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Swinnings Letter  
to E. J. Co.

1808

—  $\frac{A}{P}$  |

**A LETTER,**  
**TO THE**  
**CHAIRMAN**  
**OF THE**  
**EAST INDIA COMPANY,**  
**ON THE**  
**DANGER OF INTERFERING**  
**IN THE**  
**Religious Opinions of the Natives of India;**  
**AND ON THE VIEWS**  
**OF THE**  
**BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY,**  
**AS DIRECTED TO INDIA.**

—◆—  
**By THOMAS TWINING,**

LATE SENIOR MERCHANT ON THE COMPANY'S BENGAL ESTABLISHMENT.

—◆—  
THIRD EDITION.

—◆—  
**LONDON:**

PRINTED FOR J. RIDGWAY, NO. 170, OPPOSITE OLD BOND-STREET, PICCADILLY

W. Hayward and Carthew, 40, Beech-street, Barbican.

V2: 58(Q).M1  
A808

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*Preface to the Third Edition.*

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I LITTLE expected that the following letter, written and published without communication with any person whatever, and by a stranger to almost every proprietor of East India Stock, would be imputed to *party* considerations—to motives of *party* resentment towards certain individuals, and of *party* hostility towards the East India Company. I shall not attempt to remove such ungenerous impressions. As it is, however, my intention, in concurrence with many most respectable proprietors, to submit the dangerous proceedings exhibited in the following pages, to the consideration of a general court, I will take this opportunity of declaring, publicly, to every proprietor, and to those proprietors, in particular, who are, it seems, supposed capable of acting from *party*

## PREFACE.

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views, that I desire no vote, and no support, but such as shall be dictated by a conscientious regard for the happiness and rights of our eastern subjects, and by an honest determination to oppose measures, involving the extinction, not only of the East India Company, but of the British Empire in India.

*P. S.* Sincerely desirous that the Proprietors should be put in possession of every argument that can be advanced in support of the opposite side of the important question which they will shortly be called upon to decide, I have, on *that* account, just perused, with entire satisfaction, the Rev. Mr. Owen's Answer to the following letter. Whether, therefore, Mr. Owen's observations shall remove or confirm the impressions which the following pages may have produced, I shall feel equally indebted to the exertions of the reverend Gentleman.

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TO

EDWARD PARRY, Esq.

*CHAIRMAN of the EAST INDIA COMPANY.*

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SIR,

It is with a degree of reluctance, surpassed only by the deepest sense of duty, that I intrude upon your attention. Had there been a general court assembled at this time, I should, probably, have chosen that occasion to deliver my opinion upon the subject of this letter: but that opportunity not offering, there can, I conceive, be no material irregularity in having recourse to the only remaining mode of communication that presents itself. Sir, with infinite concern and alarm, I have lately heard of proceedings, which convey to my humble apprehension, evidence of a strong disposition, in a quarter too, where, above all others, its existence is most to be dreaded, to interfere in the



Religious Opinions of the native inhabitants of India. It is, Sir, upon this important subject that I address you. I shall be sorry, in the course of my remarks, to make any observation likely to give pain or offence to any gentleman whatever: particularly to gentlemen for whose private virtues, and eminent talents, and exalted stations in the public service, I feel a great degree of respect: but, Sir, my duty compels me to notice certain transactions, most immediately, most intimately, and, I fear, most dangerously, connected with the safety of our possessions in India.

I must then, Sir, observe, that my fears of attempts to disturb the Religious Systems of India, have been especially excited, by my hearing that a Society exists in this country, the "*chief*" object of which is the "*universal*" dissemination of the Christian Faith; particularly amongst those nations of the East to whom we possess a safe facility of access, and whose minds and doctrines are known to be most obscured by the darkness of infidelity. Upon this topic, so delicate and solemn, I shall, for the present, make but one observation. I shall only observe, that if a society having such objects in view, does exist, and if the leading members of that

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Society are also leading members of the East India Company; and not only of the East India Company, but of the Court of Directors; nay, Sir, not only of the Court of Directors, but of the Board of Control; if, I say, these alarming hypotheses are true, then, Sir, are our Possessions in the East already in a situation of most imminent and unprecedented peril; and no less a danger than the threatened extermination of our eastern sovereignty, commands us to step forth, and arrest the progress of such rash and unwarrantable proceedings.

I shall now state the principal grounds of my suspicion and anxiety.

*EXTRACTS from the REPORTS, and from Letters therein contained, of the Committee of the "British and Foreign BIBLE SOCIETY."*

"The accession of the names of the *President* and *Vice-Presidents*, since the last Ge-

First Report, p.

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\* The President is Lord Teignmouth, late Governor-General of India, and now a member of the Board of Control; Mr. Grant, at present Deputy-Chairman of the East

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“ neral Meeting, will at the same time evince,  
 “ that your Committee have not been inatten-  
 “ tive to the charge assigned to them, of pro-  
 “ curing for the Society suitable patronage.”

1st. Rep.  
 page 14:

“ A correspondence has been opened by your  
 “ Committee, with some gentlemen at Fort  
 “ William in Bengal, and the plan and regula-  
 “ tions of the Society have been communicated  
 “ to them.”

“ Having been informed that a manuscript  
 “ version of the New Testament, in the Chinese  
 “ language, was deposited in the British Museum,  
 “ your Committee were led to indulge an ex-  
 “ pectation, that it might afford to the Society,  
 “ the means of introducing the knowledge of  
 “ divine truth, in the Chinese empire. Their  
 “ attention was therefore directed in the first  
 “ instance, to procure from gentlemen conver-  
 “ sant with the Chinese language, the most

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India Company, and, of course, successor to the chair, next year, is one of the Vice-Presidents. Mr. Thornton, also, the Director, is one of the most distinguished members of the Society. Mr. Thornton's brother is Treasurer to the Society. Certainly, as far as respects *Indian Conversion*, the Society could not have had more “suitable patronage.”

“ accurate information respecting the contents  
 “ of the manuscript. Your Committee at the  
 “ same time, on a supposition that it might  
 “ answer to the description received of it, made  
 “ enquiries as to the expence, attending the  
 “ printing of a certain number of copies of it,  
 “ and that no procurable information might be  
 “ wanted, applied also to Sir George Staunton  
 “ for his opinion on the practicability of circu-  
 “ lating the Holy Scriptures in China, as well as  
 “ respecting the proper channels, through which  
 “ it should be attempted. The departure of Sir  
 “ George Staunton from London, preparatory to  
 “ his embarkation for China, having taken place  
 “ before the application on the part of the Soci-  
 “ ety reached him; your Committee, have been  
 “ deprived of the benefit of that information  
 “ which they solicited, but are not without  
 “ hopes of being hereafter favoured with it.”

“ The Society shall, according to its abi-<sup>1st. Re-</sup>  
 “ lity, extend its influence to other coun-<sup>port p.25</sup>  
 “ tries, whether Christian, Mahometan, or Pa-  
 “ gan.”

“ *Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Mr.*  
 “ *CAREY, chief Minister of the Baptist Mission*

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“ *in the East Indies, communicated by the Secre-*  
 “ *tary of that Mission.* \*Dated Calcutta, Feb.  
 “ 27, 1804.”

“ We have engaged in a translation of the  
 “ sacred Scriptures into the Hindostannee, Per-  
 “ sian, Maharathta, and Oottul languages; and in-  
 “ tend to engage in more. Perhaps so many ad-  
 “ vantages for translating the Bible into all the  
 “ languages of the East, will never meet in any  
 “ one situation again, viz: A possibility of  
 “ obtaining learned natives of all these coun-  
 “ tries a sufficiency of worldly good; things,  
 “ (with a moderate degree of annual assist-  
 “ ance from England), to carry us through  
 “ it; a printing office; a good library of cri-  
 “ tical writings; a habit of translating; and  
 “ a disposition to do it. We shall, however,  
 “ need about a £1000 per annum for some  
 “ years, to enable us to print them; and with  
 “ this it may be done in about fifteen years,  
 “ if the Lord preserve our lives and health.”

2nd. Rep.  
 page 133.

“ It may be satisfactory to the Society to be  
 “ informed, that a commencement has been  
 “ made in Bengal in translating the Scrip-  
 “ tures into the Chinese language with ad-

“ vantages unattainable in this country. This in-  
 “ formation is given upon the authority of the  
 “ Reverend Dr. Claudis Buchanan, one of the  
 “ chaplains of the Presidency of Fort Wil-  
 “ liam in Calcutta; and from the date an-  
 “ nexed to the Dedication of his Memoir,  
 “ it appears that in March last year, the Book  
 “ of Genesis and the Gospel of St. Matthew  
 “ were in the course of translation, and some  
 “ chapters of each had already been printed.  
 “ Nor will it be uninteresting to learn from  
 “ the same Memoir, that “ under the auspices  
 “ of the College at Fort William, the Scrip-  
 “ tures are in a course of translation into the  
 “ languages of almost the whole continent of  
 “ Oriental India.” \*

“ O my highly-respected and beloved friends, <sup>Appx. to</sup>  
 “ let us rejoice in the prospect of that glo- <sup>2nd. Rep</sup>  
 “ rious day in which the great Shepherd and <sup>page 160</sup>  
 “ Bishop of Souls will gather together all his  
 “ sheep; when the first-born Brother will col-

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“ \* Vide Dr. Buchanan's Memoir, p. 81. The funds  
 “ for this work are (we understand) to be chiefly, if not  
 “ intirely, derived from the contributions of Christians in  
 “ Europe.”

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“lect all the dispersed children of God; and  
 “*from all nations and religions, languages and*  
 “*kingdoms*, of this world, will bring some as  
 “trophies of his triumph on the cross.”

3rd. Rep:  
 page 9,  
 10, 11.

“Your Committee, reverting to the notice  
 “in their last Report, that under the auspices  
 “of the College at Fort William in Bengal,  
 “the Scriptures were in a course of transla-  
 “tion into the languages of almost the whole  
 “continent of Oriental India, and having re-  
 “ceived information that the assistance of this  
 “Society would greatly contribute to forward  
 “this most laudable and important undertak-  
 “ing; resolved for such purpose, to place  
 “the sum of £1000 at the disposal of the  
 “*Calcutta Corresponding Committee*, which has  
 “been duly informed of the resolution.”

3rd. Rep-  
 page 21.

“By a communication very recently re-  
 “ceived from the Reverend David Brown, Pro-  
 “vost of the College of Fort William, your  
 “Committee are in possession of specimens,  
 “partly printed and partly manuscript, of trans-  
 “lations into ten of the Oriental languages,  
 “among which are the Shanscrit and the Chi-  
 “nese. These translations are in different de-

“ grees of forwardness, and to their comple-  
 “ tion nothing is now wanting, under the  
 “ Divine blessing, but funds sufficiently am-  
 “ ple. ”

“ Your Committee, in consideration of this <sup>3rd. Rep.</sup>  
 “ important intelligence, have been induced <sup>page 10.</sup>  
 “ to increase the original donation by the ad-  
 “ dition of another £1000.

“ A proposal having been made to your  
 “ Committee from the Edinburgh Missionary  
 “ Society, to assist them in procuring Arabic  
 “ types and a supply of paper for the pur-  
 “ pose of printing an edition of the New  
 “ Testament in the Turkish language, under  
 “ the direction of their missionary Mr. Brun-  
 “ ton, at Karass on the borders of the Cas-  
 “ pian Sea; and this proposal having been  
 “ accompanied with a representation from their  
 “ correspondents, that the Turkish language is  
 “ spoken from the banks of the Wolga to the  
 “ borders of the Euxine; your Committee,  
 “ after mature deliberation upon all the cir-  
 “ cumstances of the case, resolved to supply  
 “ a fount of Arabic types to be cast by Messrs.  
 “ Fry and Co. of London, and also paper



“ sufficient for 5000 copies of the proposed  
 “ Testament. To the adoption of this reso-  
 “ lution they were partly influenced by the  
 “ consideration of that liberality with which  
 “ their brethren in Scotland have contributed  
 “ to the funds of your Society ; but CHIEFLY  
 “ BY THE PROSPECT OF FURNISHING THE CHRISTIAN  
 “ SCRIPTURES in a language they understand,  
 “ TO A PEOPLE OCCUPYING SO LARGE A PORTION  
 “ OF COUNTRY, and LIVING UNDER THE DEGRADING  
 “ DOMINION OF MAHOMEDAN SUPERSTITION.”

3rd. Rep.  
page 21.

“ It is the peculiar honour of the British  
 “ and Foreign Bible Society, that ITS EXER-  
 “ TIONS HAVE AN UNLIMITED RANGE ; and that  
 “ they are directed to circulate the doctrines of  
 “ INSPIRATION AMONGST FOREIGN NATIONS, whether  
 “ near OR REMOTE ; whether Christian, MAHO-  
 “ MEDAN, OR PAGAN. The spirit of emulation  
 “ which it has excited on the Continent, and  
 “ the activity which it has called forth at home  
 “ and abroad, prove the value of its example,  
 “ and the POWER OF ITS INFLUENCE in produc-  
 “ ing effects of the utmost importance to the  
 “ interests of Christianity.”

3rd. Rep.  
page 22.

“ Whether the sphere of its operations be  
 “ measured from North to South, from Iceland

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“ to the Cape of Good Hope, and Van Die-  
 “ man’s Land; or from East to West, from  
 “ HINDOSTAN\* and the SHORES OF THE CASPIAN,  
 “ to Buenos Ayres and the Lakes of North  
 “ America, THE RANGE IS IMMENSE; and your  
 “ Committee are fully justified in repeating  
 “ an assertion in their last Report, “ that  
 “ THEY SEE NO OTHER LIMITS TO THE BENEFICIAL  
 “ OPERATION OF THE INSTITUTION THAN THAT  
 “ WHICH ITS FUNDS MAY PRESCRIBE.”

“ *Extract of a Letter from the Rev. David* Appendix to 3d. Report.  
 “ *Brown, Provost of the College of Fort Wil-*  
 “ *liam. Dated Calcutta, 13th Sep. 1806.*

“ My dear Sir,

“ I BELIEVE no plan for the diffusion of true  
 “ religion was ever formed, from the begin-

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\* As I perform the painful task of transcribing these passages, my mind is oppressed with dread and astonishment. I have lived in India, in what have been supposed to be dangerous times. I have seen our security threatened by the most formidable force from *without*: I have seen it more seriously threatened by weakness from *within*: but never, Sir, have I seen any danger so alarming, as that which I am now submitting to your attention.

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“ning of the world, that embraced so wide a  
 “scope, or met with such general approbation,  
 “as that of the British and Foreign Bible  
 “Society.

“ On coming down this morning from Se-  
 “ rampore, I requested the Missionaries\* to send  
 “ me a few specimens of their labours, whe-  
 “ ther in the press or in manuscript, to be  
 “ forwarded to you by the packet which closes  
 “ this day.

“ They have sent me the following:

“ 1. Shanscrit. Two first Gospels will be  
 “ ready by the end of this year.

“ 2. Bengalee. This is a new and most ad-  
 “ mirable translation of the whole Scriptures.

“ 3. Mahratta. The four Gospels are print-  
 “ ed off.

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\* I know not who these Missionaries may be, but this letter proves their intercourse with the British and Foreign Bible Society. With this evident connexion with missionaries in India, and with the devoted co-operation of Mr. Brown, and Mr. Buchanan, gentlemen holding the highest ecclesiastical situations in India, and Provost and Deputy-Provost of the College at Fort William, the Society may well speak of the “ power of it’s influence.”

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“ 4. Orissa. A sheet from the press not  
“ corrected. This work is in great forwardness.  
“ 9. Persian. (Book of Psalms is finished.)  
“ 10. Chinese.

“ Mr. Professor Lassar has sent me three  
“ Chinese specimens, with a letter in the same  
“ language, the work of his own head and  
“ hand.

“ As the above little specimens are the  
“ hasty production of this morning, I do not  
“ recommend them to severe criticism, but Mr.  
“ Lassar is a thorough Chinese, and will do the  
“ great work of translating the Scriptures in-  
“ to that language, if it pleases God to spare  
“ his life five or six years. He reads every  
“ thing in the language as readily as you do  
“ English, and writes it as rapidly.

“ The other manuscript specimens are in a  
“ rough state, and not fit to be submitted to  
“ critical inspection.

“ The Shanscrit and Chinese (apparently the  
“ most difficult of access) are discovered to be  
“ the most practicable of all the languages yet  
“ undertaken.

- “ In’ manuscript  
 “ 5. Telinga.  
 “ 6. Shanscrit Hindoostanee.  
 “ 7. Delhi Hindoostanee.  
 “ 8. Guzerattee.

“ The first answers to Greek, as face an-  
 “ swers to face in a glass. The translation  
 “ will be perfect, while it will be almost ver-  
 “ bal. A Shanscrit edition of the Gospels will  
 “ be published with the Greek on the oppo-  
 “ site page, as soon as we can procure Greek  
 “ types. You will find the verb in the  
 “ corresponding mood and tense, the noun  
 “ and adjective in the corresponding case and  
 “ gender. The idiom and government are the  
 “ same: where the Greek is absolute, so is  
 “ the Shanscrit; and in many instances the  
 “ primitives or roots are the same. This will  
 “ exhibit a curious phœnomenon to the learn-  
 “ ed in Europe.

“ While I am writing, Mr. Carey has sent  
 “ to the College, for the Honourable Court  
 “ of Directors, 40 copies of his Shanscrit gram-  
 “ mar, just published, containing 1014 pages  
 “ in quarto.

“ I have given you the above information,  
 “ my dear Sir, merely to convince you, that  
 “ we are not indifferent to *the cause in which*  
 “ *you are engaged.* But for a more accurate  
 “ and satisfactory account you must wait till  
 “ the end of the year, when the First Report  
 “ will be published.

“ I am with sincere regards,

“ my dear Sir,

“ most truly yours.”

“ Though most of these (Mahometan) priests Appx. to 3rd. Rep. page 22.  
 “ understand a little Arabic, and make a shift  
 “ to read the Koran in that language, yet few  
 “ of them except where the Arabic is spoken,  
 “ understand it sufficiently to enable them to  
 “ read any other book in that language.

“ On this account, a translation of the Scrip-  
 “ tures into Turkish is most desirable, and more  
 “ calculated perhaps than any other measure  
 “ TO HASTEN THE DOWNFALL OF THAT  
 “ DEGRADING AND BLOODY SUPERSTI-  
 “ TION, WHICH NOW FOR A LONG SE-  
 “ RIES OF AGES HAS OVERSPREAD SO  
 “ LARGE AND POPULOUS A PORTION OF  
 “ THE GLOBE.”

*Extracts from Mr. BUCHANAN'S Memoir, referred  
to in the Society's REPORTS.*

- Page 23. " As for extreme delicacy toward the superstition of the Hindoos, THEY UNDERSTAND IT NOT. Their ignorance and apathy are so extreme, that NO MEANS OF INSTRUCTION WILL GIVE THEM SERIOUS OFFENCE, EXCEPT POSITIVE VIOLENCE."
- Page 26. " To disseminate new principles among the natives of Hindostan is not difficult. They are less tenacious of opinion than of custom."
- Page 27. " TO DISSEMINATE THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION and morals THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCES UNDER OUR DOMINION, IS CERTAINLY VERY PRACTICABLE."
- Page 29. " The Christian Religion attaches the governed to the governors; and facilitates our intercourse with the natives. There can never be confidence, freedom, and affection between the people and their sovereign, where there exists a difference in Religion.

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“ The Christian Religion is inculcated on Page 29.  
 “ account of its eternal sanctions; and the solemn  
 “ obligation of Christians to proclaim them,  
 “ whenever an opportunity shall be afforded by  
 “ Providence of doing it with probable success;  
 “ it being by no means submitted to our judg-  
 “ ment, or to our notions of policy, whether we  
 “ shall embrace the means of imparting Chris-  
 “ tian knowledge to our subjects or not; any  
 “ more than it is submitted to a Christian father,  
 “ whether he shall choose to instruct his family  
 “ or not.”

“ The question of policy, regarding the in- Page 30.  
 “ struction of our native subjects, the Mahome-  
 “ tans and Hindoos, is to be determined by  
 “ the consideration of their moral state.

