellice.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

James Cosmo Melvill, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

8180. *Chairman.*] CAN you furnish the Committee with information of the pecuniary result of the compromise effected between the Government of India and the East India Company, under the Act of 1834?—I can. The total sum realised from the commercial assets of the Company was 15,858,928*l.* The whole of this was applied to the purposes of the Government of India, in accordance

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accordance with the provisions of the Act. The principal items of the appropriation were, 2,000,000*l.* for the formation of a Guarantee Fund; 5,464,000*l.* to the discharge of a part of the registered debt of India; 2,727,344*l.* to the discharge of the Carnatic Debt; 1,788,520*l.* to the discharge of a part of the Home Bond Debt, and 2,188,873*l.* to the payment of current territorial charges in this country, thereby avoiding, *pro tanto*, the necessity for the remittance of territorial funds from India.

8181. What is the present amount of the Guarantee Fund?—The total amount is 3,746,227*l.*; the amount of stock which it has purchased is 4,118,411*l.*; the average cost has been 91 per cent.

8182. Sir T. H. Maddock.] How was the sum of 2,000,000*l.* appropriated for this purpose secured?—It is invested in the public funds of this country under the authority of an Act of Parliament.

8183. Chairman.] There is no further addition to the Guarantee Fund, except the re-investment of the interest, is there?—None.

8184. What is the amount of the revenues of India remitted to England?—From 1834-35 to 1852-53 India has remitted 60,490,000*l.*; the average of that remittance is 3,180,000*l.* per annum.

8185. In what mode, and at what rate, have the remittances been effected?—Principally by bills on India; that is the mode of remittance now exclusively employed. Large sums during this period have been remitted by means of advances made upon the security of goods under hypothecation, but that system has for some time been abandoned. The rate at which we have effected those remittances for the whole period is 1*s.* 11½*d.* a rupee.

8186. Would there be any inconvenience in the Company pledging itself not to advance hereafter upon the hypothecation of goods for shipment from India?—There might be inconvenience in their giving such a pledge, in case there should be a sudden necessity or alterations in the trade, making it difficult for them to negotiate their bills. I think we had better be without a pledge. There is no danger of hypothecation ever being resorted to again, except under circumstances of necessity, which, I think, are not likely to arise.

8187. You think it better to retain the power, but not to avail yourself of that power, except under the most pressing circumstances?—I do. Having so large a sum to remit, I think the Government ought to be left free to adopt any mode of remittance which may be available in case it should be necessary.

8188. Sir T. H. Maddock.] In case of the question being left upon that footing, would you think it necessary to stipulate that recourse should not be had to advances on hypothecation, without a certain amount of notice being given to the public?—No recourse could now be had to that system without our giving notice; we notify the amount that we require to remit, and the mode in which we propose to remit it annually.

8189. What extent of notice do you think necessary before the system comes into operation?—Three months' notice. I do not think it necessary to depart from the existing system, which appears to be perfectly satisfactory to the mercantile community; at least, we hear no complaint of it.

8190. Mr. Mangles.] Is there any estimate or conjectural estimate which may be relied on of the amount remitted from India by private individuals?—Such estimates have been formed, but I imagine upon very uncertain data.

8191. Can you state to the Committee approximately what you suppose the amount to have been?—I have heard it stated at 1,500,000*l.* or 2,000,000*l.* in the year, but I do not know the grounds of the calculation.

8192. Chairman.] Will you state generally the financial result of the Indian administration since 1834?—Referring the Committee to the accounts before them for the details, I would state, that in five of the years, from 1834 to 1851, there has been a surplus, and in 12 there has been a deficiency. The net actual deficiency of the whole period to April 1851 was 11,385,282*l.* Since these accounts were rendered, we have received the accounts upon estimate for 1851-52, showing a deficit in that year of 469,700*l.*; and for 1852-53, showing a surplus in that year of 601,021*l.* The whole period of 19 years will show a net deficit of 11,253,962*l.*

[The following Statement was put in:]

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN TERRITORIES.

77

J. C. Melvill, Esq.

STATEMENT showing the AGGREGATE DEFICIENCY OF REVENUE to meet TERRITORIAL CHARGES in the Whole Period, 1834 to 1851.

14 July 1853.

	SURPLUS.	DEFICIENCY.
	£.	£.
1834-35	-	194,477
1835-36	1,441,512	-
1836-37	1,248,224	-
1837-38	780,318	-
1838-39	-	381,787
1839-40	-	2,138,713
1840-41	-	1,754,825
1841-42	-	1,771,603
1842-43	-	1,346,011
1843-44	-	1,440,259
1844-45	-	743,893
1845-46	-	1,496,865
1846-47	-	971,322
1847-48	-	1,911,986
1848-49	-	1,473,225
1849-50	354,187	-
1850-51	415,443	-
	£. 4,239,684	15,624,966
Deduct Total Surplus Revenue	- £.	4,239,684
Net Actual Deficiency to 30th April 1851	- £.	11,385,282
1851-52 (partly estimated) deficit	- £. 469,701	
1852-43 (estimated) surplus	- 601,021	
		131,320
	£.	11,253,962

The debt has been increased by 12,912,607*l.*, and within the period the commercial assets applied to the discharge of debt amounted to 9,930,376*l.*, but for which the increase of the debt would have been 22,842,983*l.*

8193. What items of the commercial assets do you consider applicable to cover the deficit?—Those which, as I have already said, were applied to the discharge of Registered Debt, the Carnatic Debt, and the Home Bond Debt.

8194. The Registered Debt, the Carnatic Debt, and the Home Bond Debt existed before 1834, did not they?—They did; and they were, to the extent which has been mentioned, discharged by the commercial assets; if they had not been so discharged, the necessity for borrowing money in India would to that extent have been increased.

8195. There has been a large increase in the gross revenue of India since 1834, has there not?—Yes, there has; the gross revenue of India in the year previously to the commencement of the present term, that is, 1833-34, amounted to 18,016,918*l.* In 1850-51 the amount was 25,536,634 *l.*, showing an increase of 7,519,716*l.*

8196. To what extent do you consider that that increase is to be ascribed to the increase of the resources existing in 1834, and what to the acquisition of the new territory?—I hold a statement in my hand, which shows that of the increase which I have mentioned, 4,860,479 *l.* is apparent in the old resources, independently of the new territory. The gross revenue of Scinde, the Punjaub, and the newly acquired territories, amounted to 2,311,237 *l.* There was a nominal increase of the land revenue in Bombay of 348,000 *l.*, caused by a different mode of stating the account; those sums together make up 7,519,716 *l.*

8197. Can you state how that nominal increase of the Bombay land revenue arose?—The Bombay Government used to deduct from the revenue grants to mosques, pagodas, &c. The impropriety of this was pointed out by the Court, and the gross amount is now stated.

8198. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Have you the detail showing what the sum of 486,000 *l.*

J. C. Melvill, Esq. 4,860,000 *l.* consists of, separating the land revenue from the other items?—
I have. I will deliver in the Statement.

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[The same was put in, and is as follows:]

	£.
THE Gross Revenues of India amounted in 1833-34 to	18,016,918
1850-51 to	25,536,634
Showing an Increase in the latter Year, of	£. 7,519,716

The Increase is derived under the following Heads:		£.
Opium	-	2,081,099
Customs	-	179,384
Stamps	-	102,390
Land	-	4,288,963
Excise duties in Calcutta	-	8,403
Sayer and Abkaran	-	494,498
Mohturpha	-	20,948
Miscellaneous	-	360,924
		7,546,609
Decrease in Salt	-	26,893
		£. 7,519,716
Deduct gross revenue of Scinde, Punjaub, and other newly acquired territories	2,311,237.	
Also, nominal increase of land revenue at Bom- bay, arising from the revenue in former years having been stated after deduction of grants to mosques, pagodas, &c.	348,000	
		2,659,237
		£. 4,860,479

Or,		£.
Opium	-	2,081,099
Customs	-	157,395
Stamps	-	83,613
Land	-	1,995,042
Excise duties in Calcutta	-	8,403
Sayer and Abkarree	-	235,932
Moturpha	-	15,703
Miscellaneous	-	310,185
		4,887,379
Deduct decrease in Salt	-	26,893
		£. 4,860,479

8199. That sum of 1,995,000 *l.* is due to the improved system of collection of the land revenue?—Yes; of course part of it may have arisen from resump-
tions; I have not the means at present of distinguishing the proportions.

8200. *Chairman.*] Can you state the financial result of the administration of Scinde and the Punjaub since they came under the British rule?—Scinde has been under the British rule for 10 years; during the first five of those years the average charge was 378,250 *l.*; during the last five years it has been 193,976 *l.*

8201. That is the charge beyond the revenue?—Yes; the Punjaub we have had for four years, and there has been a surplus of 468,292 *l.* per annum on the average.

8202. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Do the estimates for the future hold out a prospect of increase?—Not materially.

8203. *Mr.*

8203. Mr. *Mangles*.] Has there not, in one or two of the last years, been a very considerable item for public works in the country?—There was a large item in 1851–52, to the extent of 15 lacs of rupees, for building and other public works.

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8204. *Chairman*.] The deficiency calculated on Sattara has now been changed into a small surplus, has it not?—Yes, it has.

8205. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Does that make any allowance for the military expenses?—It does not.

8206. What effect do you consider to have been produced on the finances of India by the abolition of the transit duties in 1835?—It would appear from the printed accounts that the Customs duties have entirely recovered from the effect of the abolition of the transit duties; but this is more nominal than real, in consequence of the alteration which has taken place with regard to the salt duties, under which large quantities of salt are now imported into India, and are subject to an import duty, which is carried to the head of Customs. No doubt other branches of the revenue have been benefited by the abolition of the transit duties, though it is not possible to state to what extent. Upon this subject of transit duties, whilst no objection can be taken to giving the credit of the abolition to all parties who had a share in that great measure, yet as the conduct of the East India Company has been impugned with respect to it, and it has been suggested that they were rather obstructives than promoters of the abolition, perhaps the Committee will allow me to state to them that, on the 10th of June 1823, the Court addressed a despatch to the Government of India, in which, after assigning the reasons, they added, "Upon all these considerations, we direct that, on the receipt of this communication, you immediately take into your particular consideration the propriety of abolishing all internal duties, under whatever name collected, on piece goods and raw cotton, the produce either of our own territories or those of our allies." I believe that was the first suggestion which appears upon the Indian records with respect to the abolition of the transit duties.

8207. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] That was confined to piece goods and raw cotton?—It was.

8208. Mr. *V. Smith*.] Why was not that direction followed up?—It was followed up, but at a distant period. I apprehend that the first Burmese war, and consequent financial considerations, interfered with it.

8209. What period intervened between the date of that despatch and the first step which was taken in the abolition of the transit duties?—In 1829, the Court wrote again upon the subject. On the 27th of January 1830, the Court said, "The great objections to the transit duties appear to us more deserving of attention each time we recur to the subject." Then came Lord Ellenborough's interference in 1835, when he desired a despatch to be written, giving specific instructions for the abolition of the transit duties. The Court were then apprised of the abolition of the duties on the 2d of March 1836, and when apprised of it, they stated, "the measure itself is in entire accordance with our previously expressed views on the subject."

8210. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Was the letter which was written in 1823 caused by any pressure from persons at Manchester?—None whatever.

8211. *Chairman*.] Will you send in a statement of what the net revenue arising from the transit duties previously to their abolition was?—I will endeavour to do so. The amount was, I believe, more than 60 lacs of rupees.

8212. What is the present amount of the registered debt of India as compared with the amount in the year 1834?—On the 1st of May 1834, the registered debt of India amounted to 35,463,483*l.*, and the home bond debt to 3,523,237*l.*; the total debt therefore was 38,986,720*l.* On the 1st of May 1851, which is the latest account we have of the debt in detail, the registered debt of India amounted to 47,999,827*l.*, and the home bond debt to 3,899,500*l.*, making a total of 51,899,327*l.*; the deficiency being 12,912,607*l.*

8213. To what extent do you consider that the finances of India have been affected by the wars which have occurred since 1834?—It is not possible to state precisely the expense occasioned by the wars which have occurred. The establishments have been increased, but to what extent consequent upon the wars cannot be very accurately ascertained. I consider therefore that it is only an approximative estimate which can be formed, and this is attempted in a despatch dated in June 1852, which is upon the table of this Committee, and which shows

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and states the ground for the calculation that the excess of military expenditure, as compared with the period antecedent to the Affghan Expedition has been 30 crores of rupees, besides the increased interest on the money borrowed from time to time to make up the deficiency.

8214. In stating the surplus of the Punjaub, do you deduct from the revenue all the expenditure of the troops employed in the Punjaub?—No; only that of the local corps.

8215. Why should you not deduct the expenditure of the whole military force employed in the Punjaub from the revenue received?—It has not been so done in India; besides we should have to consider what the expense would have been, or where the force now in the Punjaub would have been stationed had it not been for the acquisition of this territory. There has been no increase of the military force consequent upon the acquisition of the Punjaub; and therefore no portion of the military expenditure could be properly stated as a charge upon that territory specifically.

8216. It is in fact only an exchange of one boundary for another, upon which the same number of troops are employed?—Exactly so.

8217. Mr. *Mangles*.] The troops have been thrown forward to a more advanced frontier?—They have.

8218. But the whole of the expense of the local regiments raised in the Punjaub for police and other purposes have been charged against the revenue?—They have.

8219. *Chairman*.] The Committee have been informed that the financial system of India is the least perfect and advanced of all the branches of administration; that in fact it is still in a crude and elementary state; how far do you concur in that opinion?—I do not at all concur in it, and I regret that any such statement should have come to this Committee, especially from a gentleman who was formerly a most promising member of the civil service of India; and I am quite convinced that had he sought information, either at the India House, or at the Board of Control, he would not have made any such statement. I may be allowed perhaps to speak with some interest on this matter. I have been more than 30 years honoured with the confidence of the East India Company, as their principal financial officer, and throughout that period I have witnessed a most anxious desire on the part of both the Court and the Board to detect defect in our system of finance, if they existed, and to correct them. I do not pretend to say that our system is perfect; far otherwise; but I am sure it will bear comparison with the financial system of any country, not excepting England. We have not indeed in India a House of Commons to exercise a vigilant supervision over all items of the public expenditure; that is not a defect in our system, it arises from the circumstance that the Government of India is not, and cannot at present be representative; the Governor-general administers the finances of India, under the general control of the home authorities, and when defects have appeared, remedies have been applied. It was only in 1843 that Lord Ellenborough, taking a view similar to one which had been taken by Lord Auckland, his predecessor, remodelled the system, "so as to bring" (these are Lord Ellenborough's words) "the finances more immediately within the active control of the Government;" and for that purpose he concentrated in one officer the supervision of the expenditure in every branch of the State, which arrangement continues; the office alluded to was that of financial secretary, which did not exist previously.

8220. Is there any periodical revision of the Indian expenditure?—There is a constant revision of the Indian expenditure, by means of quarterly statements of all increases and decreases of charge, which statements after being dealt with by the Indian Government, are transmitted with the records of that Government to the Court of Directors to be dealt with here if they think fit. On the 12th of March 1850 the Court wrote to the Government of India as follows, "We desire to be furnished with quarterly returns, from the 1st of May 1837, of the increase and decrease of the civil charges, specifying what part of the increase is permanent, and what temporary, and showing when the temporary establishments were reduced, and the date at which they were created."

8221. Is there any comparison instituted between the estimate and the actual accounts of each year?—Yes; there is a most minute comparison by each of the Governments, and afterwards by the Government of India, between the estimated and

and the actual accounts of each year, and the results of that comparison are transmitted to this country, with the observations of the Government. *J. C. Melville, Esq.*

8222. There is, first, an audit of the expenditure, is not there?—The accounts are all audited in India, under codes of rules applicable to the civil and the military departments of the service respectively.

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8223. That examination is made in India?—The comparison of the actual accounts with the estimate is made in India, and the result is transmitted to this country for the information of the authorities here, and forms the subject of despatches from them to the Government of India, as often as they think fit. All the accounts of the subordinate governments are forwarded to the Supreme Government, and come under the review of the financial officer, who was appointed in Lord Ellenborough's time to supervise the expenditure. He makes his report, and his explanatory statement, and the whole then, with a despatch from the Government, is transmitted to this country.

8224. It is then brought before the authorities here?—It is.

8225. And those authorities makes their observations?—They do constantly make their observations, especially upon the differences which may appear between the estimate and the actual result.

8226. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Is the audit which you speak of, an audit of the accounts in gross or of each separate item of expenditure?—Every item of the account is audited in India.

8227. With vouchers?—Yes.

8228. *Mr. Mangles.*] So that not a single rupee is issued from the Treasury for any expense, say in the civil department, without a regular voucher written across the face of the bill by the auditor, that it is a legitimate item of expense?—Yes, and so with the military expenditure; every paymaster is practically an auditor, and nothing which he disburses is allowed to him in account till it is audited.

8229. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] Is it a pre-audit or a post-audit; an audit before the payment, or an audit after payment?—Most of the fixed salaries are paid under established rules; the audit of contingent expenditure takes place after the disbursement.

8230. *Chairman.*] It has been stated to the Committee that redundancies and deficiencies of establishments are allowed to accumulate till they become no longer bearable, and that then finance committees are appointed; do you concur in that statement?—I do not concur in it, but, on the contrary, must be permitted to deny its accuracy. A broad distinction is always drawn in India between temporary offices, such for example (and I believe the instance has been referred to in evidence before this Committee) as officers employed in revenue settlements or resumptions, and offices of a permanent character. The eye of the Government is continually upon this distinction, and the opportunity watched for saving the proportion of the charge which is temporary. The statement that finance committees are required for such a purpose is, so far as I know or can judge from documents, utterly unfounded. As an example, here are the proceedings of the Government of Bengal in the revenue department, dated June 1846, in which the Secretary to the Revenue Board writes to the Secretary to the Government, and sends two lists, drawn up in a prescribed form, under a regular system; one containing the names of the deputy collectors who are in employment at this date, and the other, those whose services have been dispensed with in consequence of their services being no longer required, and who are waiting for employment. I mention this to show that it is the system of the Government to watch most vigilantly those temporary offices.

8231. *Sir C. Wood.*] Do you remember some recent correspondence on the subject of the employment of temporary officers on the works of the Ganges Canal, in which orders were sent from home relaxing the stringency of the rules prevailing in India, in consequence of its being clear that they actually impeded the public service?—I well remember the circumstance, and instructions were sent to India in consequence.

8232. *Chairman.*] It has also been stated that there is no annual comparison of the whole of the income with the whole of the expenditure, nor any systematic apportionment of the surplus for the public benefit; have you any remark to make upon that statement?—There is a system of examination, which results in the ascertainment of either a surplus or a deficit. When there is a surplus, the Government feels itself free to sanction and go on with works of public utility.

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When there is a deficit, of course their power of advancing such works is materially crippled and impeded; but a systematic examination takes place, and the result determines the proceedings of the Government.

8233. The whole expenditure of India is controlled by the Governor-General in Council, is it not?—Yes, it is. The Act of 1834 invested the Governor-General of India in Council with more comprehensive powers than previously existed over the finances of the subordinate governments, and it was to enable the Government more effectually to exercise their authority that Lord Ellenborough made the arrangement which I have before mentioned.

8234. Then you do not consider that the Government of India is kept in tutelage by the Home authorities?—No, I think it quite a mistake to say so. The current supervision of the finances of India is with the Government of India; the Home authorities undoubtedly exercise a control, but that is principally with respect to propositions for increasing salaries or for creating new offices or granting pensions; in those cases it has been considered salutary that the Government of India should be kept in check by the Home authorities. Besides this, the Home authorities review periodically the finances of India. The Committee have before them an example of what those reviews are. The last I think was dated in June 1852, and has been printed.

8235. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] To what extent is the Governor-general in Council permitted to sanction any expenditure upon public works without the previous sanction of the Home authorities?—There was an old limit of 10,000 rupees. I believe that has been extended to 50,000 rupees; but now the reference to the Home authorities is so quickly made and answered, that no inconvenience arises from that limit.

8236. Is it your opinion that any inconvenience would attend the extension of that limit of 50,000 rupees?—I do not see that any advantage would be gained by relaxing the check which at present exists.

8237. *Mr. Hardinge.*] Has any inconvenience hitherto arisen from that limit being maintained?—I do not think there has.

8238. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Is not the Governor-general in Council as competent to judge of the necessity of any particular expenditure, and of the existing state of the finances, as the Home authorities can be?—The constitution of the Government of India involves a control by the Home authorities; and while that constitution exists, I do not think it any fair ground of complaint that rules are prescribed to the Government limiting its powers.

8239. Is not it the fact that the Governor-general can, without reference to the Home authorities, enter into a course of proceeding, such as the invasion of a territory, or the declaration of war, liable and likely to entail far greater expenditure than that to which he is limited for the purposes of public works?—The Government of India is, by law, expressly precluded from entering upon any such courses of proceeding without instructions from the Home authorities, unless in case of necessity, the burden of the proof of which lies with the Government.

8240. *Chairman.*] Was it the policy of the Company, previously to 1834, to mix up their territorial and commercial concerns in matters of account?—Quite the contrary. I am astonished that such a statement should have been made. The Charter Act of 1813 prescribed that the accounts of territory and trade should be kept separate and distinct, and required that a plan in detail should be arranged for the purpose. A plan was so arranged: the law has been strictly obeyed; no considerations of policy were ever permitted to interfere with it. In 1834 the effects of the plan, and its results, underwent the strictest scrutiny by Parliamentary Committees. The Board of Control appointed a professional accountant to investigate those accounts, and the result was, that the East India Company's accounts of the transactions between the territory and the trade were maintained in every respect.

8241. Was there anything in the way in which those statements of account were made out that could give rise to the idea that they were mingled?—I think not. Of course long complicated accounts require a professional person or persons familiar with the system of accounts to unravel them; but there was nothing that an accountant could not immediately understand.

8242. How are the accounts from India kept?—They are kept upon the principle of double-entry. I have been surprised and somewhat amused to hear it stated as a proof of the superiority of the English over the Indian system, that

that books of account on the principle of double-entry have been opened in each of the departments; in this respect the example of the Indian system has been copied; every officer of account in India, as long as I have known the department, has his books of account kept upon the principle of double-entry; those books of account are sent periodically to the Governor-general, and then the financial officer at the Presidency compiles his general books, which are sent home. I wish I had an opportunity of showing to the Committee a set of those general books; they contain perhaps the only example in the world of all the financial affairs of a great government, comprehending several subordinate governments, reduced into books of account, made out in the form and upon the principle of a merchant's accounts.

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8243. Is there any change or improvement which your experience enables you to suggest in the mode of keeping the accounts of the finances of India?—There is not; there may be improvements in the mode of stating the results, either for the information of Parliament or of other persons, but not in the mode of keeping the accounts.

8244. Do you recollect any complaint by Sir Charles Metcalfe of the way in which the accounts were kept in India?—Not of the way in which the accounts are kept; but I recollect a case in which Sir Charles Metcalfe made a blunder; in the year 1835 he wrote to the authorities in this country to tell them that he feared that the finances of India would not bear the charges under the new system prescribed by the Act of 1834, and in proof of that he made certain financial statements, the practical effect of which was to include a large amount of the home payments twice. In the course of a few weeks the mistake was pointed out, and he wrote a despatch explaining his mistake, and correcting it. Surely this is no proof that our system is defective. It is an unavoidable circumstance, from the necessity of the case, that part of our revenue is expended in England and part in India, but every one who is conversant with Indian finances knows that.

8245. Did this mistake of Sir Charles Metcalfe's arise from the confused state of the accounts, or was it a mere accidental error his part?—Certainly not from any confusion in the accounts. I am surprised that some officer of account, at the moment, did not point it out to him.

8246. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Would not you attribute the mistake made by Sir Charles Metcalfe to the accountant-general of that day?—I am not prepared to say that; I am not informed. I remember Lord Hastings taking the whole of the finances out of the hands of the accountant-general, and writing a despatch according to his own view, and contrary to the views of the financial officer.

8247. That was a period when Mr. Holt Mackenzie was one of the secretaries, was not it?—I believe he was.

8248. *Mr. V. Smith.*] Have those letters of Sir Charles Metcalfe, the first alleging that there was a deficit, and the second acknowledging his own mistake, been printed?—No.

8249. Could you produce them?—I could.

8250. *Chairman.*] Do you consider the system of accounts in England to be applicable or capable of being applied to India?—I am not very conversant with the system of financial accounts of this country, and I very strongly deprecate, and should wish to avoid the common error of attempting to speak upon a subject with which one is not familiar. The proposition, however, to have a budget in India, annually voted by the Legislative Council under the proposed enlarged constitution, and to incorporate it in an Appropriation Act, is a novelty, and I would submit, that we are scarcely sufficiently advanced to attempt so to apply to India the principle and the practice in finance of a representative government. I would further observe, that the inconsistency of so checking the acts of the Governor-general, and yet complaining, as has been done in evidence which has been given to the Committee, that the Governor-general is too much checked from home and kept in tutelage, is manifest.

8251. By the Act of 1834, it was provided that the Court and the Board should frame the forms in which the results of Indian finance should be exhibited to Parliament; what was done in consequence?—As soon as the Act of 1834 was passed, forms were prepared, and with alterations suggested by the Board of Commissioners, were adopted. I have in my hand the forms now in use. They prescribe the rate of exchange at which the Parliamentary accounts should in future be rendered, being 2s. a sicca rupee.

8252. *Sir*

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8252. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Popularly, the accounts are converted from rupees into sterling money, are not they?—Yes, at 2*s.* a rupee.

8253. That being not sicca rupees, but Company's rupees, which are of 16 per cent. less value?—That is the popular practice, and its accuracy must depend upon the value of silver in the market; 2*s.* the sicca rupee was close upon the metallic value of the coin when that rate was adopted.

8254. *Chairman*.] It has been stated in evidence that the accounts are given net and not in gross, is that the case?—If the Committee will refer to the accounts, they will see that the income and expenditure are stated in gross, and that in order to show the amount of the gross income available for the purposes of the Government, the fixed charges upon the land, the charges of collecting the revenue, and the cost of salt and opium, are separately shown and deducted. This mode of statement was adopted to meet the objections taken, in the inquiries which took place previously to 1834, to the form of account which formerly existed; and it appears to me that it is quite as simple and intelligible as any statement which I have seen even of the finances of this country. With respect to the Home Accounts, an objection has, I hear, been taken to our having stated the balance of the transactions between the Government and the Company, instead of both the credits and the debits. Now, that account comprehends two large items. A claim of the Company on the Government for the expenses in England for the Queen's troops serving in India, and a claim of the Government on the Company for the balance of the expenditure for the China expedition. The Government asked the Company to pay what was due to them. The Company replied they would do so when the balance of the China account was settled. The accounts on both sides being nearly equal, one has practically been set against the other, and this has led to the statement of the account in the mode in question. I am myself a strong advocate for stating everything in gross, and that is the principle of all our accounts. There may occasionally be slight departures from it, but they are rare exceptions, and always susceptible of explanation. I see again, that an objection has been taken to our having stated the interest on the home cash balances as a deduction. It is so in the series of accounts applicable to the territory of India, because there is no head of receipt of revenue in this country to be included in these accounts, the only item of receipt being that casual one of interest upon the cash balances; and, therefore, it is stated among the home charges as a deduction; but if the Committee will refer to the Home Accounts, they will there find it stated in gross, and distinctly.

8255. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] If it should be considered desirable to have annually exhibited the gross revenue under every item, would there be any objection to state that in the accounts, with the deductions?—That is now done; the gross revenue is stated, and the deduction is stated; those accounts can be rendered in any form that the House of Commons or Parliament may desire; there is this difficulty in altering the forms, which we experienced in 1834, that it destroys the power of comparison; and further, there are hardly two men who would agree in the mode of stating an account. We find Members of the House of Commons calling for the same thing under different forms; every man likes to have his account stated in his own way. I confess I see no objection to the present form of the account, but at the same time, if it is susceptible of any improvement, I am sure there will be the greatest possible readiness to improve it.

8256. *Chairman*.] Would it be possible to give with any exactness any return of the real cost of collection of the revenue in India?—I think it would be impossible, because the charges of collection include the salaries of officers of high importance in the administration of the country, and it would be very difficult to distinguish the proportion of such salaries which is applicable to mere collection, and the proportion which is applicable to administration.

8257. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Is there any distinction made in bringing to account the salary of such an officer as a magistrate and collector?—No; it is all stated under the revenue branch.

8258. Though a portion of it would more suitably come under the head of police and judicial administration?—I do not know whether it would be properly characterised as police or judicial. It is very important, even for revenue purposes, that the disputes with regard to land should be satisfactorily and promptly adjusted.

8259. Mr. *Mangles*.] Do you mean that a large proportion of the duties even of a collector are judicial?—They are magisterial. J. C. Melvill, Esq.

8260. *Chairman*.] What amount of cash balances is considered to be required in India?—That has been a subject of very frequent discussion between the authorities in this country and the Government in India. Before the acquisition of the Punjab, eight crores of rupees was regarded by the Home authorities as sufficient; the Government of India thought a larger sum was necessary; since the acquisition of the Punjab, both parties have agreed that the necessity for cash balances was thereby considerably increased; and the latest account which we have received, and which is only dated three months ago, gives the opinion of Lord Dalhousie and his Government, that they could do in time of peace with 10 crores of rupees. Of course there are various circumstances to be taken into the account, in considering what amount of cash balance is necessary. There is the vast extent of the country; there is the difficulty of transport; the absence also in many parts of India of the means of remittance from place to place which are available in other countries, and the necessity therefore of making the remittance very frequently in bullion. There is further to be considered the immense amount of payments required to be punctually made at different places, upwards of 420 in number. I would further observe, that the revenue of India comes in unequally. The cash balances are stated as on the 1st of May, and the revenue does not begin to flow in abundantly until late in the year; so that there is, for a time, a gradual reduction in the cash balances, which creates a necessity for their being very large at the commencement of the official year. There are also very large requirements of the Home Treasury, which are obtained by means of bills upon the Government of India; and there must always be a degree of uncertainty as to the proportion of remittance which will be drawn at any particular period. It depends upon the state of the trade, and upon the demands of the merchants, and the Government must be prepared to meet bills to any extent within the amount of the annual requisition. By the last mail we drew for 700,000 *l.* upon the Government of India; I mention that to show the necessity for very large cash balances. 14 July 1853.