“ The Mahometans profess a religion, which  
 “ has ever been characterised by political bi-  
 “ gotry and intemperate zeal. In this country  
 “ that religion still retains the character of its  
 “ bloody origin; particularly among the higher  
 “ classes. Whenever the Mahometan feels his  
 “ religion touched, he grasps his dagger. This  
 “ spirit was seen in full operation under Tip-  
 “ poo’s government; and it is not now extin-



“ guished. . What was the cause of the alarm  
 “ which seized the English families in Bengal  
 “ after the late massacre of our countrymen at  
 “ Benares, by the Mahometan chiefs? There  
 “ was certainly no ground for apprehension;  
 “ but it plainly manifested our opinion of the  
 “ people.—We have consolidated our Indian  
 “ empire by our power; and it is now impreg-  
 “ nable; but will the Mahometan ever bend  
 “ humbly to Christian dominion? Never, while  
 “ he is a Mahometan.”

Page 30. “ Would it not accord with the dictates of  
 “ the soundest wisdom to allow Christian schools  
 “ to be established, where the children of poor  
 “ Mahometans might learn another temper;  
 “ the good effects of which would be felt,  
 “ before one generation pass away? The adult  
 “ Hindoo will hardly depart from his idol, or  
 “ the Mahometan from his prophet, in his old  
 “ age; but their children when left destitute,  
 “ may be brought up Christians, if the British  
 “ parliament please.”

Page 31. “ No where is the bigotry of this intolerant  
 “ faith nursed with more tenderness than in  
 “ British India. While it is suffering concussion

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“ in every other part of the world, even to Mecca,  
 “ its centre, (as by a concurring providence,  
 “ toward its final abolition,) here it is fostered  
 “ in the peaceful lap of Christian liberality.

“ A wise policy seems to demand that we  
 “ should USE EVERY MEANS OF COERCING\* THIS  
 “ CONTEMPTUOUS SPIRIT OF OUR NATIVE SUBJECTS.”

“ At present, there is no natural bond of Page 26.  
 “ union between us and them. There is no-  
 “ thing common in laws, language or religion,  
 “ in interest, colour or country. And what is  
 “ chiefly worthy of notice, we can approach  
 “ them in no other way than by the means of  
 “ our religion.”

“ The moral state of the Hindoos is repre- Ibid.  
 “ sented as being still worse than that of the  
 “ Mahometans.”

“ The Hindoos have no moral gods. The  
 “ robber and the prostitute lift up their hands

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\* Gracious Heaven! what sentiments are here sent forth  
 amidst the population of our provinces in India!

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“ with the infant and the priest, before an hor-  
 “ rible idol of clay painted red,” &c.

Page 33: “ You will sometimes hear it said that the  
 “ Hindoos are a mild and passive people.  
 “ They have apathy rather than mildness;  
 “ their hebetude of mind is, perhaps, their  
 “ chief negative virtue. They are a race of  
 “ men of weak bodily frame, and they have  
 “ a mind conformed to it, timid and abject  
 “ in the extreme. They are passive enough  
 “ to receive any vicious impression.”

Page 34. “ Independently of their superstitious prac-  
 “ tices, they are described by competent jud-  
 “ ges as being of a spirit vindictive and  
 “ merciless; exhibiting itself at times in a  
 “ rage and infatuation, which is without ex-  
 “ ample among any other people.

Page 36. “ The people are destitute of those prin-  
 “ ciples of honesty, truth, and justice, which  
 “ *respond* to the spirit of British administra-  
 “ tion; they have not a disposition which  
 “ is *accordant* with the tenor of Christian  
 “ principles. No virtues, therefore, no ta-  
 “ lents, or local qualification of their govern-

“ ors can *apply* the most perfect system of  
 “ government with full advantage to such  
 “ subjects. Something may be done by civil  
 “ institution to ameliorate their condition,  
 “ but the spirit of their superstition has a  
 “ continual tendency to deterioration.

“ The European who has been long resi- Page 26.  
 “ dent in India, looks on the civilization of  
 “ the Hindoos with a hopeless eye. Despair-  
 “ ing, therefore, of intellectual or moral im-  
 “ provement, he is content with an obse-  
 “ quious spirit and manual service. These he  
 “ calls the virtues of the Hindoo; and, after  
 “ twenty years service, praises his domestic for  
 “ his *virtues*.”

“ It is certain that the morals of this peo- Page 37  
 “ ple, though they should remain subject to  
 “ the British government for a thousand years,  
 “ will never be improved by any other means  
 “ than by the principles of the Christian re-  
 “ ligion. The moral example of the few  
 “ English in India cannot pervade the mass  
 “ of the population. What then is to be ex-  
 “ pected as the utmost felicity of British ad-  
 “ ministration for ages to come? It is, this,

" that we shall protect the country from invasion,  
 " and grant to the inhabitants to manufacture  
 " our investments in solemn stillness, buried  
 " in personal vice, and in a senseless idolatry."

Page 38. " Providence hath been pleased to grant to  
 " us this great empire, on a continent where,  
 " a few years ago, we had not a foot of land.  
 " From it we export annually an immense  
 " wealth to enrich our own country. What,  
 " do we give in return? Is it said that we  
 " give protection to the inhabitants, and ad-  
 " minister equal laws? This is necessary for  
 " obtaining our wealth. But what do we give  
 " in return? What acknowledgement to Pro-  
 " vidence for its goodness has our nation ever  
 " made? What benefit hath the Englishman  
 " ever conferred on the Hindoo, as on a  
 " brother? Every argument brought in sup-  
 " port of the policy of not instructing the  
 " natives our subjects, when traced to its  
 " source, will be found to flow from prin-  
 " ciples of Deism, or of Atheism, or of Po-  
 " lytheism, and not from the principles of  
 " the Christian religion."

Page 39. " If there be a hope that they will be

“ civilized, when is it to begin, and by whom  
 “ is it to be effected ?


“ No Christian nation ever possessed such  
 “ an *extensive* field for the propagation of the  
 “ Christian faith, as that afforded to us by  
 “ our influence over the hundred million na-  
 “ tives of Hindoostan. No other nation ever  
 “ possessed such *facilities* for the extension of  
 “ its faith as we now have in the government  
 “ of a passive people; who yield submissively  
 “ to our mild sway, reverence our princi-  
 “ ples, and acknowledge our dominion to be  
 “ a blessing. Why should it be thought in-  
 “ credible that Providence hath been pleased;  
 “ in a course of years to subjugate this East-  
 “ ern empire to the most civilized nation in  
 “ the world, *for this very purpose?*”

“ The progressive civilization of the Hin- Page 40.  
 “ doos will never injure the interests of the  
 “ East India Company. But shall a Christian  
 “ people, acknowledging a Providence in the  
 “ rise and fall of empires, regulate the policy  
 “ of future times, and neglect a present du-  
 “ ty; a solemn and imperious duty: exacted  
 “ by their religion, by their public princi-

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“ ples, and by the opinion of the Christian  
“ nations around them! Or can it be grati-  
“ fying to the English nation to reflect, that  
“ they receive the riches of the East on the  
“ terms of chartering immoral superstition!

“ No truth has been more clearly demon-  
“ strated than this, that the communication of  
“ Christian instruction to the natives of In-  
“ dia is easy; and that the benefits of that  
“ instruction, civil as well as moral, will be  
“ inestimable; whether we consider the happi-  
“ ness diffused among so many millions, or  
“ their consequent attachment to our govern-  
“ ment, or the advantages resulting from the  
“ introduction of the civilized arts. Every  
“ thing that can brighten the hope or ani-  
“ mate the policy of a virtuous people or-  
“ ganizing a new empire, and seeking the  
“ most rational means, under the favour of  
“ heaven, to ensure its perpetuity; EVERY  
“ CONSIDERATION WE AVER, WOULD PERSUADE US  
“ TO DIFFUSE THE BLESSINGS OF CHRISTIAN KNOW-  
“ LEDGE AMONG OUR INDIAN SUBJECTS.”



HERE, Sir, ends the second chapter which Mr. Buchanan has devoted to this subject, and here, Sir, my extracts from his work must terminate, for I really cannot cut open the leaves which contain the sequel of such sanguinary doctrine. Again, and again, Sir, I must insist upon the extreme danger to our very existence in India, from the disclosure of such opinions and views to the native inhabitants of that country.\* Let Mr. Brown, and Mr. Buchanan, and their Patrons at Clapham and Leadenhall-street, seriously reflect upon the recent catastrophes of Buenos Ayres, Rosetta, and Vellore; and let them beware how they exite that "rage and infatuation" which competent judges describe as without example among any other people."

Page 34,  
Mr. Buchanan's  
Memoir.

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\* What must the natives of India think, when they shall know, as most assuredly they will, that Mr. Buchanan has been *permitted to engage* the national Universities of this country, in discussing and determining, *the best means of diffusing the Christian Religion through India*. It is a fact, and, I think, a most improper, and a most alarming fact, that the Vice Provost of the Company's college at Fort William, has actually bestowed a prize of £500, at each of the Universities, for the best dissertation on the following question; viz. "WHAT ARE THE BEST MEANS OF CIVILIZING THE SUBJECTS OF BRITISH INDIA, AND OF DIFFUSING THE LIGHT OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION THROUGH THE EASTERN WORLD"!



Having placed the foregoing circumstances, —the grounds, as they appear to me, of seasonable suspicion, and just alarm—before you, Sir, the Chairman of the East India Company, I have, I believe, done all that a mere Proprietor of Stock has it in his power to do. With you, Sir, and the Gentlemen who are appointed, with you, to watch over, and direct, the affairs of the Company, rests the power of further enquiry into these serious matters, and the application of such measures as the issue of further enquiry may appear to demand.

In the course of my remarks I have felt sincere regret in animadverting upon the conduct of persons, most of whom I know personally, all of whom I much respect, and towards some of whom I feel a sense of personal obligation: but, Sir, that which I may, perhaps, be allowed to call a *public* duty on this occasion, is, I confess, a point of paramount consideration. From a very early period of life, my time has been spent amongst the natives of India, and, I believe I may say, it has in some degree been spent in promoting their happiness. I have been in various situations *with* them, and *over* them, from the Presidency of Fort William, to the most

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distant parts of Hindostan: and this intercourse has led to an attachment, which will not permit me to remain a silent spectator of attempts to disturb their dearest rights and wound their tenderest feelings. I should, indeed, feel myself entitled to the reproach of numerous and most respectable inhabitants of India, my personal acquaintances and friends, if I could forget or forsake them on such an occasion.

But, Sir, the religious opinions of the natives of India, is a subject on which my feelings are particularly alive, not merely from the interest I take in whatever relates to the happiness of the natives, but from my extreme apprehension of the fatal consequences to ourselves, from any interference in their Religious Opinions. Indeed, Sir, almost all my fears for the safety of our Indian possessions rest upon this point. Of the chances of war, of any partial disaffection to our government in matters merely of a civil or political nature, I have no very serious dread. The Prudence or Power of our governments abroad, as long as they can be aided by the maritime superiority of this country, will, I trust, be able to restore tranquillity in such cases. But, a Convulsion proceeding from religious sources,

no human efforts may be able to subdue. Notwithstanding the extraordinary observation of Mr. Buchanan, that the natives are not particularly attached to their religious opinions, I will venture to say, that there is not, in the world, a people more jealous and tenacious of their religious opinions and ceremonies, than the native inhabitants of the East. Sir, the people of India are not a political, but a religious people. In this respect, they differ, I fear, from the inhabitants of this country. *They* think as much of their Religion, as *we* of our Constitution. *They* venerate their Shastah and Koran, with as much enthusiasm as *we* our Magna Charta.

As long as we continue to govern India in the mild and tolerant spirit of Christianity, we may govern it with ease: but if ever the fatal day shall arrive, when religious Innovation shall set her foot in that country, indignation will spread from one end of Hindostan to the other; and the arms of fifty millions of people will drive us from that portion of the globe, with as much ease as the sand of the desert is scattered by the wind. But I still hope, Sir, that a perseverance in the indiscreet measures I have described, will

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not be allowed to expose our countrymen in India to the horrors of that dreadful day: but that our native subjects in every part of the East, will be permitted quietly to follow their own religious opinions, their own religious prejudices, and absurdities, until it shall please the Omnipotent Power of HEAVEN to lead them into the paths of LIGHT and TRUTH.

I am, SIR,

Your obedient Servant,

DECEMBER, 1807.

*THOS. TWINING.*

Since the preceding pages were printed, the writer of them has seen a pamphlet, entitled, "Observations on the present State of the East India Company." The following extract will shew, how far the author of those observations, and the writer of the foregoing letter, agree upon *one* subject.

"If what has already happened, does not open the eyes of his Majesty's Ministers, if they do not feel the necessity of disavowing their participation in the visionary schemes of Mr. Buchanan, our Empire in India is not worth a year's purchase."

S. J. G.  $\frac{H}{p}$  2

Grenville

Speech on Indian  
Affairs.

April 9. 1813

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S U B S T A N C E  
OF THE  
S P E E C H  
OF  
L O R D G R E N V I L L E,  
ON THE MOTION MADE  
BY THE  
M A R Q U I S W E L L E S L E Y,  
*In the House of Lords,*  
FRIDAY, THE 9th OF APRIL, 1813,  
FOR THE  
PRODUCTION OF CERTAIN PAPERS  
ON  
INDIAN AFFAIRS,

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London:  
PRINTED BY C. H. REYNELL NO. 21, PICCADILLY.

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*In the endeavour to commit to paper from recollection, and at some distance of time, the substance of the following Speech; it is probable that not only the turn of the expressions, but also in some instances the arrangement of the topics may have been varied: and one or two points have been introduced, which were adverted to, not in that Debate, but in the preceding discussions connected with the same subject. But there is no deviation from the general course of argument and opinion pursued on those occasions.*

SUBSTANCE  
OF  
THE SPEECH,  
&c. &c.

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MY LORDS,

WHATEVER differences of opinion may ultimately be found among us relative to this great question of Indian Government and Commerce, we must all feel ourselves indebted to my Noble Friend\* for the opportunity which he has afforded us of discussing it in this stage of the business, when discussion may be truly useful, instead of postponing our deliberation, as commonly happens, till the very moment of final decision. We have also great obligations to him for the lights

\* Marquis Wellesley.



which he has thrown on every part of the question. No man is better qualified to do so, not only by his brilliant eloquence and extensive information, but also by personal experience, and peculiar local knowledge, the results of the distinguished part which he has borne in the Government of British India. I ought therefore to distrust my own judgment when I profess myself not wholly satisfied either by his reasoning, or on the other hand, by the conclusions with which my Noble Friend who followed him\* has supported the resolutions now on your table. My attachment, however, to those principles of public policy, on which my doubts in this case are founded, and my solicitude to contribute all that is in my power to the right decision of this great question, induce me to offer to your Lordships such suggestions upon it as have presented themselves to my mind. I do so with no other predilection, but for the cause of truth, with no other desire, but that my own individual conduct, and, what is much more important, the ultimate decision of Parliament, may be such as shall best promote the great interests now exclusively committed to our charge.

For the Noble Earl to whom I last alluded has, in my judgment, with great propriety pointed out the real nature of the duty which is now cast upon

\* Earl of Buckinghamshire.

us. He has reminded us (I think it has been frequently overlooked in discussing the subject elsewhere) that our present deliberation embraces the whole question of our future relations with India; the Government of a vast empire, and the regulation of the British Commerce with every port and country between the southern promontories of Africa and America. It is a deception to speak of any existing rights, by which this immense and momentous consideration can now be circumscribed. The Charter of the East-India Company was granted only for a limited period; for limited periods it has ever since been renewed, with the express purpose, that at their expiration the matter should revert entire to the free disposition and deliberative wisdom of Parliament. The trusts and duties of that great Corporation, its commercial and its political monopolies, will all expire together, on the lapse of the term for which they were created. All public right, all public interest in the subject will thenceforth devolve on the British Legislature, exercising an unrestrained but sound discretion; bound by no previous grant, fettered by no existing law, and having regard only to the principles of Moral Duty, and to the rules of a wise Policy and enlightened Government.

On precedents we can here have no reliance. The situation is new; the subject on which we are to legislate knows no example. Our former measures would be deceitful guides. They were experiments,

not always successful, and at the best calculated only for limited duration; never permanent, nor ever meant for permanence; temporary in their nature, and continually varying with the progressive variations of our interest and power in a country, where our situation has never yet been stationary. To the extent, and to the condition of our present Asiatic empire, they appear to me utterly inapplicable. And so far from wishing, with my Noble Friend\* (who opened this discussion) to perpetuate those anomalous and imperfect arrangements, I am persuaded that we are not yet arrived at the period when any final regulation on the subject can safely be established. Whatever we may now do, I deprecate the idea of placing it out of the reach of revisal. I object even to that part of the Resolutions on your table, which would establish them, by an irrevocable compact, unchangeable for twenty years. Twenty years would at any time be much too long a period for farming out the commerce of half the globe, and the sovereignty of sixty millions of men. Those who advised the last renewal of the Charter had ample reason, during its continuance, to regret that they had placed out of the hands of Parliament so considerable a portion of the national interests. How much more inexcusable would such an error now appear, when the events not of the next twenty years, but of the next twenty months, may be decisive of the whole fate and for

\* Marquis Wellesley.

tunes of the British Empire? This improvidence, I trust, we shall avoid. Whatever plan we now adopt, all men must surely admit the necessity of limiting it to the return of Peace, to be then re-considered with reference to the final arrangements, both in India and in Europe, of that important and decisive æra.

With respect to our present measure, temporary as I think it ought to be, permit me to observe, that both the Resolutions proposed by the King's Ministers, and the speech of my Noble Friend, able and eloquent as it was, appear to me, I speak it with deference, to labour under one fundamental and radical defect. They have both, I think, treated as principal, what is in its nature subordinate; both considered as secondary, what is in truth the primary and paramount object for the consideration of Parliament. The plan which is on our table sets out with a pledge for the maintenance of the East-India Company, as a fit instrument for administering the Commerce and Government of India; and the very first Resolution continues to this exclusive Corporation, in one sweeping grant, and by the most comprehensive words of reference, all the privilèges and all the powers which it before enjoyed, and which are not specially enumerated in the succeeding exceptions. This seems to be regarded as the leading question which we are first to decide. All other matters are left for subsequent consideration. To the same point also my Noble Friend's arguments were all directed;

and every part of the extensive information which he gave us on the subject of our Indian interests, was stated always with reference to the renewal or discontinuance of the Company's authority. To me it appears, that we should first determine the character of the duty which we undertake, and the general objects which we seek to attain; and that having established these, we shall then more properly enquire by what course of conduct such purposes should be pursued, and by what instruments they may be best accomplished. This remark, if it applied only to the form in which the subject is brought before us, or to the logical arrangement of the discussion, would be a minute criticism, unworthy both of the place and the occasion. But it affects, in truth, the very essence of this proceeding. If the interests of the East-India Company, its privileges, and its monopolies, are really the first objects of our care, the primary concern in this deliberation, let that principle govern our resolutions. - But if there is a preferable and higher duty, which we must first discharge, let us also first acknowledge and declare it: disguising neither from ourselves nor from the world the principles in which it originates, and the nature of the obligations which it imposes.

Consider, then, the relation in which we stand to India. The British Nation is now sovereign in that country. To the Imperial Crown of this United Kingdom, whatever we there possess of interest, terri-

tory, or dominion, is of right annexed. To argue the fact of the British Sovereignty in India would be an insult on the understanding of my hearers. To ask whether any territory, dominion, or political authority, in any quarter of the globe, can be conquered by British arms, or acquired by British negotiators, otherwise than to the British Crown, is simply to ask whether we live under a Monarchy or a Republic. Our Government knows no regal power but in the King; in Him, alone, all Sovereignty is vested—with Him it indefeasibly resides; to be exercised not by His individual and personal discretion, as in despotic Monarchies, but under the sanction and limit of the laws, through the channels of His regular Government, and with the advice and consent of His necessary and constitutional Councils. It is from this principle alone that we ourselves derive any authority to make laws for India. No territories to which the King's Sovereignty did not extend, could, by any possible pretence, be subjected to the legislative authority of His Parliament.

If this principle be too clear for argument, let us not therefore think that its assertion is indifferent; it is, on the contrary, a point of the highest and most pressing importance. A manly and distinct avowal of the Sovereignty of the British Crown in India is the only sure foundation on which our Government can stand—the only solid principle on which we can either discharge our Duties or maintain our Rights.

Much evil has already arisen from the neglect of this essential measure ; much evil to the natives of India, still more to the British interests in that Country. Governments of mixed and ambiguous origin—executive and judicial functions, flowing from different sources—military and civil powers not subjected to the same controul—and armies joined in the same service, but recognizing distinct command—have already too much distracted our Indian Empire : they have repeatedly led to confusion and civil discord ; they have broken out (I grieve to say it) into military resistance and bloodshed ; and if I am not greatly deceived, their continuance menaces the existence of our Empire with dangers yet more formidable.

Nor is it only in this view, important as it must appear to every reflecting mind, that the public assertion of the Sovereignty of the British Crown in India has become a measure of urgent necessity. There is no other possible remedy against the dangers which my Noble Friend has pictured, not more forcibly than justly, as resulting from the unexplained situation of your Government in that quarter of the Globe, with respect to the other nations of Europe. We are exhorted by the advocates of the East India Company to guard against the indiscriminate intercourse of Englishmen with India ; and some persons have even considered this danger alone as a sufficient motive for excluding the subjects of the British

Crown from the Commerce of half the World. Yet the misconduct of our own people within our own dominions we may controul, as we have hitherto controuled it. But will foreign Nations acknowledge the same restraints? Will they submit themselves to a similar exclusion at the will of a trading company, claiming despotic Power over that vast Empire, not as the delegates of their own King, but as the pretended Ministers of a deposed Mogul,—a feigned authority, derived from an extinct dominion? You know, by experience, that they will not. The Peace of Amiens left this matter unexplained. I urged the danger then, with all the earnestness which it is so truly calculated to inspire. But my representations of it were light and feeble in comparison with those of your Government in Bengal. The alarm there was instantaneous, the mischief imminent. And had not the War been first rekindled by European interests, the claims and views of France in India, the lofty pretensions which she derived from her former transactions, both with the native and the British Governments, and the determined purpose which she already manifested of re-establishing in that Country a political and military Power to the subversion of your own, must in six months have involved us in renewed hostilities.

What, then, must we now do to avert this evil?—Our course is plain. The British Crown is *de facto* Sovereign in India. How it became so, it is needless



to enquire. This Sovereignty cannot now be renounced without still greater evils both to that Country and to this, than even the acquisition of Power has ever yet produced. It must be maintained. Let it, therefore, be found, whenever we shall treat for Peace, not tacitly existing, but openly assumed, and unambiguously established; it will then rest, at least, on the same foundation with all the other *de facto* Governments created by this great convulsion of the World. But if we now omit to declare our Right, we must then negotiate for it; or if this also be neglected, we must prepare to meet the evils which recent experience has taught us to anticipate.

In the mean time, that Sovereignty which we hesitate to assert, necessity compels us to exercise, Parliament, in the discharge of its highest functions, must now once more give Laws to India; pronouncing not on any single and separate question of general or local regulation, but on the whole principle and frame of Government under which the British Dominion in that Country shall henceforth be administered. Such is the task which the awful Revolutions of Empire in Asia have now cast upon the British Nation. What, let me once more ask you, are the Duties which it imposes; and what the order in which they should be discharged? The very reverse of that in which, I am sorry to say it, they have hitherto been most commonly regarded.

Must we not, in the first instance, consult the Welfare of the Country for which we undertake to legislate? Are we not bound, above all other considerations; to provide for the Moral Improvement of its People, and for their social Happiness; for the security of their property and personal freedom; for the undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of their industry; for the protection and extension of their Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce; the Peace and good order of their Provinces; and the impartial administration of their Laws? These are duties which attach on Government in all its forms; the price and the condition of obedience; sacred obligations from which no Sovereign Power can ever be released, due from all who exact, to all who pay allegiance.

Next to these objects, but far below them in the scale of Moral Duty, is the attention which we must also pay to the interests of our own Country, deeply implicated in this discussion. Nor let us hastily suppose that these duties, however apparently distinct, are really at variance with each other. Far from it:—Pursued with sincerity, and on the principles of a just and liberal Policy, there exists between them a close connection; a necessary and mutual dependence. The attachment of conquered Provinces can be secured only by good Government: the resources which they can furnish to the Metropolis must be proportioned to the Prosperity which they themselves enjoy.

How then shall we best discharge these mixed and concurrent obligations? What system of British Government in India shall carry to its highest pitch of attainable advantage our connection with those vast Dominions? In what manner shall it enrich the Metropolis without impoverishing the Province, render the increase of our own Commerce an extension, not a transfer of theirs, and draw from them, without injury to their Prosperity, a just proportion of Revenue, not as a tribute wrung from misery, but as the willing retribution of Gratitude, for Protection and good Government, enjoyed in substance and not in name? By what Laws, what Judicatures, what responsibility, shall we prevent the oppression of distant Subjects, submissive to all Power, and incapable, in the present state of their manners, habits, and opinions, utterly incapable, of political freedom? How reconcile with their progressive improvement, with the gradual diffusion of Light and Knowledge, the deference due to their subsisting institutions? How shall we teach them to bless the hour which subjected them to the British Crown, to venerate as the source of all their happiness the dominion of a Nation just, because it is free, careful of the rights of others in proportion as it is jealous of its own, and displaying the pre-eminence of superior knowledge in its best and noblest form, the dignity of superior Virtue?

For the accomplishment of all these just and honourable purposes, my Noble Friend is, I am sure,

not less solicitous than myself. Nor would the magnitude of the duty deter him from its discharge. The labour of research, the difficulty of deliberation, the hazard of decision, I know he would not shun. But he hopes to supersede them all by a compendious and summary proceeding. All, and more than all that we seek to accomplish may, he thinks, be found in a measure simple indeed in its proposal, and easy of execution, were it but equally beneficial in its result. It is his opinion, that we should re-establish the now expiring system under which these great interests have lately been administered. He desires us to revest in the East India Company, by a fresh legislative grant, all its former Monopolies, both commercial and political; varied indeed in some inconsiderable particulars, but retaining unaltered all their prominent and characteristic features. The whole operation of this System he thinks so great a practical good, that all other considerations must be sacrificed to its continuance.

To this proposal the King's Ministers do not accede. They are justly desirous to open a free competition in the Trade of India. They recognize the irresistible claim of all the Subjects of this Empire to participate in the Commerce of every part of its Dominions. They are well apprized, that to deprive India of the resources of foreign trade, would be to violate our first duties towards that Country, and to cut off one of the few remaining sources of

its Prosperity; and they think with reason that it would be an indignity as well as an injury to the British Merchants and Manufacturers to exclude them from advantages to which we invite all other Nations. The Monopoly of the China Trade they would however, with my Noble Friend, regrant to the Company; its political functions they would re-establish entire and unimpaired; and they would preserve if possible that complicated system under which it exercises its joint, but as I fear, irreconcilable characters of Sovereign and Merchant. I speak of their plan as I collect it from these Resolutions, laid upon our table without any comment. I trust that I cannot have mistaken its leading outlines, but I sincerely regret that they have not themselves done more justice to it by explaining to your Lordships the Principles on which it is grounded, and the general views which they have taken of this extensive question.

Such then are the two proposals hitherto submitted to our consideration. And I am compelled to acknowledge, that as far as I am yet informed, they both of them appear to me, highly questionable. That of my Noble Friend rests, as I think, on a Policy directly adverse to all the best established principles of Legislation and Government. That of the Noble Lords opposite to me is, I fear, irreconcilably at variance with itself. I cannot encourage myself to hope that such a competition as they propose can

really so subsist as to deserve the character of a free Trade, or to ensure its advantages; a competition where the whole Government, and Territory, and Revenues of India will be thrown into one scale, and in the other nothing but the unprotected enterprize of individual adventurers. To the fullest admission of British skill and capital into the Trade of India, I readily assent; I desire it for the interests of that Country, yet more than for our own. I applaud the principle, I rejoice in the attempt; we owe it to our own People, we owe it to the Natives of our Indian provinces; and every measure which I can persuade myself is really calculated to give effect to it possesses a strong recommendation, an irresistible claim to my support. In the attainment of this great object, it is my earnest wish to give to the King's Ministers all possible assistance which it can be in my power to afford them. Nor do the difficulties of which I am apprehensive belong to this branch of their proposal; they are superadded to it by the other resolutions with which it is combined.

On this last point indeed I am supported even by the authority of my Noble Friend who originated this Debate. There is in this respect a perfect agreement between us. He thinks with me, that the option must be made between the free and the exclusive System. The advantages of both cannot be combined. The complicated powers of Government and Trade now vested in the Company are, as I fear,

more than sufficient to enable it at its pleasure to overwhelm all private enterprize. The free competition of British merchants in the Trade of India, if it could really be established, would by a necessity equally inevitable, as he thinks, incapacitate them from the discharge of those political functions which this plan endeavours to continue to them. Such also appears to be the opinion of the Company itself. Nor can I differ from them. If then we have really decided in the very outset of these enquiries, to re-establish the present Frame of Indian Government, as already producing all practical and attainable good, we must make with resolution, the sacrifices which it unavoidably requires. But if your Lordships should judge that the auspicious moment is arrived for improving all our relations with India, to the unspeakable benefit of that Country, and to our own inestimable profit, you will then undoubtedly regard the liberation of British Commerce as no inconsiderable feature among the advantages of such a change.

I have already said, that I wish not to pronounce definitively on any part of this extensive subject. This discussion is preliminary in its nature; I state my thoughts for enquiry and deliberation, not to convince others, but to receive information for my own guidance. But the strong impression of my mind is, that after having first asserted the Sovereignty of the Crown over India, our next step should be this—

To separate its government from all intermixture with mercantile interests; or mercantile transactions.

The very existence of this blended character of Merchant and Sovereign; on which our whole Indian system is now built up; appears to me an anomaly inconsistent with all true principles of Government, reprobated by all authority, and condemned by all experience. No Sovereign, I confidently believe has ever yet traded to profit; no Trading Company, I greatly fear, has ever yet administered Government for the happiness of its subjects.

But all theory and speculation in this case my Noble Friend decidedly rejects. He will not consent to try it by any general principles. There is something so singular in the present question, as to put it beyond the reach of all the ordinary rules of political wisdom. . To what then would he resort? To partial views, to temporary expedients, to that wretched policy which knows no rule of Government but the supposed convenience of the moment? Very different I am certain are his sentiments. He knows, no man better, that it is in general conclusions, collected by experience and methodized by reason, that all science invariably consists, and most especially that science, which has for its object the happiness of Nations. He knows that in all public councils these digested and embodied maxims are the true guides and luminaries by which our course is to be steered;



that this accumulated treasure of political wisdom is the great storehouse of the knowledge of a Statesman, from which all his practical decisions must ever be supplied. Its application indeed may be erroneous, as in what human science, may not just principles be misdirected? But shall we therefore tread back our steps in knowledge, close our eyes against the lights we have acquired, and exclude from political deliberation all the established principles and all the elementary rules of Government? Better would it be at once to renounce all use of Reason, to submit to blind chance ourselves, our actions, and our fortunes, and with the functions of Legislation to disclaim also its character and its authority.

But in this case we cannot err. Our conclusions are here supported not by speculation only, but also by experience: the experience not of parallel cases, but of the very circumstance to which we apply it. Never before were the unerring maxims of political Economy so fully illustrated, as in the history of the British East India Company.

That great Corporation has now for near fifty years exercised Dominion in India. Over Countries whose commerce enriched their predecessors as it before enriched so many other European Nations. They possess there all the power and all the instruments of Sovereignty; Governments and Councils, Fleets and Armies, Allies and Subject-princes: they have an im-

mense territory, Royal tributes, an Imperial revenue. But have they a profitable Commerce? My Noble Friend\* who presides over that department has anticipated the question, has more than answered the enquiry. He has told us, and I can well believe it, that since the last renewal of their Charter they have lost on this trade above four millions sterling. Four millions sterling! in trading with one of the richest countries of the East;—a country whose Government they administer, and whose Commerce they monopolize! and if at this hour they do in fact realize a profit on any part of their vast concerns, where only is that profit found? Not on their Export trade from England; that trade is a monopoly, and on that it is their boast to lose. Not on their Import trade from India, where they exercise unrestricted Power; that trade my Noble Friend has characterised, and the impression of his statement will not I am sure be speedily effaced from our remembrance. In China alone they trade to profit. In China, where they have no Sovereignty, no monopoly, no preference of trade, where they have not even the common benefit of free access. In China, where they are banished like outcasts to a remote and narrow corner of the Empire, there to reside under a perpetual quarantine!

But it is not for Commerce that my Noble Friend†:

\* Earl of Buckinghamshire.

† Marquis Wellesley.

would re-establish these Commercial Monopolies. With the nature of Commerce he is too well acquainted: his object is political. He thinks, extraordinary as it must appear, that this Trading Company is the only instrument through which the King and Parliament of Great Britain can safely administer their Indian Empire! and if he urges us once more to shut out our merchants and manufacturers from their best hopes of new and successful enterprise, to close against them all India, all China, the Indian Seas, the Eastern Seas, the Pacific Ocean, and the whole Western side of the great continent of America; extending from the Northern almost to the Southern Pole, it is not because their competition would ruin the Commerce of the Company, but because it would embarrass its Government. So mixed, so blended, so inseparably embodied, he assures us, are the jarring and incompatible functions of this anomalous Institution! so strange is the necessity of this unprecedented case, that we must carry on our Commerce at a loss, in order to govern our Empire to advantage!

He compels me then to ask, what is in truth this practical and experienced good to which all speculative Wisdom must give way? And he answers me by an eloquent and splendid enumeration of political benefits conferred during the last thirty years upon the Natives of our Indian Provinces. Their general situation improved, their interests consulted, their

wealth advanced, their coasting trade encouraged, their landed property made permanent, and their criminal and civil justice administered on principles more pure and upright than ever yet were witnessed in Asiatic Judicatures, I heard him with delight. My heart warmed at the recital. Not merely because the person making it had himself borne no small part in the execution and extension of these noble works; not merely because I also had the happiness to concur both in their preparation and final establishment with men of far more talent and authority than myself. No, my Lords, my feelings were not personal. Higher and better were the emotions of my mind when I looked back to the real source in which these inestimable blessings had originated. I called to my remembrance the Wisdom and Justice of Parliament, the public Councils, and the public Virtues of my country, which had extended themselves to the remotest regions of the East, and erected there to the British character a Monument of imperishable splendour.

But the East India Company! Are we to give power to *them* because India has been well governed? Are we to bind our trade in fetters that *they* may exercise political authority? I have no wish, I can have no motive, to speak injuriously of any men; neither of bodies nor of individuals. But I appeal to the fact. For near twenty years after the acquisition of the Dewannee, the East India Company

did really administer the Political Government of India. During that period, scarce five years, scarce three years can be found, in which the inherent vices of that form of administration, and the consequent oppression and misery of its subject provinces, did not forcibly compel the interposition of Parliament. It would betray the profoundest ignorance of Men and Governments, to suppose that this necessity so long subsisting, so constantly recurring, could originate in the uniform misconduct of individuals. The Directors, the Governors, and the Servants of the Company, in the course of that long period, were necessarily men of various character; but the system itself was radically vicious, which vested the Government of an Empire in bodies utterly unfit to exercise any political authority. I say this not merely on my own conviction; it is the recorded judgment, the unanimous opinion of Parliament, formed upon long investigation, minute enquiry, and mature reflection. When I first entered into public life, party violence raged with unusual fury, and the course of events directed it peculiarly to this question. It was on this very ground that the Government of the Empire was disputed between the greatest Statesmen of our age. Yet in one sentiment all men were even then unanimous. No one doubted, and after the experience of twenty years no one could doubt, that the political direction of India must be transferred from the East India Company, and placed under the complete controul of the public Councils.

Accordingly the Law which passed in 1784, the source of all these benefits, the very line of demarcation from which commences the good Government of India, did actually commit this whole authority to Commissioners appointed by the Crown. In the Public Board so constituted by the wise and necessary interposition of Parliament, and continued with slight variations by succeeding Acts, has ever since resided a complete and effective superintendance over every part of the political Affairs of India. That Government has still been exercised indeed in the name of the Company, as the Company also has used the name of the Asiatic Powers whose misrule it superseded; but both the controul and the responsibility of all political Measures are vested by Law in the public Servants of the State. The Commerce and the patronage of the Company are alone excepted; points of which I shall presently speak; but on all other matters which any way concern the public Interests in India, it is the office and the duty of the King's Commissioners at their discretion to exercise a complete and unqualified political Controul. It is their function to erase, to add, to alter, and in the default of the Directors to originate those instructions which by Law the Public Servants in India are bound implicitly to obey.

If therefore praise be justly due, as I trust it is, to those who for the last thirty years have administered these high interests, to the Servants of the State, both

here and in India, that praise is due, and most especially due to one individual, a Noble Viscount\*, of whose memory no man in treating of any Indian question can justly speak but with sincere and merited respect.

What a delusion would it then be to relinquish any just hopes of extending the Commerce of our Country from the fear of embarrassing the Company's political functions ! If you really wish that Body to reassume the political Government of India, you must not continue but repeal the present Laws ; you must replace them not by the successive improvement of new provisions, in principle still more liberal, in operation still more beneficial, but by a recurrence to exploded errors, by the re-establishment of that fruitful source of all the former evil, by the re-enactment of that ruinous and oppressive System, which thirty years ago was unanimously annulled by Parliament.

The Company's commercial concerns, it is true, do not fall under the superintendance of the King's Commissioners ; in the loss or profit which have accrued on these, in their prosperous or adverse issue, the Board of Controul has had no participation. And it is singular that my Noble Friend who is desirous of maintaining, as He expresses it, to the Company those functions of which they have long been substantially divested, would at the same time by a new interference with their Authority extend

\* Lord Melville.

the controul of the King's Government to the only branch of their affairs of which they have hitherto retained the exclusive direction. I always feel pain in differing from Him on any subject, and most of all on this where I should so much more willingly defer to his authority. But for my own part I object as much to limit the Power of a Trading Corporation in the conduct of its own concerns, as to extend it to political matters to which it is incompetent. I see as little reason for placing the Company's Commerce under the management of Ministers; as for vesting in its Directors the Government of an Empire. From this union of Merchant and Sovereign, in any form, my judgment revolts; they are characters every where incompatible; in a Cabinet as much as in a Trading Company; as repugnant to each other at Whitehall as they can possibly be in Leadenhall-street, or at Calcutta.

Great stress is laid, however, on the subject of patronage, and with great reason. I have never altered the opinion which I entertained in 1784, that if the influence which then belonged to the East-India Company were vested in the Crown, or in any political party, it must weigh down the balance of our Government. Much more is this my opinion now, when the patronage, both foreign and domestic, of that mighty Corporation, has been unmeasurably increased. But is there no other course? Is it self-evident, that because we fear to give this vast influ-



ence to a party, we must therefore vest it in an exclusive Corporation? Is it so manifestly desirable to raise up within our own Government, and in the very heart of its Metropolis, another Government of more extended influence? Has the East-India Company itself been always found quite disconnected with the political divisions of the State? or is it absolutely certain, that in their hands the patronage of India can never be abused? Parliament, at least, has decided otherwise. By the Act of 1784, the whole Commercial patronage did indeed remain with the Directors; and with them, large as it is, it must undoubtedly be left. It is by far the most considerable source of the great political influence of the Company in this Country; and its abuse, if abuse there is, would in no way be so well controuled as by the competition of a free trade. But on the exercise of the political patronage, provident and effective limitations are already imposed by Law. And it is, as I think, one of the most important branches of our present deliberation to examine the nature and effect of these; to ascertain whether they have, as I am inclined to hope, been on the whole sufficient for the prevention of abuse? Whether they are not still susceptible of improvement in India? Whether they are fit to be extended to the other parts of our Eastern Empire, to Ceylon, to the Isles of France, and to the Eastern Islands, where the Establishments are as yet unregulated by Law, and the patronage, of the Crown unlimited? And most of all to enquire whether it be true, as we are

so frequently assured, that these Securities against abuse are inseparably connected with the present form of Government in India; or, whether they might not, as I confidently believe, be applied with equal, perhaps with greater efficacy, to the same service, administered under the Constitutional Authority of the Crown.