8261. The state of things is so different in India from what is in England, that you cannot make any comparison as to the relative amount of the cash balances required in the two countries?—Certainly not.

8262. Would there be no means, as in this country, of borrowing upon the growing revenue in India?—I think not; I should be sorry to see the Government reduced to that necessity.

8263. Could it be done?—I daresay the Bank of Bengal might possibly lend money for any temporary purpose; but the Court of Directors have considered that to be so mischievous, that they have interdicted any connexion of of that kind between the Government and the Bank.

8264. From one treasury to another, could not the accounts be settled by drawing?—They are so, as far as possible.

8265. That practice could not be increased you think, to such an extent as to diminish the amount required in the different treasuries?—I do not think it could.

8266. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Could you give the Committee a statement, showing, with respect to those 420 treasuries, the balance in each at any particular date, with the estimated expenditure of three months succeeding?—It would be very voluminous; we have such statements sent home.

8267. *Chairman*.] There is a project being carried into effect of reducing the interest upon the Indian debt from 5 to 4 per cent., is there not?—There is.

8268. Upon what amount of debt has that reduction been already made?—The first order applied to the transfer loan; as soon as the home authorities had the power, they wrote to the Government of India to desire that it should be immediately advertised for payment. The principal amounts to about 3,500,000 *l.* In 1834 the interest upon the transfer loan was reduced from six per cent. to five per cent., and it was conditioned with the holders that it should not be discharged till April 1854, and that 15 months' notice should be given of its discharge. When January 1853 arrived, the Government were desired immediately to advertise it, and they did so. A period was fixed within which the holders might transfer into a new loan, upon precisely the same terms as the old loan, with the exception of the rate of interest, which was to be reduced to four per cent., and the period for such transfer expires on the 22nd of this month. We have

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have already received applications for transfer to a large amount, and I have no doubt, with the exception of a few trustees who may be under certain legal difficulties, the whole amount will be transferred; in fact, the new stock is now at a premium.

8269. Do you mean that the whole of the principal upon which the reduction can take place is 3,500,000*l.*?—Of that particular debt. Then the Government, seeing its way clear to the accomplishment of the reduction as respected the transfer loan, advertised three crores of their ordinary five per cent. debt for discharge, inviting the parties at the same time to subscribe the amount into a four per cent. loan. We have not received particulars of the result, but we know that when the last accounts left India the operation was already very successful, and there was no doubt of its being entirely accomplished. When that is done, the Government will, I presume, proceed with the same operation over the whole amount of their remaining five per cent. debt.

8270. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] What is the amount of the Indian debt at five per cent. that is liable at any time to be paid off?—£. 25,513,000.

8271. That 25,513,000*l.* is exclusive of the debt of the King of Oude, and other similar debts?—I believe it is.

8272. What is the present amount of cash balance in the treasury of India?—£. 14,250,000.

8273. Has not that great amount of cash balance facilitated the process of paying off the debt?—No doubt the surplus cash balance has been the lever with which the Government has operated upon the debt in view to a reduction of the rate of interest.

8274. Without that the Government of India could not continue the process of reduction?—They would run great risk of embarrassment.

8275. *Mr. Spooner.*] Is there any period fixed before which no further reduction can take place in the rate of interest?—There are conditions applicable to some portions of the five per cent. debt. The new transfer loan is not to be reduced for a further period of 20 years; but the other debt, which is in process of reduction, is liable to discharge upon three months' notice. The saving of interest, if all the five per cent. loans were converted into four per cent. loans, would be 255,000*l.* a year.

8276. *Sir C. Wood.*] Have not authority and directions been given to the Governor-general to effect that purpose as rapidly as possible?—Yes; the Governor-general anticipated the orders of the Home authorities; but those orders went further than the Governor-general had done; they went to the extent of his advertising seven crores.

8277. *Chairman.*] In a previous answer you stated, that in calculating the military expenses in the Punjaub the expense of the additional force for police purposes was deducted from the revenue; has the same system been adopted in the territory of Scinde, and does that deficiency show more than the additional cost of military expenditure for police?—I think that most of the military charges of the troops employed in Scinde are stated in this account, though it is not so in the Punjaub.

8278. Why is a different system adopted in Scinde to that which is adopted in the Punjaub?—I have not sufficient information to enable me to state precisely the system adopted by the Government of Bombay in stating these accounts.

8279. In order that a fair estimate may be formed with regard to the Scinde territory, would not it be advisable to adopt the same system which is adopted in the Punjaub?—If you compare Scinde with the Punjaub, undoubtedly the accounts should be framed upon the same principle.

8280. Can you distinguish the expenses of the local corps from the ordinary military expenditure?—Not satisfactorily, without reference to Bombay.

8281. *Mr. Hardinge.*] Do the regular cavalry come under the head of military charges?—They do.

8282. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Does that item of military expenses include the allowances of the regular troops stationed there?—I cannot say positively.

8283. *Chairman.*] Will you explain to the Committee what were the grounds upon which the Government of India directed its receivers at the different treasuries not to receive gold coin in payment of the revenue?—The Government of India, after the establishment of the uniform currency, reserved to itself the right by proclamation to regulate the terms upon which gold was to be received at the public treasury.

8284. That

8284. That was in 1835?—It was. Finding that gold was coming largely into their treasury, under the proclamation, and that they had no means of re-issuing it, it not being a legal tender, the Government exercised its right and withdrew the permission. *J. C. Melvill, Esq.*
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8285. The permission was issued in 1841?—Yes.

8286. The change, making gold not a legal tender, occurred in 1835?—Yes.

8287. Will you give your view to the Committee as to the practical inconvenience or advantage which would arise from making gold a legal tender in India?—Silver is the standard of India, and I think it better suited to the transactions of the people, so minute are they, than gold would be. It is a matter of opinion, but I do not think, myself, that two standards could be maintained. If gold became depreciated, it would be used to buy up silver, and I think great distress would result to the people if that were to occur. I speak with diffidence on such a subject as this, but there are authorities on my side, and I have prepared a memorandum upon the subject, which, if the Committee please, I will deliver in.

[*The same was delivered in, and is as follows:*]

MEMORANDUM as to GOLD CURRENCY OF INDIA.

It is believed that gold and silver were coined in India before the time of Akbar. In Mr. Marsden's collection, there is a silver coin of Altmash, one of the Delhi kings, who died in 1235. Shih Shah (A. D. 1535) changed the name of tankha (the current coin at that time) to that of rupeia or rupee, which was adopted by Akbar on his accession in 1556. The first gold muhr* (vulgarly called mohur) recorded in history was struck by the later prince in the year 1565. It contained about 172 grains of pure gold.

Akbar fixed the weight and relative value of money on a scale which remained unaltered till the dissolution of the Mogul empire, and is the basis of that now in use. His rupee contained 174.5 grains of pure silver, and was worth 1s. 11½d. of English money at that day, the shilling of Queen Elizabeth containing 88.8 grains of pure silver. Akbar's standard, as above stated, continued almost unaltered all over the Mogul dominions until the breaking up of the empire, when numerous mints were established by the ministers and viceroys of the principal soubahs who had assumed independence, and the coin was gradually debased as the confusion and exigencies of the times increased. The Mah-ratta and other Hindoo states also established mints of their own, retaining for form sake the Emperor's name and superscription, as a titular avowal of Delhi supremacy.

Hence may be traced the differences which prevailed and still prevail in the currencies of India. The extent to which the irregularities of the mints had proceeded in the reign of Shah Alum, is thus described in the preamble of Regulation 35 of 1773: "The principal districts in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa had each a distinct silver currency, consisting either of 19 sun Moorsheadabadees, or old or counterfeit rupees of various years, coined previous or subsequent to the Company's administration. The only parties who benefited from such a state of things were the shroffs, and the East India Company endeavoured to remedy the evil in 1773, by declaring that all rupees coined for the future should bear the impression of the 19th year of Shah Alum; and thus it happened that the sicca rupee was the only one of their coins which retained the full value of the original Delhi rupee.

Sir James Stewart in his work† on the coins of Bengal observes, "The standard of the Bengal money has ever been silver. Gold has been occasionally coined, but the great bulk of the currency has been silver." A coinage of gold mohurs (worth intrinsically 11¼ siccas or 13.34 current rupees, but declared to be equal to 14 sicca, or 16.24 current rupees), was established in Bengal by the consultation of Government held on the 2d June 1766, and this was the first occasion on which a gold coin in Bengal had been put on the footing of money with a legal denomination with respect to silver coins. It was made a legal tender in all payments; whereas the gold coins which had previously been struck at Delhi had passed only conventionally, being left to find their value in the market. This coinage of gold in 1766 was professedly undertaken with the view of giving encouragement to the bringing of gold to the Mint, and Sir J. Stewart remarks as follows: "The Government of Bengal did not consider that every encouragement, as it was called, given to gold coins, must occasion the melting down and exporting of the silver coin. The only encouragement it was possible to give to gold coins was to fix a denomination to the new gold coins above their due proportion to the silver currency, or in other words, to render the gold intrinsically worth less in payments than the silver currency, the consequence of which is, to engage every one to pay in gold rather than silver." The result which attended the gold coinage in question, is thus recorded by Sir J. Stewart: "Nobody in Bengal would pay willingly in silver rupees after the issuing of this gold currency, and it was the greatest oppression to force them to it. The people of that country (India) had been so long accustomed to silver coin, that they never would, except when forced to it, receive the mohurs in payment; so the Company was

* This word signifies "the impression of a seal."

† Published in 1772.

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was obliged to make a new regulation in 1769, little better than the former. At last the gold currency fell altogether to many per cent. below its intrinsic value, according to the saying, *Dum vitant stulti, vitia in contraria currunt.*"

The difficulty of keeping gold coin in circulation was so great, that in 1796 the Governor-general (Sir John Shore) recommended the adoption of silver as a sole legal tender; "first, because it had ever been deemed the standard of India; and, secondly, because looking to the lower classes, to the price of labour, and of the necessaries of life, the smallest possible gold coin was unfit for general circulation, and the cultivator or manufacturer who received it would be charged with a *baita* on the exchange or disbursement of it." In reply to this recommendation, the Court of Directors stated that there appeared to them to be a necessity for a new coinage, both of silver and gold. The views of the home authorities were not acted upon till 1819, when an approximation to uniformity of the coinages of the three presidencies was attempted; the gold mohur of Bengal, and the gold rupees (as they were called) of Madras and Bombay, being valued relatively to silver, in the same proportion of 1 to 15, and being declared legal tender in payments.

But the market-value of the gold mohurs then coined was considerably in excess of their denominative value; they were consequently but little used for the ordinary purpose of currency.

Gold, then, never obtained a very extensive currency, and had practically ceased to be legal tender in India for many years antecedent to 1835. By the resolution of the Government of India passing the Act No. 17 of 1835, it was declared, that although the new law would not give to the gold mohur, and its subdivisions, the character of legal tender, the Governor-general would, from time to time, fix (by proclamation) the rate at which they should be received and issued from public treasuries in lieu of silver. The rate then fixed was that given in the Act as the denominative value of the mohur and its subdivisions.

Some doubt appears, however, to have existed between 1835 and 1841, whether the gold coins would be received at the Government treasuries. The sub-treasurer at Calcutta hesitated to receive them. The proclamation of January 1841, authorising their free receipt in payment of Government demands at specified rates, was therefore issued, at the suggestion of the Mint Committee, with the double object of clearing up the doubts upon the subject, and of giving a more free circulation to the gold coins. But it does not appear that the deliveries of gold bullion to the Mint for coinage increased in consequence of the permission given by this proclamation, and the reason doubtless was, that after adding the one per cent. seignorage for the coinage, no profit would have resulted from the exchange of gold for silver. The case, however, is now entirely changed. The price of from 3*l.* 6*s.* to 3*l.* 10*s.* per oz., by which it is understood that gold has lately been purchased in Australia (although in itself no criterion of the ultimate fixed value of gold in relation to silver), affords, temporarily at least, a vast temptation to speculators to send it to India to obtain there silver in exchange, at the rates which were fixed by the Government at a time when the fresh discoveries of gold were not thought of. It was clearly the duty of the Government to take the measures which they have adopted, to save the State from loss on account of the operations of speculators.

The question, however, of the propriety of giving to gold the character of legal tender, to enable it to co-circulate with silver, is quite distinct from that just noticed. The following remarks may help, by analogy, to elucidate this question.

Silver was the standard of value in this country (England) till the year 1774, although gold coins passed current at certain fixed rates, and were legal tender. In 1774 it was declared by authority that silver coin should not be legal tender for sums above 25*l.*; and in 1816 the present over-rated silver currency was introduced, being legal tender only to the extent of 40*s.* Practically, however, all large payments were made in gold subsequently to the year 1717, when the guinea was over-valued by being declared equivalent to 21*s.* The result of this measure was, that the new silver coins were exported, and that none but worn and debased coins remained in circulation. The silver was expelled by the gold, although for 57 years afterwards (from 1717 to 1774) silver was nominally a legal tender to any amount.

Again, the financial history of France affords an instance of a similar character. Previously to 1785, the Louis d'or was rated at 24 livres, when it was really worth 25 livres 10 sols. By making payment in gold, debtors would clearly have lost 1 livre 10 sol pieces on every 24 livres of liabilities. The result was that gold payments were not made, and that gold (although a legal tender) was nearly banished from circulation. Silver alone became practically the currency of France.

Recently in the United States of America, gold has been declared the sole standard of value; and the dollar piece has been simultaneously depreciated in the same way as the silver currency of England, for the purpose of retaining it in circulation. Otherwise it was foreseen that silver would altogether disappear.

The Government of Belgium, foreseeing the inconvenience likely to result both to the people and the Government, have abandoned the double standard which existed there up to last year, and have declared silver to be the sole standard of value. In France, where the double standard is still maintained by law, it is surmised that a revolution in an opposite direction to that which occurred in 1785 will ere long take place, and that silver will be gradually expelled by the gold. The recent enormous coinages of gold at the Mint of Paris justify this conviction.

Upon questions affecting the currency, however, one cannot write or speak with too much diffidence; yet why should it be supposed that the effects described above as having resulted

resulted in other countries would not be produced in India if the double standard (silver and gold) were to be now introduced? The case of the gold mohurs, to which it was attempted to give currency in 1766, at a higher than their natural value, as explained by Sir James Stewart, should be borne in mind as a case very much in point. It cannot be questioned that the natural tendency of the recent vast discoveries of gold, or rather of the increased facilities with which gold is produced, will be to deteriorate its value. This is the most probable effect, although at present there are no striking indications of it. Hence it may be assumed that any exact relative value now fixed as between gold and silver would be liable, at no distant period, to considerable variation. Supposing gold to be declared legal tender, all debts* will be discharged in it so soon as it becomes depreciated below its nominal value, and then silver will be exported for the purpose of buying gold. This will be the natural result so long as any undue irregularity of nominal value exists between the coins of the two metals, and the only remedy would be the inconvenient, expensive, and altogether objectionable one of changing either the size or denominative values of the coins from time to time.

The effect, however, of a change from a silver to a gold standard in a rich country like England, where the transactions of the people are of a magnitude sufficiently great to maintain an extensive gold currency, differs materially from that which would result to the people of India. The monetary transactions of the latter are still (as they were during the Government of Sir John Shore) of the most minute description, requiring, for the most part, the lowest denominations of silver currency (the two and four-anna pieces), and even lower than these (the copper pyce and half-pyce pieces); the coin last mentioned (half-pyce) represents 1-128th of a rupee. It cannot be supposed that such a population could, to any extent, absorb a gold currency, if the value of gold should continue at any approximation to its present value; and unless (which the boldest man will scarcely affirm) the point has now been reached at which the relative values of gold and silver can safely be determined, it has been shown by the analogous cases of this country, France, and America, that the coin which is relatively the cheaper of the two will drive away the dearer.

We arrive, then, at the conclusion, that practically two standards of value cannot co-exist; and that although, in a wealthy country, comparatively little injury may result from the double standard, the effects in India would be most seriously felt by the masses of the population.

8288. You say that silver is the standard in India. Up to 1835, it was not the sole standard in India, was it?—The Government certainly allowed gold to be coined upon certain terms, and to be received at the public treasury; still I think, and I have so stated in that paper, that silver was practically the standard. Sir James Stewart, who wrote upon the subject, and who was a great authority in bye-gone times upon these questions in India, declares positively that it was so, and he traces it back to the time of Akbar.

8289. The proportion that was established of 15 to 1, would surely prevent, under all present appearances, any practical inconvenience arising from the establishment of a double standard on that relative proportion, would not it?—It might; but if the proportions were so regulated as to give an undue value to gold over the silver, the effect would be not to make it a standard at all.

8290. Is not that the proportion in existence?—The Government of India reserved to themselves the power of regulating the proportion; that was the proportion that was fixed.

8291. Under that proportion, do you anticipate that gold would come into India and buy up silver?—It was coming in very rapidly from Australia when the Government issued its proclamation.

8292. Are you aware what the prices of gold then was in Australia?—I am.

8293. What was it?—Less than 3*l.* an ounce.

8294. Are you aware what the price is by the last advices?—£. 3. 17.

8295. Though there may be for a time a low price on the introduction of gold, would not the price be regulated by the price in this country, and may we not therefore suppose that that low price in India could not be a permanently low price?—There must be constant fluctuations in the absolute and relative value of the metals, and whenever the one becomes depreciated, it must, I think, have the effect of displacing the other.

8296. The effect which you might apprehend, when the price of gold in Australia was 60*s.* an ounce, would not occur when it was 77*s.*, would it?—No. The Committee will observe, that the Government had no power to re-issue the gold. Gold had ceased to be a legal tender, and under such circumstances the

Government

* The position of the debtor and creditor classes generally, and especially of the Indian Government in relation to its debt, is deserving of serious consideration on this part of the subject.

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Government would have had no alternative but to send it home in bulk to England, or sell it in the market.

8297. In a country where, as you say, it is very difficult to transport money, or make remittances from one place to another, would not it be desirable to make a legal tender of the more precious and more easily portable metal?—There would be a convenience in it in that respect; but I do not think it would countervail the risk of injury to the people.

8298. In what way would the injury be occasioned?—I think that gold might become depreciated, and might be used for the purpose of abstracting silver; and silver is the metal which is most suited to the transactions of the people.

8299. *Sir C. Wood.*] Would gold be as available for the ordinary payments which the Government has to make as silver?—If the Government declared it to be a legal tender.

8300. *Chairman.*] For remittance to this country gold would be preferable, if resort must be had to a remittance in specie?—Yes; and there can be no doubt that the exchanges are more easily adjusted between two countries having the same standard than between countries having different standards.

8301. The whole question depends upon the proportion established between the two precious metals, does not it?—It does; but there would be an inconvenience in changing that proportion frequently.

8302. *Sir C. Wood.*] Would gold be as available for the payment of the troops as silver?—I think not; the native soldiery could not be paid in gold.

8303. *Chairman.*] An objection has been made to the establishment of gold as a legal tender, that it would be unfair towards the recipients of the dividends on the debt; with respect to the debt created previous to 1835, that objection could not be made, could it?—I think not, because gold was receivable at the public treasury when those loans were negotiated.

8304. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] Did the Governor-general put on record any minute explanatory of his reasons for the proclamation to which you have referred?—I think not.

8305. Did he explain his reasons in any despatch?—There was a despatch from the Government to the Court, and a despatch from the Court in answer, approving of what the Government had done.

8306. Can those documents be produced in evidence?—They can, if the Committee are pleased to call for them.

8307. *Mr. Hardinge.*] In the statement that has been referred to of military charges, is the expense of the regular Bombay regiments employed in Scinde included?—The expenses of the regiments employed in Scinde are included in the military charges of the Bombay Government, but to what extent they are included in the Scinde charges I am unable to say positively.

8308. Was there any increase to the number of the Bombay regiments in consequence of the annexation of Scinde?—There was an increase in the Bombay army.

8309. Do you agree with a previous witness that a greatly diminished military force may be maintained in consequence of there being now no organized elements of resistance?—I should be sorry to state that, unless it were supported by the opinion of the Indian Government, which it is not.

8310. Have not military witnesses examined before this Committee given it as their opinion that the army could not safely be reduced?—They have; and Lord Dalhousie has asked for an increase in the European establishment.

8311. Do the papers referred to give the comparative expense of the Company's European regiments and the Queen's regiments?—That has been given in the military evidence.

George Gordon Macpherson, Esq., called in; and Examined.

G. G. Macpherson,
Esq.

8312. *Chairman.*] I BELIEVE you have been appointed the representative of the British Indian Association in this country, which association has presented a petition to the House, which has been referred to the Committee?—Yes, I have.

8313. I believe you are desirous of making some statements in confirmation of what is contained in that petition?—I am. I went out to India in the Bengal medical service. I remained there consecutively for 21 years, during which time I served with Her Majesty's European troops, the Bengal native cavalry, infantry,

infantry, and artillery. I was then removed to the civil station of Beaulah. While there I carried on indigo works and a silk business. At that time the Government of India traded largely, in fact they almost monopolised the whole of the silk business of the country; but I was allowed, as a civil surgeon, to trade also in any of the products of the country. After being there for some years, and upon my promotion, I was removed to the civil station of Moorsheadabad, and a few years afterwards the Company's trade was stopped, when I became a purchaser of some of their filatures, at public auction in Calcutta. I returned to England in 1840, and went back again to Bengal in 1845, when I became a member of the firm of Carr, Tagore & Co. I remained there for two years, and returned early in 1847, since which I have been in Europe. I mention thus particularly what my avocations in India were in order that the Committee may be able to put questions to me upon such matters as from practical experience it may be supposed I have become acquainted with. During my long residence in that country; and from being employed as a professional man, and also having commercial business, I had many opportunities of becoming intimately acquainted with members of all the services, and also with the native community, from the Nawab of Bengal down to the humblest silk-spinner. In the 3d and 4th paragraphs of the petition of the British Indian Association, the natives complain of being allowed only to hold the most subordinate offices, and that the evidence likely to be obtained before the Committee will be from persons more or less interested in the maintenance of the present system. Paragraph No. 10 relates to what is of great importance to the natives of India at the present moment, the constitution of a Legislative Council, which they consider ought to be distinct from the Executive. Sections 11, 12, and 13, I also consider to be very important.

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8314. You concur in the opinions which are expressed in this petition?—In almost all of them.

8315. Will you state any points in which you differ from them?—I do not think there are any statements of any importance from which I differ.

8316. Can you explain to the Committee by whom the petition was drawn up?—By natives of Bengal exclusively. The British Indian Association is exclusively native.

8317. Sir T. H. Maddock.] Will you describe to the Committee who are the persons whose names are first in this paper; Raja Radhakand Badadar, Raja Kahkrishna Bahadar, Pertaub Chunda Singh?—They are zemindars, supposed to be men of very large fortune, in Bengal.

8318. Are they persons of education?—They are.

8319. Are they persons of enlightened minds?—I should say they were.

8320. Can you state what number of people in the Mofussil signed that petition, as compared with the number of resident natives in Calcutta?—I cannot do that; but I should suppose there must be about the same number of signatures from the Mofussil and from Calcutta.

8321. How many signatures are there to this petition?—I think 5,900.

8322. To what portions of the petition do you wish particularly to point the attention of the Committee?—I should wish to point the attention of the Committee particularly to the constitution of the Legislative Council, to the very inadequate state of the police, and to the resumption laws.

8323. With regard to the Legislative Council, what arguments have you to adduce in favour of the plan suggested by the petitioners?—I consider that the natives of India ought to be eligible as members of the Legislative Council; as far as they have been trusted they have shown themselves admirably qualified either for judicial or revenue offices; I conceive that if they are debarred from entering the Legislative Council, it will be considered a very serious hardship; and natives of India are particularly anxious to be represented in that Council, and it would appear only fair that they should be, considering that they pay the whole of the revenue and taxes of the country.

8324. Chairman.] The petitioners explain their views as to the construction of the Government at home; have you anything to state which would illustrate or corroborate those views?—No, I do not think it is necessary for me to go into that subject now. The Bill which is now being discussed in Parliament is to settle the form of the Home Government.

8325. Do you consider that in the views of the petitioners it will be regarded as a satisfactory settlement?—I do not think there will be any great objections.

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8326. Mr. *Vernon Smith*.] The present Bill is not what the petitioners ask for?—It is not what they ask for.

8327. They ask for a Council, half nominated by the Crown and half elected by a new body of constituents, altogether superseding the mixed government of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control?—I conceive they would rather retain the Board of Control than the Court of Directors; but they think it impossible that the Board of Control should possess sufficient information, and therefore they have proposed a Board of Management, composed of gentlemen well acquainted with Indian affairs.

8328. Mr. *Ellice*.] They propose also that the Legislature in India, in whatever manner it should be constituted, should have more of a popular character; in what way would they propose to give it a more popular character?—In the first place, they think that a Legislative Council should be established, and that the natives of the country should form a part of that Council.

8329. By the expression “popular character,” is it intended that that Council should be named by the Crown, or by the authorities in India, or that there should be the means of election by the natives introduced?—I should propose that there should be certain parties nominated by the Crown for the Legislative Council, and that the remainder should be appointed by the Government of India, but that it should be open to all parties.

8330. That is the only sense, then, in which the petitioners mean to give a more popular character to the Council of India?—They may have meant, and at one time I believe they were anxious, that persons should be appointed to the Legislative Council in the same mode as they are in our colonies.

8331. Solely by the nomination of the Crown, or authorities delegated by the Crown?—Yes.

8332. Mr. *Hardinge*.] How many natives is it proposed to have in the Council?—The petitioners propose that there should be three.

8333. Are you of opinion that three natives in the Legislative Council would represent the feelings and sentiments of the whole native community at large?—I do not conceive that they would represent the feelings of the natives at large, but I think they would be of very great use in the Legislative Council. The other members of that Council might obtain a great deal of information from them, which they could otherwise by no possibility obtain. There are very many things relating to their religion and prejudices with which the other members by that means would become acquainted, which they might not otherwise be aware of in forming rules and regulations.

8334. Cannot they obtain that information now?—I think it is very difficult indeed to do so; I have heard it stated in evidence here, that there would be no difficulty in obtaining information from the natives by any member of the Legislative Council who thought proper to apply to them. Now I think the same witness states, in another part of his evidence, that it is an extremely difficult thing to ascertain from a native what his views may be upon any subject, till he has ascertained what the view and intention of the party questioning him may be, particularly if that party happens to be a person in power. I therefore conceive it must be a very difficult thing to obtain information upon all nice points, a knowledge of which appears to me absolutely necessary; and I also conceive that the information thus obtained must be of a description that very few men would like to legislate on.

8335. Does not the publication of the drafts of Acts enable them to meet together, and give their opinions before such Acts are passed?—It does; they do give their opinions and make remonstrances, but they are not attended to; I mean that they produce no effect.

8336. Do you make that assertion generally, or with respect to any particular Act?—I would refer to one particular Act; Act 21, of 1850; the natives are much alarmed at this Act, which they consider violates the express rules of the Hindoo law, by allowing persons excluded from caste, whether on account of immoral or infamous conduct, or change of religion, to inherit ancestral property.

8337. *Chairman*.] Do you concur in that view?—I do.

8338. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Do you conceive that a native in the Council would be

be looked upon with any jealousy by his fellow countrymen?—I cannot conceive anything of the sort.

8339. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] Are you of opinion that if three or four native gentlemen were appointed as members of this Legislative Council, they would exercise much or any influence upon the deliberations of the Council collectively?—I am very sure that they would exercise a great deal of influence, and that they would, in all probability, frequently give such reasons to parties who were more violent than themselves as would induce them to withdraw a great deal of opposition which otherwise would be given to any proposed enactment.

8340. *Chairman*.] Supposing three to be the number, from what parts of India would you recommend their selection?—I would select them from Bengal, Madras, and Bombay.

8341. Would those three persons represent the feelings, and the creeds, and the opinions of all the natives throughout our empire?—To a certain extent they would; and I think it would be highly gratifying to the natives to find that they were considered eligible for situations of very great trust.

8342. Mr. *Mungles*.] Do you think it would be gratifying to a Mahomedan, of the North-western Provinces, if a Hindoo of Bengal was put into the Legislative Council?—I think it is very probable it might not be gratifying to him, but I do not think he would object to it.

8343. Would he feel any particular gratification?—That is a question I am not able to answer.

8344. Do you think, generally, the people of the North-western Provinces would feel themselves to be represented in any manner by a native of Bengal?—I might qualify my first answer by advising that there should be a member of the Legislative Council from the North-western Provinces, which would render it necessary to have four.

8345. Even with four members, looking to the size of those provinces, and the great difference of religion and customs which exist, would that number afford any adequate representation?—I think it would; at all events it would enable the members comprising the Legislative Council to ascertain, in a great measure, what the views and feelings of the natives were upon various minute points of which they must otherwise be ignorant.

8346. Are not the members of the Legislative Council almost invariably, if not invariably, men of great and varied experience in the different branches of the service, and who, in those subordinate situations which they previously held, have been in the habit of holding close and familiar intercourse with the natives, and have become very well acquainted with their opinions and feelings?—I am not aware that there has been any Legislative Council hitherto separated from the Executive, and that is one of the great objections which is entertained.