Let us then examine the fact. It is well known how great the influence of the King's Ministers already is in the appointment of those who are to exercise the supreme authorities in India, whether Civil or Military. The reason of the case has here controuled the strict letter of the Law. And it would, in my judgment, be far more constitutional that the responsibility of the nomination should openly attach on those, who have in almost every instance for thirty years discharged the duty of selection. But with respect to the Offices of inferior trust in India, including all below the Councils, the general course of promotion there both in the Civil and in the Military line has rested, as I apprehend where unquestionably it ought to rest, with the Governments on the spot. They are best qualified to discriminate the characters of those who act under their inspection; they are most immediately concerned to reward the merit, to discountenance the misconduct of those who are to execute their orders. Such then, I trust and I believe, is now the established practice; and few who are conversant with the affairs of India will deny, that

more inconvenience than advantage is likely to arise from an occasional interference with it. But undoubtedly this power, in itself so considerable, and administered at so great a distance, cannot be, nor is it, left without limitation. The Law has done much to remove the opportunity and with it the temptation to abuse. By the Act of 1793, fixed classes and gradations of Office have been established in India, of rank and value proportioned to the seniority of those who alone are qualified to hold them. Within these limits all exercise of Patronage is restrained; and the effective operation of this Principle has been considerably extended by a judicious but perhaps still imperfect separation of the lines of Civil Service. But by far the most important provision, without which no other could be effectual, is found in those clauses of the Act of 1784, which corrected the abuse of appointing to high stations in India persons new to that Service. No Office under the Government of our Indian Empire can now be conferred except upon its regular Servants, sent out in early youth, and trained to superior trust by the correct discharge of subordinate employments. When your Lordships consider therefore the jealousy with which the execution of these regulations is watched by a whole Body of Public Servants whose prospects depend on their observance; and when you further reflect that the persons among whom the selection must in every case be made, have originally been named in the outset of their life by various choice, unmixed with Politics,

and from different classes of society; it will no longer surprise us to be assured that the political divisions of the State have, under this System, found no admission into the exercise of Indian Patronage.

But how can it possibly be shewn that these wise provisions of the Law, this salutary course and gradation of Public Service; depend upon the East India Company's authority? The King's Civil Service in India, should such be its future appellation, would equally subsist under the same regulations, secured in the same prospects, animated to the same exertions, protected by the same just interposition of the Law against the noxious influence of political intrigue; and deriving only fresh distinction to themselves, and fresh respect among the Powers of India, from the stamp and sanction of Royal Authority.

To blend, indeed, as has been sometimes recommended, into one indiscriminate mass the general Army of the Crown and the local force of India, would be the inevitable ruin of the Empire. I have no doubt of it. The Military Patronage of the Crown, already so great, would then exceed all bounds; we should lose the inestimable advantages of local education, knowledge, and habits, so necessary for the command of Native Troops: and the unjust partialities, preferences, and supercessions to which the distant Service would infallibly be exposed, must soon break down its Military Character; must, too, probably re-

new, I shudder to pronounce it, the criminal scenes, which we have so lately witnessed; of Mutiny and public Rebellion.

Very different is the System on which I am disposed to hope that this valuable Army might be taken as a distinct force, under the King's immediate protection and command. Preserving to it all its local character, and local advantages; securing to it a complete parity of rank and promotion with the King's general Army; and blending only the Staff of both into one Body of General Officers, qualified by Commission, as well as by Merit and Service, and called by habitual and indiscriminate appointment, to exercise command over British Troops in every quarter of the world. These details however are not for this day's discussion: It is sufficient for our present purpose to remark, that the rules of gradation now actually existing in that Service must be broken down, before it can become, in the hands of the Crown any more than in those of the Company, an object of political Patronage. And if these rules are thought insufficient, let them be strengthened and enforced. The nature and composition of an Indian Army, its duties, its rewards, and its prospects, will be found, by those who consider the question attentively, to admit and to require rules of succession much stricter, than are consistent with the general principles of military advancement.

It remains then only to speak of the appointment of the Youths by whom these Services must be recruited: the *Writers*, as they are called, and the *Cadets*, who are to rise successively to the highest functions of Civil and Military trust. They are now named by private Patronage; nor would I ever consent to vest this influence in the King's Ministers: Not merely because it is itself greatly too large to be so given without necessity, but much more because all possible security for the due exercise of Patronage in India depends on the disconnection of the great Body of the Public Servants there from the domestic Parties in our State. But is it therefore necessary that these appointments should be made by the East India Company? Or does not the very same principle apply, though doubtless in a less degree, as an objection against their exercise of such a trust? In whatever hands the Government of India shall now be placed, it is just, it is necessary, to provide some new course of impartial, and what is not less important, of mixed selection, for keeping up your Civil and Military Service in that Country. Nor can the task be difficult. Innumerable are the modes in which it might be accomplished. The most obvious course would be, to chuse the young men who are destined for the Civil Service by free competition and public examination from our great Schools and Colleges: to name the Cadets not by the choice of any man, but by some fixed course of succession from the Sons of Officers who have fallen in the Public

Service. In this manner would the Patronage of India, instead of contributing to political influence, or to private gratification, serve as a reward of merit, as an encouragement of Valour, Learning, and Religion; and as an honourable discharge of public Gratitude: and the Persons destined hereafter to administer the Government of Millions would be those only who, even in their earliest youth, had afforded some promise of superior talent; diligence; and Virtue:

On this branch of the subject your Lordships will think that I have too long detained you: But it is only by such details that loose and general assertions can be brought to issue; that imaginary fears and groundless prejudices can be dispelled. It must I think be clear to every one, that the apprehensions entertained on this point are of that description. Your Lordships may doubt on other grounds whether or not to separate the Commerce from the Government of India. This at least is certain, that their union contributes nothing to the security of the British Constitution.

But is it compatible with the Prosperity and good Government of your Indian Provinces, or with that free competition in their Trade which our Fellow Subjects claim on grounds justly pronounced irresistible? For these are the questions which we are now to examine, and very closely are they connected with each other.

What is then the true nature of this Union, so often described to us as indissoluble? What necessary, what real connection subsists between functions so different in their character and object, and which in every other instance we always find so carefully discriminated? The Commercial and political accounts of the Company have, indeed, long since been blended into one texture, so complicated in its fabric, so artificially and intricately interwoven, that in their present form, the separation is perhaps impracticable. After long investigation the Committee of the House of Commons, whose Report is on your Table, judged it impossible that they ever should be unravelled. And that Report accordingly has presented to our view not an *Account* but an *Estimate* of profit and loss on the Commerce of the Company since the last renewal of the Charter. An Estimate of the future is a thing familiar to all our minds, but an Estimate of past transactions, an Estimate of matters of account, an Estimate of commercial dealings long since closed, has little to recommend it but its singularity. Let not however this remark be misunderstood as applied in any invidious sense. I have no such meaning; the fault is in the system, not in the individuals, who conduct it according to the forms which they have found established. But no real necessity can exist for their continuance: In whatever manner your Lordships shall finally arrange the great outlines of Indian Government, this confusion of account I



have no doubt you will prevent in future. Should the Resolutions now on our Table be adopted, and much more should you agree with my Noble Friend's proposal, you will undoubtedly make it imperative on this great trading Corporation to keep clear and distinct accounts of commercial loss and gain, unmixed with any other source of receipt or payment. This is expected from every just trader even in his own concerns, it is the bounden Duty of all who conduct Commerce in trust for others,

But I have already said that in my view of the subject we are called upon to go much farther: to separate not merely the accounts, but the dealings; and to discriminate the Exchequer from the Counting House in India, not on paper only, but in practice, and as widely as they always are discriminated in every other well ordered Government. By one of the Resolutions now upon your Table it is directed in substance, that the Public Revenues of the State in India, after defraying the charges of Government and interest of debt there, shall next be applied to the purchase of the Company's investment. And it is this appropriation of Revenue to Trade which forms, under the present circumstances, the principal link of connection between the Company's political and its commercial character. To its continuance therefore my Noble Friend, who wishes the permanence of the present System, naturally sees no objection; but I must confess it is of all the provisions of the plan before us,

that, to which I should with most difficulty assent. I know not how to reconcile it with either of the objects which we seek to accomplish; it seems to me equally adverse to the good Government and prosperity of our Provinces, and to the just claims of the British merchant to a free participation in their Commerce. The limits of this discussion will not admit of my entering at large into this extensive question. Some other opportunity may possibly be afforded for its detailed examination. In such an enquiry it will be necessary to trace through all their different stages, the course and operation of an investment provided by issues from the Public Treasury in India, and sold to realize a remittance to the Company in Europe. One striking feature occurs in the very outset of the transaction. It is that to which my Noble Friend adverted as affording in his view a gratifying and satisfactory proof of the advantages resulting to your Indian Subjects from a Government which combines the functions of Merchant and Sovereign. He reminded us that for the very purpose of manufacturing the Cloths of which the Investment is afterwards to be composed, advances are in the first instance made to the Weavers from the public Treasuries in India. I own I was surprised to hear this practice relied on as beneficial to the Country. It may have become necessary. I do not deny it. But in that case how much must we abate of the confidence which we should all so gladly have reposed in the glowing representations of Indian

prosperity ! What, let me ask you, what is the real condition of an Empire whose industry is supported only by advances made from its Revenues ? In Countries impoverished and exhausted by a long course of public calamity, and in those where no commercial capital has ever yet grown up, Commerce I am well aware is sometimes carried on solely by the credit and resources of the exporting Merchant. And in those cases a gradual accession of wealth will, in the ordinary course of trade, accrue to the nation which thus attracts the capital of others ; and the very evil itself, such are the beneficent dispensations of Providence, will finally remedy the distress in which it had originated. But how widely different from this is the case where the capital which sets to work the industry of a People, is furnished only from the Taxes which they pay : where the Sovereign, Himself the exporting Merchant, sends out their manufacture without return ; Himself the internal trader, purchases it only from their own resources ; Himself the Master Manufacturer, maintains the Artisan at the cost of the Labourer, and claiming to be himself also the paramount Proprietor of the Soil, actually collects in kind the raw material in payment of his territorial Revenue. By what part of such a Trade can the Country profit ? What freedom, what security, what competition can exist in Commerce so conducted ? What health or vigour in the community which thus draws from its own veins the only nourishment by which the vital circulation is main-

tained? We may hope indeed, I speak it not in flattery, but in the sincere conviction of my heart, that the spirit which pervades our Indian Service, the liberal and enlightened principles on which the public interests are there considered, and the anxious solicitude displayed on every occasion for the prosperity of the People whose Government we administer, do afford in the execution of this System every possible alleviation which from its nature it is capable of receiving. Nor am I unapprized that under still greater discouragements than these, such is the elastic force of human industry, when secured in Peace and protected by Law, the population, the products, and the wealth of any country will increase: and most especially of one so highly favoured in soil and climate. But the system itself, unless I greatly misconceive it, is fruitful only in evil. It exhibits the hand of Government not fostering the improvement of its people, but pressing on their industry in every stage, interfering with all their occupations, and meeting them in every market with the public purse. It raises and depresses arbitrarily the sale of their produce and manufactures, by transactions too large for counteraction, too uncertain for private speculation; founded on no just combination of mercantile adventure, but regulated solely by principles of political convenience; the state of the Public Treasury, and the estimated increase or diminution of the National Expenditure.

I know indeed that a portion of the Revenues of

the State in India must be remitted to this Country. Some contribution perhaps we may hereafter expect from thence to the general expences of the Empire; but for this I think we should not be impatient; the prosperity of a dependent Province we ought to value far beyond its Tribute. Present provision must however be made for the interest and gradual reduction of political Debts, contracted in that Country, and transferred to England under the sanction of the King's Commissioners, and the authority of Parliament. We must also secure the due payment of allowances granted in retribution of Public Service, and the means of defraying regularly other charges of various descriptions which must be incurred at home for purposes of Indian Government. These no doubt are obligations binding on the Sovereign of India; and my Noble Friend, while he attaches that character to the East India Company, is justly apprehensive of any competition which could interfere with their punctual discharge.

The speculations of private Traders, he says, would anticipate the Company's Sales, derange their estimated Receipts, and expose their Public Credit to great hazard. I answer, that if the separation of Government and Commerce were duly made, this difficulty would cease at once. Against commercial disappointment, commercial prudence would provide, and no man would propose to burthen the Company with the expences of Indian Government, if

they no longer disposed of its resources. But let us suppose the contrary decision taken. Let Parliament determine still to administer our Indian Empire in the name of the Company, and under their ostensible authority. The case will then be different? Undoubtedly it will. To them, on their account, and to support their payments, these Remittances must then be made. I admit it. For these purposes they will represent the Government of India. But it will not follow of necessity that the Remittances must even then be made through their investments. We may still ask, what would in truth be the most profitable mode of conducting these transactions? We may enquire on what ground it is thought advantageous that any Government, be it the King's or the Company's, should issue money from the public Treasury for the purchase of Goods within its own dominions, to be resold on Government account in the Country to which its Remittances are to be made? If I am not greatly deceived, this is a proceeding not less objectionable in India than in England. The principle of the transaction is not varied by its place. If the Noble Earl\* opposite to me should this year be required to remit a Subsidy to Hamburgh or to Stockholm, is this the course he will pursue? Will he send his Agents into our Ports and Manufactories to purchase the Sugar or the Woollens in which the Remittance will really be made? And will he then

\* Earl of Liverpool.

throw these articles in a mass into the foreign Market, solicitous only to realize the sum he wishes to obtain there, and comparatively indifferent to the profit or loss of the transaction? Undoubtedly not, He will contract as cheaply as he can, and probably by open competition, with Merchants for their Bills; through them his whole purpose will at once be accomplished; and with them it will remain to complete the transaction, in the successive operations of their own Commerce, carefully adjusted by private interest to the perpetual fluctuations of demand. A similar course, it should seem, may with similar advantage be pursued in India. The Treasury at Calcutta may, like the Treasury at Whitehall, disconnect itself wholly from the transactions of the Counting House; this might be done with equal facility even though both should be continued under the same supreme direction. The Company's Trade would then be conducted on true mercantile principles of profit and loss; and its Government would, according to the same maxims of public Economy which are pursued by other Governments, make its Remittances by fair competition on public tender, open to all alike, in India as in England, to the Company's commercial Agents, or to the well accredited Houses of private Individuals.

No doubt such Remittances, like any tributary payment made in whatever mode, must still in some degree be detrimental to the prosperity of India. It

is a drain for which no return is made but in protection and good Government. Yet if conducted through the channel of an open Trade, and limited most scrupulously in their amount by a due consideration of the condition of the Country which supplies them, I see no reason to believe them inconsistent with its rapid and permanent improvement. This is the ordinary condition of a dependent and tributary Province, What I object to is that peculiar course of Policy which not only exacts the Tribute, but monopolizes the Commerce: compels the payment and forestalls the resources which should provide it. And this too in a Country where few and inconsiderable Offices of Civil trust, where no Office of Military trust, is as yet in the hands of the Natives: where the fortunes realized by all who govern, and by almost all who trade, are at no distant period remitted also to the Metropolis. It is indeed this last circumstance which is, in my judgment, by far the most alarming in the nature of our connection with India. How the pressure which this produces can ever be resisted is a fearful consideration.

What a powerful motive does it then suggest to us for throwing open the Ports and Markets of India to British Capital and enterprize, for inviting to her Harbours the Ships and Merchants of every quarter of the Globe, and securing to her, as far as Legislation can secure it, the fullest benefit of the most unqualified Commercial freedom! If some evil must



unavoidably result to her from her subjection to a distant Sovereignty, let it at least be compensated by the unrestricted enjoyment of all her local advantages. The anxiety which I feel (I have already so stated it), is not for the transfer but for the extension of Indian Commerce; not, as some have expressed it, to give to Englishmen the benefit of that Trade which foreigners now enjoy, but to give to India the benefit both of British and of foreign Trade. To administer those vast possessions on colonial principles would be impracticable if it were just, would be unjust if it were practicable. In a British House of Lords I trust we are not deliberating on the means of ruling Sixty Millions of Men in sole subserviency to our own advantage; nor if this were our object, should I consider the establishment of colonial principles of Commerce and Government in India as in any manner calculated to promote it. But it is as much the moral duty of a British Statesman to consult the prosperity of that, as of every other Portion of our Empire. Subjects of the same Sovereign, Members of the same Community, we submit ourselves with equal obedience to the same Legislature, and we are entitled to receive from it the same protection: varied indeed in form, and adapting itself in its regulations to the differences of local situation and moral character; but directed always with an impartial hand to the same common object, that of promoting the strength and greatness of the whole by carrying to the utmost practicable height the Prosperity of every part.

To our own Merchants an open competition is sufficient. They ask no more. To this, and not to any exclusive privilege the King's Ministers have recognized their just pretensions. But still more powerful is the appeal which reason and nature urge to us, in behalf of the People of India. Irresistible indeed is their claim to a free Trade limited by no corporate rights, no national Monopoly: a free Trade not merely with their Fellow Subjects in Europe, but also with every friendly Nation throughout the habitable Globe. It is the glory of our Ancestors, that in the first moments of recovered freedom, in the hour when Commerce and Legislation were but as yet beginning to dawn on Europe, they recognized the Rights of commercial interchange between mankind, proclaimed to foreign Nations a secure and unmolested intercourse with the Ports and Markets of our Country, and sanctified this just and beneficent principle to all succeeding times by incorporating it into the great Charter of their own Liberties. By what different rule shall We, their descendants, in this more liberal and enlightened age, with Morals humanized by knowledge, and benevolence animated by purer Religion, administer the interests of this vast Empire, which the unsearchable decrees of Providence have subjected to our dominion? Provinces whose industry, and arts, and Commerce are far more antient than our own! Kingdoms which by the free exercise of these their natural advantages had already risen to opulence and refinement, while we were yet sunk in barbarism!

Never therefore shall I regret, never shall I remember but with heartfelt satisfaction that my name is subscribed to that Treaty which opened to our East Indian territories the Commerce of America. I adopted the measure on the conviction of my own judgment, and with the full concurrence of the Person\* to whose immediate superintendance the public interests in India were then committed: nor did he, I am certain, omit to communicate upon it with those who had then the principal direction of the Company's Affairs. But I rest on no participation of Councils; submitting myself willingly to the whole responsibility of that decision; and were the happy moment now arrived when Peace shall be restored between two Nations not more closely united in origin than interest, I should be found an earnest advocate for re-establishing the Commerce of America with India.

But if we admit these principles: we must act upon them to their just extent. If we are really desirous of imparting to that valuable Portion of our Empire the benefit of universal Commerce, or even if with more limited views we seek only to open to our own Merchants the advantage of a Trade with India, we must establish it on equal competition. This is its natural foundation, on this alone can it stand secure. Of the effects which the present system appears to me too likely to produce on the internal Prosperity of our Provinces, I have already

\* Lord Melville.

spoken; very imperfectly indeed, and much more with the view of suggesting matter for future consideration, than of entering at this time into the numerous topics of so large and interesting an enquiry. But for the full examination of this great question it will be necessary that we should also consider in what manner the continuance of that System would probably affect the transactions of the British Merchant: Lest in the very moment in which we recognize his Rights we should substantially defeat them, and with the purpose of conferring new benefits upon Him, find in the result that we have only deluded Him to his ruin. The extent to which the Americans had carried on their Trade in India before they were at War with us, is the example to which the mercantile interests in England look with the greatest confidence: It has been ascribed by the Company to the peculiar privileges which that People enjoyed as Neutrals; their opponents attribute it to the general advantages of private over corporate management. Both causes doubtless contributed to produce it. But the first has already ceased; and were it revived, it could be temporary only, nor could it in any case apply to the British Merchant. Will, then, the latter be sufficient, on the return of Peace, to protect his private Trade against the operation of the present System? I greatly doubt it. I will not dwell on the unequal footing on which the Parties will meet in India: The Agents of Individuals in competition with the Servants of the Sove-

reign, and this in transactions with a People by whom, as my Noble Friend has emphatically told us, the intimation of a wish from a superior is always received as a command. I will suppose in the Company itself, I will suppose in all its Agents, even the most distant from the seat of Power—a forbearance almost miraculous—a perpetual self command, subduing all the ordinary feelings and passions of mankind. Habit, interest, jealousy, the love of power, the desire of recommending themselves to their superiors, and the wish to assert their own consequence over importunate Rivals; let all these be kept in perpetual subjection. In dealing with the Natives, even with the Weavers, whose labour the public Treasury now engrosses by anticipated payments, I will suppose that the private Trader finds himself henceforth completely on a level with the Company. Is he so in the nature of his adventure? The Company now trades to loss in India; the future proportion of that loss cannot even be conjectured by the Merchant who is to maintain a competition with it. It depends on no commercial principle. Equally foreign to his speculations, and inapplicable to his concerns are the resources which supply this losing Trade, the necessity which compels it, and the advantages by which it is supposed to be compensated. To the Company, the profits of the China Trade will more than cover the deficiency; but from that trade you shut out the Merchant. His trade with India will be a Trade of barter, for

profit on his own commercial capital; the Company's a Trade of Remittance; to be supplied from the surplus Revenue of the State, aided (as it has already been in failure of that surplus) by the public Credit of the Sovereign of India, and that again upheld by the public Credit of the British Legislature. To the Merchant a profit is indispensable, to the Company's Treasury in England we might almost call the loss itself a source of profit; if it defeats the speculations of their rivals, and enables them by the sacrifice of ten per Cent. on the Remittance of Revenue to realize ninety. In the Merchant's hands a losing trade must stop; in the Company's, it produces as we see no abandonment, not even a suspension of the concern. For twenty years this losing Trade has been unremittingly pursued; for twenty years longer it will most probably continue if these Resolutions are adopted. Those political expences of the Indian Government which are transferred to England, if blended with the Commerce of the Company, must through its Commerce be discharged: the Revenues of the State in India, if appropriated there to the purchase of investment, must by the sale of investment be realized at home: to meet the payments already engaged for, the goods must be sold, if not at profit then at loss; if not at the present rate of loss, then at whatever increased proportion of deficiency may enable the Company to defeat the competition of their Rivals, and to prove to future Parliaments that the experiment of a free Trade with India has been found impracticable!

It is true, that under the operation of this system, and with much superadded difficulty from restraints imposed by the Company, a large private Trade has been carried on through their intervention from India by British Subjects. A pleasing proof, no doubt, of the incompressible force of Commerce wherever the natural power of demand is suffered to operate, even under the most harassing restrictions. But no decisive argument can be drawn from this experience to justify the expectation of success to separate and unconnected British adventure. It must be considered that this Trade also has been a Commerce of Remittance ; carried on not for profit on British capital embarked in a traffic of mutual return, but to supply to the Public Servants in India the necessary means of bringing home their fortunes.

Let it also be remembered, that this principle of loss is not confined to the Sale of Goods received from India. It pervades both branches of the Company's Indian Trade. Their losses on Export from this Country are not even disguised ; their advocates proclaim the fact, and boast of it. So habituated are Men in considering the complicated relations of this great Company to confound all principles of Government and Policy, that this annual waste of Property is actually urged on their behalf as a sacrifice which they make to the national interests, and as a claim upon the gratitude of Parliament. Yet, if loss is incurred in this case, by whom is it sustained? Not by the Directors themselves, that would be

wholly unreasonable; not by the Proprietors of India Stock, they receive, and must receive, their undiminished Dividends: The loss falls on the Public Treasury—on the People of England, whose participation of Indian Revenue must be still farther postponed by every fresh embarrassment in the Company's Affairs; and whose Representatives are called upon year after year to supply in Loans, in forbearances, and in facilities of Public Credit, the deficiencies of this uncommercial system.

But let us admit, if it be necessary, the merit of this proceeding; its effects will still remain the same. If, in fact, the export of British Manufactures is now carried on to loss, with what hope of advantage can we invite our Merchants to participate in it? To them it can be rendered profitable only by bringing back to just commercial principles the commercial transactions of that great Body with which they must maintain a competition. Let this be done, and the result will not be doubtful. Let the vigilance of self interest, let the skill and enterprise of private Traders be fairly opposed to the routine of corporate management, and in that contest we know beforehand which side will triumph. Remove the restraint of Law, deliver us from the competition of the public purse, and the British Merchant will make his own cause good.

To what extent his Trade may then be carried,



presumptuous indeed would be the man who shall now venture to pronounce. No present knowledge, no past experience of India, can possibly decide that question. Who shall set bounds to the progress of industry and enterprise? Who confine within the narrow limits of his present view the prospects of improvement from the freedom of untrammelled intercourse? By Commerce, commerce will increase, and Industry by Industry. So it has ever happened, and the great Creator of the World has not exempted India from this common law of our Nature. The supply, first following the demand will soon extend it. By new facilities new wants and new desires will be produced. And neither Climate nor Religion, nor long established habits, no, nor even Poverty itself, the greatest of all present obstacles, will ultimately refuse the benefits of such an intercourse to the native Population of that Empire. They will derive from the extension of Commerce, as every other People has uniformly derived from it, new comforts and new conveniencies of life, new incitements to Industry, and new enjoyments in just reward of increased activity and enterprize.

But it is a very narrow view of this question to confine it to the direct Trade of India with Great Britain, or even to the whole Commerce, British and foreign, of that vast Empire. Other objects of still larger scope, other benefits of still more extended operation, are necessarily included in this decision. The first which presents itself, is the Trade with

China. This it is proposed again to place in the exclusive possession of the Company. Such a determination I should deeply lament, as inconsistent, in my judgment, both with the principle on which the Trade to India is opened, and also with the fair enjoyment of that concession. It is only by the China Trade that the Company now profits. Shall we, then, invite our Merchants and Manufacturers to participate in loss, to struggle against unproductive purchase and depreciated sale, but where the just gains of Commerce present themselves shall we there raise new barriers against their Industry? Shall we admit them to the Commerce of our own dominions, because foreigners must also trade there, and shall we, in the same breath, refuse to them the liberty of trading to a foreign Country? And on what footing will this refusal place them in respect even of the Indian Trade? Is it meant to close against them all liberty of trading with China? To foreigners that liberty cannot be refused. Is it intended only to prohibit them from bringing China Goods from thence to England? That privilege the Company is to monopolize. How then can they maintain a competition in India, either with the Company or with foreigners, by both of whom superior advantages are enjoyed? Let us represent to ourselves two Traders in India, carrying on their rival business; not as in this case, the Sovereign in competition with those who reside under his Government, a mighty Corporation against an unaided indi-

vidual, the public Exchequer against the funds of private Trade, let us suppose them both British Merchants, in all other respects on a footing of complete equality, except that the one is limited to make all his returns direct to Europe, while to the other you give the option of a circuitous Trade through China. Could it be doubtful on which side the balance would preponderate? Especially after what my Noble Friend has told us of the great amount and profitable nature of the present Trade of our Indian Territories with that Country.

But were it desirable to exclude the whole Body of our Merchants from all share in the Trade with China, how could this regulation be executed? Its object is understood to be the security of our own Revenue. No man, I am sure, is less disposed than I am to interfere with that essential object. Could I be satisfied that the safety of the public Revenue does really require this sacrifice, great as it is I should still say it must be made. But were it so, I repeat it, how then could the provision be enforced? The Trade of the British Merchant with the Eastern Islands we know must be free. This admits of no doubt: to a Monopoly in that quarter the Company could scarcely urge even the insufficient claim of past possession. Let us then suppose the private trader admitted there to free Navigation and Commerce, but excluded by these Resolutions from direct access to China. What follows? Every article of the Com-

merce of China which he wishes to procure, its Cottons, its Silk, its Tea, will be brought to him in Country Vessels to whatever Port he chuses of the Eastern Archipelago. Against this danger, as some would call it, against this great advantage as I consider it, what precaution would the spirit of monopoly devise? Shall we meet it with the Revenue System by which the British Coasts are guarded? Can we establish along the whole extent of Java, and Sumatra, and Malacca, our entries and clearances, our bonds and certificates and dockets, as in the Port of London? Can we build British Custom-houses in all that vast chain of countless Islands which encircle the Seas of China, placed there as if in mockery of such a vain imagination, and stretching in uninterrupted continuance from Ava almost to New Holland, and thence again northward by Borneo and the Philippines to the very boundaries of the Russian Empire? It would be to consider such a project too seriously to remind your Lordships, that the whole Army of Revenue Officers now employed throughout the British Empire, with all their expence, and patronage, and influence, would not suffice to execute the smallest part of such a provision, which if it fails even in a single instance, is defeated in the whole; where if any one channel of escape remains unclosed, the whole dyke with all its difficulty, and cost, and labour, becomes only an useless burden to the earth.

To Europe therefore, not indeed by lawful trade

but in despite of all your prohibitions, and by that very contraband, if contraband it could be called, against which your exclusion is directed, every article of China Produce and Manufacture will easily be brought. But you may at least prohibit your Merchants from bringing them into the British Ports. You may so. And whenever Peace is restored to Europe, the consequence will be the same as the same prohibition has before produced. Ostend, Calais, Boulogne, the whole Coast of the Narrow Seas, will again be lined with depôts of Tea for smuggling, with tea brought there by British Trade from the Eastern Islands, or by Foreign Trade direct from China.

But in truth, my Lords, not only is the provision impracticable, the object itself is hopeless. Our past experience teaches us with unerring certainty, that in Peace the Revenue which we raise on Tea cannot at its present rate of duty be collected. In 1785 the Company's Monopoly was in full vigour; and the Revenue had the whole unqualified benefit of every security which that system could provide. No British Vessel could at that time, without the express permission of the Company, enter into the Seas of India, or of China, into the Ethiopic, or the Pacific Ocean; yet Parliament was even then compelled to reduce the duty, and we commuted it for a burdensome tax on our own houses. How much greater will now be the difficulty of collecting this Revenue, after you shall have opened to British Vessels, as

even these Resolutions purport, all the Ports of the East except those of China alone.

The rate of Duty must, therefore, again be diminished whenever Peace returns. No man questions it. But it is of great importance to remark, that the necessary amount of this reduction will very much depend on the System by which the Trade is carried on. Beyond a certain standard the price of this Commodity cannot be carried. If you exceed it, the advantage which you give to contraband destroys the lawful Trade, and undermines the Revenue. Of that price, the prime cost forms comparatively a small part, the commercial charges and the Duty constitute the remainder. In proportion therefore as the one is augmented the other must be reduced. Import cheaper, and you may levy a higher Tax; increase the cost at which you receive the Commodity, and you can add less to it in the form of Duty. And if it be true in this case as in every other, that a Trade of Monopoly will be carried on less economically than a trade of competition, the conclusion is irresistible. The reduction of Duty must be greater, and the defalcation of Revenue must be made good, as it was before, by other and more burdensome taxation.

But in speaking, however imperfectly, of these various branches of this extensive question, I have as yet not even touched upon that point which is in my

view by far the greatest object of advantage to this Country, in opening to the British Merchant that vast tract of Land and Ocean, from which he has been hitherto shut out by the Company's exclusive Charter. To anticipate with too much confidence the course of any Commerce as yet untried is not less hazardous in political than in mercantile speculation. But if there ever were two Countries apparently destined and formed by nature for commercial intercourse, those Countries are the Southern Provinces of Asia, and the Western Shores of South America. The precious metals in which the one abounds have always, from the remotest antiquity down even to the present hour, been the staple article of Import into the other; the produce and the manufactures of which are again peculiarly suited to the consumption of climates so congenial to their own.

This copious, this inexhaustible source of trading enterprize and profit must, unless you prohibit it, be available principally to your own People. British Legislation can alone refuse this great advantage to British Commerce. To your Merchants it would be invaluable. And if in the consumption of South America the industry of the British Manufacturer should establish, as we may justly hope, no unsuccessful competition even with that of his Fellow Subjects in Bengal, how much would the direct intercourse of that Continent with India facilitate to him also the returns of such a Trade.

Those who understand as your Lordships do the real nature of Commerce, and the true principles of its wise Administration, well know that all its interests are interwoven, all its branches inseparably connected. It is the Union, not of Commerce with Government, but of Commerce with Commerce, that a provident Legislature will respect. Numerous are the commercial enterprizes which would be of small benefit if limited to the direct intercourse of one Country with another, but which by intermediate or subsequent transactions in other Markets, and in distant regions, become highly advantageous both to private and to national interests. It is in this view that I feel an undescribable anxiety to secure to our Merchants their full participation, not of parts and portions only, but of the whole of the Commerce of the East. I wish to grant and guaranty to them not that alone, of which, with my limited views and imperfect knowledge, I can already discern, and define the immediate, and infallible benefit, but that also which shall be the ulterior and unforeseen effect, the natural though unpremeditated conquest of their own skill and enterprize following up their advantages with ardour, and deriving from every successful operation both the spirit and the means of new exertion.

For the encouragement of such hopes no moment was ever yet more favourable. The barrier of prejudice is shaken; the spirit of monopoly is rapidly giving way to juster principles of Trade; and the



change of public opinion in this country is seconded by the great Revolutions of the World. Why should we then delay to grant to the British Merchant all for which he now contends ; all that the exclusive Charter of the East India Company has hitherto closed against him ; all and more than all that these Resolutions propose to open to the People of this Empire ? A free Trade with India, a free Trade with China ; with the Eastern Islands, the latest acquisition of British Valour ; and through them with the rich Kingdoms of South America ; a country hitherto indeed barred against us as much by the Monopolies of its Parent Government as by our own, but now at last by the course of events no longer within the controul of man, opened, in every case I trust infallibly opened, to the Commerce of the World,

What a scene does this present to our imagination ! We are told that when the Spanish discoverers first overcame, with labour and peril almost unspeakable, the mighty range of Mountains which divides the Western from the Atlantic Shores of South America ; they stood fixed in silent admiration, gazing on the vast expanse of the Southern Ocean, which lay stretched before them in boundless prospect. They adored, even those hardened and sanguinary adventurers adored, the gracious Providence of Heaven, which after the lapse of so many centuries, had opened to mankind so wonderful a field of untried and unimagined enterprize. They anticipated in pro-

phetic enthusiasm the glory of their Native Country, the future extent of its Sovereignty and Power, and the noble prize presented to its ambition. But theirs was the glory of Conquest, the ambition of War, the prize of unjust dominion. As vast as theirs, but infinitely more honourable, far higher both in purpose and in recompense, are the hopes with which the same prospect now elevates our hearts. Over countries yet unknown to Science, and in tracts which British Navigation has scarcely yet explored, we hope to carry the tranquil Arts, the social enjoyments, the friendly and benevolent intercourse of Commerce. By the link of mutual interest, by the bond of reciprocal good will, we hope to connect together the remotest regions of the earth; humble, and weak, but not rejected instruments of that great purpose of our Creator, by which He has laid, in the reciprocal necessities both of individuals and of Nations, the firmest ground-work of all Human Society. Let this be our Glory, and what Conqueror will not have reason to envy it?

And here, my Lords, I might properly close this statement, already extended far beyond my wish. But I would not wholly pass over one or two other points which I think of great importance, though they do not, perhaps, relate so much to the general questions which we have this night discussed, as to separate arrangements which might be adopted under any form of Indian Government. I shall speak of them

very briefly. Some of them must probably, in the progress of this business, be again brought under our view.

The most considerable among the benefits which my Noble Friend enumerated as having been conferred by the British Government on the Natives of India, was that arrangement which is technically called the permanent Settlement. Your Lordships are well aware that this consisted in fixing the amount of Territorial Revenue, to be annually collected from the Landholders of our Provinces, instead of leaving it to be varied from year to year at the discretion of Government, on the reports of its Officers, and according to the supposed ability of the person assessed. This certainty of taxation, which would be so important in every country, was of the utmost possible value in Provinces where so much the largest part of the Public Revenue is raised from the Proprietors of the Soil: bearing a proportion to its produce, which has been differently estimated by persons the best informed, but which even by the lowest calculation is of frightful amount. The measure was first adopted in the Bengal Provinces, and it has since been extended to some other parts of our possessions in India. To enlarge upon its advantages before a British audience, would seem superfluous. Until very lately I thought they had been generally admitted; but the late Report of a Committee of the House of Commons has filled me with anxiety on this subject.

That Report treats of the question of applying the same beneficial principle to the more recent acquisitions by which our Territory in India has been so largely extended ; and no Man, I fear, can read what is there said without perceiving its tendency, if not to discredit the original measure, at least to discountenance its proposed extension. My Noble Friend \* agreeing with me in principle, but not fully partaking of my alarm, has nevertheless Himself described the expressions of this paper as ambiguous. Be it so. I will only then remark, that in former times, the Reports of Parliament were not expressed with ambiguity when they enforced the Duties of protection and justice towards our Native Subjects. I would, if it were possible, most willingly persuade myself, that not the language of this Report alone, but also the language of the public dispatches which it quotes, is really ambiguous. To my understanding they too plainly speak their purpose. But most sincerely shall I rejoice in the assurance that my apprehensions are ill founded. If they are so, it is of easy proof. No one can then object to the proposal which I shall hereafter submit to your Lordships ; a proposal to obtain from Parliament, in the Law which we are now to pass, the same interposition, couched in the same terms, and directed to the same object, which in the Act of 1784 has proved so eminently beneficial. To remind us that so important a measure as

\* Marquis Wellesley.

this cannot be duly executed but after some previous deliberation and enquiry, and on such information as is really necessary to enable our Indian Government to do justice to those for whose benefit it is intended, is only to say of this what is equally true of every other momentous and extensive arrangement. I wish it to be so proceeded in. But it is now, I think, between seven and eight years since Peace was restored to India. A considerably longer term has elapsed since the acquisition of some of the Provinces in question. The Settlement itself, whenever it shall be made, will probably be established in the first instance, as was done by Lord Cornwallis, in Bengal, for ten years only, to be then made permanent after an experience of its effects. And if it be not yet time to begin upon such a work, when is it to be concluded? To obtain theoretic perfection in these arrangements is manifestly impossible. It was the opinion of Lord Cornwallis, a sentiment I think not less wise than humane, that less evil was to be feared from the partial errors of such a measure than from its delay. And such, I am persuaded, is the experience of the fact.

But my present object is only to declare the principle, such as it was declared in 1784; to place by our new Law the future Government of India, be it what it may, under the same injunction which was imposed by the former Act on the King's Commissioners; and to apply to the ceded and conquered

Provinces the same benevolent interposition which Parliament before applied to the Provinces then under our dominion. Above all, it is my wish, by this solemn and authoritative declaration, renewed after the experience of so many years, to prove to our Native Subjects the permanency of our principles of right, and to impress them with the unalterable conviction, that a British Legislature estimates the security of their Property far above the possible increase of its own Revenue.

For the state of our Military Service in India, some new provision must also, I think, be made by Parliament, in every event. What I have already said on that subject, was applied to the supposed separation of the Government and Commerce of India. But if the ostensible authority in that Country be continued on its present footing, I admit that the Army cannot be disconnected from it. The Military Power is in every State inseparable from the Civil; united, they support each other—divided, they cannot exist together. In India our situation peculiarly requires their union; it is already too weak, increase the separation, and you destroy your Government. Your fate will probably, in that case, too soon resemble that of so many of the Native Princes, whose loss of Sovereignty has followed so fast on their renunciation of Military Power.

But it is for this very reason that Parliament ought

not, at least if my impressions are correct, to leave that matter in its present situation ; one of much acknowledged and experienced danger. For my own part, I freely confess, that I know no other remedy against that danger, except by the proposal which I have already submitted to your Lordships ; openly to establish the King's authority, both Civil and Military, over that as over every other part of His dominions ; but with such strict and scrupulous limitation of Patronage as we know by experience, or may conclude by reason, to be effectual against abuse. And I regard the difficulty of settling the Military Establishment of India on any other secure or satisfactory footing, as a most powerful recommendation of that arrangement.

But if this be not done, you must consider of other securities. You cannot here say, as my Noble Friend has said on other parts of the subject, that the actual enjoyment of a state of undisturbed and fearless security may justify you in leaving all things exactly on their present footing. If this be a good argument in one case, the opposite conclusion must equally result from contrary premises. Our task in this branch of our deliberation is, indeed, one of the most difficult of all that belong to Government and Legislation. We have to uphold the discipline, obedience, and military character of an Army, no longer called into frequent action to subdue our foreign Enemies (for what foreign Enemy can now meet us

in the field in India ?) but employed almost exclusively to support the civil institutions of our Sovereignty. It is by War, as your Lordships well know, that the character of Armies is formed ; by War it is maintained. Labour and peril are the stern guardians of all the military virtues, security and repose are their corrupters. Great as are in every other view the blessings of Peace, yet Peace is the true period of danger to a Government not rooted in the manners and affections of its people, but resting on the adventitious support of an armed force.