8347. Are not the men who form the Executive Council, and who also form the Legislative Council, men of great and extended experience and knowledge of the natives?—Most decidedly they are.

8348. Are they altogether devoid of the means of knowing what the native opinions are; have not they passed a great part of their lives in close communion with the natives, and would it add much to their stock of knowledge to have a native colleague by their side for the short period they sit in the Legislative Council?—I conceive, as I said before, that it would be of very great importance, even to those gentlemen, whatever may have been the amount of their experience in India, that they should have the assistance of natives while deliberating upon the laws which are to be enacted for the natives of that country.

8349. You speak of natives having shown aptitude in judicial and revenue business, and you seem to consider that as a test of their qualification for legislative duties; do you think it necessarily follows that a man who has shown ability as a deputy collector or a sudder ameen must be qualified for the post of a legislator?—Very far from it. But I would beg to state that I gave that opinion of the natives only as far as they have been tried: they have not been tried in any very important office, and I conceive that it would only be fair that they should have an opportunity of showing whether they are or are not entitled to be trusted.

8350. I understood you to say that the aptitude they have shown for revenue and judicial offices would prove that they are qualified to be legislators?—I would not argue from that, that they were necessarily well qualified as legis-

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lators, any more than I would argue that a gentleman who had performed the duties of postmaster-general in Calcutta, should be considered qualified to sit on the judicial bench.

8351. Do you suppose, if those native gentlemen of whom you speak had been colleagues of Lord William Bentinck in the Legislative Council, they would have agreed in the abolition of the suttee, for example?—That is a question which it is very difficult to answer; I cannot state what the natives would have done 20 years ago; but I do not think it is altogether fair to judge of them by what they might have thought or done 20 years ago, when they were uneducated, compared with what they are at present. I cannot tell what they might have done at that time; but my belief, is that now there are no men likely to be appointed to the Legislative Council, who would object to doing away with suttee, or any other cruel or barbarous rite.

8352. Do I rightly understand you that you agree with the petitioners as to the injustice of the law which entitles a convert from the Hindoo religion to any other religion to succeed to his patrimonial property?—All the laws of India have been very strong on the point of doing nothing that would interfere with the religion or prejudices of the people of the country. I think that the last charter alludes to that very particularly. Consequently the natives did not expect that a law would be enacted which decidedly interfered with their religion, prejudices, and laws.

8353. Do you think it consistent with justice that a man should be subject to any disqualification or penalty whatever for a conscientious change in his religious belief?—Taking the view of an Englishman, I do not think so; but I am speaking now of the Mahomedans and Hindoos of India.

8354. Is it possible that there should be two views of what is just; is not justice inflexible?—We may have very strong views as to our own correctness of conduct, from the opinions we entertain on religious matters. I would certainly allow the same to a Hindoo or a Mahomedan. We may suppose we are acting very honestly and very consistently with our religion in putting a stop to any law which prevents converts to our religion; for that appears to have been the intention of this Act, 21 of 1850. It would appear to have been done at the instigation of the missionaries, who addressed the Governor-general on the subject when he was absent from Calcutta.

8355. To put the case in a strong point of view, do you think it would be just to deprive an Englishman, of any rights which he might possess because he embraced the Mahomedan religion?—I do not.

8356. Then how can you think it right in this instance, without any reference to whether the man goes from error to truth or from truth to error, to deprive him of any rights he might possess on account of a change in his religious belief?—I do not see that we have any right to do wrong that good may come.

8357. The question is, whether it is doing wrong?—If it has been always understood, as it has been by the natives of India, that their religion is not to be interfered with, and if the British Legislature has considered it necessary to lay down this principle very particularly, I think, without the sanction of the Legislature, no interference should take place.

8358. *Chairman.*] The opinion which is stated in the petition you believe to be the general opinion entertained by the natives of India?—I do, decidedly.

8359. *Sir T. H. Maddock.*] With regard to that law, Act 21 of 1850; supposing reasons could have been assigned which would have been satisfactory to the people of India for the passing of such an Act, would not it have been more fitting that that Act should not have come into operation with respect to persons then entitled to any particular rights?—I think there can be no doubt upon that subject.

8360. Upon the subject of the admission of natives into the Legislative Council of India, admitting, for the sake of argument, that the influence which they would exercise upon the Council collectively would not be so great as you suppose; admitting also that those native members would not fully represent the feelings or prejudices of the different races of men in India; still, are you of opinion that the general legislation would be far more satisfactory to the bulk of the people of India if there were native members of the Legislative Council?—My opinion is very decided upon that subject, viz, that the whole of the natives

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of India would be pleased that there should be some member belonging to the native community in the Legislative Council.

8361. Whether the introduction of a number of natives into the Legislative Council would be a benefit or not, are you aware of any disadvantage which attend it?—I cannot possibly think of any disadvantage; there would only be a small number; I conceive that there could be no disadvantage whatever; even if they showed any determination of resisting the views and wishes of their fellow members, they would always be outvoted.

8362. In case Parliament should not attend to this application of your constituents, and should not sanction the appointment of any natives to the Legislative Council, what course would you suggest by which the natives might obtain redress in case of injury done to them by the Legislature of India, or what mode of presenting remonstrances to some superior authority would there be in such a case?—I am aware of no mode that they could adopt, except petitioning Parliament. It appears to me to be altogether throwing away time to petition the Government in India against what they have done; they have never been known to undo any orders which they may have passed. The only course which appears to me to be open to the natives is that which I have stated.

8363. Then you consider it much wiser to prevent that legislation beforehand than to rely upon a relief from it afterwards?—Most assuredly; and also to prevent agitation in the country.

8364. Mr. *Hardinge*.] Do you know any native at this moment who would be properly qualified to take his seat in the Council?—I think I know two or three. It is some time since I left India, but from my knowledge of men then, I should say there are two or three of my acquaintance, which of course is now very limited, who would be so qualified.

8365. *Chairman*.] Will you point out to the Committee any particular clause in the petition which you think it important to refer to, and state your own views upon it?—The constitution of the civil service is a very important subject.

8366. Mr. *Spooner*.] Do you fully concur in what is stated in the petition upon that subject?—I do.

8367. *Chairman*.] And in the remedies which are proposed?—And in the remedies which are proposed.

8368. You think the institution at Haileybury should be broken up?—Yes, and that the civil service should be open to competition on the part of Europeans and natives; in fact, to all the world.

8369. I observe in the petition there is an objection raised to the age of those who are employed in the exercise of judicial functions; no limit is stated as to age. Can you recommend any particular limit?—From my own experience and knowledge, I should say that this is a point of the utmost importance. I have seen boys (when I say boys, I mean persons under 20) put into charge of some of the largest districts of Bengal.

8370. In what capacity?—As magistrates. I have sometimes known them even appointed as judges to conduct the current business of the office; that was only a temporary arrangement, in consequence of the absence of the judge from sickness or upon business. I conceive the nomination of such young men, without any test as to their qualification, is one of the most crying evils connected with the country.

8371. Is there any previous examination?—At the time I am speaking of there was only the slight examination necessary to enable them to pass the College at Calcutta, which merely ascertained that they possessed certain proficiency in two native languages.

8372. Are you aware that the system has been considerably changed since that period?—I am aware that there has been a very recent change, which I highly approve of; and I am certain that my constituents cannot fail to approve most highly of the tests which are now instituted, before admitting young men to assume such very serious responsibilities.

8373. At what age should you think a European fit to exercise in India the functions of a magistrate or collector?—I should say it very much depends upon the ability of the person; if a very able man, I should think after eight years' service he might be entrusted with the appointment of a magistrate.

8374. That would be the remedy which you would recommend for what the petitioners consider to be an evil, that no person should be appointed as a magis-

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trate till he had been eight years in India?—I do not consider that the only remedy which is necessary; it is one of them.

8375. Sir J. W. Hogg.] Have you ever known a gentleman put in entire charge of a district, as judge or magistrate, before he had been three years in the service?—Yes, I think I have known instances; when I say in the service, I mean from the time he has left college.

8376. What is the appointment which a gentleman gets in the civil service upon leaving college?—They used formerly to get the appointment of assistant to a magistrate or judge, and, indeed, they now get those appointments; they are placed there for a short time, and, according to the exigencies of the service, they are either kept there or removed.

8377. Do you remember any instances of a gentleman being put in charge of a district before he had been three years in India?—Never permanently appointed.

8378. Then, perhaps you speak of a casualty occurring, in consequence of the absence of a superior officer, when a person has been appointed to discharge his duty for a short time during his absence?—I am speaking of such a case.

8379. You are merely speaking of a man casually discharging the duty for a short time, in consequence of the absence of his superior?—I am; but at the same time, I beg to state that I do not think any such casualty should exist in a well-regulated country. There ought always to be some person of sufficient standing to undertake duties of such amazing importance as that of a magistrate in a district extending perhaps for 120 miles.

8380. Are you aware of the age at which young men can go to Haileybury?—I believe it is either 16 or 18.

8381. It is 17. Being 17, as they must be two years at Haileybury, and are allowed some time after leaving Haileybury before proceeding to India, and as they must pass in two languages before they can enter at all upon the discharge of any duty, do you think it is possible that what you have stated to the Committee can be correct, that a young man under the age of 20 has been in charge of an entire district?—I thought the age for admission to Haileybury was 16; I may have made a mistake in saying that he was under the age of 20, but it certainly was a very young man, who had only been for a very short time in the country, and consequently could know very little of the important duties which were assigned to him.

8382. By speaking of him as under 20, you merely meant to express to the Committee that he was a young man?—Yes.

8383. Mr. Mangles.] How long have the rules of examination of which you speak been in force?—I think only within the last two years.

8384. Having been in force within the last two years, and a part of those rules being that civil servants cannot obtain certain gradations in advancement till they have passed the first and second examination after they have been in the Mofussil, how is it that, consistent with the statement here, which must have been written since those rules were adopted, that "they are posted to important offices at an extremely early age, without the certainty, without even a reasonable probability, of their possessing the requisite qualifications"?—Those examinations have just commenced.

8385. You will see that this is written in the present tense, and not as referring to a past state of things?—This petition must be considered as a complaint of the mode in which things have been done for the last 20 years.

8386. Then it is a complaint of grievances which have ceased to exist?—They have not ceased to exist; I suspect there are very few of those gentlemen who have passed their last examinations, who are now performing public duties.

8387. The rule is, that they cannot succeed to certain offices till they have passed one or both of those examinations; no man can be a magistrate, for example, under the rules, till he has passed the second examination; how is that fact consistent with this statement?—That is a law which has been very recently enacted, and in all probability it may have been enacted knowing that all matters connected with the detail of Indian business might come before Parliament at the present moment. If it has been found necessary now to make those laws as to qualification, the same reasons surely must have existed long ago.

8388. Does not it appear that the complaint is brought forward after the grievance has ceased to exist?—The Government may have instituted those tests

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of qualification, but it has not had an opportunity of judging of the result of them. G. G. Macpherson,
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8389. The petitioners do not state that they have not had an opportunity of judging how far these tests have remedied the grievance, but they state, on the other hand, that the grievance still exists, without making any reference to the tests, or any allusion to any endeavour made by the Government to remedy the state of things of which they complain?—I am not at all surprised that they should speak very strongly of the hardships which they have endured from the mode in which justice has been administered in India. I am myself a witness as to what the natives and what sometimes Europeans have suffered in the interior, from the mode in which the business has been conducted. I may mention a case of my own. I became a purchaser of Rangamutty, within 14 miles of Moorshedabad, one of the principal fillatures belonging to the Company. I purchased it at public auction in Calcutta in 1835. This residency had a certain amount of land attached to it, on which a certain rent of about 1,200 rupees a year was to be paid. On purchasing that property, of course I supposed that I was purchasing whatever rights the Government possessed in their commercial capacity, and that they were transferred to me as purchaser of the property. A very few months after I had paid for the property, I was informed that the collector had resumed more than half of the land, and alienated it from me. Though I had seen a great many very despotic actions done by men in power, I could scarcely believe that this could be carried out; but I issued orders to my people to resist the removal of the crops. The collector who assessed the land, happened at the same time to be the magistrate, and in his capacity as magistrate, he put my people into prison. I had no information or notice of any description given to me till this occurred. I remonstrated with the collector and with the commissioner; and for five years the question was sent from one collector to another, and from one commissioner to another. I think there were three collectors and three commissioners. Just before my departure from the country, I requested an audience of Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, and I stated to him this grievance; and I also stated to his Lordship that if it required five years for a European to obtain any redress for a grievance of this nature, it must require a great deal longer for a native. The case was not brought to a close even when I left the country. By a calculation of one of the collectors, it was supposed that my loss, from being deprived of those lands, must have amounted to upwards of 40,000 rupees. I proposed that if 10,000 rupees were given to me, and all further litigation and inquiry ceased, I would be willing to take that amount. Three months after I left the country, the amount was paid to my agents.

8390. *Chairman.*] When did this occur?—This occurred in 1835; and in 1840 I received the compensation.

8391. *Mr. Mangles.*] Do not you think that this difficulty might have been avoided if you had not ordered your servants to resist the authority of the officers, but in the first instance had instituted an appeal from the proceedings of the collector?—I was not aware of any authority by which I could be deprived of that which I had purchased from the Government. I could not conceive that a Government officer could be authorised, in his position of a revenue officer, to deprive me of that which I had purchased from the Government in their commercial capacity.

8392. Did you never hear in this country of a dispute between two individuals as to the specifications of a sale, whether it did or did not include certain articles?—I have heard of such disputes, but I very strongly suspect if any gentleman were to purchase property, and had that property delivered over to him, and then found it was alienated from him, he would resist the removal of the crops until it was ascertained whether the party had a right to pass such an order.

8393. *Forcibly?*—Yes, I think I should do so forcibly.

8394. *Chairman.*] Will you state the name of the Government officer of whom you complain?—I am unwilling to mention any name. The Government officer was the collector and magistrate, Mr. Robert Torrens; he was a friend of my own.

8395. *Sir J. W. Hogg.*] You appealed from this collector's decision to the commissioner?—Yes.

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8396. Was the decision of the commissioner adverse to your claim also?—The commissioner was Mr. Welby Jackson; he at last reported to the Board of Revenue what he considered I was entitled to. He, by some calculation, which neither I nor any person to whom I submitted the letter could ever comprehend, stated that he thought I was entitled to about 700 rupees for having been dispossessed of this land.

8397. Mr. *Mangles*.] Were you to have the land back?—No, I never had the land back.

8398. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] The collector and the commissioner were both of opinion that, under the terms of the sale, you were not entitled to the land, whether that opinion was right or wrong?—It was not the opinion of all the commissioners; I mentioned that there were three.

8399. It was the opinion of those two gentlemen you have mentioned; Mr. Torrens and Mr. Welby Jackson were of opinion that, under the terms of the sale, you were not entitled to the possession of that land which you claimed?—I suppose Mr. Torrens was of opinion that I was not entitled to it, or he would not have deprived me of it.

8400. And Mr. Welby Jackson confirmed that opinion?—He did so far; but I should mention, that shortly after I was deprived of this land, the collector, Mr. Torrens, was removed, and another collector, Mr. Pierce Taylor, was desired to investigate the matter. Mr. Taylor conceived that I was entitled to a very large amount. Mr. Jackson, the commissioner, did not think so, and he reported to the Board of Revenue that he thought 700 rupees, or thereabouts, would be sufficient to recompense me for any loss I might have sustained. I remonstrated to the Board of Revenue against this.

8401. Did the Board of Revenue confirm the decision of Mr. Welby Jackson?—The Board of Revenue did not confirm the decision of Mr. Welby Jackson; it objected to the decision, and I believe I entirely owe that to a gentleman who had acted as a commissioner for some time, at Moorshadabad, Mr. Lewis, one of the most able officers who has ever been in India in the Revenue Department; he was aware of the facts of the case, therefore it was very particularly inquired into.

8402. What was the decision of the Board of Revenue?—The Board of Revenue remonstrated with the commissioner, and showed, I believe, the fallacy of his reasoning. After this the Board of Revenue proposed that I should be paid 6,000 rupees, and not 700 rupees. My answer was, that if I was not entitled to all I asked, I could not be entitled to anything, because it had been shown that my losses were a great deal more than the amount which I applied for. Without any further investigation, so far as I am aware, the Governor-general, Lord Auckland, considered it was a case of very great injustice, and he awarded 10,000 rupees, the full amount claimed by me.

8403. Mr. Welby Jackson, I believe, is now a judge of the Sudder Court, the highest court in the country?—He is.

8404. Neither the Governor-General nor the Board of Revenue, nor any other authority, declared you were entitled to the land, nor gave it to you?—The land remained in the hands of the ryots, to whom it was given by the collector, and, as far as I am aware, remains with them at the present day. I have mentioned this case merely incidentally, and to show the impropriety of joining the appointments of magistrate and collector.

8405. Mr. *Mangles*.] Why did not you prosecute the Government, or the Government officer, in the courts of law?—I have had much experience of suits in the native courts, as an indigo-planter and as a commercial man, and I confess I was always particularly anxious to avoid them.

8406. Sir *J. W. Hogg*.] You said that Mr. Torrens, the collector, who was of opinion that you were not entitled to the land, was a personal friend of your own?—He was.

8407. Whatever mistake in judgment he may have made, must have been a purely conscientious mistake?—That is very possible.

8408. He was a clever man, was not he?—I should say so.

8409. And Mr. Welby Jackson, I believe, was a very superior man; a man standing very high in the service, both in point of talents and acquaintance with the usages of the country, judicial and revenue?—I think so.

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8410. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] I observe that the petitioners are favourable to a union of the Sudder and Supreme Courts; is that the case?—That is the feeling of the natives of Bengal, to a great extent.

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8411. Supposing that this union takes place, do they contemplate that justice shall be administered in this amalgamated court in the Company's name, or in the name of the Queen?—Really I do not think they have given that sufficient consideration.

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8412. One of the judges would be a Queen's judge, would he not?—Yes, or two perhaps.

8413. In whose name would he administer justice?—That is a question which I do not understand; I do not understand how the amalgamated court could work.

8414. Have you any suggestions to make on behalf of the petitioners with regard to the police and the magistracy, with which they seem to be very much dissatisfied?—They are extremely dissatisfied with the police and the magistracy. I think all the evidence which has been obtained before this Committee, amounts to this, that the police was in a fearful state when the Company assumed the charge of the country, and it is not much better now.

8415. *Chairman*.] Do you wish to state any views beyond those which are set forth in the petition as to the improvement which it is desirable to make in the police?—The petitioners state various alterations which they consider would be improvements, and it appears absolutely necessary that something should be done. It appears by a return made to Parliament, that the whole amount of expenditure for the police is little more than ten lacs of rupees per annum in Bengal. The reason assigned for the inefficiency of the police is the want of means; that the Government have not had sufficient means to apply to the improvement of the police. It strikes me that this is a very inadequate reason for the Government to assign after having had the country so long in its possession; and whatever means it may have possessed, or whatever claims there may have been upon those means (and I know they have been very great from wars and other circumstances which the Government could not foresee, and for which they may not be responsible), still, I conceive one of the first duties of the Government was to see that a sufficient amount was placed aside to render the police efficient. We know that dacoitees and gang robberies are of daily occurrence. I know that for one dacoitee which is reported 50 occur, and the more active and intelligent a magistrate may be, the greater amount of crimes will always appear in his reports. Everything is not reported to a bad magistrate. Some magistrates assume the power of punishing the darogahs and other police officers in the severest manner, because they cannot lay hold immediately of the perpetrators of crime; and of course, if the man knows that he will be severely punished under such circumstances, he will not report a crime. The zemindars again are severely punished because they do not report crimes committed on their own estates. Now it is very possible that some of those things may occur without the zemindars being at all aware of them, and it has frequently occurred that men have been fined who have not been at all near the place where the crime has been stated to have been committed.

8416. Do you consider that the statement of the case here is correct, and that the remedies suggested are those which are most desirable to be introduced?—Yes, I do.

8417. Sir *T. H. Maddock*.] With regard to works of public utility, are there any suggestions which you have to offer, in addition to the general complaint which is contained in the petition?—The natives complain, and it is a grievance which has been long felt in India, of the want of roads. There is only one large trunk road at present of any very great importance in India. They also complain bitterly of the great delay which has taken place in the introduction of railways.

8418. Is a part of their complaint to this effect, that there are considerable surplus ferry funds, and that there are considerable canal revenues in the Government Treasury, which the Government ought to apply to works of public utility?—Yes; that has been long considered a very great hardship, that the amounts derived from those ferries are not employed for rendering the rivers navigable, which do not appear to have become more navigable since the ferries were placed

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placed there; they also complain bitterly of the money which has been received from those ferries not being applied to local improvements.

8419. A great number of the petitioners are men of large landed property and wealth?—They are.

8420. There is a railway now being formed in Bengal, is there not?—There is.

8421. In which a capital of one or two crores of rupees is invested?—Yes.

8422. Are you aware whether any of your constituents, the petitioners, have advanced a large portion of their superfluous wealth towards those undertakings?—I am not aware what amount they may have advanced for such an undertaking, but I am aware that a good many shares were taken by natives in 1846, when a railway was proposed from Calcutta to Rajmabal, by a company called the Great Western of Bengal. This line was stated by various parties to be altogether impracticable. A paper, called "The Friend of India," considered it was madness to attempt anything of that sort, and would hear of nothing but a railway which was to start from Calcutta and to run direct to Mirzapore. According to the sketch given, that line of railway would have run away completely from all the productive part of the country. Various parties showed, and all the natives of India were perfectly aware, that it was impossible that such a railway could pay, consequently very few applied for shares in that railway, but there were a great many who applied for shares in the railway which was to connect Calcutta with the Ganges.

8423. A number of the petitioners are zemindars, possessing extensive tracts of territory, are they not?—Yes, they are.

8424. Do they make any roads in their own territories?—There are roads. Those parties who have very large zemindaries insist very frequently upon their ryots keeping up a certain line of road.

8425. If the Supreme Government of the country maintains efficiently all the great trunk lines of road, are you of opinion that those great zemindars ought not to consider themselves responsible for making and keeping up the smaller district roads?—I conceive that they are sufficiently taxed already.

8426. What tax does a zemindar pay to the State?—The zemindar pays, in fact, the whole of the revenue of the State. It is levied upon his property.

8427. He pays one-half the real rent of his property, is not that the case; that is to say, he is allowed to hold land which belongs to the State, and have half the rent which the State could obtain for it from any other person?—Yes.

8428. Out of that large surplus rent which is allowed to remain with this zemindar, should not he perform those various duties of making roads and other works which he complains the Government has neglected?—I think it is more the duty of the Government to perform those works than the duty of the zemindars. It is stated that the Government have not generally had the means of doing what was necessary to render the police more efficient, and for carrying out various improvements in the country; but at the time the Government had a surplus revenue (which I well recollect), the Government did not think of applying that surplus to the removal of those objections, but they conceived that that surplus should be applied, in some mode or other, to pay off the debts of the civil service.

8429. Do not you imagine that these petitioners, under the circumstances which you have described, are less entitled than any other of the Queen's subjects in India to make this complaint; that because the Government has not had surplus funds they have not executed all the works of utility in Bengal which the petitioners might have desired?—I do not see why they should make those improvements.

8430. The Government has made over to those very zemindars who are among these petitioners a magnificent kingdom, at an assessment of 2,000,000 *l.* a year less than it could be assessed at if it were in the hands of the Government of the present day?—That may be a misfortune which the Government of India now suffers from. I suppose that the question alludes to the settlement made by Lord Cornwallis. I do not conceive that the Government has any right to complain of that settlement, however much they may suffer from it.

8431. Are

8431. Are not those petitioners the last men in India who should come forward with this complaint against the Government of not having done all that they could require in consequence of a deficiency of funds; whereas if it had not been for the great advantages which have been conferred on these very petitioners, the Government would have had sufficient funds to perform those and a great many other useful works?—I am unable to answer that question.

8432. *Chairman.*] Have you anything further which you wish to state to the Committee?—I may state that I have been only very recently appointed agent for the British India Association, and that if time were allowed me, I could adduce evidence on the subject of the petition; and even now I am prepared to do so, and shall be glad to do so, though I have had only a short time to do it. Had longer time been allowed, I could have produced what I have no doubt would be very strong evidence; but, even at the present moment, I can produce several gentlemen who have been long resident in India; who can vouch for the truth of much that is stated in this petition.

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Appendix, No. 1.

PAPERS delivered in by Mr. Peacocke.

ROADS, BENGAL, 1829.

MINUTE of Sir C. T. Metcalfe, Bart.

I FEAR that my notions on the subject of roads will seem heterodox.

In the course of much travelling in various parts of India, I have not been impressed with the belief that there is any general want of communication proceeding from a want of roads.

It seems to me that there is commonly a sufficiency of communication according to the demands of the people.

There may not be everywhere a road for an English carriage; but how little is this needed by the mass of the inhabitants.

Even in this respect there is much greater facility than might be expected. Fourteen years ago I travelled in a sociable from Futtehgurh to Meerut in the rainy season, and 5½ years ago in a curricule from Masulipatam to Hydrabad in dry weather. In both instances the roads were for the most part the common roads of the country, and similar attempts might have been made with the same success; and no doubt have been on numerous lines of similar ordinary roads.

In those parts of the country to which I have been most accustomed, whether within or beyond our own territories, there is scarcely a village that has not carriage roads through its lands in several directions. By a carriage road, I mean a road traversed by the carriages of native gentlemen and ladies, and by the common carts of the country.

Mountainous and swampy regions must be excepted; and in many parts the rainy season makes a road impassable or difficult which was good in dry weather. This defect cannot be peculiar to India, but must be common wherever such a continuance of excessive rain prevails.

In Bengal, which is subject to inundations and torrents, and where it is hyperbolically said to rain 14 months in the year, nature seems to have declared against the continual use of roads, and to have furnished navigable streams as substitutes, for the purposes of commerce and intercourse.

In such a country, roads cannot be made perfect throughout without immense expense. By perfect, I mean fit for conveyances of every description, in all parts, during all seasons, rising above inundations, and able to resist torrents. As to mere communication, that already exists. I have travelled twice from Calcutta to the Upper Provinces by dawk in the rainy season; once in the middle of it, the month of August, by the direct road to Bancoora, and the other time at the end of the season, by Burdwan; the road was passable on both occasions, and was probably as good as it ever will be without great and interminable expense; on the latter, I went for different parts of the way in a carriage, for which the road was in those parts and some others sufficiently good.

Where the rain can run off, and the soil is such as does not become swampy from wet, there roads can be made easily and with little expense, but there, also, roads will generally be found already existing, which sometimes might be more spoiled than improved by new making.

Where there are difficulties which render the roads nearly impassable, they cannot be remedied without heavy expense.

For instance, a road might be easily made from Dehlee to Agra; one has existed from time immemorial, composed of the soil of the country, and running level with the flat surface, which without much difficulty or cost, could receive either repair or improvement, if needed, and is equally passable for the most part all the year round. On the other hand, take the valley of Berar, from the river Wurda to the Adjuntee Pass. The country is flat, and the road is equally good with the other in the dry season, and might be made to look smart with little cost; but to make a road in that valley that should be serviceable throughout the rainy season, would require an excessive expense, the soil being a sticky clay, which, when

Appendix, No. 1. soaked with rain, sucks in the foot of man or beast, and will hardly let it out again. The materials for a road there must be brought from a distance, and the road must be raised above the level of the country, and have numerous arches to let the water pass under it. It must in short be a bridge or causeway, from one end of the valley to the other.

Expense may be lavished on roads where serviceable roads already exist. I am inclined to think that the road from Benares to Allahabad is a specimen of that mode of proceeding. I had travelled frequently from Benares to Allahabad before that road was made, without being struck with the idea that any other road was required than that which then existed; and I have travelled there since the road was made, without being aware of the improvement. I do not mean to say, nor do I suppose, that there has not been any improvement; but merely, that I was not struck with the deficiency before, nor with the improvement since; doubtless there has been improvement, but perhaps it might equally have been obtained without making a new road. Another instance that has come under my observation is the road from Hyderabad to Masulipatam; this has been made by the Madras Government, at a great cost of money, time, and labour. There was previously a road on which I travelled, as before-mentioned, in a curricule. Let it be granted that the old road, in some places, needed improvement; had attention been duly paid to that object exclusively, all the essential benefit of the new road might have been obtained at comparatively little cost; instead of which, a new road has been made, I understand, from beginning to end. All the labour, time, and money expended on that work, beyond what was required to make the old road serviceable throughout, I cannot avoid regarding as absolute waste.

But it is very likely to happen, when any person is specially appointed to the superintendence of road making, that unnecessary expenditure will follow; he has a natural desire to form a complete work which may be creditable to himself. He must therefore have a spick and span new road, and will not be satisfied with merely doing what is required to improve the old.

I observe that Captain Vetch, with reference to the intended repair of the Burdwan road to Bancoora, proposes to bring it into good travelling condition for wheeled carriages during the dry season, and for foot travellers during the rains. I should suppose that it is already in that condition, or in one so near it, that the little required can be done by the magistrates, without any considerable expense. If, however, by wheeled carriages Captain Vetch means English carriages, the case may be different; and, I fear, that in our road-making our attention is directed too exclusively to such. I have heard of the carts of the country not being allowed to go on roads made for English carriages; and there is some reason in this, if it can be deemed proper to make roads for the exclusive use of the small English community scattered over the country, for the ruts made by the country carts must soon spoil the best made road as to its fitness for English carriages, and whether it be pukha or kutchra, of brick or of earth, this evil cannot be prevented without almost daily repairs.