I am trespassing too long upon your Lordships' indulgence: I will therefore not touch even summarily upon some other considerations of which I should have wished to speak. I will say nothing of the inconsistency of committing so large a part of our Asiatic Empire to the management of a trading Company, while we leave the remainder to be administered under the authority of the Crown; thus breaking down the union and subordination even of the civil Power, and establishing on distinct and opposite principles the foundations of your Government, in Provinces so distant from the Metropolis. Nor will I enter into the defects of your judicial system in those Provinces, or into the present state of their internal Legislation and Police, providing (as it too plainly appears from the Reports upon our Table) in no adequate manner for the personal protection and security of your people. Neither will I discuss



the question of taxation. Though I trust in the ultimate conclusion of our measure, it cannot happen that this Power should in any part of the British Empire be left to the discretion of the Executive Government, to be exercised without the authority, without even the knowledge of Parliament, and to extend over the whole property and dealings, both of your Native Subjects and even of British Merchants resorting to that Country.

But on one point more I must still detain you for a few moments. My Noble Friend to whose arguments I have on this occasion so often alluded, among the many other brilliant and important services which he rendered to his Country in India, has the peculiar merit of having first called the attention of the Public to the education of the Young Men who go out there in the civil Service of the Company. He proposed, and actually carried into execution, an extensive and well digested plan for this necessary object. He has adverted to it this night, and the Minute in which he described and recommended that measure is, I believe, among the Papers for which he has moved. Those of your Lordships to whom it is new, will read it, I am certain, with the highest admiration; in those to whom the subject is in some degree familiar, that feeling will not be unmixed with regret, in recollecting the reception which this measure experienced in England. The Company which has afforded in twenty years to lose Millions on its Com-

merce—the Company which collects in India, under different forms, above fifteen millions of annual Revenue, could not stand, it was said, against the expence of this Establishment. Public œconomy is no doubt, at all times, a Virtue. The well ordered disposition, the just apportionment of the expences, the resources, and the burthens of a State, is the surest foundation of its Prosperity and Power. But directly opposed to that manly and honourable Virtue, is the parsimony which interferes with the public duties of the Government towards the Community whose interests it administers. No obligation (I submit it to the judgment of your Lordships) no obligation could, in my opinion, be more binding on the British Sovereign of India, than that which my Noble Friend had thus discharged; no application of the public Revenues of those Provinces could have a juster claim to be held inviolable and sacred than that which was allotted to the purposes of this institution. What better service could be rendered to that country, or to our own, than to train up to knowledge and virtue those men who in a few years are to be entrusted wjth the highest interests, not of the Company only, but also of the Public? those men who are to exhibit the British character to India; to preside in its Tribunals, to collect its Revenue, to watch over its tranquillity and good Government, and, in one word, to administer to the happiness of millions of its inhabitants. The King's Commissioners forbore to interpose for the protection of this

admirable institution. Why they did so I know not, and I greatly lament it. The plan was therefore limited and mutilated; and it exists now only as a wreck of its first noble design.

The deficiency was, however, acknowledged; and a separate College has been established in England for the education of the young men destined for India.

If I speak of this plan, as I think of it, with strong disapprobation and regret, let it not be inferred, that I object to any degree of attention which can be given even to the earliest instruction and discipline of those who are destined for Indian Service. Far from it. No man will more rejoice in this than I shall—no man more zealously contend for its advantage. But I can never persuade myself that it was justifiable to form for that purpose a separate establishment in England. It may be doubted at what age these youths may most advantageously be sent to India. But up to the latest moment of their continuance in this country, be that period what it may, I see the strongest possible reasons against their being separated in education from the young men of their own age, and station in life. Instead of forming them beforehand into an exclusive class, into something resembling a distinct cast of men, destined to administer Government in remote Provinces, they ought above

all other Public Servants to receive, so long as they continue in England, an education purely English. Instead of rejecting, we should, I think, have embraced with eagerness the advantage which our great Schools and Colleges would have afforded to them for this purpose: that they might learn there, I trust with not less facility than elsewhere, the elements of whatever Sciences you could wish them to possess: that in addition to these they might find there, and there only could they find, that best of all education to a public man which forms the mind to manly exertion and honourable feeling, the education which young men receive from each other in the numerous and mixed society of their equals, collected from various classes of our Community, and destined to various ways of life: that they might there be imbued with the deepest tincture of English manners, and English attachments, of English principles, and I am not afraid in this case to say also English prejudices: and that they might carry out with them from thence to India remembrances and affections, not local only but personal; recollections not merely of the scenes but of the individuals endeared to them by early habit; mixed with the indelible impression of those high sentiments and virtuous principles which, I am happy to think it, float in the very atmosphere of our public places of education, and contribute much more, I think, than is commonly supposed, to all on which we most value ourselves in our national character.

I have now finished what I had to submit to your Lordships in this discussion. I am well aware how much remains behind: How many are the topics, how large and interesting the questions which I have left wholly untouched. Vain indeed would have been the endeavour in the compass of a single Speech, on an incidental motion, to place under your view even in the faintest sketch, all the objects that must engage your attention in the course of this vast enquiry. Other Questions more deeply interesting to our own domestic concerns, affecting more nearly the prosperity or the safety of these Islands, may have occupied the deliberations of Parliament: one of such large and almost boundless extent has certainly never yet been brought before us. For my share in the discharge of this awful duty I have endeavoured to qualify myself by study and reflection: Imperfect as my motions certainly are, erroneous as they may too probably be, they are at least not brought before your Lordships without long, diligent, and repeated consideration. That there are many to whom my opinions will not be acceptable I well know. But even They I think must be convinced that one only motive can by possibility exist for the part which I have taken on this most important Question; a strong and irresistible impulse of Public Duty. To shock the prejudices, to oppose, as it will be thought, the interests, of many individuals whom I personally respect, and of Public bodies of the greatest weight, authority, and influence in the Community to which I belong,

cannot be a pleasing task. But these, and every other consideration, must at once give way, when the Question on which I was called upon to speak, and on which I have now ventured to submit to you my present thoughts, was nothing less than this, By what political, by what commercial institutions can the British Parliament best provide for the Happiness of the People of India ?

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## JOURNAL

OF THE

# EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,

Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

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THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE AND THE FURTHER ADMISSION OF  
NATIVES OF INDIA.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,  
BY A. K. CONNELL, ESQ., M.A.,

On FRIDAY, JULY 8th, 1887.

THE RIGHT HON. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

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A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held on Friday afternoon, July 8th, in the Westminster Town Hall, for the purpose of considering a paper by A. K. Connell, Esq., M.A., on "The Indian Civil Service, and the Further Admission of Natives of India."

The Rt. Hon. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P., occupied the chair, and amongst those present were the following:—The Thakore Saheb of Gondal; Kunwar Harnam Singh, C.I.E.; Sir Roland Knyvet Wilson, Bart.; Sir Charles A. Elliott, K.C.S.I.; Sir John Pope Hennessy, K.C.M.G.; Mr. Baij Nath (Chief Justice of Indore); The Hon. Budrudin Tyabjee; The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji; Lieut.-General T. Gillillan; Major-General G. Burn; Major-General J. C. Macdonald; Major-General and Mrs. R. M. Macdonald; Colonel and Mrs. A. Phelps; Lieut.-Colonel Anderson; Lieut.-Colonel P. T. French; Captain W. C. Palmer; Captain F. T. U. Spratt, R.E.; Mr. Justice Pinhey; Mr. Justice Scott (Bombay); Rev. Flavel S. Cook, D.D.; Rev. H. Carter; Rev. Robert Gwynne; Rev. N. Harry; Rev. H. W. Jones; Rev. Goodeve Mabbs;

Dr. G. B. Clark, M.P.; Mr. William Summers, M.P.; L. B. Sir Desai, of Vantmuri; Mr. William Tayler (late Commissioner of Patna); Dr. Bradshaw; Dr. H. E. Busteed; Dr. D. M. Karaka; Dr. G. W. Leitner; Dr. O'Neill; Mr. Ibrahim S. D. Ahmadi; Syed Mahomed Akbar; Mr. C. W. Arathoon; Miss F. Arundale; Miss A. H. Beal; Mr. Michael Beazeley; Lala Bhagat Ram; Mr. James Bonar; Mr. B. Bosanquet; Mr. Lewin Bowring; Mr. Thomas Brindle; Mr. Herbert Burrows; Mr. F. J. Butcher; Mr. R. S. Chitgupi; Mr. H. Forbes Clarke; Mrs. A. K. Connell; Mr. F. M. Dadina; Mr. John Dale; Mr. C. K. Desai; Mr. H. S. E. Dias; Mr. E. Drury; Mr. Reuben Dumnall; Mr. and Mrs. Treeve Edgcome; Mr. Robert H. Elliot; Mrs. George W. Field; Mr. George Foggs; Mr. M. P. Gasper; Mr. and Mrs. Nanda Lal Ghosh; Mr. J. E. Gill; Mr. T. R. Gill, M.B.A.S.; Mr. G. B. Gladding; Miss Gladding; Miss Alice Gladding; Mr. Muddun Gopal; Mr. H. J. Green; Mr. Hamid Ali Khan; Mr. Louis Harfeld; Mr. and Mrs. H. Harington; Mr. Washington Haycock; Miss Heaton; Mr. J. F. Holmes; Mr. K. Kane; Mr. Henry Kaye; Mr. Arthur R. Keating; Miss Knowling; Mr. H. G. A. Leveson; Professor de Goeje Leyden; Miss Macdonald; Mr. John Macfarlane; Mr. Colin Mackenzie; Miss Mair; Mr. Martinelli; Mr. P. J. Mehta; Mr. Krishnano Mulze; Mr. C. V. Naidu; Miss Nelson; Mrs. Jane Oldfield; Mr. Robert G. Orr; Mr. J. Alfred Parker; Mr. Framji Jiwanji Patel; Mr. A. L. Paul; Mr. Douglas Payne; Miss Edith Pechey; Mr. J. B. Pennington (M.C.S.); Mr. R. Pilkington; Miss L. Pilkington; Mr. Hodgson Pratt; Mr. James Price; Mr. and Mrs. Quin; Mr. Ranglal; Mr. Mohamed Raoof; Mr. S. A. Raoof; Mr. Alfred Raphael; Miss Reed; Mr. L. E. Runtz Rees; Miss Roe; Miss C. Rowe; Mr. Sadernddin Khan; Mr. A. R. Sayani; Mr. M. Sheshadri; Mr. D. B. Shukla; Mr. W. Soper; Mrs. and Miss Stevens; Mr. W. C. Tayler; Mr. John S. Tregoning; Mr. N. J. Vayshnava; Miss E. Williams; Mr. A. Hayman Wilson; Mr. R. J. Woodfin; Mr. W. Martin Wood; Mr. Zah Ali Khan; Mr. W. Hamilton Burn (Secretary).

The CHAIRMAN having called upon Mr. Connell to read his paper,

Mr. A. K. CONNELL said: It is clear to all those who have been following the course of events in the East during the last ten years, that a turning-point has been reached in the history of our Indian Empire, and that the future welfare of that Empire will depend on the way in which certain vexed administrative and financial problems are solved. In India proper, taken as a whole, the era of Imperial conquest



has long since been closed, the era of consolidation by Imperial codes is soon, it is to be hoped, to be closed, but the era of criticism—criticism of existing principles of administration, of existing means of supplying the administrative *personnel*, will, it is certain, proceed with accumulated force. This criticism may be in many ways unpleasant and inconvenient to the officials so criticized, it may be regarded as a sign of base ingratitude, it may appear short-sighted and dangerous as tending to hamper the realization of schemes proposed by bureaucratic wisdom and benevolence, but it is after all the necessary outcome of the policy pursued during the past quarter of a century. Officials, like others, “depend on the creatures they have made.”

The history of India for the last fifty years, and especially for the past twenty-five years, is the history of a series of far-reaching changes carried out by a foreign Government, possibly with the tacit consent, but certainly without the active co-operation of the people governed. These changes have not only transformed much of the outer conditions of existence, but they have revolutionized in many respects the social and industrial environment with which the inner life of India had been closely bound up for many centuries.\* Railways constructed or subsidized by the State, entailing heavy taxation on the Indian agriculturist and bringing the rush of Western competition on the Indian artizan, land-laws either substituting new relations between the agricultural classes or stereotyping old ones into an inelastic system, new codes of law replacing the common sense of the *punchayat* by the chicanery of the pleader, State-aided colleges and Universities intoxicating the Oriental brain with the strong wine of Western thought—these are the modern agencies which have been brought to bear with resistless force on the ancient civilization of India. A meat and alcoholic diet has been given to a body politic that has for centuries been nurtured on a vegetarian and water system, and the natural result is a dyspeptic and feverish condition, from time to time giving rise to delirium. When we think over all these changes that have taken place in a space of time that is but a span in the life of the unchanging East, we cannot be surprised at a great feeling of unrest being spread through the length and breadth of India. For the most part it is vague, or recorded only in the pages of district officers' reports, or of special Commissions of Inquiry, but at times it finds expression—though, perhaps, a very crude expression—through the medium of the Native Press. Some regard the utterances of that Press merely as the frothy

\* For a fuller illustration of this revolution and its consequences, I must refer to my writings, “Discontent and Danger in India,” “Economic Revolution of India” (Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.).

foam which is churned up by the stream of Western thought dashing into the motionless ocean of the East; but on close inspection, the vast deep itself is seen to be heaving with its own agitations, though they naturally become most apparent at the points, where the waters meet. The utterances of the native Press at the centres of urban life may often be inadequate, its suggestions superficial, its criticism childish, and its attacks spiteful; but it is as well not to ignore their significance nor to think that there is no strong movement of public opinion behind them. The editors of the native Press may often be, as is asserted, disappointed candidates for official posts, or B.A.'s carried away by the winds of political doctrine that blow from the West; but at the same time they are the exponents, if not the directors, of the current of native thought, even when they make use of that current to advance their own private interests or advocate their own special views.

During the last few months the question of the further admission of natives to the public service has been absorbing the attention of the Indian public, and the opinion has been universally expressed that the time has come for a larger recognition of native claims. A special Commission, appointed at the end of last year, has taken evidence in the leading towns of India as to the best way of satisfying these claims, and Anglo-Indian officers of varied standing and experience have warmly supported the contention of the leaders of native opinion. Meanwhile a large amount of strong language has been used during the discussion by the partizans of either side. On the one hand a section of the Indian Press has taken the line of abusing the bureaucracy as a clique of corrupt and selfish foreigners, preventing the children of the soil from lavishing their pure and unselfish love on their mother-country, while on the other hand a section of the Anglo-Indian Press, notoriously inspired by official penmen, has been virtuously denouncing the private greed of the aspirants to office, and virulently defending the public spirit of the holders of it. Neither side has shone in the controversy, and there is room for an impartial weighing of evidence. Clearing our minds, therefore, of the hysterical clamour of would-be placemen and the hypocritical cant of existing placemen, let us try to look at the matter in the dry light of the great public issues at stake, and with the eye of Imperial statesmanship.

I shall now proceed to examine first the legitimacy of the Indian demand for further admission to the Civil Service; secondly, the satisfaction of that demand up to the present time; and lastly, the best methods of further satisfying native claims.

The legitimacy of the demand can hardly be denied in the face of

the deliberate decision of Parliament in 1833, and the Proclamation of 1858. It is very interesting to read the speeches made in 1833. Their tone is particularly instructive, because at that date, when many of our Indian conquests were recent, Anglo-Indian officials and English statesmen were, I think, more alive to the grievances of the people arising out of conquest than they appear to be at the present time, and more sensitive to the sufferings inflicted by the supersession of native officials and aristocracy in the government of the country. Let me give a few extracts taken from Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's pamphlet on the *Indian Services*. Mr. Peel in the Parliamentary Debate of 1833 said:—"Sure I am at least that we must approach the consideration of the subject with a strong sense of the responsibility we shall incur, with a strong sense of the moral obligation which it imposes upon us as a duty to promote the improvement of the country and the welfare and well-being of its inhabitants so far as we can consistently with the safety and security of our dominion and the obligations by which we may be bound . . . in a word to endeavour, while we still keep them under British rule, to atone to them for the sufferings they have endured, and the wrongs to which they are exposed in being reduced to that rule, and to afford them some advantages, and confer on them such benefits as may in some degree console them for the loss of their independence." Mr. Wynn said: "How can we expect the Hindu population will be good subjects unless we hold out to them inducements to become so. If superior acquirements cannot open the road to distinction, how can you expect individuals to take the trouble of attaining them? When attained, they can answer no other purpose than that of showing their possessor the fallen condition of the caste to which he belongs. This is true of man in all countries. Let our own native Britain be subjugated by a foreign force, let the natives be excluded from all offices of trust and emolument, and then all their knowledge and all their literature, both foreign and domestic, will not save them from being in a few generations a low-minded, deceitful, and dishonest race." Other speakers, some of them of Anglo-Indian experience, spoke to the same effect, and all seemed to be inspired with that spirit of enlightened statesmanship that had found its fullest utterance in Burke's speeches and writings. The result of the Parliamentary debate is well known. The first charter of native rights was carried:—"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."

It is with reference to this clause that Macaulay made his famous peroration : "There is one part of the Bill on which, after what has really passed elsewhere, I feel myself irresistibly compelled to say a few words. I allude to that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause which enacts that no native of our Indian Empire shall, by reason of his colour, his descent, or his religion, be incapable of holding office. At the risk of being called by that nickname which is regarded as the most opprobrious of all nicknames by all men of selfish hearts and contracted minds, at the risk of being called a philosopher, I must say that to the last day of my life I shall be proud of having been one of those who assisted in the framing of the Bill which contains that clause. We are told that the time can never come when the natives of India can be admitted to high civil and military office ; we are told that this is the condition on which we hold our power ; we are told that we confer on our subjects every benefit which they are capable of enjoying. No !—which it is in our power to confer on them ? No ; but which we can confer on them without hazard to the perpetuity of our own domination. Against that proposition I solemnly protest as inconsistent alike with sound policy and sound morality. I am far, very far from wishing to proceed rashly in this most delicate matter. I feel that for the good of India itself the admission of natives to high office must be effected by slow degrees. But that when the fulness of time is come, when the heart of India requires the change, we ought to refuse to make that change, lest we should endanger our power, this is a doctrine of which I cannot think without indignation. Governments, like men, may buy existence too dear. *Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*, is a despicable policy, both in individuals and States."

In 1853 the Company's charter again came before Parliament, and on this occasion Mr. John Bright took up the parable of Burke and Macaulay, and enlarged on the necessity of a greater employment of natives in the service of the Government. He quoted from an important minute by Mr. H. Cameron, fourth member of Council in India, President of the Indian Law Commission, and of the Council of Education in Bengal. Mr. Bright's speeches are easily accessible, and I need not further refer to them ; but I would like to call attention to the now, I daresay, almost forgotten minute of Mr. Cameron's, as an able, eloquent, and instructive exposition of the higher ideal of Imperial policy. After a historical survey of the methods of administration pursued in other great Empires, especially the Roman, and the lessons of guidance and warning to be drawn from them, he concludes by insisting on the

one paramount necessity of "opening to our Indian subjects a career of indefinite advancement in every line." With this policy he contrasted that adopted since 1833:—"The Statute of 1833 made the natives of India eligible to all the offices under the Company. But during the past twenty years that have since elapsed not one of the natives has been appointed to any office except such as they were eligible to before the Statute."

In 1853 the old system of nomination to Haileybury was abolished, and an Act passed for open competition. A Committee was appointed to make suggestions on the carrying out of the Statute, and, after mature consideration, the maximum age was fixed at twenty-three. This Statute gave the first chance to natives of India to rise to higher posts, but it was not till 1863 that the first Indian candidate passed into the service. Meanwhile, in 1858, after the suppression of the Mutiny, lengthy discussions had taken place in Parliament on the different Bills transferring the Government of India to the Crown. Mr. Bright gave the key-note of a higher statesmanship when he said, "We want what I shall designate a new feeling in England, and an entirely new policy in India. We must in the future have India governed not for a handful of Englishmen, nor by that Civil Service whose praises are so constantly sounded in the House. You can govern India, if you like, for the good of England; but the good of England must come through the channels of the good of India." This spirit found utterance in the Royal Proclamation—"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bound us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our services, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward."