I hope that I shall not be suspected of maintaining the absurd proposition that a good road is not a good thing; or that the providing of good roads is not an object worthy of the attention of a Government. What I really mean to advance is, that these roads are generally sufficient for the wants of the inhabitants of the country; that roads may be superfluously made when they are not urgently required; that a great deal of money may be thrown away, without making good roads; and that, finally, the state of our finances does not admit of our incurring a large expenditure on this, or any other object, even of real improvement, that does not afford a reasonable prospect of return.

In the last year of which we have an actual account, 1827-28, the second year of peace, our expenditure exceeded our income by 2,68,00,000 rupees; and, as if to show the uncertainty of estimates, the actual deficit exceeded that estimated by no less than 1,28,00,000 rupees.

The result of 1828-29 will of course be better, and that of 1829-30, it may be hoped will be better still; but until we spend less by 2,68,00,000 rupees than we did in 1827-28, or have so much more revenue, or by the joint operation of the two processes, have wholly got rid of our deficit, we shall be in the situation of the spendthrift who, having already exhausted his means, has nothing to spare that can properly be laid out on supposed improvement, of which no result but expenditure is certain.

Mr. Bayley, in speaking of making roads as necessary in some places for the increase of our revenue, alludes, I believe, to the Nerbudda territories, where we have been for some years spending money in making roads on that speculation. I am sceptical as to the expected result, and doubtful as to the utility of the outlay incurred, but we are informed by the local officers that great benefits are to ensue, and have more reason therefore than generally exists, for venturing on the expense.

I acknowledge for my own part that if I had my will no expense of this kind, that did not obviously promise decided financial advantages, should be incurred until we had a clear surplus revenue, of which, although even then the greater part ought to be devoted to the reduction of our debts, a portion might be assigned for improvement. Much of our borrowed money has been squandered on undertakings beyond our means; our outrageous expenditure at the new mint, in buildings as well as machinery, has raised a monument of wasteful extravagance, in which the Government at home and the local Government are both concerned. The unnecessary magnificence of the machinery recently brought out for the cannon foundry is another specimen of the same spirit, and as we have no building that can contain it, we shall be called on here to erect another sumptuous pile for its reception. Unless the Honourable Court of Directors practice economy in our territorial expenses at home,

home, the efforts of the Government in this country to keep our expenditure within our income will prove unavailing.

With a surplus revenue objects of outlay might be selected, but with an excess of expenditure over income, and a debt larger than at any former period, there does not seem to be any safe course but in abstaining from every extra expense that is not necessary.

To a certain extent the care and repair of roads must be considered necessary, and if what is proposed with respect to the road between Hoogly and Bancoora, come under that description, it must, I conclude, be adopted. Although my supposition would be to the contrary, I have not such minute information on the subject as would alone justify an assertion to that effect; I therefore confine my objections to the general remarks which I have offered on the inexpediency of incurring a large expenditure, even on objects of supposed improvement at a time when our expenses exceed our income.

In general it would, I conceive, be sufficient that the magistrates should take care of the roads in their respective districts, by the use of convicts, or occasionally hired labourers; and that when any important work be deemed necessary, the corps of Pioneers should be employed in executing it.

23 August 1829.

(signed) C. T. Metcalfe.

Appendix, No 1.

VILLAGE SYSTEM.

MINUTE by the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor North West Provinces, dated 25th September 1848, on Joint and Separate Responsibility in Coparcenary Mehals.

1. IN considering the question of the joint responsibility of the coparceners in putteedaree estates, it may be advantageous to inquire what is the actual state of the law in this respect; how far it is in harmony with the feelings and institutions of the people, and how far it is consistent with the general rules of expediency and good policy.

2. The state of the law is this: that when a body of men remain voluntarily associated together for the joint management of an estate, and one of them falls in balance, the whole body are liable to be called upon to make good the balance.

3. The course of legislation regarding the division of estates shows, that the Government were quite sensible of the dangers to which private rights might be exposed, from the well-known principle that joint proprietors were "considered jointly and severally responsible for the payment of the public revenue assessed upon the estate;" and that the Government also recognised, as the safeguard against this danger, the power possessed by proprietors in a joint estate, "at any time to obtain a division and separation of their respective shares of the lands, whenever they may deem it conducive to their interests to have recourse to that measure."

See Sect. 3, Reg. VII., 1805.

Vide preamble of Reg. VII., 1805.

4. This was provided for by section 31, Reg. XXVI., 1803, which declared, that "when the proprietor of a joint undivided estate is desirous to have separate possession of his share, the collector shall immediately proceed to make the division of the joint property."

5. The temporary and partial forgetfulness of this principle, which caused the enactment of Reg. VI. 1807, to prevent the formation of estates paying less than 1,000 or 500 rupees jumma annually, only led to its more distinct and perfect recognition by Reg. V., 1810, which rescinded Reg. VI., 1807, and declared, that the restriction "laid on the partition of small estates had been the cause of considerable injury to numbers of individual sharers, thereby inducing a sacrifice of private rights, which the degree of public inconvenience, arising from the minute division of landed property, does not appear of sufficient magnitude to justify or require."

6. Reg. XIX., 1814, re-enacted, with some modifications, the former laws, and maintained the obligation on the collector to divide the estate, on application from one or more of the joint proprietors, provided there were no disputes regarding the shares. But it left untouched the provisions of Reg. IX., 1811, which afford peculiar facilities for the separation of properties in Putteedaree estates, on the ground that, "the interest and welfare of the landholders require that the division of portions of estates should be easily effected."

7. If there be any dispute regarding the shares, or if the collector hesitate on any account to act under the obligations imposed upon him by the law, to divide an estate, on application from the proprietors, it is in the power of one or more of the proprietors to compel division by suit in the civil court; it is, therefore, altogether optional with a proprietor, whether he remain liable to the joint responsibility which attaches to all sharers in joint undivided estates.

8. If the estate remain undivided, and one of the sharers fall into balance, the amount may be realised from him individually, or from the whole body collectively. In practice, it is customary to attempt to realise first from the individual; then to offer his property to any coparcener who will pay up the arrears; and if no one accepts this offer, then to hold the entire body jointly responsible for the balance.

9. It is well known that these principles of administration have been introduced to meet the circumstances of what are commonly designated village communities in the provinces. These communities cannot be better described than in the words of the late Lord Metcalfe, in his Minute of 7 November 1830:

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See Appendix, No. 84, to Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, dated 16 August 1832.

"The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything that they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindoo, Patan, Mogul, Mahratta, Sikh, English, are all masters in turn; but the village communities remain the same. In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves; an hostile army passes through the country, the village communities collect their cattle within their walls, and let the enemy pass unprovoked. If plunder and devastation be directed against themselves, and the force employed be irresistible, they flee to friendly villages at a distance; but when the storm has passed over, they return and resume their occupations. If a country remain for a series of years the scene of continued pillage and massacre, so that the villages cannot be inhabited, the scattered villagers nevertheless return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives. A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return; the sons will take the places of their fathers; the same site for the village, the same positions for the house; the lands will be re-occupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated; and it is not a trifling matter that will drive them out, for they will often maintain their post through times of disturbance and convulsion, and acquire strength sufficient to resist pillage and oppression with success."

10. Any person who is conversant with the social state of the agricultural classes in these provinces, knows that these communities are found in the most perfect state in the Delhi territory and in Bundelkund, and that they are commonly met with throughout the Doab, on the right bank of the Jumna, and in the southern and western parts of Rohilkund; and that even in the province of Benares they are frequently found, little altered from the state in which they existed when the province first came under our rule, half a century ago.

11. The sentiments of the same high authority, regarding the course which should be pursued towards these communities, is entitled to respect:

"This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has, I conceive contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India, through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered; and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence. I wish, therefore, that the village consuetudine may never be disturbed; and I dread everything that has a tendency to break them up. I am fearful that a revenue settlement, separately with each individual cultivator, as is the practice of the Ryotwar settlement, instead of one with the village community through their representatives the head men, might have such a tendency. For this reason, and for this only, I do not desire to see the Ryotwar settlement generally introduced into the Western Provinces. The experienced advocates of that mode of settlement would, I believe, maintain, that it need not produce that effect. It appears to me, however, that it must tend to loosen, and ultimately dissolve, the ties which bind the village communities together. Instead of all acting in union, with a common interest as regards the Government, and adjusting their own separate interests among themselves, according to established usage, each would have his separate independent arrangement directly with the Government, and could hardly fail to be thereby less linked with his brethren."

12. If the settlement is made with all the members of the community jointly, it follows that the whole are jointly responsible for the whole demand; and unless the joint responsibility be merely nominal, it must, as a general rule, be maintained. It is a principle maintained by all former Governments; it is one, the justice of which the people never dispute, and it is one of which distinct traces have been left in many of the customs which prevail in the communities.

13. The expediency of maintaining the principle of joint responsibility is supported by many arguments, besides that of general adaptation to the feelings and customs of the people.

14. It greatly promotes self-government, and renders unnecessary that constant interference with the affairs of individual cultivators on the part of the Government officers which must otherwise exist; it saves them from much expense, which would otherwise fall upon them, and it facilitates their union for many purposes of municipal economy, which could not otherwise be effected. The efforts of the prosperous and industrious members of a community will often be directed to stimulate the idle, to assist the unfortunate, and to give additional value to the labours of their thrifty brethren. Property being minutely divided, and each proprietor clinging with the greatest tenacity to his patrimony, it would be difficult to devise a civil institution better calculated to add to the happiness and prosperity of the people.

15. And, as a system, it does work well. Year after year, thousands of communities pay up their Government demand without any demur or difficulty, and manage their own affairs without needing the intervention of any revenue officer of the Government. It is most desirable, that they should continue to do so; and if difficulties do arise, the law has invested the village representative with full power to realise the balance by summary suit or distraint. But exceptional cases will occur. Dissensions amongst the old members of the community, the intrusion of strangers, or the pressure of calamitous seasons, will throw the whole community into difficulty; and great judgment will be necessary in then dealing with the case. It is not impossible that there may be a general alarm; and that even the solvent co-parceners will withhold payment of what is primarily due from them, lest they be held responsible also for the default of others. This need never proceed to any great extent; for on the first occurrence of a balance, the collector can attach the whole village,

village, and can hold each proprietor responsible in his person and personal property for the sum due from him. This power, when rightly wielded, is quite sufficient to prevent any substantial proprietor from wilfully withholding what it is in his power to pay. But, even if individual damage and loss to the Government did occasionally occur, this would be quite insufficient to warrant the rejection of a principle otherwise sound, and generally beneficial in its operation.

16. In order that the people should experience the full benefits which the observance of these principles is calculated to confer on them, it is necessary that the revenue officers of the Government should comprehend the full extent of the obligations which rest upon them. They should understand all the advantages attending each state of property; that which involves the maintenance of the joint responsibility, and that which is consequent on its dissolution. They should recognise the duty of rapidly, cheaply, and readily, dividing estates, whenever application to that effect is made, with an understanding of the question on the part of the applicant; they should feel and understand the facilities for divisions occasioned by the late settlement, and above all, they should observe a marked distinction in the mode of dealing with joint undivided estates, and with separate estates on the occasion of a balance.

17. A reference to statement, No. V., shows that there is much diversity of practice regarding divisions. Such divisions, by consent of the parties, are numerous in Rohtuck, (74), and in Agra (62), whilst in Goruckpore there are no less than 1,358, being about two-thirds of the number (1,920) in the whole provinces. In Saharunpore and Boolundshahur there have been none, whilst in many districts there are very few. In Rohilkund the practice is uniformly general. The number of divisions by order of Court is generally small; but in Shahjehanpore it seems to have suddenly mounted up to 141, which is in itself more than half of the whole number (274), in the provinces. These irregularities, no doubt, arise from local misapprehensions, or from whims and fancy on the part of particular officers. There is good reason to believe that, except under peculiar circumstances, the members of a community when the merits of a case are fairly stated to them, would rather remain united.

18. Statements will not so easily expose irregularities of practice regarding joint undivided estates in balance; but there is reason to apprehend that when a balance is due, and even before the time on which it is legally due, the collector frequently permits separate dussucks to be served on all members of the community, and treats them as if they were severally responsible, without any attempt to enforce, through the Lumberdar, the joint responsibility, which is an essential feature of the Settlement Contract Act, I., 1841, has done much to prevent cases of injustice and hardship, which formerly occurred; but its too general and indiscriminate use may undermine the very constitution of the village communities.

19. When a balance has actually occurred in a putteedaree estate, it is evident, that if, as the senior member seems to desire, the joint responsibility of the whole community be immediately repudiated, the efficacy of the principle is destroyed, at the very time when it should come most into operation. A few examples, even of ruin to a community by the enforcement of the principle, might possibly be beneficial in their moral effect upon many other communities. Instances may, however, be adduced, in which it may be wise to remit a balance, rather than attempt to enforce payment by the whole community; as it may be wise sometimes to remit a balance from an individual, rather than bring his estate to sale for its liquidation; but it is unnecessary to contemplate the existence of such cases. The joint responsibility of the whole community is understood by the people; it is in unison with their established customs, and is in itself equitable and politic. Being so, its maintenance should be the rule, and exceptional cases should be treated on their merits; it being understood that strong grounds must be shown to warrant the exception.

20. In para. 11 of the secretary's letter, the senior member justly remarks on the importance of facilitating the investment of capital in land. Of this there can be no question; and it is gratifying to observe how eagerly land is now sought after as an investment by all classes of natives.

21. This will be more and more the case in proportion as titles to land are defined and rendered secure. It may be doubted whether the principle of joint responsibility materially affects this. In many cases it certainly increases the desire to obtain the rights and interests of a coparcener in a joint undivided estate, because the purchaser hopes to make his first acquisition the means, either by fair or unfair methods, of obtaining the whole estate. This is occasionally forced upon notice by the odious efforts of some intriguing oppressor to usurp the property of a whole community; but it also happens, far more frequently than is generally supposed, when a friendly capitalist is introduced, to relieve the proprietors of a burden which they find themselves unable to bear, and to afford them the chance of recovery. Undoubtedly the right of pre-emption, which naturally results from the principle of joint responsibility, tends much to the consolidation of small properties. It may be apprehended, that "small and independent holdings" would be found so expensive to manage and so open to vexatious interference on the part of Government officers, that they would be shunned rather than sought after as an investment.

(signed) *J. Thomason*, Lieut.-Governor N. W. P.

Agra, 25 September 1848.

Appendix, No. 2.

NUMBER of SHIPS in the BENGAL MARINE in each of the last Ten Years, distinguishing those for External and the Amount Received, and the Net Charge

EXTERNAL SERVICE.

STEAM VESSELS.

SHIP'S NAME.	Whether Built of Iron or Wood.	Built by Contract or Purchased.	1842-43.		1843-44.		1844-45.		1845-46.	
			Received or Realised.	Expenditure.	Received or Realised.	Expenditure.	Received or Realised.	Expenditure.	Received or Realised.	Expenditure.
Ganges - -	Wood	- - Contract at Kidderpore.	Co.'s Rs. -	Co.'s Rs. 44,550	C. Rs. -	Co.'s Rs. 46,797	Co.'s Rs. 19,411	Co.'s Rs. 35,040	Co.'s Rs. 30,618	Co.'s Rs. 18,1
Diana - -	"	- - Contract at Calcutta.	-	19,260	Employed in the Straits		27,777	57	47,	
Enterprise - -	"	- - Contract at Calcutta.	-	*58,144	-	51,112	43,569	66,158	7,205	76,
Nemesis - -	Iron	- - Private agreement in England.	-	*49,969	-	41,140	394	*36,836	315	*51,
Hooghly - -	Wood	- - Contract at Calcutta.	-	*45,888	-	24,572	5,839	14,955	136	21,
Irrawaddy - -	"	- - Contract in India.	Launched this year		-	30,847	390	32,353	7,200	31
Proserpine - -	Iron	- - Private agreement in England.	-	*48,563	-	*44,972	-	*55,025	761	66,
Phlegethon - -	"	- - Private agreement in England.	-	*44,552	-	20,805	22	55,033	-	51,
Tenasserim - -	Wood	- - Contract at Moulmein.	-	*12,830	-	54,142	97,072	97,072	3,189	1,18,
Pluto - -	Iron	- - Private agreement in England.	-	*31,380	-	-	-	-	-	*40,
Fire Queen - -	Wood	- - Purchased by Bengal Government, 1847.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mahamuddy - -	Iron	- - Late an inland steamer.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL Company's Rupees - - -			-	3,55,136	-	3,14,387	1,66,697	4,20,249	49,481	5,25,

* This mark indicates that the ships, in the co

PILOT VESSELS.

SHIP'S NAME.	Whether Built of Iron or Wood.	Built by Contract or Purchased.	1842-43.		1843-44.		1844-45.		1845-46.	
			Receipts.	Expenses.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Receipts.	Expe
Sangor - -	Wood	Built by the East India Company in their dockyard at Bombay	Co.'s Rs. -	Co.'s Rs. -	C. Rs. -	Co.'s Rs. -	Co.'s Rs. 532	Co.'s Rs. 24,314	Co.'s Rs. 622	Co.'s Rs. 23,
Megna - -	"		-	-	-	-	513	19,000	241	16,
Krishna - -	"		-	-	-	-	49	19,585	822	10,
Cavery - -	"		-	-	-	-	952	17,148	858	21,
Caleroon - -	"		-	-	-	-	560	21,462	586	17,
Salween - -	"	Built by contract at Moulmein	-	-	-	-	4,044	18,536	269	17,
Tavoy - -	"		-	-	-	-	2,891	20,743	375	19,
Fame - -	Iron	Built in England by private agreement	-	-	-	-	-	-	740	19,
Add Receipts and Expenses incidental to the Pilotage of the Port of Calcutta - - -			-	-	-	-	9,541	1,40,789	4,513	1,45,
TOTAL Company's Rupees - - -			-	-	-	-	5,09,125	8,48,608	5,66,397	8,53,

Appendix, No. 2.

from those for Internal Service; and (as far as the same can be ascertained), the Gross Expense for the same, also, whether Built by Contract or Purchased.

EXTERNAL SERVICE.

STEAM VESSELS.

1846-47.		1847-48.		1848-49.		1849-50.		1850-51.		1851-52.	
Received or Realised.	Expenditure.	Received or Realised.	Expenditure.	Received or Realised.	Expenditure.	Received or Realised.	Expenditure.	Received or Realised.	Expenditure.	Received or Realised.	Expenditure.
Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.
- - - Sold	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
643	27,269	- - Sold	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
48,150	78,983	26,325	92,600	49,738	81,908	31,760	77,485	78,841	69,387	61,174	69,351
-	-	* Employed on Her Majesty's Service		-	-	-	62,175	-	3,057	610	36,567
-	-	Employed in the Straits		-	-	-	34,298	8	37,858	96	31,804
6,234	47,692	3,944	34,772	276	36,330	70	28,751	3,234	8,476	-	Broken up.
253	46,515	444	86,447	-	43,952	127	38,739	-	46,204	100	44,343
93	26,476	* Employed on Her Majesty's Service in China and Straits		-	-	-	-	-	-	922	15,478
1,31,640	1,28,785	10,688	1,11,130	28,187	1,16,019	49,551	1,12,227	59,711	1,50,699	47,130	1,26,133
-	-	Employed on Her Majesty's Service		-	751	77,749	1,283	90,502	H. M.'s Service.	-	-
-	-	31,527	46,579	1,430	29,656	22,750	41,535	323	9,432	29,971	87,833
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20,613
1,87,013	3,55,720	72,928	3,71,528	79,631	3,08,365	1,05,009	4,72,959	1,43,400	4,15,615	1,40,003	4,32,122

of the year, were employed in Her Majesty's service.

PILOT VESSELS.

1846-47.		1847-48.		1848-49.		1849-50.		1850-51.		1851-52.	
Receipts.	Expenses.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Receipts.	Expenses.
Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.
704	20,307	2,601	14,533	272	26,199	203	13,783	220	16,188	604	13,005
529	19,163	49	13,979	2,295	24,250	141	18,285	357	17,077	150	11,065
-	-	Employed surveying the coast of Coromandel, and the entrance of Moulmein river									
292	14,633	224	19,763	1,931	18,572	795	21,850	533	18,366	273	24,651
286	17,810	435	15,664	2,204	28,286	331	16,524	396	17,794	182	16,705
75	15,575	828	13,473	3,431	22,869	196	13,359	174	17,205	130	18,512
528	18,003	1,979	21,626	20	14,440	603	15,367	591	19,615	1,724	20,283
264	17,954	23	17,989	102	19,014	273	20,603	191	15,655	56	13,452
2,676	1,23,445	6,139	1,17,027	10,255	1,53,630	2,542	1,19,771	2,462	1,21,900	3,119	1,17,673
570,027	7,15,419	5,29,338	6,60,402	5,28,180	7,74,114	5,73,988	7,00,073	5,80,944	7,07,210	6,58,724	6,79,140
5,72,703	8,38,864	5,35,477	7,77,429	5,38,435	9,27,744	5,76,530	8,19,844	5,83,406	8,29,110	6,61,843	7,96,813

NUMBER of Ships in the Bengal Marine in each of the last Ten Years,

INTERNAL SERVICE,

CONSISTING of STEAM VESSELS, with Accommodation, Cargo, and Troop Boats.

NAMES of VESSELS and BOATS.	Whether Built by Contract or Purchased.	1842-43.		1843-44.		1844-45.		1845-46.	
		Received or Realised.	Expenditure.	Received or Realised.	Expenditure.	Received or Realised.	Expenditure.	Received or Realised.	Expenditure.
STEAM VESSELS:	Launched	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>
Thames - - -	1834	-	-	-	-	1,758	43,988	183	43,686
Jumna - - -	1835	-	-	-	-	2,592	32,235	15	32,540
Megna - - -	1835	-	-	-	-	625	37,357	194	36,640
Berhampoota - -	1841	-	-	-	-	1,893	29,623	178	39,387
Horingotta - -	1840	-	-	-	-	650	34,586	242	43,570
Indus - - -	1842	-	-	-	-	608	33,219	31	40,699
Damoodah - -	1843	-	-	-	-	1,378	33,015	134	37,050
Mahanudda - -	1843	-	-	-	-	1,177	36,084	87	38,995
Lord William Bentinok	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	996	36,407
Nerbuddah - -	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	174	31,459
		-	-	-	-	10,681	2,80,107	2,234	3,82,333
ACCOMMODATION BOATS:									
Soorma - - -	1836	-	-	-	-	60,043	18,216	66,593	10,322
Mattabanga - -	1836	-	-	-	-	82,687	10,240	91,757	9,579
Jellinghee - -	1835	-	-	-	-	80,338	8,962	86,911	9,358
Sutledge - - -	1842	-	-	-	-	94,437	9,441	84,712	9,425
		-	-	-	-	3,17,505	46,859	3,29,973	38,684
CARGO BOATS:									
Kallegunga - -	1840	-	-	-	-	85,633	10,754	1,01,065	8,518
Luckia - - -	1841	-	-	-	-	94,714	9,391	75,216	8,880
Goomtee - - -	1842	-	-	-	-	1,07,712	7,883	70,509	7,997
		-	-	-	-	2,88,059	28,028	2,46,790	25,395
TROOP BOATS:									
Bhugerutta - -	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	72,186	6,323
Soane - - -	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,23,000	8,979
		-	-	-	-	-	-	1,95,186	15,302
Internal Steam Charges General	-	-	-	-	-	-	27,850	-	33,536
GRAND TOTAL Company's Rupees	-	4,01,025	-	5,21,562	-	6,16,245	3,82,844	7,74,183	4,95,250

The whole of these Vessels and Boats are of iron: they were constructed in England by private agreement, sent out in pieces to Calcutta, completed in India, and launched for service at the dates specified.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN TERRITORIES.

111

distinguishing those for External from those for Internal Service, &c.—continued.

INTERNAL SERVICE,

CONSISTING OF STEAM VESSELS, with Accommodation, Cargo, and Troop Boats.

1846-47.		1847-48.		1848-49.		1849-50.		1850-51.		1851-52.	
Received or Realised.	Expenditure.	Received or Realised.	Expenditure.	Received or Realised.	Expenditure.	Received or Realised.	Expenditure.	Received or Realised.	Expenditure.	Received or Realised.	Expenditure.
Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.
71	34,504	5,231	38,845	2,586	42,219	962	38,808	1,352	40,045	10,769	24,721
4,585	44,002	1,877	37,721	9,663	41,539	24,026	32,449	29,584	31,647	14,476	31,819
747	40,044	1,315	45,294	1,939	49,347	10,979	26,195	1,649	23,668	1,884	27,218
143	41,942	40	38,087	10,254	40,870	2,656	43,770	1,251	34,375	1,057	30,536
245	36,515	22	31,551	697	48,380	612	35,276	2,114	35,718	1,712	29,557
5,969	39,361	49	36,417	467	38,851	900	40,060	7,585	35,341	7,984	33,188
4,559	36,184	1,660	33,161	2,193	30,274	6,560	54,684	12,102	39,171	18,469	30,238
4,955	40,595	287	48,074	431	47,054	15,458	42,020	155	34,389	—	—
1,491	46,483	1,302	52,209	948	63,545	1,952	53,966	2,517	47,207	772	44,543
908	47,444	471	49,327	537	57,040	2,347	52,177	9,045	46,568	4,475	54,025
23,673	4,09,074	12,254	4,10,686	29,715	4,59,119	66,452	4,18,605	67,354	3,68,124	61,598	3,05,835
81,249	11,319	56,268	13,275	59,697	11,027	64,018	11,026	72,544	11,034	48,396	9,595
73,644	11,898	55,539	10,996	66,418	11,433	39,969	11,920	127	9,816	27,232	24,042
54,978	8,662	22,290	24,116	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1,01,997	10,605	59,623	11,475	83,991	12,111	93,325	11,884	77,540	10,510	57,614	10,787
3,11,868	42,484	1,93,720	59,862	2,10,106	34,571	2,02,312	33,930	1,50,211	31,360	1,33,242	44,424
91,653	8,700	73,294	8,795	87,829	9,135	1,10,565	8,213	98,214	8,936	86,004	7,743
1,23,503	8,096	96,047	9,510	91,696	10,097	1,10,361	10,184	93,801	8,485	82,590	6,804
64,881	8,888	73,596	8,893	96,903	8,570	92,540	9,373	77,797	8,387	69,479	10,271
2,80,037	25,684	2,42,937	27,198	2,76,428	27,302	3,13,486	27,769	2,69,812	25,808	2,38,073	24,818
71,964	10,066	1,06,335	6,783	80,363	11,519	1,42,334	10,883	1,39,281	10,523	98,262	9,927
97,150	10,573	1,04,240	8,846	1,27,551	10,657	1,36,818	8,861	1,22,148	9,305	86,806	8,970
1,69,114	20,639	2,10,575	13,579	2,07,914	22,176	2,79,152	19,744	2,61,429	19,828	1,84,868	18,867
—	33,652	—	52,795	142	37,079	—	40,505	97	44,385	102	43,961
7,34,692	3,31,534	6,59,486	5,64,120	7,24,305	6,80,747	8,61,402	5,40,553	7,48,903	4,89,505	6,17,883	4,37,935

A B S T R A C T.

YEARS.	EXTERNAL SERVICE.								INTERNAL SERVICE.						
	STEAM VESSELS.				PILOT VESSELS.				Number of Vessels, &c.			Received or Realised.	Gross Expense.	Net Charge.	Amount Realised.
	Number of Ships.	Receipts.	Gross Expense.	Net Charge.	Number of Ships.	Receipts.	Gross Expense.	Net Charge.	Steamers.	Accommodation Boats.	Cargo and Troop Boats.				
	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>		<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>				<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>	<i>Co.'s Rs.</i>	
1842-43 -	9	-	3,55,136	-	-	-	-	6	3	2	4,01,025	-	-	-	
1843-44 -	8	-	3,14,387	-	-	-	-	7	4	3	5,21,562	-	-	-	
1844-45 -	9	1,66,697	4,20,249	2,53,552	7	5,09,125	8,48,668	3,39,543	8	4	3	6,16,245	3,82,844	-	2,33,401
1845-46 -	10	49,481	5,25,047	4,75,556	8	5,66,397	8,53,916	2,87,519	10	4	5	7,74,183	4,95,250	-	2,78,933
1846-47 -	6	1,87,013	3,55,720	1,68,707	7	5,72,703	8,38,864	2,66,161	10	4	5	7,84,692	5,31,534	-	2,53,128
1847-48 -	5	72,928	3,71,528	2,98,600	7	5,35,477	7,77,429	2,41,952	10	4	5	6,59,486	5,64,120	-	95,366
1848-49 -	5	79,631	3,08,365	2,28,734	7	5,38,435	9,27,744	3,89,309	10	3	5	7,24,305	5,80,747	-	1,43,558
1849-50 -	7	1,05,000	4,72,959	3,67,950	7	5,76,530	8,19,844	2,43,314	10	3	5	8,61,402	5,40,553	-	3,20,349
1850-51 -	8	1,43,400	4,15,615	2,72,215	7	5,83,406	8,29,110	2,45,704	10	3	5	7,48,903	4,89,505	-	2,59,693
1851-52 -	5	1,40,003	4,32,122	2,92,119	7	6,61,843	7,96,813	1,34,970	9	3	5	6,17,883	4,37,935	-	1,79,949

MEMORANDUM respecting the RECEIPTS and EXPENDITURE on account of the PILOT SLOOPS, and INLAND STEAM SERVICE.

PILOT SLOOPS.

The receipts include the sums derivable from pilotage of the ships entering and leaving the Port of Calcutta; from the hire of moorings; hauling and transporting ships from place to place; from duties on dhonies, buoys, lights and beacons, &c.