But apart from the promises held out in the year 1833 and repeated in the Royal Proclamation after the Mutiny, we have the recorded opinions of some of the ablest of Anglo-Indian administrators dating back to the days of the old East India Company, which show that the Home Authorities were backed up by those whose experience had been gained in India itself. I might quote from men like Munro, Malcolm, Elphinstone, and Henry Lawrence, to show how fully aware they were of the expediency and necessity of admitting natives of India to the public services. I will content myself with one extract. Sir

T. Munro, speaking of the Hindu character, wrote:—"Unless we suppose that they are inferior to us in natural talent, which there is no reason to believe, it is much more likely that they will be duly qualified for their employments than Europeans for theirs, because the field of selection is so much greater in the one than the other . . . What is in every age and every country the great stimulus to the pursuit of knowledge, but the prospect of fame, or wealth, or power? Or what is even the use of great attainments, if they are not to be devoted to their noblest purpose, the service of the community, by employing those who possess them, according to their respective qualifications, in the various duties of the public administration of the country? Our books alone will do little or nothing; dry, simple literature will never improve the character of a nation. To produce this effect it must open the road to wealth and honour and public employment. Without the prospect of such a reward no attainments in science will ever raise the character of a people." I would recommend the strong and sagacious common sense of early Anglo-Indian administrators like Munro, with their belief in native competence as a refreshing tonic to the feeble and foolish chatterers about native incapacity. He saw that the qualities requisite for public affairs can only be developed by public responsibilities.

In the year 1867 an interesting Blue-book was published, entitled "Correspondence regarding the Comparative Merits of British and Native Administration in India." Various minutes were written by Anglo-Indian officers of experience, and various opinions were given, but on one point there was a remarkable consensus, and that was that the greatest Indian grievance consisted in the exclusion of natives from the higher posts of the administration, and the increased want of touch between the Government and the governed. I will make one extract.

Sir Richard Temple wrote:—"Last year there appeared a thoughtful article in *The Calcutta Review* on the Native Press. It declared on an analysis of their own Press that the natives did not really complain of some evils of which we Europeans so often lament in our system . . . It classed their complaints under two heads, first that the British Government does not sufficiently associate in its administrative system the native gentry, and the more respectable classes; second, that the British Government does not allot to natives an adequate share of public patronage, and does not promote them sufficiently to lucrative offices in their own country. The shortcoming in the latter respect was particularly dangerous, inasmuch as State education was rearing up swarms of intellectual men whose

“ aspirations would never be satisfied by the narrow field now afforded. All this seemed to me but too true.”

“ On both these points,” adds Sir Richard, in a note, “ I have consulted Sir Salar Jung. He says that these complaints are of great importance, that he has known them repeated in a variety of forms and shapes, and that he has heard them often discussed in the trouble of 1857. He specified some of the honours and emoluments which natives may attain under their own rule, but from which they are debarred under British rule. He used to hear it asked how it was that some foreign rulers, as Aurungzebe, far more violent and troublesome than the British ever were, who did wrongs such as the latter never ventured to do, did not excite such animosity as seemed to rage against the British in some quarters. He thought that the answer might partly be found in this, namely, that none of our predecessors were ever so utterly foreign to the country as we are. that with all their faults they settled among and amalgamated themselves with the people, which we with all our virtues can never do. This he seems to think is the most insuperable of all objections against our rule.”

Since 1868 natives have been appointed to higher posts than before, especially in the subordinate judicial, and executive lines; but the spirit of the administration has remained the same, and the criticism directed against it, has, if anything, grown considerably stronger. The power of the Press for evil is increased, its power for good lessened by the fact that the critics and their friends, associates, and countrymen have not that close touch with public affairs, public officials, and public responsibilities which has made the writers in the Press of European countries feel the sobering restraints of their office. And when we speak of public employment in India, we must never forget how large a sphere it covers, and what is the result of making admission to it difficult to the natives of the country. India is a vast continent, and the Civil Service in India does not merely mean the various civil departments, superintending the administration of the laws affecting 200,000,000 persons, and corresponding to those in England, the Board of Trade, the Local Government Board, the Education Department, the Post Office, Inland Revenue, and the like; it includes also the largest portion of the railway staff, the engineers and doctors, the State's land agents; managers of forests, salt and coal mines, opium factories, who for the most part in the United Kingdom would be self-employed or the *employés* of private individuals or companies. To shut the door, therefore, of public employment against the natives of India, is to shut the door of some

of the most important industries in the country. The business of a money-lender, of a middleman, and a pleader, is after all not likely to satisfy the aspirations or develop the best qualities of the educated and intelligent classes, and the discontent of men, whose practical intelligence is untrained by responsible functions, is sure to be extravagant in its expression. To grant license of preaching to men who are necessarily excluded from many of the higher walks of life, whether in business or in the public service, seems to be the height of absurdity. Freedom of the Press can only work well when it is exercised by classes that enjoy political power, tempered by the sense of political responsibilities, and restrained by the checks of business instincts and professional interests. Social discipline must be the safeguard of political doctrine.

I pass on now to the second question. How far have the natural and legitimate aspirations of the natives of India been satisfied?

There are practically four different services by which the Government of India is carried on. First there is the Covenanted Service proper, so called because the members of it, selected (with the exception of some old Haileybury men) in England by the severe ordeal of open competition, have made distinct covenants with the Government whereby in return for their promises of service they have specific claims to certain posts in certain provinces of India, and are assured of a certain rate of pension, leave, and acting allowances. There are in India\* about 900 civilians holding practically all the higher administrative, secretarial, and judicial posts in the older or regulation provinces, and a large portion of similar posts in the non-regulation provinces. Next comes the service of military civilians, or officers in civil employ, nominated for the most part from the Indian Staff Corps or the Royal Engineers, and appointed to different kinds of posts in the non-regulation provinces, or to the police force, or public works department in regulation provinces. These military civilians amount to over 1600. Next comes the Statutory Service, established in 1870 (33 Vic.), whereby the Indian Government has the power to nominate natives of India of proved merit and ability to employment in the Covenanted Civil Service. After passing the higher standard of departmental examination they receive 64 per cent. of what would be the gross pay or salary of an office if held by a covenanted civilian proper. Of these there are about thirty. Lastly comes the great army of Uncovenanted Civilians holding for the most part the lower judicial, executive, and administrative posts in various departments, with

\* These figures are chiefly compiled from what is called Mr. Bright's return of 1881, which, roughly, still holds good. Of these about ten are Indians.



salaries of £100 a year and upwards, and composed in India of all sorts and conditions of men, nominated either by the Secretary of State for India, or the Viceroy, or the different local governments. This service is over 14,500 strong, of whom about 7500 are natives, 4400 Europeans, and 2600 Eurasians. The uncovenanted European civilians, it must be remarked, consist of two classes—first, those appointed by the Secretary of State for technical or special reasons after examination in England; second, those appointed in India without any previous examination or test; and though the term “uncovenanted” covers both classes, as distinguishing them from the Covenanted Service proper, yet it is to the second class that the term is most appropriate. Below the uncovenanted officers with salaries of £100 a year and upwards comes the still greater army of clerks, village officials, police, office messengers, and the like, with salaries of a few rupees a month and upwards. The salaries of the Covenanted Service, and to a great extent of the Uncovenanted Service, are fixed on a European scale, and it is only when we reach the rank and file proper that they are fixed on an Indian scale.

Taking the appointments of about £100 a year, it will be found that as a rule, in each province, the proportion of Europeans to natives is about equal, but as the former hold the higher posts and the latter the lower, the pay of the European staff is more than three times as much as that of the natives, or in round numbers, £4,847,000 to £1,421,083.

Let us take the case of Bombay, and see how the appointments are actually held. According to a reply of the late Mr. J. K. Cross to Mr. Gibson, on November 11th, 1884, there were on July 1st, 1884, 633 civil appointments in the Bombay Presidency, with salaries of 400 Rs. and upwards *per mensem*. They were distributed as follows:—159 were held by covenanted civil servants; 113 by natives of India (other than covenanted); 98 by military officers; and 263 by uncovenanted Europeans. There were also 57 medical appointments, of which 50 were led by military surgeons, 5 by natives of India, and 2 by uncovenanted Europeans.

These 361 posts held by military and uncovenanted civilians of European extraction are to be found in every branch of the administration, but chiefly in the political, financial and educational, forests, opium, salt, customs, survey, mint, public works, and police. They are all unreserved appointments in the sense that they are not specifically allotted to covenanted civilians, but they are practically reserved for Europeans.

To sum up, then, if we take all the civil appointments with salaries

of £100 and upwards, we shall find that half are held by Europeans and half by natives. If we take the appointments with salaries of £400 a year and upwards, we shall find one-fourth held by covenanted civilians, one fourth held by natives, and one-half held by uncovenanted or military European officers. But if we exclude the subordinate executive and judiciary staff which is now mainly native, we shall find that the other posts in the departments are held in the proportion of nine Europeans to one native. I have examined figures given as regards other provinces, and on the whole I find that the service, with allowances for the difference between regulation and non-regulation provinces, is on much the same footing, except as regards the post-office and education departments. *The Indian Spectator*, one of the most moderate native papers, had a series of articles on this question about two years ago, and summed up the native grievance as follows, in its concluding article (July 25th, 1885):—

“ Having briefly examined the main branches of the public service throughout the country, it now remains for us only to bring the subject to a close. We opened this series of articles with the remark, that the uncovenanted branch of the Civil Service was practically as much closed against the children of the soil as the covenanted branch of it. And we have proved the truth of this observation generally, as regards the employment of native gentlemen in all parts of India. We took up department after department, and showed that there was hardly any branch of the service in which any post, which was worth holding in the eyes of an European or Eurasian, was ever given to a native of the country. For instance, we have shown that there is not one single native officer in the opium departments in all India, although those departments have more than 125 officers. Again, the forest departments, which number above 140 officers, have only twelve natives. In the police the number of officers is about 425, and the number of natives among them does not amount to sixty. In the Public Works the officers number about 900, and that number hardly includes 200 natives. In the Preventive Service and Salt Department there are in Bengal alone 164 officers, and there is not one single native among them. Out of the fourteen officers in the Salt Department in Bombay, only one is a native. The proportion of natives in the other departments—namely, the Revenue, Survey, Financial, Telegraph, Customs, Jail, Subordinate Medical, &c.—is much the same. The grievance is twofold:—First, these departments are kept as a preserve for Europeans and Eurasians; second, the very few natives who are admitted into them are given the lowest post therein and often kept there all their term of service.

“ White striplings, who know no work, are admitted over their head  
 “ on respectable pay, and go on receiving promotion while learning  
 “ their work, and these men drudge on, on Rs. 100 or Rs. 200 a month  
 “ all their lives ! But it is not from these gazetted posts alone that  
 “ the natives of the country are excluded ; there are hundreds of other  
 “ posts which have no record, because they are not gazetted, which  
 “ also are kept as a preserve for Europeans and Eurasians. On the  
 “ railways, for instance, most of the ticket collectors, drivers, and  
 “ guards are Europeans. These men are not highly paid ; they draw  
 “ from between Rs. 50 to Rs. 80 or Rs. 90 a month. On such pay,  
 “ instead of uneducated and low-class Europeans or Eurasians, Govern-  
 “ ment could get educated natives of respectability. And yet  
 “ Government employ the former and keep out the latter ! But is  
 “ not providing for these classes the first duty of the British Govern-  
 “ ment ? Thus, it is not the Covenanted Civil Service alone which is  
 “ shut against us, but every branch of the Uncovenanted Civil Service.”

We are now in a position to gauge the grievances of the natives of India as regards the Public Service. They complain first, that they are practically excluded from the higher posts in the administration, owing to the fact that they can only gain admission through open competition in England, or by a very limited system of nomination in India. Their grievance on this head has been generally recognized. Secondly, they complain that they are excluded from the best posts open to Uncovenanted Service by the fact that the patronage is in the hands of the Secretary of State for India, or the Viceroy, or the Local Governments, with the inevitable result that this service has a tendency to become quite as close a service for Europeans as the Covenanted Service. Their complaint on this head has been held to be a justifiable one by the Home Authorities. On February 8th, 1868, Sir Stafford Northcote, when Secretary of State for India, wrote to the Viceroy :—“ There is a large class of appointments in the regula-  
 “ tion as well as in the non-regulation provinces, some of them scarcely  
 “ less honourable and lucrative than those reserved by law for the  
 “ Covenanted Civil Service to which the natives of India have certainly  
 “ a preferential claim, but which, as you seem to admit, have up to  
 “ this time been too exclusively conferred upon Europeans. These  
 “ persons, however competent, not having entered the service by the  
 “ prescribed channel, can have no claim on the patronage of the  
 “ Government, none, at least, that ought to be allowed to override the  
 “ inherent rights of the natives of the country, and therefore, while all  
 “ due consideration should be shown to well-deserving incumbents, both  
 “ as regards their present position and their promotion, there can be no

“ valid reason why the class of appointments which they now hold “ should not be filled in future by natives of ability and high character.” The recommendations of this dispatch, though approved of by the Indian Government, were practically nullified by its circular instructions of 1879. They are to the effect that no person other than a native of India shall be appointed to any office carrying a salary of Rs. 200 a month or upwards without the sanction in each case of the Governor-General in Council, unless the person appointed belongs to the Covenanted Civil Service, or to the Staff Corps, or was originally nominated by the Secretary of State or Government of India after examination either to—(1) Financial, (2) Forest and Educational departments; or unless the office to which the appointment is made belongs to any of the following departments:—(1) Opium, (2) Salt and Customs, (3) Survey, (4) Mint, (5) Public Works department, (6) Police. By this circular the door to the Uncovenanted Service was practically closed for natives of India in almost every direction, except in that of the Post-office. Since the issue of that circular some changes for the better have been made, especially in Lord Ripon’s time; but the spirit of it still regulates the policy of the Indian Government. Perhaps in no department have the claims of the natives of India been more decisively set aside than in that of Public Works. This department of the service is divided into three main branches—(1) that concerned with railways, (2) irrigation, (3) roads and buildings. Admitting that for the present a large number of Europeans are required for the first branch, what can be more unnecessary than to import highly-paid Europeans for the other two branches instead of employing natives? As regards irrigation, it is a notorious fact that all the best-paying irrigation works in India were originated by native talent, and you might just as well take a native village smith to teach Messrs. Armstrong to make a gun as take a Cooper’s Hill engineer to teach a native of India how to construct a canal, or a tank or a well. “Irrigation is indigenous to the country,” as was frankly admitted by Mr. Sowerby, an Anglo-Indian engineer, examined by the Committee of Public Works. And then as regards roads and buildings. Is it to be supposed that there are no native architects and contractors able to construct a police court, a jail, or a barrack, or lay out a road and keep it in repair? And yet which has been done? Instead of making use of and adding to Indian engineering colleges like that at Roorkee, Poona, Calcutta, and Madras, Cooper’s Hill College was founded some years ago at the cost of some thousands a year to India. It can only be called, to quote the words of Lient.-Col. Tyrrell, an

officer of fifteen years' experience as an executive engineer in various parts of India, "a disgraceful imposition on India."

Having considered the legitimacy of native demands and the recognition of native claims, I will now pass on to the further question, By what means can existing grievances be remedied? This is no easy problem to solve in view of the complex conditions of our Indian Empire; and it is necessary to put aside all rough-and-ready formulæ, and to go back to the first principles of political science, in order to find the key to the problem.

The leading native papers have on the whole supported the view that as open competition has already been adopted in England for the English and Indian Civil Service, so it must be adopted in India for the Indian Service, with the additional safeguard of two or three years' residence in England for successful candidates. But this view was not by any means adopted by all the native witnesses examined by the Commission. A considerable number of these gentlemen, especially those representing the landowning and Mahommedan interest, adduced very strong reasons why this method of selection should not be accepted, and their contention was largely supported by those Anglo-Indian officers who fully supported the policy of a larger admission of natives to the service.\*

Having to the best of my ability, and with every desire to do justice to native claims, weighed all the arguments adduced in support of open competition in India, I have come to the conclusion that this mode of selection is not the best for India. The solution is simple, but its very simplicity is to my mind the strongest argument against it. It is a principle adopted from English life and conditions; and, to quote the weighty words of Burke, "One cannot praise or "blame anything which relates to human actions or human concerns "on a simple view of the object as it stands, stripped of every relation, "in all the nakedness and solitude of metaphysical abstraction. "Circumstances which with some gentlemen pass for nothing, give in "reality to every political principle its distinguishing colours and "discriminating effect. The circumstances are what render every "civil and political scheme beneficial or noxious to mankind." Open competition in England for India may produce a good type of man for Indian work on account of the surrounding circumstances which practically safeguard that competition; but open competition in India for India is a vastly different thing.

In the first place, open competition in England is the necessary

\* I have read through the evidence of the various witnesses as summarized in Indian papers and have made free use of the arguments and opinions adduced.

outcome of the democratic movement of the present century for opening up a career for talent, energy, and enterprize in every direction. It is the logical sequel in the sphere of politics of the great changes which have taken place in the sphere of industry. It is a protest against the protectionism of patronage—a demand for free-trade in the public services. It has gone hand-in-hand with the abolition of pocket boroughs and close corporations, and the extension of the franchise and education. In the second place, it has, as far as the English Civil Service is concerned, been chiefly confined to those places which, for the very reason that they only required an average amount of intellectual ability, used to be given away to friends, relatives, and dependents of politicians without the nominee bringing any discredit on the person who nominated him. In such cases it was felt that the whole public had a right to a chance of the places, and that the test of open competition would give a better guarantee of capacity than the private selection by a patron. But this principle of selection has not been extended to the higher posts in the Civil Service, where it was recognized that exceptional ability was required, and where the importance and publicity of the work to be performed would be a sufficient safeguard for proper nomination. It is notorious that judges, police magistrates, county court judges, permanent heads of departments and their secretaries, poor-law and education inspectors, chief-constables, and the like, are not selected by any principle of open competition in virtue of which they gradually rise to these responsible posts. They are for the most part men who, in different spheres of life, have shown some special talent or made some special mark or undergone some special training, it may be at the Bar or in Parliament or in Literature, or at the Universities or in the Army or Navy, or in business. They have gone through some "struggle for existence" other than that of one open competition at the age of twenty, and have, after a process of natural selection, been regarded as qualified for public posts. The Civil Service in England is thus being continually recruited by fresh blood and fresh brains. It is in every sense an open service in its higher branches—open to men of varied capacities, varied characters, and varied careers; it is close only in its lower branches, confined to men who, having passed a test early in life, have closed the door on outsiders.

Now let us look at India. In spite of all the changes, economic and social, introduced by the British Government, in spite of the disturbance entailed by those changes, India, taken as a whole, remains, at least in ideas and feelings, much the same. An increasing mass of the people are engaged in agriculture, they still plough, sow,

and reap the land in much the same way that their ancestors have done for centuries, they use the same instruments, they apply the same manures, they grow the same crops as in the days of old, and cling perhaps all the more tenaciously to their immemorial customs and prejudices as they see the world around them change with unprecedented rapidity. The aristocratic sentiments of caste, status, and inequality, not the democratic sentiments of competition, contract, and equality, still rule their lives. The "New India," described by Mr. H. Cotton, may largely influence public opinion in the towns, but "Old India" still governs the country. In short, as Professor Seely has remarked, native India is not in the modern stage, it is in the mediæval stage, and, we might add, to some extent in the primæval stage. If I may be allowed to quote my own words, written some years since, "Nothing is so incorrect as to confound in "one category the Bengali Baboo with his veneer of Western culture, "the effect of more than a century of British rule on a facile race; "the proud but unlettered Rajpoot and unreceptive Sikh of Northern "India, still for the most part untainted by Western ideas and "clinging to memories of the historic past, and the hardy but semi-"savage hillman of the mountain ranges or the aboriginal jungle "tribesman of Central India and Burmah, but recently reclaimed from "almost an animal existence." There is quite as great, if not greater, difference between the different races of India as between the different races of Europe, and to take a method of recruiting the public service which is the outcome of the history of the most advanced section of modern Europe and apply it generally to mediæval and primæval India as a first principle of justice is to turn a formula into a fetish.