The expenses embrace the charges incurred for the maintenance of the pilot brigs and sloops; for the surveying and floating light vessels; for the establishments of the master attendant's and harbour-master's departments, and a proportion of the expenses of other departmental establishments; also the expenses of hawser, anchor, and other boats, besides marine charges in general.

INTERNAL STEAM SERVICE.

The receipts and earnings of the inland steamers and boats include the amount of freight and passage-money received from the public, and paid into the general treasury at Calcutta; and the credits carried to account as the savings rendered to the State by the employment of these vessels, instead of hired craft, in the conveyance of Government troops and stores, camp followers, &c.

The expenses comprise the charges of maintaining the steamers and boats; the freight office establishment; salaries, &c., of agents at stations; wages to native pilots; and a proportion of the expenses of various departmental establishments.

N. B.—No charge is included for interest on capital laid out in ships, buildings, docks, &c., nor for depreciation of property.

Marine Department,
7 July 1853.

J. C. Mason.

Appendix, No. 3.

Appendix, No. 3

LIST of PETITIONS referred to the Select Committee on INDIAN TERRITORIES,
Session 1852-53.

PRESENTED.	PETITIONERS.	PRAYER.	PAGE.
5 July 1852-53	- East Indians resident in London	Suggesting measures of amelioration -	113
5 July "	-- Jevanjee Prestonjee and Rustomjee Vicajee.	For redress - - - - -	115
7 July "	-- Members of the Madras Native Association, and others.	-- For a thorough inquiry into all the points affecting the welfare of India -	120
8 July "	Dr. George Buist - - -	-- Complaining of statements made in reference to newspapers in India - -	123
11 July "	-- Ministers and Missionaries in Madras, composing the Madras Missionary Conference.	-- For inquiring into the condition and government of British India - - -	129
	Members of the Bombay Association, and other native Inhabitants of the Presidency of Bombay.	- - - ditto - - - - -	131
13 July "	Meern Omaid Singh - - -	For redress - - - - -	136
4 July "	- - Merchants, Shipowners, and others, Liverpool.	-- Complaining of duty levied by East India Company - - - - -	138
	Merchants, Manufacturers, and others, St. Helen's.	- - - ditto - - - - -	139
7 July "	-- Inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Winsford, in the county of Chester.	-- For reduction of the duty on salt, imported into British India - - -	139
11 July "	-- Vice-President, and Directors of the Worcester Chamber of Commerce.	-- Complaining of duty levied by East India Company - - - - -	140
13 July "	-- Chairman of Bristol Chamber of Commerce.	- - - ditto - - - - -	141

The MEMORIAL of *East Indians* of the Presidencies of *Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay*, at present residing in *London*,

Most humbly showeth,

1. THAT your memorialists are natives of India, and members of a numerous and increasing class of subjects of the Crown of Great Britain at present sojourning in this country.

2. That the community to which your memorialists belong are chiefly descended from European fathers, and from natives of India on the mother's side, and from intermarriages between the offspring of such connexions.

3. That your memorialists' community forms a distinct one throughout the continent of India, and dates its existence long prior to the establishment of British rule there.

4. That ever since Great Britain has acquired permanent possession in India, your memorialists' community has increased in number more rapidly.

5. That your memorialists, although at present remotely situated from their native land, feeling the deepest solicitude in the well-being and every particular the ordinary interests in life of their countrymen, cannot therefore refrain from manifesting their own heartfelt sense at the present juncture as regards the public administration of the affairs of British India.

6. That your memorialists consider it imperative upon them to submit to your Honourable House the following grievances; and, although it may be urged that they have been virtually and positively removed by the East India Company's charter of 1833, your memorialists, nevertheless, beg leave most respectfully to assert that, in spirit or operation, that charter in relation to such grievances remains up to the present period a dead letter.

7. That your memorialists' community in India is entirely destitute of any rule of civil law. Those who are beyond the jurisdiction of Her Majesty's supreme court of judicature, and who may be temporarily or permanently residing in the interior provinces, are there made amenable to the Mahomedan and Hindoo criminal laws.

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8. That although a right of appeal is sometimes allowed to the superior tribunal, designated the Sudder Nizammut Adawlut, of the East India Company, yet such is the extraordinary power it possesses that it can increase punishment without allowing the common privilege of producing further evidence.

9. That as British subjects, and more especially as professing the Christian religion, it is extremely repugnant to the feelings of your memorialists' community to submit to the Mahomedan or Hindoo code in the provincial courts.

10. That, by Regulation VIII. of 1813, enacted by the East India Company, your memorialists' community are expressly classed among native subjects of the British Government, and consequently to all the disabilities of their Hindoo and Mahomedan fellow-subjects; and by Regulation III. of 1818, enacted by the local Government, they have been deprived of the protection of the Habeas Corpus Act, besides being liable to be taken up on mere suspicion, punished, and imprisoned as State prisoners, without the slightest chance of legal protection or hope of release, since the only channel of appeal is the local Government, and thus placing their property, their liberty, and even their lives at the mercy of every public functionary who may happen to be vested with power or authority.

11. That by Regulation III. of 1821 your memorialists' community is subjected in all cases to be dealt with as Hindoo and Mahomedan natives of the lowest grade, by being fined, imprisoned, and subjected even to corporal punishment, not only at the discretion of the European judges or magistrates of the East India Company's service, but even of the Mahomedan and Hindoo officers of justice.

12. That the criminal code to which your memorialists' community have been subjected is felt by them as not only a direct outrage to the religion they profess, but as an act of positive personal degradation and gross injustice.

13. That although the Act of the last charter, namely, of 1833, throws open all places of trust and emolument in the civil, military, and other branches of the East India Company's service, without distinction of caste, colour, or creed, yet the door to preferment is literally closed against your memorialists' countrymen, while many of them are perfectly qualified to fill them; and they continue to be superseded by Europeans quite inefficient, both from their standing and inexperience, as well as from their want of general knowledge with respect to the manners, habits, and notions of the people of the country.

14. That the charter of 1833 not having realised the expectations of your memorialists' countrymen, by a fair distribution even of many of the subordinate appointments under Government in the gift of heads of departments, and which are almost invariably conferred on others, will be borne out by the fact of the paucity of your memorialists' body holding any such places in all the Presidencies of India.

15. That your memorialists cannot refrain from objecting to the *primâ facie* evidence recently given by some officials of the East India Company's service before the Committee of your Honourable House, in terms no less unmeasured than disparaging as they are galling to the feelings of your memorialists and of their community.

16. Your memorialists think it needless to cite minutely instances of the general efficiency of fitness of their community towards being raised to superior offices equally with Europeans, beyond the facts that General Jones, who was at the head of the Bombay army in 1803, 1804, and 1805; General Lang, of the Madras army; and the distinguished and celebrated Colonels Skinner and Gardener, and Colonel Stevenson, a late quartermaster-general of the Bengal army, belonged to the class of your memorialists; and that the few who had been admitted prior to the prohibitory regulation, and others now belonging to the military and civil services of the East India Company, were and are sufficiently reputed for their high integrity, superior qualifications, and extensive information, is abundantly testified by the chronicles of India, the public testimony invariably borne in their favour by such eminent statesmen as the late Sir John Malcolm, the late Lord Metcalfe, the late Lord William Bentinck, the late Sir Alexander Johnston, and a host of other public characters, and is further testified by the several highly respectable and eminent members of our community who have adorned the bar, the pulpit, and the faculty, and who are now heads of several banking and mercantile firms of the first respectability, and constitute living proofs of the general respectable capacity of your memorialists' community, which must be well known to your Honourable House, and cannot require any further or lengthened illustration.

17. That your memorialists finally, most humbly, and with the greatest deference, venture to state that were the feelings, opinions, or wants of their community consulted, they would one and all exclaim and demand that legislators should also be chosen from among their own body, as well as from the various classes or tribes of the people, to fairly represent their diverse interests in the councils of the future administration of India, as pre-eminently qualified by their local knowledge. And, although millions of the population of India have hitherto most patiently submitted to be taxed, neglected, misrepresented and misgoverned by an oligarchy chiefly chosen by an unquestionably objectionable constituency of both sexes, and that too composed of the fractional atom of the great bulk of the talent, experience, and respectability of the English nation, your memorialists beg leave most respectfully to assure your Honourable House that, whether the reins of the future Govern-
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ment of India are to continue to be vested in the hands of the East India Company, or to be placed immediately under the supreme control of Her Majesty's Government, your memorialists do not feel solicitous of any change whatever beyond the desire to perfect equality of privileges and justice being both practically and theoretically meted out to them, not only as British subjects, but as inheritors of their native land, and who, for loyalty and attachment, stand second to none in the British empire, and who are still and ever will be found ready to defend the empire of Great Britain.

And your memorialists, in submitting the foregoing statement of their grievances to the serious consideration, wisdom, and justice of your Honourable House, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

Signed on behalf of a Meeting of East Indians of the Presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, at present residing in London, held at the residence of John B. Pharoah, Esq., Ennore-house, Lower Tulse-hill, Brixton, near London.

John Wollaston, Chairman.

The humble PETITION of *Jevanjee Pestonjee* and *Rustomjee Viccajee*, the Sons and Representatives of *Viccajee Merjee* and the late *Pestonjee Merjee*, British subjects and Parsee inhabitants of *Bombay*, lately carrying on the business of Bankers and Merchants at *Hyderabad* in the *Deccan*, as well as in *Bombay*, and other Places in British *India*,

Most humbly sheweth,

THAT your petitioners, as well as their fathers, who are British subjects, have suffered and have been for more than eight years suffering under grievous wrongs done them by his Highness the Nizam's Government, involving as well personal injuries as pecuniary losses; wrongs which your petitioners confidently believe no British subject other than those under the Government of the East India Company would be allowed to undergo with impunity to the wrongdoer. For the redress of those wrongs and losses your petitioners, as well as their fathers, have appealed to the British Government in India, and to the authorities in England, to whom the administration of affairs in India has been confided; but your petitioners and their fathers, in spite of their acknowledged rights as British subjects, have unhappily failed to obtain redress, which they could with all ease have procured for themselves had they been subjects of the Nizam's Government, or the subjects of any other native state in India, as your petitioners will hereinafter show; and your petitioners now humbly approach your Honourable House as the last means of obtaining redress for the cruel wrongs and injuries they have sustained, for which, in consequence of their being subjects of the British Crown, they have hitherto been unable to obtain any compensation.

In order to explain the circumstances which led your petitioners' fathers, *Viccajee Merjee* and *Pestonjee Merjee*, to go to the Nizam's territories, they beg to premise that *Viccajee Merjee* and *Pestonjee Merjee*, according to the usage of their ancestors for several generations, were employed in the administration of districts in the northern Concan, under the Paishwa's dynasty. From the time the British took possession of the country, *Viccajee Merjee* and *Pestonjee Merjee* in the very beginning assisted the British Government in the management of the revenues of a portion of that part of the country, and were afterwards entrusted by that Government with the farm of land and sea-customs, which they held up to 1836, when it was extended from the Candeish collectorate as far as the precincts of Goa, the Portuguese settlement. The manner in which they fulfilled this important trust has been appreciated by the Government of Bombay in one of their letters to your petitioners' fathers, dated 28th March 1836, at the time of abolishing the land customs, in the following words: "The correctness and punctuality displayed by you in your extensive dealings with Government entitle you to every consideration." The result of these extensive dealings has been recorded by one of the officers of Government in his letter to the Revenue Commissioner, dated 31st August 1835, in the words following: "Viccajee Merjee, on the contrary, takes an honest pride in showing the extent to which, by his enterprising spirit, he has not only more than doubled the resources of Government during the short space of seven years, but accumulated for his descendants a competency; and he may well boast of never having given Government a single cause to regret their having given to him, a private individual, the management of an extent of territory and a sum of money never before equalled in the records of any Government." To this your petitioners could add many other testimonies equally pointed and conclusive.

In 1836, when the land customs were abolished, *Viccajee Merjee* and *Pestonjee Merjee* were of necessity unemployed, and as they were excluded from all occupation suitable to their birth, position, and abilities in the British territories, they were induced to repair to the Nizam's country, which is bordering on the Bombay presidency, with the object of increasing the cotton trade from Berar to Bombay, which they had the honour of first opening during their farm of the land and sea customs entrusted to them by the British Government. On this occasion the Nizam's minister, the late Rajah Chundoolall, repeated an offer which he had previously made, to put certain cotton districts of Berar under their management; and on their agreeing, after obtaining possession of those districts, to give loans to the Government, *Viccajee Merjee* and *Pestonjee Merjee*, according to the policy

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invariably pursued by the English Government in India, having no chance of obtaining employment in the British territories suitable to their rank and position, accepted the offer, and agreed to give, and did give, the loans required by the Nizam's Government, it being an express condition, on their making the said advances, that they should hold possession of certain districts in Berar.

The demands for such loans grew gradually more pressing from day to day, and in 1841 seriously alarmed your petitioners, as well as their fathers, and those towards whom they themselves had contracted engagements, in order to obtain the means to meet the demands of the Nizam's Government. However, at this time, Viccajee Merjee and Pestonjee Merjee, as security for the loans, made a security, in which many British subjects had a deep interest, held possession of certain Berar districts, yielding a gross revenue of 23 lacs of Hyderabad rupees, or 200,000*l.* On this occasion they submitted to the Nizam's minister the circumstances which had put their credit in danger, and it was thereupon agreed, with the consent of both parties, namely, of Viccajee Merjee and Pestonjee Merjee, and the Nizam's Government, that they should give up possession of nearly half of the districts then held by them, and should retain that of the other half on the condition that an instrument should be deposited in the British residency, specifying the districts that were to remain in their possession, and that such possession should be confirmed and continued until the claims of the firm of Pestonjee Viccajee were liquidated in full. This arrangement was accordingly carried into effect, the instrument or deed giving effect to it bearing date 18th October 1841, which concludes in these words, that "it has been decided by the Government that, until the liquidation of the aforesaid sum, with interest, the possession of the districts is confirmed, and will be continued to him (Pestonjee Viccajee)," was deposited by the Nizam's government in the British residency; and on the execution of such deed, the possession of nearly half of the districts held by the firm was then, and not till then, given up by them to the Nizam's Government. By this arrangement your Honourable House will observe that, if there had been no meaning in the condition that the instrument in question should be deposited in the British residency, for the security of the possession of the districts specified in it, which were of the gross revenue of 13 lacs of rupees, your petitioners, as well as their fathers, would not have agreed to the arrangement specified above in preference to the actual possession of the whole of the districts, which were of the annual value of 23 lacs of rupees. The cession of the districts yielding a revenue of 10 lacs of rupees was solely made for the sake of obtaining what your petitioners, as well as their fathers, considered the specific security of the British Government, or at least the recognition by that Government of the transaction.

The original instrument now lies in the British residency, and your petitioners' fathers were furnished with an authenticated copy of it by the Resident for the satisfaction of their creditors, as by himself notified to the Nizam's Government, in his letter dated 19th October 1841, before sending a copy to your petitioners' fathers.

Your Honourable House will observe that your petitioners and their fathers were aware that as British subjects they could not have recourse to those means of resistance to the unjust violence of the Nizam which the subjects of the Nizam employ without scruple, and invariably with success; and therefore your petitioners' fathers provided as they conceived, for their security, and the security of their creditors, by depositing the aforesaid instrument in the British residency, representing the British Government in India, and by obtaining a copy of it from the Resident, under his official authentication, for the satisfaction of their creditors.

Now your petitioners beg to show how much confidence they and their creditors had in this arrangement, and in this satisfaction, and in what manner subjects of the British Crown in India have endured wrong because they have faithfully performed their duty by claiming the mediation, and relying on the protection of their own Government, in preference to any attempt to obtain redress by violent resistance to the unjust and illegal conduct of the Nizam.

The financial position of the Nizam's Government becoming every day more critical, by reason of continuing demands upon it for the pay of the British contingent and for other equally urgent State purposes, while the Government treasury became every day less able to meet them, the Government was on several occasions obliged to have recourse to the firm of Pestonjee Viccajee, who again assisted it in its difficulties, by making the necessary advances, with a stipulation in writing from the Nizam's government, bearing date the 5th of May 1843, in the words following, "That until the liquidation, with interest, of your claims, former and present, agreeably to the signed accounts, the possession of the said districts is confirmed and will be continued to you, of which you may rest satisfied." The last sum that was advanced by the firm was only 5 lacs of rupees, given to the Nizam himself, on his solemn assurance of good will, and on his engagement to repay it in six months.

Just four months after this, towards the end of June, 1845, the Nizam's Government, then indebted to the firm to the extent of about 300,000*l.* acknowledged by the Government, issued orders to its own troops to wrest the mortgaged districts from the possession of the firm. These orders were in such direct contravention of the aforesaid arrangement and satisfaction, that it may be asked what could have led the Nizam's Government to such outrages and breach of faith pledged to British subjects, through the mediation of the British representative, by an instrument deposited in his residency.

Your petitioners beg to state that the Nizam's Government, instead of assigning any reason for such a breach of faith even assured the British Resident, at the time the orders of violence

violence were issued, by a letter dated 30th June, 1845, that the claims of the firm would be paid in cash by 6 lacs of rupees annually, through the Resident, until they were liquidated, which promise however has never been fulfilled, but has shared the same fate as the mortgage arrangement, and the satisfaction; but your petitioners having every reason to believe that this breach of faith, on the part of the Nizam, emanated from a conviction that a British subject, in consequence of his allegiance to the British Government, could not follow the example of his Highness's own subjects, and enforce justice for himself by taking the law into his own hands.

Your petitioners would here point out how the subjects of the Nizam compel their Government to do them justice. It is a fact well known to the British residents and officers who have resided in the Nizam's country, and of course through their reports to the Government of India, and a fact attested by a letter now in possession of your petitioners from the English officer in command of the contingent troops stationed in the districts, that when the Nizam's Government issues orders to its troops to sequester districts held by its own subjects for the liquidation of their claims on the Government, they, the district holders, resist the Nizam's troops by all possible means, maintain possession of their districts, and thus compel the Government to act in conformity to its engagements and agreements. During a period dating from a year previous to the dispossession of your petitioners from their mortgaged districts up to the present time, such instances of the district holders offering open resistance to the Nizam's Government have occurred more than 10 times under the eyes of the British authorities there; a fact which your petitioners are ready to prove, if required.

If these district holders have been able to protect their property against the violence of the Nizam, though their districts were of much less extent in value than those assigned to the firm, and being much less beloved by the inhabitants of those districts than your petitioners' fathers, it is reasonable to suppose that your petitioners, and their fathers, who had the possession of a part of the Berar districts, yielding 13 lacs of Hyderabad rupees, or 110,000 L. per annum, and extending from the eastern frontier of the Nizam's territories as far as the western, could (and the fact is so) have maintained possession of the country mortgaged to them in defiance of the illegal orders and violence of the Nizam. But the fact of their being British subjects imposed on them the necessity of submitting to wrong instead of following the example of others by taking the law in their own hands.

Your petitioners' fathers, therefore, as British subjects, appealed to the British Government for protection, by a petition dated the 24th of June 1845, at the very moment the orders of violence were issued by the Nizam's Government at Hyderabad, and handed that petition to the British representative at his Highness's court.

The Resident, before dispatching the petition to the Government of India, considered it his duty to endeavour, in the first place, to prevent the injury and wrong being inflicted on your petitioners and their fathers; and with that view interfered by addressing a letter of remonstrance to the Nizam's Government at the very time the orders of violence were issued, but it had no effect; the Resident, therefore, dispatched the petition to the Government of India for further orders, together with the copies of the correspondence on the subject.

In the meantime the Nizam's troops wrested the possession of the mortgaged districts from your petitioners' fathers by violence and bloodshed, the particulars of which were duly reported by them to the Resident by two letters, dated 2d and 9th August 1845, and by the latter to the Government of India for consideration in continuation of the appeal which they had already made.

Soon after your petitioners and their fathers had thus been unlawfully and forcibly dispossessed of the districts formally transferred to them, as security for the advances made by them to the Nizam's Government, and after having had their servants remorselessly murdered (no pretext for such violence and cruelty having been afforded by resistance on their part to the troops of the Nizam), your petitioners and their fathers had the disappointment of receiving a letter on the 9th of August 1845, in reply to their aforesaid petition, refusing all protection or interference on the part of the British Government.

Your petitioners humbly implore your Honourable House to consider the ruinous consequences to them of this refusal on the part of the Indian Government to extend to them that protection which they humbly ventured to think they were, as British subjects, entitled to demand, and they would hope not the less so from the confidence and reliance they had always placed in the disposition, no less than in the power, of the British Government to protect all its subjects from acknowledged injury and wrong; and the consequent determination of your petitioners, as well as their fathers, to abstain from those means of obtaining redress for themselves which would have been sanctioned by the lawless practices and customs of the Nizam's dominions, but which would have been plainly at variance with their duty and allegiance as subjects of the English Crown.

Since that period, namely, June 1845, up to the present time, namely, June 1853, your petitioners, as well as their fathers and their creditors, being British subjects, have incessantly submitted their wrongs and claims to the consideration of the British Government, both in India and in England, at the several times hereinafter stated:

1. Petition to the Government of India from the Hyderabad firm of Pestonjee Viccajee, dated 24th June 1845.
2. Ditto to ditto, from the Bombay firm of Viccajee Merjee, dated 7th July 1845.
3. Ditto to the Government of Bombay from ditto, ditto, ditto, submitting the above petitioners

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4. Ditto to the Government of India from the Hyderabad firm of Pestonjee Viccajee, dated 4th March 1848.
 5. Ditto to ditto from ditto, dated 11th May 1848.
 6. Ditto to ditto from the Bombay creditors of the firm of Viccajee Merjee, dated 13th March 1848.
 7. Ditto to the Government of Bombay from ditto, dated 28th February 1848.
 8. Ditto to the Government of India from the creditors of the firm of the Calcutta branch, dated 15th March 1848.
 9. Memorial to the Court of Directors from the Hyderabad firm of Pestonjee Viccajee, dated 9th November 1850, submitted through the Government of India.
 10. Memorial to the Court of Directors from the creditors of Viccajee Merjee and Pestonjee Merjee, made on their behalf by their trustees, dated Bombay, 29th October 1850, submitted through the Government of India.
 11. A brief statement of facts laid before the Court of Directors by a letter dated London, 23d April 1851, from Jevanjee Pestonjee and Rustomjee Viccajee.
 12. Petition to the Government of India from the firm of Pestonjee Viccajee, submitted by their agents in Calcutta, dated 18th February 1852.
 13. Ditto to ditto from ditto, dated 26th May 1852.
 14. Memorial to the President of the Board of Control from the firm of Pestonjee Viccajee, submitted by their agents in London, accompanied with a case dated 21st March 1853.
 15. Letter to the President of the Board of Control from Jevanjee Pestonjee and Rustomjee Viccajee, dated 9th June 1853.

Nevertheless, your petitioners, as well as their fathers and their creditors, have unhappily hitherto failed in getting redress. No reason whatever is given by the President of the Board of Control for denial of protection to British subjects in India, as prayed by your petitioners in their memorial to him. But your petitioners believe that the argument which the Court of Directors urge is, that they have laid down a principle of non-interference in native states in India, lest the interference of the irresistible power of the British in the weak state of the Nizam may be supposed to give the force of dictation to their representations. Your petitioners however humbly submit to Your Honourable House that whereas in their case a very weak power has committed a very grievous wrong with perfect impunity, to which their duty as British subjects has compelled them to submit without resistance, it follows conclusively that if the policy adopted by the authorities in India shall be maintained, the consequence of being a subject of the British Crown in India must be, that such subject must either desist from all transactions with the government of a native or foreign state, or must consent to the unresisting victim of the violence or oppression practised upon him.

Your petitioners beg the attention of your Honourable House to a principle adopted by one of the most distinguished men whom India has ever produced, namely, Lord Metcalfe, who held the office of British Resident at the court at Hyderabad, and with whose views and opinions none of the authorities of his time, either in India or in England, were known to differ. Lord Metcalfe, when resident at Hyderabad, wrote in a despatch, dated 31st August 1822, to the Government of India as follows: "I suppose our interference in his Highness's affairs to be not merely a right, but a duty arising out of our supremacy in India, which imposes upon us the obligation of maintaining the tranquillity of all countries connected with us, and consequently of protecting the people from oppression, as no less necessary than the guaranteeing their rulers against revolution." "Interference in the internal concerns of states under our protection is neither desirable nor generous when it can be avoided, and should only then be resorted to when it is clearly necessary for the preservation of the people from the misery and destruction which must ever attend oppression and misrule." "In every case where we support the ruling power, but more especially in such a case as that last described (supporting the minister of the Nizam) we become responsible in a great measure for the acts of the Government, and if they are hurtful to the people, we aid in inflicting the injury." Your Honourable House will further observe, that the Court of Directors, in their despatch to the Government of India, dated 21st January 1824, have issued instructions in the words following: "We agree with Sir Charles Metcalfe, that 'a system of non-interference, founded on regard to the rights of an independent sovereign, if practicable under the circumstances of our intimate connexion with the Nizam's government, would have great and decided advantages, and is that which we ought to endeavour to establish, provided always that the irresistible strength which our protection affords to the Government be not converted to the oppression of the people.' The concluding consideration in the foregoing passage is most important, and constitutes in our mind the strongest objection against our withdrawing from all interference in the concerns of a Government which we are bound by treaty to protect, however tyrannical and oppressive may be its proceedings." Such was the policy of the authorities in India and in England, based upon sound, moderate, and just principles, while Lord Metcalfe was in India; and your
petitioners

petitioners do not hesitate to state the subsequent deviation by the Court of Directors from the very principle laid down by a statesman of great experience and undoubted ability in the organisation of Indian politics, and adopted by the authorities of his time in India and in England, has been the very direct and immediate cause of anarchy, oppression, and tyranny over millions of human beings in that country, whose only refuge, when intolerably oppressed, is in emigration or insurrection, the former of which they sometimes adopt with the greatest pain, and the latter of which they could not and dare not have recourse to, whilst their sovereign and his government are supported by the irresistible power of the British. It is clear that the experience and knowledge of that great and good man Lord Metcalfe, acquired and formed upon the spot, as well as that of those that concurred with him, have had no weight with the authorities, situate at so great a distance, who have latterly laid down the principle of non-interference even in cases of the utmost hardship, such as that of your petitioners. However this principle may be defended as a general rule, it will be found, if invariably carried out, to be based on unwise and unjust presumptions, and to sanction indirectly acts of oppression and of wrong, utterly repugnant to the spirit and practice of English government.

It may be said that, as your petitioners and their fathers hazarded their fortunes in a foreign state, they must run the risk and abide by the consequences arising therefrom. Your petitioners humbly beg to assure your Honourable House that nothing but the invariable internal policy of the English in India, which deprived them from having any share in the government of their own country, as enjoyed by their ancestors, induced them to leave their native land, the Bombay Presidency, and hazard their fortunes in a foreign state; that there your petitioners did not give loans on mere drafts upon revenues, but solely upon the security and possession of certain landed property; and if when there, while your petitioners are under the duty of allegiance to the British Government, at the same time they are denied protection in return for that allegiance, for the sake of the external policy now laid down by the Court of Directors, the condition of the natives of India under the British rule could not be better, but would be worse, than slavery elsewhere, which the English Government have so long endeavoured to abolish.

Your petitioners need not remark how much more in this case the interests of the rulers of British India have been thought of than their duty in respect to the subjects under their rule. The duty of allegiance is enforced against British subjects by their rulers; instead, however, of giving them protection in return, the rulers of British India, in 1851, did actually enforce from the Nizam, by means of intimidation and threat of confiscation of his territory, a payment in cash of about 333,000*l.* on account of the debt due to them by the Nizam, a debt incurred for a purpose similar to that of the claims of your petitioners, viz., the pay of the British contingent; and thus, in preference to fulfilling the most solemn duty imposed on every State, and which binds it to its subjects in consideration of their allegiance, the British Government paid themselves. Not only so, but the last mail from India, which left Bombay on the 23d of May 1853, has brought intelligence which exhibits the conduct of the rulers of British India towards their subjects in a still more striking light. It is to the effect that, in lieu of the arrears and claims in full for the pay of the British contingent, the Governor-general has demanded from the Nizam (to which demand his Highness has acceded) a perpetual cession of that part of his territories, viz., the Berar Valley, which includes nearly two-thirds of the districts mortgaged by the Nizam's government to your petitioners' fathers. These districts were placed in their uncontrolled possession; upon them they gave loans to his Highness; and when they were deprived of them by violence, your petitioners and their fathers, as British subjects, have incessantly appealed to the British Government in India and in England for restitution and redress. That Government, being fully and minutely acquainted with all the facts of this remarkable case, has deliberately thought it just and proper to pursue the course of paying themselves, by the seizure of the property mortgaged to its own subjects: a course which would have been impossible had it not been for the irresistible power vested in the hands of the rulers of British India by the British Crown, and Legislature, but who are by their constitution responsible for the ill use of that power.

If anything could add to the sense of injustice under which your petitioners, as well as their fathers and creditors, are now labouring, it would be found in the fact that the advances in exchange for which they received security by a mortgage on the districts in question were almost entirely required for and spent in the payment of the British troops, as the bills now in the hands of the firm signed by the officers in command prove beyond dispute. This money was advanced at a most critical period before the war in Afghanistan, and during that war. The refusal of the advance by the firm of Pestonjee Viccajee would, beyond all doubt, have provoked a mutiny, and the consequences of that mutiny would have been most serious and full of danger to British interests; and now the East India Company, whose troops have been paid by the money advanced by Pestonjee Viccajee, has taken possession of a large portion of the district mortgaged to Pestonjee Viccajee for the repayment of those advances, and refuses to pay any portion of the debt secured upon those very districts.

These are the facts which are submitted to the mature and deliberate consideration of your Honourable House, and which will be found to prove—

First. That your petitioners and their fathers are acknowledged subjects of the British Crown in India, and therefore bound by the duty of allegiance to the British Government.

Secondly. That they are denied protection, and that the property mortgaged to them, after being

Appendix, No. 3. being plundered by the Nizam, is arbitrarily taken possession of by the British Government in payment of their own claims. To preserve the rights and property of your petitioners inviolate they should either receive protection from those who claim their allegiance, or they should be allowed to protect themselves. Your petitioners are confident that they could do so by following the example of the subjects of the Nizam. But, before taking the law into their own hands, your petitioners, as loyal subjects of the British Crown, consider themselves in duty bound to have the question of their allegiance settled; and they desire, as a bare act of justice, to be informed whether they can proceed to enforce their own claims on the Nizam (and if necessary by violent means) without being guilty of a misdemeanour, and being liable to punishment for violation of the law. If your petitioners follow the example of the Nizam's subjects it may excite revolt, and it may possibly disturb the peace and tranquillity of the neighbouring British provinces; for when hostilities once begin no one knows where they will end.

Your petitioners are therefore unhappily constrained to their last extremity to lay their humble petition for assistance and redress before your Honourable House, and to pray that, if the British Government have a right to claim the allegiance of your petitioners and their fathers to their laws, they should reinstate your petitioners as well as their fathers in possession of the districts solemnly pledged and assigned to them, with all the rights as were vested in them at the time when the Nizam, by violence and a military force, dispossessed them; or that the British Government should allow your petitioners and their fathers to follow the example of others in taking the law into their own hands, and that the British Government should not interfere in the matter whilst your petitioners and their fathers thus seek redress for wrongs, and attempt to repair the injuries done them.

And your petitioners humbly pray for such further assistance and redress as your Honourable House may think fit to grant.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

12, Cambridge Terrace, Hyde Park, London,
5 July 1853.

Jevanjee Pestonjee,
and
Rustomjee Viccajee.

The humble PETITION of the *Madras* Native Association, and others Native Inhabitants of the Presidency of *Madras*.

Showeth,

1. THAT your petitioners, having read * * * * * in the "Times" and other English newspapers, that Her Majesty's Ministry considers most of the subjects of their petition would be more properly left for the action of the local government, your petitioners beg to represent that the revenue system, against which your petitioners have stated their strongest objections, was called into operation in consequence of the Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, dated the 28th July 1812, and printed by Order of your Honourable House, which states at pages 123, 124—

"It appears to the Committee, from the examinations which they have made into the effects of the ryotwar principle of settlement throughout the modern possessions of the Company under the Madras presidency, that it has greatly improved the situation of the cultivator by limiting the bounds of the public assessment, and adjusting the actual demand on each person subject to such assessment according to his ability to satisfy it, by relieving him from the oppressive exactions of the native revenue officers, and securing him in the protection of his property and rights. So favourable a change in their condition has necessarily excited a confidence among the ryots in the equity and justice of the Company's government, and this confidence has derived material strength from having periodically and frequently opened to them a ready and direct channel of communication and intercourse with the immediate representatives of Government, on all matters connected with their interests and grievances, which has had the effect of binding them, as it were, to it, and of rendering them the real instead of nominal subjects of the Company; while the natural consequences have been that the ryots have received a new incentive to industry, cultivation has been gradually extended, by which an augmentation of the public revenue has been yielded without an increase of assessment."

2. That this favourable opinion respecting the ryotwar was given at an early period of its trial on a small scale; and it appears, from the preceding paragraph of the Report, to have been derived from the opinion of three or four collectors who had been instrumental to the introduction of the experiment, among whom was Sir Thomas Munro; but eight years afterwards, during which it had continued on an increasing scale, and in a modified or improved form, called field ryotwar, when Sir Thomas came out as Governor of Madras, he found it absolutely necessary, as stated in your petitioners' former petition, to reduce the amount of the assessment in the district in which ryotwar pressed lightest on the people, namely, the Ceded Districts, 25 per cent. on dry and wet lands, and 33 per cent. on garden lands. Sir Thomas died in India in the year 1827, at which period it was found that the public revenue from the land had then decreased to 42½ lacs, from a revenue of 57 lacs in the year 1807; a convincing proof that the new system up to that date had been a failure.

3. That your petitioners have not the means of knowing the present revenue arising from the ryotwar, but they know that under its operation the ryots have been reduced to poverty
and

and wretchedness; and your petitioners pray that, as the Parliament has been the author of it, or that at least it has been established by its sanction, although in opposition to the opinion and wishes of the local authorities, who declared it to be contrary to the ancient national institutions, and unsuited to the condition and genius of the people, the same authority may now be the instrument of its abolition; not by acting upon the evidence of the Company's servants taken in England, but by instituting a full and impartial inquiry into its merits and demerits on the spot where it is in operation, and among and from the people who are suffering under its withering oppression.

4. That your petitioners are convinced that by no other mode will your Honourable House be able to form a just and clear judgment on the question so momentous to the native subjects of the Crown in the Presidency of Madras; for, without reference in this place to the bias from which the servants of the Company cannot be supposed to free themselves, when speaking as to the effects of the favourite system of their employers, and which they have contributed to enforce and maintain, your petitioners will advert to a particular instance of misinformation given by a gentleman, who, without being suspected of bias, has given positive evidence, the contrary of fact, before the Committee of the Right Honourable the House of Lords.

5. That the gentleman alluded to is Mr. Charles Hay Cameron, formerly the fourth or law member of the Council of India. This gentleman having been interrogated by the Committee which sat during the course of last year, regarding the *lex loci* of 1845, framed, as your petitioners have reason to believe, by himself, and having admitted the receipt of a remonstrance against it from the Hindus of Madras, and Mr. Secretary Bushby's reply, is asked:

"No. 2098. What was the end of it?"

"The law was not passed then, but it has been passed since.

"No. 2099. Was any reply made on the part of the remonstrants to the paper which you have read?"

"No reply; I believe the justice of the doctrine was acquiesced in."

And in a subsequent examination the same gentleman is asked:

"No. 2359. Was there any reply received from the petitioners after that document (Mr. Secretary Bushby's letter of the 24 May 1845) had been communicated to them?"

"There was no reply received: there was another remonstrance of the same kind from some Hindoos at Calcutta, in reply to which we enclosed the answer that we had previously sent to the Madras Hindoos, stating that that contained our principles on the subject.

"No. 2363. After the passing of the *lex loci* had been suspended, in the manner which you have described on a former occasion, at what period was the subsequent law of the three articles introduced, proposing to re-enact those provisions with respect to the property of Christian converts?"

"Legislative consultations of the 2 August 1845, I find to be the marginal note on the draft made by me.

"No. 2364. Are you aware of any remonstrance, analogous to that from Madras which had been previously addressed to the Government, having been repeated when those clauses were proposed as a separate measure?"

"I have no recollection of any such remonstrance; I never heard of any after the two I have mentioned."

6. That Mr. Cameron had no intention to mislead the Select Committee of the House of Lords is clear, from his reply to question

"No. 2366. Your evidence as to the appeal against the clauses applied to what occurred during your own stay in India?"

"To what occurred during my own stay in India."

But, as the fact of silence on the part of the Madras Hindus seems to be implied by another evidence, Sir Herbert Maddock, who, when stating in answer to No. 2,239, that a remonstrance was made to Mr. Bushby's reply, points out, No. 2,241, that it was from the Hindu inhabitants of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, the inference left on the minds of the Committee, your petitioners apprehend, must have been that the Madras memorialists acquiesced in the justice of the doctrines, as stated by Mr. Cameron; and, as such an inference is not warranted from the facts of the case, your petitioners deem it of consequence to explain the circumstances as they actually occurred.

That no reply was sent to Mr. Bushby's letter from the Hindus of Madras during Mr. Cameron's residence in this country is undoubtedly correct; but as soon as the draft of the Act of Three Articles was promulgated in the Fort of St. George Gazette, at this presidency, in November 1849, a remonstrance was immediately forwarded against it to the Supreme Government, regarding which Mr. Bethune, who had succeeded to council as law member, observes, "a great part of it is taken up with an elaborate argument in reply to Mr. Bushby's answer to the memorial of 1845." This remonstrance was printed along with other papers by order of your Honourable House on the 7th May 1851; and your petitioners beg to state that neither they, nor the remonstrants, nor the Madras Hindu community, have ever acquiesced in the doctrines laid down by Mr. Bushby; but, on the contrary,

Appendix, No. 3. contrary, they consider the legislation on the *lex loci* to be a direct infringement of the civil rights, and a positive violation of the Act of the Imperial Parliament, 21 Geo. 3, c. 70, ss. 17 and 18, as well as of the 53rd section of the present Charter Act.

8. That your petitioners allude to this circumstance chiefly to show the manifest uncertainty of the evidence taken before the Parliamentary Committees; and, as the witnesses examined, without a single exception, are persons who have received, or are still in the receipt of, benefits from the East India Company, your petitioners are compelled to believe that the actual state of things cannot be correctly ascertained without sufficient evidence being admitted on both sides of the several questions which have to be determined; and your petitioners, therefore, humbly represent that nothing but a full and impartial investigation in this country, accessible to the complainants as well as to the defendants, can place before your Honourable House the real state of India, and the existence of the many and heavy grievances of which they have complained as regards the presidency of Madras; they therefore respectfully request that a Royal Commission may be appointed, before which they may have the opportunity of substantiating the facts advanced in their former petition.

9. That your petitioners beg to represent that an Indian Commission is not altogether a novelty, there being a precedent in the one appointed in the year 1814, of which Sir Thomas Munro was the head, for the purpose of inquiring into and amending the judicial system then obtaining at this presidency; but, as not only the judicial system, but likewise that of the revenue, as also the various other complaints preferred by your petitioners, imperatively demand investigation at this critical period, your petitioners pray that the Commission they now seek may be constituted upon the widest practicable basis, to the end that the inquiry may be searching, impartial, and complete, and that no permanent legislation for India may be undertaken until the fullest information possible shall have been laid before and fully discussed by the Imperial Parliament of the United Kingdom.

10. That your petitioners have already requested the continuance of the councils at the minor presidencies, and they now respectfully reiterate their prayer to have them constituted on the precedent of the council on the island of Ceylon, in which your petitioners' countrymen have enjoyed seats for a series of years; and, as your petitioners understand that constitutions have been, or are on the eve of being, granted to the settlements of the Cape of Good Hope and New Zealand, admitting the natives there to the same electoral and municipal privileges as the European colonists, they humbly and anxiously trust that your Honourable House will not deem the barbarians of the former, and the cannibals of the latter colony more deserving or more fitting to be entrusted with a share in the management of their own affairs, than the inhabitants of a country which for scores of centuries has been renowned throughout the world for its civilisation, literature, and commerce, and which had its own sovereigns, governments, and codes of law, long before the English nation had a name in history.

11. That, while your petitioners acknowledge and have asked for the advantage of a reconstruction and improvement of the home and local administration of India, yet that alone will be of no avail to redress the grievances and reform the abuses of the local governments, so long as they are composed of two or three Company's officials, legislating in the utmost secrecy, and concealing with the most assiduous carefulness the whole of their transactions, secure not only from all check, but from the least shadow of knowledge on the part of the people, whose interests are unfortunately considered of not the slightest consequence to the Government whose duty it is to legislate for their sole benefit.

12. That your petitioners will consider themselves and their community deeply humiliated and deeply aggrieved, if, after the open acknowledgments of persons high in office in this country and in England, that they are as capable to hold responsible employments as the members of the now exclusive civil service; that they are their equals on the bench, and successful competitors in the study of European arts, science, and literature, they are longer shut out from the offices for which they are confessedly qualified, while the savage Hottentot and New Zealander are preferred before them.

13. That your petitioners finally conclude with the expression of their earnest hope and prayer that sufficient time may be granted for a thorough inquiry into all points affecting the welfare of this country, as distributed under the eight heads laid down by the Committee of your Honourable House; that the local councils may be retained, and modelled upon the constitutional principle before adverted to; and that a Royal Commission, composed of Europeans and natives conjointly, chosen partly in Europe and partly in India, may be issued, to enter upon and complete the necessary investigation in this country.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

T. Auroomoogavy.
V. Somasoondram.
S. Namasevogum.
&c. &c. &c.

Madras, 21 May 1853.

To the Honourable the Commons of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* in Parliament assembled.

Appendix, No. 3

The PETITION of Dr. *George Buist*, Editor of "*Bombay Times*," Secretary to the Geographical Society, founder and superintendent of the School of Industry, late Sheriff of *Bombay*, and formerly in charge of the Astronomical, Meteorological and Magnetic Observatories of the East India Company at *Bombay*; formerly Secretary to the Agricultural Society of *Western India*, and in charge of their Experimental Gardens,

Showeth,

THAT your petitioner has been close on 20 years connected as editor with the newspaper press; for a third of that period as editor and proprietor; having for nearly eight years conducted, with credit and success, newspapers in the central counties of Scotland, Forfar, Perth and Fife, and for more than 12 been editor; and for six, editor and principal proprietor of the oldest and most extensively circulated journal in Western India, the "*Bombay Times*;" and that for the whole of this long period he has had constant occasion to study most carefully newspapers from nearly all parts of the world; those of London in particular, to some of which he has been a large and highly-paid contributor, having occupied his closest attention.

That the "*Bombay Times*," one of three daily papers published at the presidency, was brought into existence in 1838, shortly after the passing of the Charter Act (1834), and the removal of the disabilities of the press by Lord Metcalfe (1835); and with the express view of advocating public improvement, and devoting itself to the interests of the country, to the discussion of the views and policy of Government, and the examination and diffusion of those opinions, facts and doctrines, the circumstances of the occasion and exigencies and prospects of the period rendered expedient, with the cordial approval of Sir Robert Grant, the Governor of the time, and countenance and support of the most distinguished servants of Government. Its projectors and proprietors comprised amongst them 11 of the principal European houses in Bombay; the oldest and most distinguished native merchant; two of the most eminent barristers before the Supreme Court, and the most distinguished private medical practitioner in Western India. That they selected as their editor Dr. Brennan, a lecturer of eminence on anatomy, in Dublin, whose health rendered a warm climate desirable, and who, on his arrival at Bombay, was elected to the then responsible office of secretary to the Chamber of Commerce, besides being editor of the "*Times*."

That the proprietors of the "*Courier*," the principal paper in Bombay up to 1838, and long the recognised organ of Government, were equally eminent as those of the "*Bombay Times*;" and that the paper had engaged from time to time the services as editors of many of the most talented servants of Government.

That the first editor of the "*Bombay Times*," Dr. Brennan, having died in 1839, the paper was for a time conducted by Professor Henderson, of the Elphinstone College, a servant of Government; afterwards by Dr. Knight, at present Residency Surgeon, Khota, and of the Bengal Medical Service; and that your petitioner having been selected, from the eminence he had attained as a provincial journalist in Scotland, to the editorship of the "*Bombay Times*," entered on his duties in May 1840, and has continued to conduct the paper ever since, with the highest approbation of his employers, on the principles on which it was originally started.

From the constant fluctuations in the mercantile community in Bombay, numerous changes in the proprietary have from time to time taken place; and the "*Times*" having always yielded, as it continues to yield, from 30 to 40 per cent. of dividends annually on the amount originally invested, a number of the most distinguished servants of Government became proprietors soon after the promulgation of the permission of the Court of Directors for its civil and military servants to connect themselves with the press. In 1847, the principal proprietors, after your petitioner, were the Puisne Judge of the Sudder Adawlut, the Collector of Customs, the Deputy Quarter-master-general, now Quarter-master-general of the Bombay army, the Secretary to the Medical Board, afterwards Physician-general, and the Medical Storekeeper, now Superintending Surgeon at the Presidency; and, with two exceptions, one from retirement from the service, and the other from promotion, these gentlemen still continue principal proprietors of the paper.

That your petitioner has not only devoted the columns of the "*Bombay Times*" to the advancement of good government, to the spread of education, of improvement, and economy, to the denunciation of those bloody and superfluous wars which, within these 12 years, have cost us 30 millions sterling, and that policy which, under the name of expediency, disregards the principles of truth and justice, and sets up a standard of morals for statesmen opposed to the principles of Christianity, and the evils of which to our name and character, as Wellington has so well remarked, cannot be compensated by the most brilliant victories; but has, as far as circumstances permitted, endeavoured, in his private capacity, to promote the improvements he, as an editor, recommended: a circumstance to which numerous letters of acknowledgment received from Government bear ample testimony.

Under these circumstances, it is with much surprise, mortification, and chagrin, that your petitioner has seen it stated in the evidence laid before the Committee of your Honourable House, that the newspapers in India, with the exception of a Bengal journal, called "*The Friend*

Appendix, No. 3. Friend of India," are uniformly and universally hostile to the Government, and are continually engaged in impugning and slandering its proceedings; and that though they admit of corrections, when made to them, still their tendency is that of unceasing and continual hostility to the authorities.

That so far is this from being the fact in the case of your petitioner, that he has been frequently charged by his brethren with being the organ of the local Government; and in the majority of cases coming under discussion, his views and those of the Government have coincided with each other. That being averse to needless aggression and uncalled-for war, he was opposed to the general policy of the Government from 1840 to 1845; that since then he has been a warm supporter and ardent admirer of the proceedings of the Governor-general of India almost throughout. Your petitioner was at one with the Bombay Government in the deposition of the Rajah of Sattara; in their views of the war of Affghanistan, and on the conquest of Scinde, in their views of the conduct of the Nuffoosh Commission; the Court of Directors having in 1851 expressed themselves in nearly the same terms as were used by your petitioner on the subject in the previous year. That your petitioner highly applauded the revenue arrangements of Government; their anxiety to promote improvements in the culture of cotton; their desire to advance native education by conferring Government appointments on the most distinguished of the native scholars, and the employment of natives more extensively than before in the public service; in their appointments of the residents at Sattara and Baroda, and the Commissioner in Scinde, and in the great majority of other arrangements: an evidence at once, it is hoped, of the merits of the Government, and the independence and soundness of the views of your petitioner.

Your petitioner, at the commencement of his editorial career, strongly condemned the existing state of the Post-office arrangements, and in recommending their improvement, collected, with great labour and care, and published, a vast mass of steam and mail statistics which he found scattered about in a hundred different quarters, and which your petitioner, for the first time, put into a convenient and popular form; and the desired changes were, in a great measure, brought about in the course of two years. That your petitioner in 1840 condemned the arrangements then made for the reception of sick soldiers from Aden, and a general order was a few weeks afterwards issued securing the remedies suggested. That your petitioner was opposed to the Government in the late discussions on Baroda matters, but had a very large number of the Court of Directors on his side; and, but for the principle of supporting the authorities, would most likely have had them all of his opinion. That your petitioner has been all along hostile to the existence of sinecure sheriffships, and the appointment has accordingly been abolished. That in 1849 your petitioner pointed out the enormous sums expended in the Affghan war, and the derangement of our commercial relations, which the transmission of so much specie into a country from which it would not for many years return, must occasion; and the views of your petitioner were fully borne out by the state into which the finances of India had been brought in 1841, when the Honourable Mr. Bird, then President in Council, stated to Sir Henry Willock that the shutting of the treasury in September had been contemplated; by the statement made by the late Sir Robert Peel, in assigning this as one of the reasons for the imposition of the Income Tax, and by the accounts of the Honourable East India Company, since then published; and that, in like manner, in the great majority of occasions in which your petitioner has chanced to be opposed to some one division of the authorities, his views have been borne out by the others, and have been afterwards shown to be in consonance with fact. He considered the annexation of the Punjaub unwise and unjustifiable in 1846, and it was left in the hands of the Sikhs; and he deemed its annexation inevitable in 1848, and in 1849 it was annexed.

That your petitioner has observed that, in the examination of Mr. John Stuart Mill, of the India House, before the Committee of the House of Lords, it is insinuated that the press of India is inferior to that of England in its tone: that in England the tone of newspaper writing is in general superior to that of ordinary conversation; that in India it is the reverse to such an extent, that a most erroneous view of English society would be taken were it judged of by the press; that newspapers in India are of very little use to Government, unless in promoting inquiry; that the English newspaper press in India is only the organ of English society, chiefly of the part of it unconnected with Government, and has little to do with natives or the interests of the country.

The groundlessness of the last of these imputations will be apparent, when it is recollected that there are seven daily and 20 or 30 tri-weekly or bi-weekly newspapers in India, and that there are not as many Europeans in the country altogether, not connected with Government, as could provide subscribers or supply intelligence for a single daily newspaper.

That in point of fact, a large number of the newspapers are principally or wholly the property of servants of Government, and are conducted by retired invalid officers from the Queen's or Company's army. That your petitioner is prepared to prove, what must be well known to many Members of your Honourable House, who have long been readers of the "Bombay Times," that however inferior the best of the newspapers of India may be to those at home in point of talent, that in point of propriety of expression and decorum of language, and in point of amount of space devoted by them to important subjects of discussion, or in point of the magnitude and importance of these as bearing on the interests of the country, they are second to no newspapers in existence.

Setting

Setting aside the space required for advertising, for military and shipping lists, general orders, and prices current, a full third part of the area of the journals of India is occupied by extracts from the very best home publications; from the Edinburgh, Quarterly, North British and Westminster Reviews; from Blackwood's, Fraser's, Tait's, and other magazines; from the Athenæum, Literary Gazette, Chambers' and Hogg's publications, together with carefully selected extracts from the very best of the London daily and weekly newspapers; that fact of papers being got up at home once a fortnight expressly for the use of subscribers in India, relieving the Indian newspapers of the Parliamentary and other reports, which often occupy so unprofitably so large a portion of the journals at home, affords room for selections they could not otherwise command; that so far from directing less space to the cause of good government, the spread of education and public improvement than is devoted to these subjects by the papers at home, they devoted a vast deal more of dealing with statistics, agriculture, police, municipal, sanitary, commercial, and other such like matters bearing directly on the improvement of the country, and welfare of the people is to be considered such where party politics are things unknown, rather than the political controversies and factious disputes and abuse from which their columns are exempt. That by means, such as those now related, a vast quantity of valuable and interesting information, much of it gathered from printed public documents, but transmuted into a condensed, popular, and readable form, is diffused amongst the members of the service, and more intelligent of the native community; the former of whom are, in India, very apt to lose habits of reading altogether; the latter of whom require still in a great measure to acquire them; both turning to the local newspapers as the chief sources of supply.

That it is difficult to define what the precise tone of conversation is amongst the reading classes either in England or in India, and therefore impossible to compare the one with the other, or to ascertain the precise relation the tone of newspaper speculation bears to that of conversation in the one country or in the other; but your petitioner has already shown that the newspapers in India are in no respect, save talent and magnitude, behind their English brethren; the chief imperfection with which they are chargeable being due to those enormous postage charges imposed upon them, and the limited size to which they are restricted, these two combining to induce them to concentrate more of their attention on, and devote more of their space to, local incidents of little general importance than they otherwise would do. That they are not even in this respect behind the spirit of the age, may be judged of from the recommendation of the report of the Post-office Commissioners, now under the consideration of Government, to the effect, that such an additional postage be imposed on newspapers imported from England as virtually to exclude them from all parts of India but the presidencies.

That not only is the newspaper press of India at least equal in its tone to that of England, but it is a vast way superior to it, and in general to the statesmen of the day, in the possession of important and accurate information, as will presently appear. On the 23d of June 1842, Sir John Hobhouse stated in the House of Commons, in opposition to the motion of Mr. Bailey for the production of the papers, in an un mutilated form, on which the Afghan war was grounded, that Lord Palmerston and his colleagues considered the explanations of Count Nesselrode in reference to the proceedings of Russia in connexion with the affairs of Herat satisfactory, because they were carried into effect, and Count Simonech and Lieutenant Vicovick were recalled. According to the official despatches, published by Parliament, the satisfaction to the Russian Cabinet here referred to was intimated to Count Nesselrode under date 1st November 1838, the recall having first been made known on the 5th of March 1839; a discrepancy duly exposed at the time by your petitioner. About the same time, Lord Fitzgerald and De Vesci, the President of the Board of Control, affirmed that his predecessors had not unfairly garbled the Blue Book of 1839; the papers of Sir Alexander Burnes, having been published entire by your petitioner, by desire of the relatives of that lamented officer, show, as is now universally admitted, instances of garbling such as find no parallel in history. In June 1841, Lord Palmerston, in addressing the electors at Tiverton, described the whole of Afghanistan as in a state of such unexampled tranquillity, that an unarmed Englishman might ride as safely through the midst of its wilds as he could have ridden from Tiverton to John o'Groat's house, the name of a British officer being a passport everywhere. That at this very time your petitioner had published an enumeration of 33 actions, in 13 of which our troops had been unsuccessful, which had taken place within the preceding twelvemonth: and the Board of Control, of which the Noble Lord was a member, must have had in their hands documents giving accounts of Shelton's operations in the Nagian Valley; the general discontents in Kohistan, the three separate expeditions of Farrington and Woodburn in the Helmund; the preparations for Griffin's expedition; the Nooskey expedition, the unhappy affair of Kojjuch, the general movements of troops on Scinde and Shawl, with the universal marching and counter-marching of detachments throughout the country, occupied as we then were in five simultaneous or immediately consecutive campaigns around Jellalabad, Khelati Ghilzie, Ghirisk, Moorstong, and the Sebee country. In the "Overland Times," for July 1841, estimates of the expenses of the Afghan War up to that date was published by your petitioners, so closely approaching the statements afterwards given from official authority, by Sir Henry Willock and Sir Robert Peel, as to show the close approaches that could be made to truth by those who earnestly sought after it; and, from these and other inquiries, your petitioner came to the conclusion which he published about the period referred to, that to maintain the Dooranee alliance was next to impossible; the attempt to maintain ourselves in Afghanistan a folly, which could not but issue in the most frightful disasters. Had the warnings he then gave been

Appendix, No. 3.

been attended to in time, the events of Cabool, which six months afterwards justified the soundness of his views, might have been avoided, and the darkest chapter in our history left unwritten. In 1842 Lord Palmerston taunted Sir Robert Peel with the supposed intentions of the Ministry to abandon the Dooranee alliance, and retire from Affghanistan, in obvious ignorance of the resolution come to by Lord Auckland, on the 3d of December 1841, and then known to the Board of Control, that, in the event of the loss of Cabool, no attempt should be made to renew the occupation of Affghanistan. That in 1843, your petitioner, who had been one of the most ardent admirers of Lord Ellenborough while he professed nothing but peace and improvement, and of Sir Charles Napier before he attacked the Ameers, pointed out the monstrous injustice of our invasion of Scinde. He prepared an estimate, now fully justified by fact, that it could not be maintained with less than an augmentation of 8,000 men; and accordingly, betwixt 1843 and 1841, the Bombay army was increased by 13,605, from 51,694 to 65,299; the latter number not being likely hereafterwards to be diminished; even now Aden is garrisoned by Madras troops. At the same time he estimated the annual expense, it must impose upon us at about half-a-million sterling, thus falling about a third or fourth short of fact. That at both these periods the journals at home, and leading speakers of the time, seemed in extasies with the imagined wisdom that had been displayed, and the rare good fortune that had attended it; when in reality our misconduct was drawing down upon ourselves the heaviest calamities that could have befallen us. All these things are now matter of history, as much beyond the reach of remedy as of dispute. Had the press or the politicians of England examined or believed the statements then set forth by your petitioner, and all since fully verified, the blot which Scinde throws upon our good name might have been obliterated, and the disgrace and mischief it has occasioned us avoided.

That shortly after the liberation of the press, Lord Auckland most wisely expressed his anxiety to encourage the servants of Governments to connect themselves with the newspapers, and that Government should afford journalists all the information that could be given them under the secret system insisted on from home; desiring thereby to increase the predispositions that he knew must exist to speak favourably of Government when present or former Government servants were the speakers, and those still in Government employment the listeners. In March 1842, and August 1843, all this was put an end to by the order of Lord Ellenborough; and the Court of Directors, who were understood to have disapproved of nearly every other measure under his Lordship's administration, have permitted the most objectionable of them all to pass uncensured.

That from the time the measure of Governor Metcalfe deprived Government of the power of deporting editors for reprinting the Reports of Parliament, or articles of intelligence of the home newspapers, and of indulging, as they did most freely, in persecutions of the press, scarcely surpassed by those of France of the present date, there seems to have been a constant disposition to injure, by slander, those who could not be reached by law; Lord Auckland and those around him proving honourable exceptions.

That on the 12th of February 1841, Mr. Hume called the attention of the House of Commons to certain obnoxious statements made by correspondents in the "Agra Akbar and Bombay Times," in reference to the death of a trooper of the 2nd Bengal Cavalry, said to have been shot in a corn-field near Ghuznee in July 1839, while supposed marauding, in reference to which the conduct of Lord Keane was severely blamed. The Chairman of the Board of Control, then bringing forward a motion for a pension of 2,000 l. a year to his Lordship and his descendants, stated that the moment he observed the reports in the newspapers on the subject, he made the most diligent inquiries as to its truth at the India House, the India Board, and at parties who had shared in the Affghan campaign, and found that the statements in the newspapers, which he termed "rascally," were false; that the trooper had been shot at night by the videttes, under the order of the Provost Marshal's strict directions, and that the report had never been heard of till after Lord Keane had quitted India.

That your petitioner, who had just then (May 1820) arrived in India, and could individually have no knowledge of the matter, and no bias in favour or against any one, received his information from a distinguished staff officer of Lord Keane's army, and who is still alive; and your petitioner is in a position to prove that the trooper was shot during the day, not by the videttes at all, as the regimental records will show that he was wounded by small shot never used in the army; and that the piece was fired by Lord Keane's own hand, who naturally, of course, prevented any official report from being furnished to Government, though authentic information must exist regarding it in the hospital returns of the regiment and in the records of the Bengal Medical Board. Instead of never being noticed till after Lord Keane had quitted India, on the 31st of March 1840, it was fully discussed in the "Agra Akbar," and most of the other Indian newspapers in August 1839, and in the "London Spectator" of February 1840; leaving sufficient time for making inquiries at the proper quarter before the pension discussion came on. That Lord Keane was himself not slow in noticing what appeared in the newspapers, may be gathered from the action in which he was cast against the "Bombay Gazette" in July 1836, for having republished from the "Englishman" a letter, accusing him of having caused a trooper, condemned at Deesa, to be hanged without the sanction of the Government, required by the regulations; and the fact of his having passed the present charge, pronounced so grossly libellous in the House of Commons, by unnoticed, indicates that he felt its truth. The names of the newspaper writers,

writers, though, according to custom, withheld from the letters, were perfectly well known; the manuscripts of some of them are still in the hands of your petitioner, and there is no reason to doubt that, if called upon, they would not be unwilling to substantiate their statements, the truth of which no one in India ever doubted.

On the same occasion, and with the view apparently of throwing further discredit on the press, it was stated by Sir John Hobhouse, "That the House was aware that, in the last campaign (that is, the campaign under Lord Keane in 1839, then being considered by the House) a disaster had befallen our troops under command of Major Clibborn, while endeavouring to relieve a fort." The two subjects getting mingled up in the debate, and both forming grounds of obloquy on the press. That a commission had been appointed to inquire into the disaster, the reports of which had been surreptitiously obtained and published by the newspapers just before the departure of the mail of the 1st December.

In point of fact, the trooper of the 2d Cavalry was shot in July 1839, near Ghuznee, in the centre of Afghanistan, 60 days march at least from the pass of Nuffoosk, where Major Clibborn was repulsed on the 31st of August 1840, 13 months afterwards; nine months after Lord Keane had quitted command in Afghanistan, and five months after he had left Bombay for England. The report of the Commission, which bears date 22d of November 1840, obtained publicity through the instrumentality of General Brooks, its chairman, subsequently deprived of his command of the troops in Scinde as a punishment for this. It appeared in the "Bombay Courier" on the 19th of December, that paper being blameless in the matter; not, as stated, immediately before the despatch of the mail, or with any view whatever to the injury of the prospects of Lord Keane, who could in no shape be affected by it, and in reference to whom it was not known that any debate was impending, but 12 days beforehand; leaving abundance of time for the commentaries which were made upon it in the "Bombay Times," and which were sent home along with it by your petitioner, which expressed the very same sentiments, in almost the same words as those expressed by the Bombay Government six months, and by the Court of Directors nearly a twelvemonth afterwards.

On the same occasion, Lord John Russell spoke of Lord Keane's crossing the Indus on his advance, as an event of sufficient importance to be coupled with his march through the Bholan Pass. Lord Keane and the Bombay column in reality marched through Scinde by Larkhana to the mouth of the pass, and never crossed the river at all.

In July 1843, a letter from General Nott appeared in the English newspapers, bearing date Lucknow, 4th of April, and which must have been sent home direct for publication, in reply to one from Sir James Lumley, Adjutant-general of the Bengal army, of 29th of March, calling upon him, by direction of the Governor-general, to report upon certain excesses said to have been committed by the British troops in Afghanistan. The letter of Sir James Lumley has never appeared in print, and its tenor can only be gathered from the terms of the reply, written, as it is, in a wild, declamatory tone, apparently from the first intended for the press, and as unlike as possible the calm and temperate style of official correspondence between an old major-general and the adjutant-general of the army. It would appear that General Lumley, by direction of Lord Ellenborough, had asserted that certain very infamous imputations had been made against the army by the newspapers, and these were pronounced to be "gross and villanous falsehoods;" in reality, they were never made by any one, or heard of in India, until General Nott's letter denouncing them appeared; and the conclusion that the whole affair was got up with the view of giving a blow to the character of the press, is inevitable. General Nott's letter was forwarded to England through the Secret Department, and was not made known to the Court of Directors by the Secret Committee till after its publication, of which no notice seems ever to have been taken by the Government of India, although severely blamed in the official despatch of the Court to the Governor-general, under date 2 August 1843. Yet so averse at this time was the Government of India to all communication of its servants with the press, that Mr. Erskine, of the Bengal Civil Service, had the previous year been punished by loss of employment for sending to the "Friend of India" an extract from a private note, from his kinsman, Sir William Macnaughten; and the publication in the "Bombay Times," of a letter from Colonel Sleeman, Resident at Bundelkund, correcting some misstatements in reference to his proceedings, called forth the most stringent general order against all communications with the press.

The extent to which the newspapers of India are indebted to the servants of Government for support, instead of being prepared for and maintained by those unconnected with the services, as asserted, is easily susceptible of distinct and specific proof from the subscription lists of the newspapers themselves, which will be produced if required, or by the examination of the editors. In 1848 the "Mofussilite" printed a list of all its subscribers, from which it appeared that four-fifths of these were members of the public service; and in a classified list of its subscribers, lately laid before the proprietors of the "Bombay Times," and which is at the service of the Committee, it appears that out of a thousand subscribers, assuming that to be the number on the list (123) one hundred and twenty-three were civil servants of the Government; (179) one hundred and seventy-nine messes of regimental libraries; (317) three hundred and seventeen military men; (52) fifty-two British merchants; (36) thirty-six banks and public corporations; (26) twenty-six were natives; (243) two hundred and forty-three were private individuals, uncovenanted servants, tradesmen, &c.; the rest clergymen, lawyers, native rajahs, and the like; or in all 719, or two-thirds of the whole,

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whole, were officers under the Crown, or covenanted servants of Government. It may safely be assumed that the maxim which holds good all over the world will obtain in India, and that the amount and nature of commodities brought to market will speedily adjust themselves to the demand; that newspaper proprietors will supply, and newspaper editors write, what is deemed most popular and acceptable amongst the newspaper-reading classes, and what they are best disposed to pay for. That the returns on such things are ample, will be seen from a paper published in 1850, when the "Bombay Times" changed its proprietors; by this it was shown that, during the previous 10 years, your petitioner had earned as remuneration for himself, or free profit for his employers, the sum of 33,000 *l.* sterling in cash, besides meeting all the charges of the establishment, and extending its strength and efficiency.

The picture presented to your Committee of the press of India, representing, as it does, journalists lately or still practising at the bar, connected as professors with our colleges, or belonging to the legal or medical or military profession, indulging from pure perversity, in false law, vulgar, profligate, and worthless writing, such as must shock and disgust the readers for whom it is provided, and who form a newspaper constituency unparalleled for selectness, would be, were it faithfully printed, an anomaly unexampled in the world.

On the examination of Mr. Melvill, in the Committee of the House of Lords, their Lordships have most wisely pointed out the great mischiefs occasioned by the apathy of the people of England in reference to Indian affairs, and suggested the importance of endeavouring to confer greater consequence and order on the meetings and debates of the Court of Proprietors, with this object in view; yet a dead set seems to be made from all quarters against the press of India, through the means of which alone the people at home can be enlightened as to the current events of the day, there being no other organs which now exist, or are likely to be brought into existence, for public information; the mistakes of the home journals whenever they venture beyond the information supplied them from the East, forming the most fruitful subjects of ridicule in India, of which the recent alarms in reference to the war in Burmah, the progress of which had been so faithfully traced beforehand by the Indian newspapers, forms an example, and that the errors of public men occurring by accident being enhanced by those which are intentional, as in the case of the papers of Sir Alexander Burnes of 1838, and the despatches from Sale's brigade in 1841, leaving no source of information open for the public to resort to that is unobjectionable, save that the press of India supplies.

That the sources of these aspersions or misapprehensions seem to lie in the misconduct of a small proportion of the journals of India, for the most part conducted by men fresh arrived from newspaper offices at home; journals which do not more fairly represent the press of India in general than do the "Satirists," "Ages," and "Towns" of London represent the newspapers of England; the existence of which at all times, precarious and short-lived, might seem inconceivable were it not from the diversity of tastes amongst us, such as that manifested by the late Commander-in-chief Sir Charles Napier, who mentioned the "Gentleman's Gazette," in his public letters, as the only upright and respectable paper in India, that journal having been pronounced by the unanimous voice of the Indian press a disgrace to it.

That the officers of the Indian army and members of the civil service, who may be supposed to be tolerable judges of such matters, send home by every mail 3,000 or 4,000 copies of Indian newspapers for the uses of their friends, although these cost from two to three times the price of newspapers published in London, professedly devoted to Indian subjects, and which embody, at least, twice the amount of the printed matter Indian newspapers afford; that the character of our newspapers throughout the Continent must be very different from that the witnesses before your Committee confer on it; may be inferred from the fact that your petitioner has long had on his subscription list a considerable proportion of the courts or leading statesmen throughout the east of Europe.

Your petitioner, therefore, humbly prays that your Honourable House will give instructions to your Committee now assembled for the investigation of Indian affairs, that, instead of accepting, as hitherto, evidence on the state of the press, emanating, as in the case of Mr. Mill, either from gentlemen who profess to possess no personal knowledge on the subject, but are made to assent to the most obnoxious and injurious insinuations interwoven in the questions put to them, or who may of themselves become prejudiced against the press from strictures made by it on their own public conduct, or may consider it, as a vast number of public servants still do, the grossest impertinence in newspapers to presume to make any remark whatever on the conduct and condition of the privileged classes; that they will summon before them gentlemen, and cause them to be duly interrogated, from India or at home, now or formerly connected with the press in the East, who alone can speak with authority on this most important subject.

The Indian newspaper press is now on its trial; the great measure of Lord Metcalfe has come into operation. Since last Charter Act was passed, the fears expressed by Serjeant Spankie and other distinguished men 25 years ago, of the frightful consequences of unlicensed journalism in India, have proved as visionary as the alarm of Mr. Melvill and others at the consequences of free trade; the ignorance prevalent regarding it, even amongst men of the highest talent connected with India, will be seen from the grievous misstatements in Horton's History, in the articles written by a distinguished Bengal civilian in the "North British Review,"

Review," 1845, in Mr. Campbell's book, and Mr. Mill's evidence; which has not only been shown to be untrue and without foundation, but to involve the absurdity of upwards of 100,000 *l.* a year being spent by the servants of the Company, or officers of the Queen's army, on what he described as the most contemptible literary rubbish that can be produced, when the very best might have been, on the same terms, procured by them; and for many a day to come the newspaper press of India must furnish the sole means by which the community at home can become enlightened as to what is passing in the East, in reference to which the published despatches and Ministers of the Crown so often mislead them so fearfully. The extent to which English education is now spreading amongst the native community is rapidly introducing habits of reading, not before in existence, and which will, of course, seek gratification from the English newspapers, as being most readily attainable and at hand; and it is therefore of the utmost importance, both to England and India, that no misapprehension shall exist as to the position the newspaper press actually occupies. If it should prove to be the mean, vile, and contemptible thing it is described, some means should be taken to qualify it for the all-important tasks it ought to perform, and the lofty destinies that seem to await English journalism in every part of the world; if, as your petitioner maintains, it be otherwise, the delusion, apparently at present so general, ought not to obtain additional weight or countenance from the results of the investigations before the Committee of your Honourable House.

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That your petitioner is unwilling to intrude any personal or private considerations in a subject possessed of sufficient public importance to claim the attention of Parliament; but your Honourable House will admit that few things can be found more unjust, cruel, or intolerable, than for the only body of professionally literary men existing in the East, labouring with the utmost earnestness and singleness of purpose as public instructors, and for the public good, often individually devoting an amount of time, labour, and thought to benevolent enterprises, such as might put highly-paid public servants to shame, and whose great ambition themselves is to deserve and secure the approbation of their countrymen, stigmatised without a shadow of excuse or foundation as coarse, untrustworthy, vulgar, slanderous writers, worthy of no respect or estimation whatever, and whose statements are entitled to no weight or consideration.

That your petitioner, in seeking redress for himself, has restricted his complaints and assertions to the "Bombay Times," simply because he had no authority to include the grievances of his contemporaries amongst his own, although the grounds of his complaints are general. He claims no peculiar excellencies for the paper he conducts over those of his brethren, from the columns of which many of the most important facts he has had to deal with have been drawn; and he has no doubt that they will claim, as they justly may, for themselves and their journals, as great an amount of consideration at the hands of your Honourable House as your petitioner claims for himself and for his.

That your Honourable House will take these things into your early consideration, and adopt such measures for procuring the redress that is desired as may in your wisdom seem meet, is the prayer of your petitioner.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

Bombay, 17 November 1852.

Geo. Buist,
Editor "Bombay Times."

The PETITION of the undersigned Ministers and Missionaries in *Madras*, composing the *Madras Missionary Conference*,

Humbly sheweth,

1. THAT your petitioners, anxious that your Honourable House should possess at this important juncture the fullest information concerning all matters that affect the integrity and welfare of the East India Government, beg to submit a statement of certain circumstances which operate with injurious effect upon the moral progress of the inhabitants of this great Continent, and which appear to them virtually to involve the administration of this country in the maintenance of idolatry.
2. That your petitioners collect their facts from this presidency alone; it would be easy to multiply them by a more extensive and minute research than they have been able to make.
3. That your petitioners are encouraged to memorialise your Honourable House by the attention that former representations similar to that which they would now submit have received from your Honourable House, as also by the superior knowledge and experience which recent publications on India, and especially the elaborate correspondence embodied in certain late Parliamentary returns, have contributed to all questions touching the moral and social condition of its varied population.
4. That your petitioners, believing that the greater prosperity of the East India Government, as compared with former dynasties, is owing to the moral authority as much as to the military prestige of Britain, are anxious to see that authority preserved and vindicated in all the official acts of the Honourable Company.
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5. That your petitioners would, in the first place, call the attention of your Honourable House to the fact that, notwithstanding the unequivocal instructions of the Honourable Court of Directors to the servants of the Company, enjoining a complete divorce of the Government from all interests vested in the native religions, it is still believed by Hindus and Mahomedans, in many of the provinces of this presidency, and not without some ground, as your petitioners will presently show, that the superstitions of the country are supported from the Exchequer, and protected by the authority of the local Government.

6. That your petitioners acknowledge that the highest praise is due to the Honourable Court for the enlightened views set forth in their despatches on the expediency and duty of withdrawing that countenance and supervision which the native religious institutions of this country were wont to receive from the Government, and for their explicit and earnest instructions to the officers of the Company to effect such a withdrawal; but your petitioners deeply regret that the separation enjoined by the Honourable Court has not been completed; that, to the present time the revenues of pagodas and temples are, to a large extent, under the control and protection of the Government of India; that endowments and pensions for the support of idolatry are guaranteed; and that in some districts the name and influence of the Government are, contrary to its express orders, employed to aid the celebration of religious festivals.

7. That your petitioners thankfully acknowledge that much has been done by the Government to extinguish these evils, by transferring to native trustees the charge of temples, &c., which had been previously under the management of the Government servants; but they submit that this transference has been in many cases left in so unsettled a state as to retain and even perpetuate the abuses it was intended to remove.

8. That your petitioners believe that the reason why the above transference, which was ordered by the Honourable Court to be made in the year 1841, was not then fully carried out, was the existence of certain clauses of a prior law of the Government of India, namely, Regulation VII. of 1817, which vested in the Board of Revenue the superintendence of the affairs and funds of native temples.

9. That these clauses, having never been rescinded or modified, leave the responsibility of temple trustees unsettled, for while Regulation VII. of 1817 remains unrepealed, it is still incumbent on the Board of Revenue to superintend the affairs, and guard the revenues and trusts of the temples.

10. That, as the case now stands, the heathen population are dissatisfied with the irresponsible state of temple trusteeships, which leaves their pagoda property without protection, while Christians are scandalised at the fact that the Government is still, to a certain extent, connected with idolatry by virtue of the said Regulation VII. of 1817.

11. That as far back as the year 1843 the Madras Government, for the purpose of repealing the objectionable clauses of the above law, and of completing the separation between itself and the native religious institutions (thus executing fully the orders of the Honourable Court), drafted an Act which was submitted for the sanction of the Supreme Government.

12. That, in the provisions of this Act, your petitioners mainly concur, for,—

1st. It rescinds the objectionable clauses of Regulation VII. of 1817.

2d. It transfers the superintendence, &c., previously exercised by the revenue authorities over Hindoo and Mahomedan religious institutions, to Hindus and Mahomedans themselves.

3d. It enacts that the succession to the trusts of these institutions shall be appointed or determined by laws, regulations, and usages formerly in force; and

4th. It settles the responsibility of those to whom the management of the institutions may be assigned, by making them amenable to the constituted civil or criminal courts.

13. That, in conformity with these views, your petitioners earnestly pray that a law be passed, which, while it resigns the superintendence of temple revenues and trusts into the hands of duly qualified native trustees, shall at the same time afford them all necessary legal protection.

14. That your petitioners would bring to the notice of your Honourable House the connexion of the Government of India with pagoda revenues, endowments, pensions, &c. Your petitioners believe that the charges incurred by the Government under the head of "pagoda and mosque allowances," sometimes in lieu, and sometimes not in lieu, of resumed lands and privileges, amount to upwards of nine lacs of rupees or 90,000*l.* sterling annually. Your petitioners are not ignorant of the difficulties which beset an equitable disposal of some of these monies. In the case of pagoda lands, resumed by the East India, or some former Government, your petitioners acknowledge that the sums annually paid in lieu of them are justly due; but since these estates were commuted for some reason affecting the Government revenue, and not with the view of affording protection to pagoda interests, your petitioners respectfully submit whether they might not either be restored to the institutions to which they originally belonged, or be placed in the same position as those lands over which the servants of Government have not been accustomed to exercise control.

15. That, with regard to those temple lands which cannot be defined, or whose boundaries

aries are unknown, your memorialists pray that instead of the annual monies now paid in lieu of them by the Government, some other equivalent be rendered which shall not involve an annual claim on Government funds. Appendix, 1

16. That your petitioners earnestly call the attention of your Honourable House to other monies allowed to the native religious institutions, not paid in lieu of property, but granted in the shape of endowments, donations, and pensions; most of which originated with former Governments. Your petitioners submit whether it is obligatory on a Christian Government to continue, and thus make permanent, the voluntary gifts and stipends of an idolatrous charity.

17. That your petitioners would refer especially to allowances granted for the support of small pagodas and shrines, which, from the nature of the terms on which they were granted, are liable to be resumed when such pagodas and shrines fall into decay, or ceremonial observances are discontinued in them; and to the fact that collectors are expected to inquire from time to time whether these buildings are kept in repair, and whether the ceremonies are regularly performed, thus perpetuating an interference of the Government which involves both supervision and maintenance.

18. That your petitioners earnestly pray that the endowments and allowances which originated with former Governments may, with all practicable expedition, cease, and that all other money-payments which directly or indirectly support idolatry, may be disposed of with the view of separating practically and universally this Christian Government from the interests of heathenism.

19. That your petitioners feel the more confidence and satisfaction in making their present representation to your Honourable House from the fact, that they in reality solicit nothing more than what has already been enjoined and ordered by the Honourable Court of Directors, and that all they desire is, that the wise and judicious instructions of that honourable body be thoroughly and completely carried into effect.

And your petitioners shall ever pray.

John Anderson,
Senior Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland.
Frederick Baylis,
London Missionary Society.
Arminius Burgess,
Wesleyan Missionary Society, Madras.
&c. &c. &c.

Madras, 21 May 1853.

The humble PETITION of the Member of the *Bombay Association*, and other Native Inhabitants of the Presidency of *Bombay*,

Showeth,

THAT your petitioners have watched with much anxiety and interest the proceedings of your Honourable House and its Committee on the subject of Indian affairs, as bearing on the legislation about to be proposed for the future government of India.

2. The Report of your Committee, which sat during the Session 1852, having reached India, has been examined and analysed by your petitioners with much care; and they observe that the members of that Committee have been so far satisfied by the evidence up to that time laid before them that they direct the attention of your Honourable House to the favourable tenor of the evidence with respect to the operation of Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 85, so far as regards the administration of the government of India by the East India Company, as trustees under the control of the Crown.

3. The witnesses examined before the Committees of both Houses of Parliament amounted in all to 25 persons, five of these having been examined before both Committees. They consisted of Lords Ellenborough, Elphinstone, Hardinge; Sir T. H. Maddock, Sir G. R. Clerk, and Sir George Pollock; Messrs. Bird, Willoughby, Reid, Millett, Melvill, Cameron, Robertson, Mill, McLeod, Pringle, Hill, Sheppard, and Prinsep; also, General McLeod, Colonels Sykes, Taylor, and Alexander, and Captain McGregor.

4. The whole of these gentlemen, excepting the three noblemen above-named and Captain McGregor, have been more than 30, some of them 40, years in the service of the East India Company, and, without desiring to cast the slightest disparagement on their testimony, still it must be borne in mind that they are all to a great degree in the position of interested witnesses, speaking indirectly to the favourable results of their own services, or, at least, of a system in which they have all borne a part. The majority of these gentlemen having spent the greater portion of their lives under the existing Government, and having freely participated in the advantages enjoyed by the covenanted service of the East India Company, have naturally become prepossessed in favour of things as they are; and although, upon a general view of the subject, the administration of the Indian Government may present to your Honourable House results very favourable to the honourable intentions of those to whom it has been confided by the Crown of England, still this conclusion leaves wholly

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untouched the important question whether the main provisions of an enactment passed in the year 1834, investing the rulers of India with powers almost irresponsible and despotic, and intitled, as it truly was, "An Act for effecting an Arrangement with the East India Company," constitutes the best scheme or all that is needed for the good government of these vast territories—all that the governed can justly demand or should be reasonably satisfied with in 1854.

5. Your petitioners may well leave in the hands of your Honourable House, without observation from them, the construction of the home portion of the Indian Government, only asking that it may be so framed as naturally and easily at all times to secure within it the services of the ablest and most experienced persons in Indian affairs, that it may be so simplified that the people of India may know who really are their rulers, and who are responsible for measures of great importance emanating from England; but with respect to the constitution of the local governments, your petitioners earnestly pray your Honourable House not to continue them as they exist without a further and more searching investigation into the actual and daily operation of the existing system than your Honourable House now has or is likely to have before you, if the inquiries are to be so very general in their nature as they seem hitherto to have been, and are to be confined to the evidence of retired Indian official personages.

6. Your petitioners rejoice to learn that an interest and a spirit of inquiry respecting Indian affairs have lately arisen in England, which have led to a mass of valuable information being placed before the public of a nature that would never have reached your Honourable House from official lips, but which, nevertheless, your petitioners would respectfully remark, deserves the utmost attention of your Honourable House, though it may form no part of the evidence collected by the Committee of your Honourable House, and may not be adverted to in their Reports. Your petitioners may refer to many valuable papers published by highly competent persons now in England, very antagonistic to the interests of the East India Company, whose names therefore your petitioners do not find amongst the persons summoned before the Committee to give evidence on Indian affairs; and they beg also to attract the attention of your Honourable House to a very valuable and instructive work recently published at Madras, on the administration of justice in that presidency, by George Bruce Norton, Esq., barrister-at-law. As this gentleman is now at Madras, and cannot be examined in England, your petitioners have taken the liberty of annexing a copy of this work to their petition, in the hope that your Honourable House will allow them, in this form, the benefit of that gentleman's testimony to the character of the administration of justice in southern India—testimony which, however startling, is nevertheless unimpeachable, being based on the decisions of the courts themselves; and your petitioners regret to add that the courts of the East India Company in this presidency are on no better footing as regards judicial fitness and capacity than those of Madras.

7. Your petitioners are sensible that many of the evils which have hitherto retarded progress in India can only be remedied through the medium of efficient and properly constituted local governments, and they look with confidence to your Honourable House giving this head of inquiry the fullest consideration.

8. Your petitioners, speaking of the government of their own presidency, though they believe the remark to be equally true of the other Indian Governments, are of opinion that it is quite unequal to the efficient discharge of its duties, and that nothing but the impenetrable veil of secrecy with which even its most trivial acts are covered protects it from universal condemnation.

9. It consists of a Governor, a Commander-in-Chief, and two civil servants as members of council. The business is conducted primarily by four secretaries and two deputy-secretaries; each secretary having a separate department of his own, and being in that the adviser of the Governor; the latter, who, generally speaking, is without local knowledge or experience, is obviously in the hands of the secretaries, and, for the most part, from the mass of business to be despatched, compelled to adopt the minutes they place before him.

10. The Commander-in-Chief, having the affairs of the army to attend to, and not caring to trouble himself with the civil affairs of the presidency, with which he cannot be expected to be in the least degree acquainted, spends more than half his time away from the seat of government, and enters the council apparently merely to record his assent to the minutes of the Governor. It has been stated in evidence before the Committee of your Honourable House, that it often happens that eight or ten boxes full of papers on revenue and judicial matters are sent to the Commander-in-Chief at one time, and that they have been returned from his house to the other members of the Government perhaps within one hour, allowing merely time for him to put his initials; and your petitioners believe that it ever has been the case that the Commanders-in-Chief, though knowing nothing of the subjects in hand, have felt it their duty invariably to vote with the Governors.

11. The civil members of council are not selected from the most able and distinguished of the servants of Government, though there have been some remarkable exceptions. The appointment is in the gift of the Court of Directors, and is always bestowed on some one of the senior members of the service about to close their Indian career. It is consequently canvassed for in Leadenhall-street, and falls to the lot of him who can command the greatest amount of personal interest with the members of the court individually. A
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vacancy occurring but rarely, few members of the civil service can fill the appointment, and its gift is thus a matter of favour. They have no specific duties to discharge, and little or no responsibility, and, as they may always be outvoted by the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief, they can scarcely be expected to take any prominent part in the current affairs of Government; indeed, to give any very effective assistance, unless something out of the usual routine, or within the line of their past experience, should arise to excite their interest. The evil tendency of their position is, that, having no defined duty as a part of the Government, their own brief minutes, or their signatures, often put for the sake of conformity to those of others, carry with them a weight to higher authority which should only attach to opinions deliberately formed, and the result of careful inquiry, made under official responsibility. The practical effect of a Government so constituted is, that, for the most part, each secretary in his own department is the Governor in Council. The secretaries, with one exception, selected from the civil service, and generally, though not invariably, from its most able members, having passed their lives from boyhood on some one or more of the subordinate agencies of Government, are suddenly called upon to discharge the most onerous and important duties, for many of which their previous training does not at all qualify them. Questions requiring for their solution correct knowledge of the principles of finance, of political economy, of the systems of the country and of other countries, involving the rights and just expectations of classes of persons, and the cases and privileges of individuals with lighter matters, crowded in rapid succession on them, and must be disposed of; and, however able and conscientious they may be, they have not the time to go through, with due care and attention, nor very frequently with the knowledge of the subject requisite to enable them properly to despatch the multifarious matters with which they are loaded. Government being thus undermanned is necessarily compelled to throw off as much of its own duties as possible on the local officers, to act on their report as unimpeachable, and to shroud them in secrecy. The European local officers, on the other hand, scattered over the country at great distances from one another, and having large districts to attend to far beyond their powers of supervision, and dependent to a very great degree on their subordinates, are compelled to dispose of the greater part of their business in a very imperfect manner; and their statements to Government, whether emanating from persons who it is known may be trusted, or from those in whose accuracy Government are aware no confidence can be placed, are on system accepted as equally trustworthy, and the official vindication of the acts of Government founded thereon. The necessary result of this system is, that the Government is one of first impressions; that, short-handed as it is under the present system, its chief difficulty and its main object is to keep down and despatch business; to despatch it well if possible, but at all events to prevent accumulating; that hasty superficial reports of local officers are in regulating the conduct of Government, except on questions of money, of equal weight with those the result of care and reflection. It is obviously necessary, therefore, to protect the acts of such a Government from public scrutiny and supervision, in order to preserve for it public respect; and the most rigid secrecy is consequently preserved in every department. So strictly is this enforced, that the members of the civil service are all under solemn oaths not to reveal anything connected with the business before them; and the Court of Directors have, even in modern days, noticed with severe disapprobation the publication of a very small portion of one of their despatches by, as it was supposed, a member of the civil service, relating to a suit at law with which he had been connected judicially. The same amount of secrecy is preserved in everything that comes before Government, whether it relate to a purely municipal matter, the establishment of a sailors' home, a principality, a jaghere, the conduct of a public officer, or hardship practised towards an individual; and even where wrong or injury are complained of by a large class of persons, or where merely private property is at stake, or the character and prospects of an individual are involved, still the same system prevails. If the parties against whom unfavourable reports have been transmitted by the local officers apply for copies, they are always refused. Not the slightest opportunity is afforded them of correcting any mis-statements that may have been made in these reports, and there consequently is, naturally ever must be, a great inducement to resort to unfair means to procure that information from the records of Government which cannot be fairly obtained, but to which all the parties concerned are justly entitled; and which, on system merely, is withheld from them. The inevitable effect of this system is, that, individual cases occupying a large portion of the time of Government, the most cruel injustice, even with the best intention, is done. The individual concerned may have had a volume written against him behind his back, written with all the easy confidence of those who know that their statements will not be handed over to the party interested to reply to; and when the presidency authorities consider matters sufficiently ripe, a few paragraphs disclosing a small fragment of the case recorded against him—a tithe only of what he ought to be allowed to answer and explain—is sent to him for such observations as he may desire to offer, and on his reply to these he is adjudged. It is difficult to exaggerate, or on any more general view fully to display the vicious operation of this system of Government. But it will be obvious to your Honourable House that, as a system, it is the very worst that could be devised, and the very last which good sense would indicate as adapted to strengthen British rule in India, by giving it a hold on the affections of the people; on the contrary, its obvious tendency is to engender and perpetuate amongst the young servants of Government an illiberal and despotic tone, to give full scope to the prejudices, the ignorance, and the self-sufficiency of all; to discourage progress, to discountenance all schemes of improvement emanating from independent and disinterested sources, and not within the views of the officer to whose department

Appendix, No. 3. department they are referred; and to cramp all agricultural and commercial energy, all individual enterprise.

12. Your petitioners therefore humbly entreat your Honourable House, in any new legislation which may be framed for India, to abolish councils as at present constituted, and in their place to create an useful and efficient council, of which the judges of the Supreme Court, in judicial and legislative matters, and some of the European and native citizens, should form a part. Also to put an end to that injurious system of secrecy which at present is the ruling principle of vice in the Indian administration, and to allow the council to call for the proceedings of Government and its local officers, except in cases in which the executive shall declare that state policy requires secrecy should be preserved. Your petitioners further ask, that on questions of great importance to individuals and classes of persons coming up for the decision of Government, the valuable privilege of being heard by counsel be conceded to those who may be desirous of availing themselves of it in support of their interest. With these measures your petitioners believe that it would be absolutely necessary to strengthen the hands of the executive Government; and that it would be highly desirable that there should always be among the more prominent members some persons trained and experienced in the public offices of England, who can bring to the consideration of public affairs a more extended knowledge and wider views than are to be expected from those European gentlemen who have passed all their days from boyhood in the bad systems of this country, and know no other by which to compare and improve them.

13. Your petitioners forbear to trouble your Honourable House with the details of such a change, which are of easy construction if its propriety be once acknowledged; and they equally wish to avoid repeating what they have put forth in their former memorial, already, as they believe, referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs; but they are anxious to recall the attention of your Honourable House to that narrow and injurious system which gives to those educated at Haileybury College a Parliamentary right to supply the vacancies in the civil establishments of India. Your petitioners believe that the existence of this exclusive service, bound together like the members of one family, is incompatible with a more open council and an efficient and responsible discharge of public duties. At present the natives of this country, however respectable, trustworthy, and qualified they may be, are excluded from the higher grade of judicial and revenue situations and from the regular medical service, to which covenanted European servants sent out from England are alone appointed; such exclusion being impolitic, unjust, and contrary to the letter and spirit of the 87th section of the Charter Act of 1834. Your petitioners respectfully reiterate their prayer that the invidious and unjustifiable distinction between the covenanted and uncovenanted services, which excludes the natives from the higher offices, be abolished, and that natives of India may be allowed to fill all situations for which they may be qualified. By the adoption and practical operation of such a measure, a great stimulus will, your petitioners feel convinced, be given to the cause of education and improvement in this country; a great deal of discontent will be removed, and inefficiency will be obviated. It is placed beyond controversy by the testimony of official reports published by the local Governments, that the Grant Medical College at Bombay and the Medical College at Calcutta are admitted to have recently produced as proficient and competent native surgeons and physicians as those sent out from England under covenants.* Instead of admitting any of the successful candidates into the regular medical service of Government, a new and distinct service has been created for them by the Indian Governments, the rank and emoluments of which are considerably inferior; a course which is calculated to lower this new medical service in the estimation of the public, and to perpetuate the distinction that has hitherto been preserved between native and European agency, or uncovenanted and covenanted servants of Government. So rigidly is the line of separation preserved, that a native of India, named Dr. Chukerbutty, who recently left Calcutta to finish his medical education in England, where he greatly distinguished himself and obtained the highest testimonials of proficiency, although recommended for an appointment as an assistant-surgeon in the East India Company's medical service by the Right Honourable Sir Edward Ryan and Mr. Cameron, gentlemen of eminent consideration for their past services, was, your petitioners are informed, refused admission into the covenanted medical service by the Court of Directors collectively and individually.

14. Your petitioners cannot take leave of this important subject without the favourable attention of Parliament to the suggestion made in their former petition with regard to the advisability of establishing a university or college, as proposed by that able and experienced servant of Government, Mr. Cameron, for the purpose of qualifying the natives for government employ, of imparting profound and thorough judicial knowledge to native candidates for the bench, and of training up a superior and independent class of vakeels or pleaders, who would elevate the character of the native bar, and be of great service in the efficient administration of justice in this country.

15. Your

* *Vide* Appendix (O) to the Report of the Grant Medical College for 1850-51. Dr. McLennan, Government Examiner and Physician-General, has publicly certified, that, "as far as examinations can test fitness for engagement in medical and surgical practice, graduates of the Grant Medical College have proved their fitness to as great a degree as I believe is ever done in Europe."

15. Your petitioners would further ask that, as regards the European servants of Government, a distinction, commencing in England and preserved throughout, may be made between those who are destined to fill judicial offices in India and the executive officers of the Government, and that the former may be withdrawn from the operation of personal favour and individual patronage, and be selected, like the judges in England, for their own merits and acquirements.

16. Your petitioners believe that if, whilst opening the highest judicial offices to the natives of this country, and fairly apportioning them between qualified natives and their European fellow subjects, the office of zillah judge were thrown open to gentlemen of legal education; if no one were permitted to leave England for this purpose until 26 years of age; if a public committee, composed of four members named by the four inns of the Court and two members by the Home Government, were appointed half-yearly to examine the candidates, selecting from them so many only as, according to the computed vacancies, were then required; if the course of examination, besides comprehending a knowledge of selected portions of the English substantive law, embraced the general principles of jurisprudence procedure, the law and constitution of India, and its modern history, a class of most able public servants to fill the office of zillah judge, and the higher grade, would be selected; and that a certain probation in India, ending with an examination of the candidates in native languages, in the Hindoo and Mahomedan code, the local regulations, the tenures and customs of the country, would complete an education, and produce an efficiency, which would render the court of justice a blessing to the country that would be heartily and gratefully acknowledged throughout the length and breadth of the land; and appellate courts so constituted would ensure to the English Government the firmest hold on the affections and interest of the people.

17. Your petitioners in their former memorial drew the attention of your Honourable House to the correspondence between the Board of Control and the Directors of the East India Company, contained in the 17th volume of the "Papers (printed in 1833, by order of the Court of Directors) respecting the negotiation with Her Majesty's Ministers on the subject of the East India Company's Charter;" and, although well aware from that correspondence that they might justly have asked your Honourable House to discontinue the practice of periodically legislating for India, a practice exclusively connected with the rights and privileges of the East India Company put an end to by the arrangements made with them in 1833, still your petitioners, not foreseeing the chance of arousing the interest and attention now bestowed on Indian affairs, petitioned your Honourable House to limit the period of existence of any future government of India to 10 years; but your petitioners are now emboldened to ask your Honourable House as recently recommended * * * by the Right Honourable Lord Broughton, not to debar them for any period of years from requesting a revision of what may be injurious in the coming Indian legislation,—not to make them an exception to all British subjects in the distant colonies of the British Empire, who have all along been in the enjoyment of the privilege of approaching Parliament whenever the affairs of the colony have required imperial interference. It is simply necessary, Lord Broughton declared, * * * * * to pass an Act providing for the best form of Government both in England and in India, without limiting its duration to any number of years, an Act which, like any other statute, might, if deemed requisite, be modified, altered, or repealed as occasion might require; and, carrying out the same principles still further, your petitioners would respectfully observe that it cannot be necessary to embrace all the subjects involved in the discussion of India in one Act, and that the constitution of the Home Government, the constitution and powers of the several local Governments, the construction of a new judicial service, and each independent branch of inquiry, if made the subject of separate legislation, would in all probability receive more careful attention, and be more satisfactorily disposed of, than if the entire mass of Indian information be gathered together in one, and thrown into a single enactment.

18. Your petitioners therefore humbly pray your Honourable House, that this petition, like their former memorial, may be referred to the Committee now sitting on Indian Affairs, with a direction to them to have regard to its contents on any measures of legislation which the Committee may propose to Parliament; and that your Honourable House will be pleased, if necessary, to cause Commissions to issue to disinterested and independent persons at the three presidencies, to collect evidence in India as to the practical working of the systems of Government in operation, and that such Committees may be authorised to examine all Government servants, of whatever rank, and to require the production of any of the records of Government, not connected with state policy, calculated to throw light on the subject of inquiry.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

*Bomauja Aonnasjee.
Manackjee Nesserwaujee.
Dhunjeelhey Cursetjee.
&c. &c. &c.*

Appendix, No. 3. The humble PETITION of *Mean Oomaid Singh*, Cousin and Heir of *Beejai Singh*, late Rana of *Beeghaut*, in the Agency of *Simla*, in *India*,

Sheweth,

THAT petitioner's ancestor, Rana Roganauth Paul, as independent Rajah of Beeghaut, was possessed of nine villages at Beeghaut, paying an annual rent of 14,000 rupees, and that the same villages were taken possession of by the government of the Honourable East India Company during the Ghoorka war.

That, at the close of the Ghoorka war, four of the before-mentioned nine villages were restored by the Government to Rana Mohender Singh, the lineal descendant and representative of the said Rana Roganauth, and the remaining five villages were granted to the Rajah of Putteealah.

That Rana Mohender Singh continued in undisturbed possession of the said four villages, and received the rents and profits thereof until his death, which took place in the month of June 1839.

That, upon restoration of the said four villages to the said Rana Mohender Singh, a sunnud or grant by the government of the Honourable East India Company, under the hand and seal of General Sir David Ochterlony, was made to the said Rana Mohender Singh, securing to him and his posterity the possession of said four villages, of which the following is a translation :

"As the expulsion of the Gorkhas from this mountainous country, Kohiston, has been completely effected, and all the castles appertaining thereto have come to the possession of the seat of bounty, the English Company Bahadoor; and the territories of Thuhrye have been likewise subdued in consequence of Mehunder Singh having neglected to join and aid the English force during the insurrection of the Gorkhas; and as the English nation, the most distinguished of all other nations with regard to excellence and generosity, has, from motives of kindness, and by way of courtesy only, bestowed on Mehunder Singh the pergunnahs Cussoley, and Bhóji, and Bussaul, and Cotee Bassil, four pergunnahs in all, which, together with the rest of the pergunnahs, appertaining to Beeghat, have been captured; therefore, according to the orders of the bestower of favours, his excellency the most noble Governor-General Moira Bahadoor, may whose prosperity continue for ever, a sunnud for the said four pergunnahs is granted to Mehunder Singh under my seal and signature, to perpetuate the possession thereof to him and his posterity. It behoveth him therefore to continue in the custody and possession of all the four pergunnahs, administering in the meantime justice and comfort to all his subjects; that he should never outstep the ancient boundaries of these four pergunnahs, and go over the lands appertaining to the rest of the pergunnahs belonging to Beeghat; that, besides these four pergunnahs, he should never claim any other pergunnah, nor should he demand the taxes and tolls arising out of Beeghat, amounting to 1,300 rupees, which are assigned over to Maha Rajgawn Singh Mahunder Bahadoor, that he should consider it his interest to be always in attendance on the English people, and to render them his personal services; and that whenever there should happen to be any rebellious commotion, he should join the British army with his own force, and assist them to the extent of his power; and that he should always retain 20 labourers, who should be in constant attendance on the gentleman at Supatoo throughout the year.

"Should he deviate from or act contrary to these stipulations, he should certainly be held in the utmost contempt, and be removed from his possessions.

"The subjects and inhabitants of that place are exhorted to regard Mehander Singh, and after him his descendants, as their absolute master, to whom they should never resist to pay the Government revenues, but should always be submissive to him in everything that is proper, just, and expedient."

That upon the death of the said Mohender Singh, Colonel Horatio Tapp, the resident at Simlah, acting on behalf of the Government of the Honourable East India Company, took possession of the said villages, whereupon your petitioner's cousin, the late Rana Mohender, being the brother and heir of the Rana Mohender Singh, presented a memorial to the government of the Honourable East India Company, that the possession of the said villages might be granted to him as the representative of the said Rana Mohender Singh; and that in the year 1843, after a delay of three years, possession of the said four villages was conferred on the said Rana Beejai Singh, by a sunnud or grant of the Honourable J. C. Erskine, late sub-commissioner of the Hill States, and the arrears of the income of the estate for the three years from the time of Rana Mohender Singh's death, was paid to the said Rana Beejai Singh, who continued in possession of the estate to the time of his death, and of which sunnud or grant the following is a translation :—

"Agreeably to the letter of the Secretary to the Government of India, No. 2,167, dated 18th November 1842, the four above-mentioned pergunnahs or districts, together with all their rights, have been made a free grant to the before-mentioned Rana, from generation to generation. It is incumbent on the Rana to consider the sunnud correct and legal, and to take possession of the pergunnahs; and he is not to encroach on the boundary of another person, and he is to do his best to settle the ryots and to give redress to their complaints,

and.

and obey the authorities of the Honourable Company with sincerity and devotedness, and to feel very grateful for this grant. In case of the services of his men being required, he is to be present with them and come in person to discharge the duty. He is to obey the orders of the authorities in procuring the bagarees, and to keep the roads in his district in readiness. The ryots of the before-mentioned pergunnahs are to consider Rana Bijai Singh independent and sole master of the before-mentioned pergunnahs from generation to generation, and his orders are to be obeyed.

Appendix, 1

"In accordance with the letter of Mr. Hamilton, the secretary, No. 26, and dated 8th August 1843, one pergunnah of Kussolee, from the four pergunnahs, together with its villages, will remain in the possession of the Honourable Company, and the sum of 507 rupees, 3 annas, and 11 pice, the produce of the pergunnah, will continue to be paid to the Rana from the Government treasury yearly, by two instalments.

Signed and sealed by the Honourable *John C. Erskine*,
"Sub-Commissioner, North-western Frontier."

That the said Rana Beejai Singh died without issue on the 3d of January 1849, leaving your petitioner his cousin and heir, petitioner being the son of Dhery Singh, who was the paternal uncle of the said Beejai Singh.

That the said Rana Beejai Singh left a will in the Hindoo language, dated 17th November 1843, and thereby declared that your petitioner was to succeed him in the estate of Beeghaut, if he, Beejai Singh, should die without issue, and which will is signed by the said Rana Beejai Singh, and duly witnessed, and of which will the following is a translation:—

"Sree Maha Sree Mean Bijai Singh has given this in writing to Mean Oomaid Singh, that I am the master of Raj as long as I am in existence, and my issue is to succeed me, and in case I have no issue, then Bhaie Oomaid Singh is to succeed me. I give this in writing. If, during my lifetime, or in the presence of my issue, Oomaid Singh were to make any claim to the Raj, he is to be considered a liar; and in case I deviate from this, I am to be disgraced in the eyes of my ryots and be punished by gods and goddesses."

That on the death of Rana Beejai Singh your petitioner wrote to Mr. Edwards, the superintendent of the Hill Estates, informing him of the death of the Rana, and that your petitioner was the successor to the estate; and petitioner received in reply directions from Mr. Edwards to superintend and manage the affairs of the country, as they had been theretofore conducted.

That your petitioner accordingly executed all orders of government, and superintended the affairs of the estate with zeal and obedience, and without any complaint having been made against your petitioner; but after a lapse of about three months Bishen Doss, the Naheb Tehsuldar of Joobbul, was sent to Beeghaut, and took possession of the estate on behalf of the British Government, and your petitioner was deprived of the estate.

That your petitioner received a letter from Mr. Edwards, the Superintendent of the Hill States, dated the 10th July 1850, stating that he had been directed by the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab, to inform your petitioner that his claim to the estate of Beeghaut had been submitted to the Honourable the Court of Directors, and that, in their opinion, the claim of your petitioner was not proved, and therefore a suitable pension would be granted to your petitioner for his maintenance.

That your petitioner is utterly unable to comprehend the grounds on which the opinion of the Court of Directors was formed; your petitioner having undoubted proofs of his pedigree and relationship to the late Rana Beejai Singh, and which proofs he is desirous to submit for examination; and also the said Rana Beejai Singh having made his will directing that petitioner should succeed him in the estate, as before set forth.

That, on the 25th October 1850, petitioner presented a petition to the Governor-General of India, stating the death of the late Rana Beejai Singh, and showing your petitioner's claim as his legal heir to the estate at Beeghaut of which he died possessed, and praying that your petitioner's case might be inquired into; and that as the rightful heir and successor of Rana Beejai Singh he might be put in possession of the villages or estate of which the said Rana died possessed. That the only reply your petitioner received to this petition was a memorandum, of which the following is a copy:—

"No. 2416. Office Memorandum, Foreign Department, Camp Gurshunker, the 16 November 1850. Read, a petition from Mean Oomaid Singh, dated 25 October 1850, complaining of having been dispossessed of the Beeghaut estate. Ordered, that the petitioner be informed that the decision in his case is final. (Signed) *E. C. Bayley*, Undersecretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General."

That, in cases similar to that of your petitioner, when there has been no direct descendant, the British Government have been pleased to confer the estate on the nearest relative of the deceased owner, such as in the cases of Billashore, Hoomarsom, and many others, and in the case of the estate in question, on the death of Rana Mohender Singh the estate was granted to his brother, the late Rana Beejai Singh.

That your petitioner's conduct has been always approved of by the British authorities, and in the recent wars with the Seikhs your petitioner, with his sowars or cavalry, rendered great

ppendix, No. 3. great assistance to the British forces, and gained the highest approbation of the British authorities.

That the late Rana Beejai Singh, being desirous of appointing your petitioner as his mooktear or prime minister in the year 1844, addressed a letter to the Honourable J. C. Erskine, sub-commissioner of Kohiston, for his approbation of such appointment; who addressed a letter in reply to Rana Beejai Singh on the 10th January 1844, and stated that, having seen the intelligence, activity, and capability of your petitioner, he reposed every confidence in him, and highly approved of your petitioner being selected for the office.

That on the 28th February 1846, the Honourable J. C. Erskine addressed a letter to the late Rana Beejai Singh, stating that petitioner had remained with him, together with the troops of Rana Beejai Singh, during the Sutlej campaign against the Seikhs in 1845 and 1846, and had performed duties to his entire satisfaction.

That on the death of Rana Beejai Singh, all reassals of the Beeghaut estate presented a petition to Mr. Edwards, praying that your petitioner might succeed Rana Beejai Singh, thereby testifying the popularity of your petitioner with the subjects or reassals of the estate.

That your petitioner has made frequent applications, by respectful memorials, both to the Governal-General of India and to the Directors of the Honourable the East India Company for redress; that he has failed in obtaining any; that there is no court of law or tribunal to which he can appeal to determine his rights and put him in possession of property which is thus unjustly withheld from him; and that he therefore appeals to the justice and honour of the British Parliament to interfere for his protection, and to secure to him the enjoyment of his rights and property, his title to which he is ready to prove, if your Honourable House shall direct an inquiry into his claim.

Your petitioner therefore humbly prays that your petitioner's case may be taken into consideration, and direct such inquiry to be made, with reference to petitioner's claims, as may be deemed necessary; and that the four villages or estate of Beeghaut, of which the late Rana Beejai Singh died possessed, may be granted to petitioner, and that he may be put in possession of the same as the lawful heir and successor of the late Rana Beejai Singh; and that your Honourable House may adopt all measures that may be necessary to secure to your petitioner full and complete justice.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

Mean Oomaid Singh.

The humble PETITION of the Merchants, Shipowners, and Tradesmen of the Town of
Liverpool.

Sheweth,

THAT the period has now arrived when you will have to consider the propriety of continuing the present or adopting fresh and more liberal measures for the future government of Her Majesty's East India possessions.

That the enlightened policy which has of late years distinguished the Government of this country has greatly promoted the prosperity of the mercantile interest, and ameliorated the condition of the working population of Great Britain.

That the primary duty of any Government is to see to the temporal welfare of the population under its rule; and, since it has pleased an all-wise Providence to place under the protection of the Government of this country many millions of human beings in East India, your petitioners believe it to be the sacred and solemn duty of this Government to afford to the people of that country the same fostering care as is and ought to be afforded to the people of this country.

That a constant and plentiful supply of salt of good quality, and at as low a price as possible, is of the utmost importance to the well-being of the people of East India; but your petitioners regret that that article can only be obtained by the great mass of the people of that country with great difficulty, of very inferior quality, and at an enormous cost.

That if the salt manufactured in England could be imported into India free of duty, or upon the same terms as other commodities, at an *ad valorem* duty, and free from all excise imposts when imported, a sufficient supply to meet the wants of that country could be easily sent pure in quality and low in price.

That your petitioners believe it to be oppressive and unjust towards the people of British India to impose so heavy a tax on so important an article as salt (amounting to about 7*l.* per ton), a sum more than twenty times the value of the article in this country.

That the abolition of the duty on salt in British India would be not only a great boon to the people of that country to which justice and humanity entitle them, but would also

also tend greatly to improve and strengthen the mercantile interests of this country generally, by increasing particularly the demand for cotton and other goods of English manufacture. Appendix, No. 3.

Your petitioners therefore earnestly pray that, in any measure which your Honourable House may adopt for the future government of Her Majesty's East India possessions, you will take care that provision shall be made for the importation of salt into that country free from any duty, and free from any excise impost when imported; or, at the least, that it shall be admitted on the payment of the same *ad valorem* duty as other goods and manufactures.

Thos. J. M. Brocklebank.
William Rathbone.
Brown, Shipley, & Co.
&c. &c. &c.

TO the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Tradesmen of the Town of *St. Helen's*,

Sheweth,

That the period has now arrived when you will have to consider the propriety of continuing the present, or adopting fresh and more liberal measures for the future government of Her Majesty's East Indian possessions.

That the enlightened policy which has of late years distinguished the Government of this country has greatly promoted the prosperity of the mercantile interest, and ameliorated the condition of the working population of Great Britain.

That the primary duty of any Government is to see to the temporal welfare of the population under its rule; and since it has pleased an all-wise Providence to place under the protection of the Government of this country many millions of human beings in East India, your petitioners believe it to be the sacred and solemn duty of this Government to afford to the people of that country the same fostering care as is and ought to be afforded to the people of this country.

That a constant and plentiful supply of salt, of good quality, and at as low a price as possible, is of the utmost importance to the well-being of the people of East India; but your petitioners regret that that article can only be obtained by the great mass of the people of that country with great difficulty, of a very inferior quality, and at an enormous cost.

That if the salt manufactured in England could be imported into India free of duty, or upon the same terms as other commodities, at an *ad valorem* duty, and free from all excise imposts when imported, a sufficient supply to meet the wants of that country would be easily sent, pure in quality and low in price.

That your petitioners believe it to be oppressive and unjust towards the population of British India to impose so heavy a tax on so important an article as salt (amounting to about 7 *l.* per ton), a sum equal to more than twenty times the value of the article in this country.

That the abolition of the duty on salt in British India would be not only a great boon to the people of that country, to which justice and humanity entitle them, but would also tend greatly to improve and strengthen the mercantile interests of this country generally, by increasing particularly the demand for cotton and other goods of English manufacture.

Your petitioners therefore earnestly pray, that in any measure which your Honourable House may adopt for the future Government of British India, you will make provision for the importation of salt into that country free of duty, or at the least on payment of the same *ad valorem* duty as other goods and manufactures.

TO the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, in Parliament assembled.

The humble PETITION of the Undersigned of the Town and Neighbourhood of *Winsford*, in the County of *Chester*,

Sheweth,

THAT on an average of several years past, not less than 600,000 tons of salt have been annually made from brine and rock salt, in the salt districts of Cheshire, giving employment by land and water to at least 5,000 able-bodied men.

That a constant supply of salt of good quality, and at reasonable prices, is of the utmost importance to the extensive population of British India, particularly the lower classes, but at present they are almost dependent upon the article manufactured in that country, which is impure in quality, uncertain and insufficient in supply, and costly in price.

That if the salt manufactured in England could be imported into India upon the same terms

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terms as other goods, a sufficient quantity could be sent from the salt districts of Cheshire to meet the wants of that country, pure in quality, certain and sufficient in supply, and low in price.

That under no circumstances should any tax or duty be imposed on salt, but in proportion to its value, compared with other articles of commerce taxed by the East India Company.

That the East India Company have imposed an import duty upon salt equal to 7 *l.* a ton, which of itself is not less than 20 times the value of the article, whereby the supply has become a monopoly in the hands of that Company.

That the imposition of such duty is contrary to the commercial policy of this country, and unjust and oppressive towards the native population of India, and thereby the manufacturers of salt in Cheshire and elsewhere, are shut out from the markets of that extensive country, or nearly so.

That the opening of the trade would materially benefit such manufacturers and others within such districts; and your Petitioners believe that the great saving in cost of salt, would lead to a much greater demand by the native population of India for the cotton and other goods of English manufacture, and thereby greatly benefit the whole commercial and trading interests of this country.

Your Petitioners therefore pray, that in any charter to be now granted to the East India Company, provision may be made that English salt may be imported into all parts of British India, upon the same terms and conditions as other goods and manufactures.

And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

THE humble Petition of the President, Vice-President, and Directors of the *Worcester* Chamber of Commerce,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your petitioners are the executive of an association constituted for the purpose of protecting and promoting the commercial prosperity of this city and locality, and therefore feel a deep interest in the legitimate increase of the salt manufacture, carried on to a great extent in the adjoining ancient borough of Droitwich; inasmuch as the transit of salt for shipment at Gloucester and other ports for export forms the largest individual source of revenue to the Commissioners of the Severn Navigation, by whom a large sum has been already expended in the improvement of that river, and additional powers have been granted, during the present Session of Parliament, for a further expenditure, by which increased facilities for direct export will be obtained, whereby the traffic of the district will be largely developed.

That the manufacture of salt, admitting as it does of large extension from the inexhaustible springs of Worcestershire, is materially circumscribed from markets being virtually closed against British salt, to which, in the judgment of your petitioners, the manufacturers possess an indubitable claim for easy access; they would particularise the ports of British India, into which it appears to your petitioners that an enlightened and humane policy would provide for and encourage unfettered importation, on payment of a reasonable duty for revenue only, whereas the restrictions imposed by the Indian Government are made to protect a monopoly of its own of inferior salt, carried on, as your petitioners are advised, in direct violation of the Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 85.

And in proof of the manifest injustice inflicted on the natives of India by the regulations, rigorously enforced by their rulers, relating to the article of salt, your petitioners adduce the enormous duty of nearly 300 per cent., calculated at the price for which a pure article could be delivered by the British maker into the store of the factor, now levied on all salt imported, by the operation of which oppressive imposts the many millions of unrepresented British subjects are taxed to the extent of at least one-tenth of the wages now paid for labour, and that large portion of the poor man's earnings the natives are compelled to pay for the purchase of a necessary condiment in the humble fare of that immense population.

That the obvious advantages to the shipping interest, in increased tonnage, by allowing the unrestricted import of salt into India, and the augmented demand created there for the manufactured goods of the United Kingdom in return, form elements in the consideration of the question deserving the serious attention of the Legislature.

For the foregoing, and other reasons which may be adduced, your petitioners humbly pray your Honourable House that, in the measure now before Parliament for the future government of India, provision may be made against the continuance of the unjust system which has heretofore prevailed in those dependencies of the British Crown in reference to the importation of salt and taxing regulations, by which so much physical suffering has been inflicted on our fellow-subjects there.

(signed) *Edward Evans*, Vice-President.

The humble PETITION of the *Bristol* Chamber of Commerce,

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Sheweth,

THAT, in the opinion of your petitioners, the salt tax imposed by the East India Company is cruel and oppressive towards the people under their rule, impolitic in a financial point of view, unjust and injurious to the manufacturing, commercial and shipping interests of this country, and inconsistent with the present policy of the Legislature.

That it appears, from information which has been made public, that the cost of salt to the East India Company is at the rate of one farthing per pound; that the Company add to that a profit at the rate of three-farthings per pound, and that the Company suffer the dealers to traffic in the article, so that eventually the cost to the consumer is about two-pence farthing per pound, or 21 pounds per ton. That the tax imposed by the Company on salt imported into India is equivalent to the profit of three-farthings per pound, which they add to the contract price of the salt manufactured for them in India, and the operations of the dealers enhance the price of the imported article to the consumer to the amount already stated, or thereabouts, and a monopoly is thus established, by means of which an extortionate price is obtained from the poor ryot of India for this prime necessary of life.

That the first cost of salt in this country does not exceed one-sixth that manufactured in India; that the price to the consumer here is but about 30s. per ton, instead of 21 l. per ton, as in India, and if it were necessary to abolish the salt tax at home some years since, it appears to your petitioners that the millions of Her Majesty's subjects of India have a much stronger claim for its remission in their case, wretchedly poor as they are, and essentially necessary as salt is to their daily sustenance, and to the prevention of disease in such a climate.

That it appears, from statistical accounts which have been published, that the quantity of salt consumed in India is less than one-half that consumed in this country, relatively to the populations, it being about 12 l. per head per annum in the former, and 25 l. per head per annum in the latter.

That, but for the before-mentioned tax and monopoly, salt manufactured in England could be exported and sold in Calcutta at from 40 s. to 44 s. per ton, and the price would be reduced, by the breaking up of the monopoly, to about one-tenth the present rate to the consumer in India.

That the abrogation of the monopoly would tend greatly to benefit and give employment to the home manufacturers of the article, who are capable of producing an unlimited quantity, and also to the commercial, the shipping and the manufacturing interests generally.

Your petitioners therefore pray that your Honourable House will be pleased to take such measures as will ensure the abolition of this monopoly in the Bill now before your Honourable House relative to the East India Company's Charter, or if your Honourable House should deem it expedient to continue some tax on the article, that you will be pleased to place such restrictions on the Company and the dealers as will ensure the poor ryot of India having the full benefit of any reduction in the amount of the tax which you may be pleased to require.

Signed on behalf of the Bristol Chamber of Commerce,

James Bush, Chairman of the Committee.