But not only is it proposed to have open competition in India for the lower and middle branches of the Indian Civil Service as in England for those of the English Civil Service; it is proposed to introduce it as the method of selecting men who are eventually to hold the highest offices in that service. The Indian competition-wallahs are to be in the future the statesmen, judges, the police magistrates, the State's land-agents, the chief constables, the presidents of representative local boards and councils, the organizers of famine relief, the originators of railway and irrigation works, the chief secretaries of the different State departments. It is argued that, as open competition in England supplies the best and fittest men for those posts in India, so open competition in India, held side by side with that in England, will equally supply the best and fittest men in India. The inference seems at first sight conclusive, but on examination it will be found to be full of fallacies. Open competition has, on the whole, worked

fairly well in England as a means of recruiting the Indian civilian, because it has been surrounded by automatic safeguards which would not apply to open competition in India. In the first place, by a process of natural selection, working through the minds of the parents or teachers of the candidates and the candidates themselves, strong, energetic and enterprising natures have for the most part offered themselves for a service which entails exile during the best years of life in a not very healthy climate and in most cases the interruption, if not the destruction, of domestic life. In the second place, the cost of preparation for the open competition has tended to confine the candidates to those classes which are able to train their sons in the best traditions of English school and college life; and in the third place the bracing atmosphere of English domestic, social, and political life calls forth a self-reliant and independent type of character which is fitted for the hard work and heavy responsibilities demanded of the Indian officer in any part of India. These safeguards are not to be found acting to anything like the same effect even in the case of the Indian candidate who is enterprising and energetic enough to come to England for open competition. Still the test is severe. He has to undergo exile at an early time of life, though it is only a temporary one; his parents have had to incur heavy expenses on his education with only an uncertain hope of a prize, he has to some extent breathed the bracing air of the West, though the conditions of domestic training and of school life are not of the same disciplinarian nature as are to be found in England. But if the candidate is to compete in India, none of these natural safeguards are secured. He may, as is proposed, be required to spend two or three years of adult life in England after he has passed his open competition, but it will be at the expense of the State and the prize is practically within his grasp. He will most certainly, owing to the fact of greater educational facilities having been offered by the Government to the less martial and ruling races and religions, and accepted by them, belong, not to the strongest and most dominant section of the Indian population, but to the weakest and least dominant, and he will not have been educated in those English surroundings that develop physical and moral force as well as intellectual facility. The guarantee given by the Indian competition-wallah under such circumstances will not, therefore, be of the same value as that given by his English compeer. The same work will be required of the English and Indian officer, and yet the one will only have been subjected to the test of what may be called an artificial selection, the other will have been subjected to the test of natural selection as well. The consequences will be most disastrous. It is



highly probable that as time went on a large number of Indian candidates would qualify for the higher posts of the Civil Service, and they would have to play their part in the government, not of their own docile countrymen, long since taught to obey foreign rulers, but of martial races only lately reclaimed from intestine warfare. In the Punjab, or Oudh, or the North-West they would be foreigners as much as English officers, but they would not be conscious of the prestige and authority of members of the dominant race, and yet they might hold executive posts superior to those held by the dominant race. The ultimate outcome would be the violation of the first principle of statesmanship laid down by all political thinkers since Aristotle—namely, that political power and physical force must be in the same hands.

But, it is replied, will not two or three years' training in England produce an Imperial type of character which is requisite for Imperial service? Surely character is not changed at this rate. Such training may no doubt give a certain amount of independence of mind to a native candidate, but I think it is much more likely to hamper his inherited force of will and natural common-sense, and to make him into a mechanical copyist of the worst qualities of Englishmen. The Bengali official would probably out-herod Herod in his Anglomania, and like the French democrat of last century, be wholly given up to the theory of government by formulæ. The Bengali has his own natural excellences, but the spectacle of the Bengali bureaucrat supported on the throne of the Great Mogul by British bayonets, suckled on the tinned milk and swathed in the red tape of British bureaus, is not, to my mind, to be regarded as the beatific vision of Imperial statesmanship. No; what we want is not to Anglicize, not to Bengalize India, not to produce a dull uniformity, not to sweep away all diversity of genius, manners and customs, but to foster diversity of native products, to fertilize the native soil, to improve the native seed, and to purify the native wells; to evoke a higher spirit in the heart of every native community, each native kingdom, to bring to the top those best qualified in every respect to be the leading men. It seems to me, therefore, that we must put aside as wholly impracticable, an Imperial open competition system in India, and lay down as the conditions of any larger admission of natives to the public service, first, that the method of selection must be provincial; second, that it must secure the admission of members of those classes who may be called the natural leaders of native society.

Starting, then, with the principle that the recruitment of natives for any higher posts must be conducted on provincial, or, to use a

term more appropriate to the diversities of races in India, racial lines, and that it must have regard to what I may call the process of natural selection and enlist members of those classes who would be regarded as men of position and character in their own country, we must next consider how the Civil Service is to be remodelled so as to admit the further employment of natives, and which is the best method, apart from open competition in India, of selecting the native civilians of the future.

The whole of the Civil Service should, I think, be separated into three main divisions, with an appropriate scale of salary and pension assigned to each grade. The highest grade should comprise the heads of the civil administration, the heads of departments, the heads of districts, with a requisite number of assistants preparing for the higher posts, the chief secretaries, the criminal magistrates, and the appeal judges on the civil side. It would roughly constitute the supervising agency, and for an indefinite time to come would remain, on the whole, European, whether recruited by open competition in England or by nomination in India, and the salaries, pensions, &c., must be fixed in view of its European character. There are three overwhelming reasons, to my mind, for its remaining European. The first is, that it is impossible to subordinate European to native officers where direct orders are personally given by the superior officer, without producing the most intolerable friction. The second is that you cannot expect the European staff to do its required work of supervision without guaranteeing a certain security of tenure so as to avoid any spirit of jealousy towards the native staff. And the third and strongest reason of all is, that it is impossible to separate the supreme civil and military powers of the State, and that if the army is to remain for the most part in European hands—and I do not find that the leaders of educated native opinion propose anything else for a long time to come—the civil administration must be controlled by Europeans also. The separation of the two powers is absolutely unprecedented in any system of Government yet tried, and would cause infinitely more friction between Europeans and non-Europeans than exists at present. It would tend to brutalize the army by the increase of the military spirit, and would tend to emasculate the Civil Service by lowering its feeling of authority. An European Civil Service is a necessary buffer between the colliding forces of the dominant and non-dominant races, and this is especially necessary where, owing to the absence of social amalgamation, caused in other conquered countries by the intermarriage of rulers and ruled, the feeling of antagonism does not get softened by time. This division of the Civil Service, while being kept on the whole European, should be

limited to the smallest number of officers required to carry on the administration, and a careful calculation should be made of the proper number of annual recruits, so as to allow of a man rising to an independent post when still in the prime of life, say at about 35. The age of candidates selected by competition should, I think, be raised to 21, if not to 22 or 23, in order that men of wider experience, maturer judgment, and greater knowledge of the world may be sent out to India. For we must not forget what are the situations held by Europeans in India, even in the lower places of the Civil Service. They are, to use Burke's words, "the situations of great statesmen which, according to the practice of the world, require to fill properly rather a larger converse with men and much intercourse in life than deep study of books, though that too has eminent service. We know that in the habits of civilized life in cultivated society there is imbibed by men a good deal of the solid practice of government of the true maxims of State, and everything that enables a man to serve his country." Such training is still more necessary in India than it was fifty years ago, because there is less of that administrative independence and individual responsibility which used to quickly develop the character and judgment of even young officers, and with the increase of Anglo-Indian society and the closer contact of India and England there is less social intercourse with native gentry than there used to be. The growing authority of every bureaucratic régime forces into its ordained course the personality of each new-comer, and, the younger he is, the more likely he is to fall completely into official grooves, and the less likely to keep his mind open for the assimilation of extra-official ideas. This is especially the danger in India, where the existence of a somewhat secretive system of Government puts a great obstacle in the way of the formation of vigilant and powerful criticism outside the official body. In his minute on this question, Lord Ripon strongly insisted on this consideration: "It is important that the men who enter the Indian Civil Service should be men trained by the best English methods and thoroughly imbued with the highest English thought. The influences to which English youths are exposed in this country are to no small extent of a narrow kind, powerful in a limited society, but not calculated to keep alive the best tendencies of English opinion. The boy whose real education is stopped at eighteen or earlier, and who after that age, instead of receiving the widest and most complete education of the day, is thenceforth to be trained specially for an Indian career, will not have acquired before he arrives in India that grasp of sound principles, moral, economical and political, which it is of the utmost

“ importance that as the future representative of English opinion and  
 “ feeling among the natives of India he should possess. What we want in  
 “ India are English men in the best and fullest meaning of the term,  
 “ able to hold their own in the midst of narrowing influences and local  
 “ prejudices, not English boys who are too young and too unformed in  
 “ character not to fall, as a rule, into the current of the opinion in the  
 “ midst of which their lot is cast.” Not only would a higher age for  
 open competition bring to India men of larger experience and wider  
 culture, it would in all probability raise the social status of the candi-  
 dates. It has been stated to me on the best authority, that we have,  
 since the age was lowered, been sending out to India a lower type of  
 social man, and this has been attributed to the fact that parents of a  
 socially inferior grade make up their minds more quickly as regards  
 their sons’ careers, while parents of higher social status, who generally  
 send their sons to the Universities, have a tendency to postpone the  
 choice of a profession. When their sons begin to decide for themselves  
 they find an Indian career closed. Some may think that India is none  
 the worse for losing such men, but as a fact it suffers to a serious  
 extent from the absence of some valuable qualities in its rulers, and  
 those for the most part the instinctive outcome of hereditary breeding—  
 tact, courtesy, and dignity of demeanour. No one who has been in  
 India can fail to appreciate the remark of the late W. Bagehot, that  
 good manners play a much more important part in the world, the  
 further you go East. In the land of castes, ceremonies, and customs  
 like India, any rudeness of manner is particularly resented and brings  
 discredit on the Government. The growing number of a somewhat  
 rough class of Englishmen engaged in trade or on the railways and  
 public works, &c., makes it particularly necessary for the official  
 classes to set an example of politeness and courtesy. The old tradi-  
 tions which used under the Haileyhury nomination system to be handed  
 down in Anglo-Indian families, ought to be preserved as much as  
 possible under the open competition system.

Apart, therefore, from any Indian grievance in the matter, I think  
 the age for open competition ought to be raised, in order that every  
 opportunity may be given for securing the very best possible type of  
 Englishmen for the highest posts in the Indian administration. I  
 believe that the chief cause of the lowering of the age has been  
 the jealousy between the head-masters of public schools and what are  
 called the “crammers,” and that now that it is found by experience  
 that the lower age does not prevent “cramming,” but merely takes  
 away boys from school during the very best time of school training, it  
 is to be hoped that the authorities in the India Office will see their

way to returning, if not to the limit originally laid down by Macaulay's Committee, at least to the limit that was afterwards adopted. Whether Indian candidates profit or not by the change—and some think that the lower age is more favourable to precocious races—there can be no doubt but that India will gain immensely. But while selection by open competition remains the chief method of recruiting the upper ranks of the Civil Service, it is most desirable that nomination in India should still be maintained. By this means not only would Europeans, as now, be appointed to higher posts, but it would be possible to gradually promote natives of proved merit and ability who had already served in the second great division of the Service, and who, having worked their way up to the highest grade in that division, might have shown their qualification for independent posts. In this way the easier districts might eventually be handed over experimentally to a native staff, which, under the proposed changes, would have been trained in higher work than is now possible.

After clearly marking off the first division of the Civil Service which is to remain on an Imperial basis, we now come to the second division, which is to be strictly provincial. It will include all the subordinate executive posts, all the judicial staff on the civil side up to sessions judges, and all the varied administrative posts in the different departments now filled by what is roughly called uncovenanted civilians. The question is, On what principle are these posts to be filled? The reply of leaders of native opinion is—open competition held at the capital of the Province. It is urged that granting that Imperial open competition is not the best method of recruiting for the higher posts in the public service, yet for the second grade posts it is the fairest and the most suitable method, and that there at least the analogy drawn from the English Civil Service is to the point. So far as the more routine desk work of Government offices is concerned, no doubt open competition might secure the proper kind of man, at least in the older British provinces, but it must not be forgotten that a great portion of the work required of Indian officers, even of the second grade, is of the executive kind, requiring independence, energy, tact, judgment, and knowledge of the world. Many of the objections, therefore, which I have already urged against Imperial open competition for the higher posts of the Civil Service tell equally well against this method of recruiting provincially for the intermediate grade. In order by open competition to get men best fitted for this kind of work you must make two assumptions; first, that the classes best fitted by social and domestic antecedents for executive work are willing to compete; secondly, that they are, in virtue of educational

opportunities, able to compete. This is roughly true in England as regards the officers of the Army and Navy. Education in England was begun from the top of the social scale, and "open competition" for "the Services" has not on the whole changed the type of man which is to be found in the Army and Navy. He may be rather poorer, but his social traditions and training are of much the same, if not a better, quality than before. Moreover, in the Army or Navy the test of efficiency is applied more strictly and continuously during an officer's career than it is in the case of a civilian, and the rough work itself weeds out the unfit. But in India, except possibly in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and one or two other fairly Anglicized towns, it would not be possible to secure by open competition the men best fitted for executive civil work. Outside these centres the members of the upper classes, the natural aristocracy for whom the mass of the people entertain a hereditary and instinctive respect, are not as a fact willing to rub shoulders with men whom they regard as socially inferior to themselves; nor, if they are willing, have they hitherto had that education at their command which would allow them to compete with a fair chance of success. Hence open competition, even if worked on a provincial basis, would have a tendency to secure not the fittest men, regarded from the point of view of social surroundings, character, and physique, but the unfittest men, and would thereby, I believe, produce results more repellent to genuine native opinion than the present system. To receive orders from men belonging to the dominant race, and that a foreign one, is one thing; to receive orders from members of a non-dominant race, and regarded locally and socially as inferiors, is quite another. Such an ultra-democratic arrangement would be absolutely repugnant to an aristocratically-minded society.

But much of the work done by officers of the second grade requires special training and special experience, which can only be gained by the continuous competition of life, which gradually brings the fittest to the top. The Government makes railways and irrigation works, plants forests, supervises opium, builds barracks, jails, bridges, and the like, and for these works it requires the best available talent to be got in the open market. No private firm engaged in any of these undertakings would dream of promoting men to important posts requiring special skill and special experience merely because they had passed a general intellectual test at twenty or twenty-three, whereas the very essence of a close public service is that, except for some weighty reasons, seniority, not skill, has an inevitable tendency to be adopted as the principle of promotion. Instead, therefore, of establishing in India an indigenous close service for technical

purposes on the lines of a foreign service, it is desirable, if such a service is maintained, to proceed on the lines followed by all European Governments and open a public career to any men of special ability. The same holds good of the judicial service. Indian experience has here entirely corroborated English experience that the best judges are those who have come to the top through the competition of the Bar, and to institute a close public service would be to deprive the Government of some of the best material and to deprive it of that element of variety of experience and versatility of talent that are only produced where there is a fair field and no favour.

It seems to me, therefore, that except for routine office work, which only requires the test of industry and intelligence, it is absolutely necessary to retain the principle of nomination for the second great division of the Civil Service, but, to prevent the power of nomination being abused by European officials in favour of their own countrymen, this division of the service should be regarded as primarily intended for natives fitted for the work. Let the Statutory Service, as an awkward appendage to the Covenanted Service, be abolished, and let there be a new Statutory Service created, including higher executive posts than are at present assigned to the uncovenanted civilian. Let it be, in gradually increasing proportions, recruited from the natives of India, and let the salary, furlough, allowance, and pensions be fixed on an Indian scale. If this second division of the service were to be regarded as primarily a native service, the selection of men of merit and ability would be much more easily secured, because the European supervising agency would be distinctly interested in getting able native subordinates, as their judgment would not be biassed by the choice between a European and a native. As a further safeguard, the nomination of officers to posts in this service might be given to different European authorities, so that the patronage might be distributed as widely as possible. The High Courts and the Universities might respectively recommend candidates for the Judicial and Educational Services, while the Board of Revenue and the different Commissioners and district officers would be best acquainted with suitable men for administrative work. Cadets of landed families might be drafted from the native army, just as English officers are now passed on to civil work through the Staff Corps, and those who had distinguished themselves as public-spirited administrators on the local boards might be rewarded with salaried berths in the public service. The head of the local government would retain the power of selection among the nominees, and if the exercise of its patronage were strictly controlled by regular

returns to Parliament, there is no reason to suppose that native claims would not be properly satisfied.

The ability and integrity of the native judiciary on the civil side has been so unanimously applauded that all that has to be done is to gradually open higher posts, but it is not so equally well-known that there are in every district native officers doing excellent work in the executive line. The deputy collectors, tehsildars, and the like form the working staff of each district, and might certainly be entrusted with higher duties.

It is notorious that in the North-West provinces, for instance, you may find many an European doing for years exactly similar work to that of a native at a considerably higher rate of pay. The theory is that the European officer is qualifying for higher work, but, as he is kept for more than half his term of service at the lower work, the State is forced to pay to one European officer a sum which would be sufficient for three natives. It has been calculated that for each native officer so employed instead of a European the State would save three lakhs of rupees in salary, pension, and furlough allowances. The authority of Sir James Caird may be quoted as to the increased efficiency as well as increased economy likely to be secured by thus leaving the whole details of revenue and judicial administration to native officials. "The immediate management of the people," he wrote after his inquiry in India, "would then be conducted by chosen men of their own race, whose knowledge of their language, feelings, and motives of action so far surpasses ours that success might be anticipated. They know better the weak side of native character and native public opinion and can more successfully deal with personal differences and compromises. 'It would be an advantage of incalculable value,' said Mountstuart Elphinstone, 'that the judges, being drawn from the body of the people, could act on no principles that were not generally understood.' With a knowledge that promotion would be the reward of general prosperity and content, and degradation and loss of office would be the swift punishment of oppression and neglect, their successful management in some of the native States, as in our own, shows that the details of the Civil Service of the country might be safely entrusted to them. The Civil and Judicial Service would then be conducted at a much lower cost than at present. The high scale of pay which the European requires is not necessary to the native, who makes no similar sacrifice in regard to climate and whose simple wants are cheaply satisfied."

As regards the Public Works department, the chief aim should be not to retain it as a State service on its present gigantic scale, but to



break it up and hand over as much of its work as is possible to private enterprise. At present it controls the annual expenditure of about £24,000,000, distributed between State railways, irrigation works, roads and buildings, and, deducting the receipts, entails a charge of about £5,500,000 a year on the tax-payer of India. From time to time the order goes forth to cut down expenditure, and though for a year or so less money is spent on new work and repairs—the latter entailing more outlay in the long run—yet the burden of establishments cannot be lightened, and soon the very fact of their existence stimulates the cry for further construction. The machinery must be kept at work. Hence no real retrenchment is possible until the establishments are cut down to the very smallest scale, and the present system of recruiting highly salaried European engineers with special covenants, trained at Cooper's Hill College, exchanged for that of employing a cheaper native agency, whether trained in the Indian engineering colleges, or tested by success in private business. Sir James Caird strongly supported this reform in his Famine Memorandum :—“The very costly department of Public Works,” he wrote, “as a general office connected with the Viceregal Government, should be closed, and each province should carry on its works as it found most desirable, and as its finances admitted. Native engineering talent should be cultivated, and full scope given to it. Of the large body of officers employed in the Public Works department in India, nearly four-fifths are English, and the native *employés* are generally kept in the most subordinate positions. Native engineering talent has thus not only little encouragement, but has been kept down by the present system. The existence of it is undoubted, but the men who would have been found to direct in former times are gradually disappearing. They were the hereditary leading masons, who still in the native States keep their pre-eminence. Their merit and artistic taste have been always fully appreciated by the English engineers and contractors, and their special skill in irrigation works, in a country where the chief art has been the economical use of water, is fully recognized. This class of men working in conjunction with the native banker, who manages the accounts, might become native contractors, either of whole or sections of works, and take the place of more costly Europeans. The elaborate amount of English book-keeping and correspondence required by the Public Works department, for which they are not fit, has excluded their practical and useful assistance from being taken full advantage of, and has necessitated the introduction of an entirely new class of overseer in the native of Bengal. If, instead of a central department attempting to deal with all India, each

“ province were left to its own guidance and responsibility, local wants  
 “ would be listened to, local interests and sympathy would be aroused,  
 “ public works would not be prematurely urged, and those most urgently  
 “ needed would be attended to. The local gentry, and native engineers  
 “ and contractors would be called on to take a share in local adminis-  
 “ tration, and native engineers and contractors would be consulted and  
 “ employed.” It would be easy to show by extracts from the Blue-  
 books on Local Self-Government how entirely these conclusions of Sir  
 James Caird’s were corroborated by the district officers who were  
 consulted in the different provinces by Lord Ripon’s Government on  
 this very matter. And experience has only too surely shown that the  
 success of the local self-government scheme, specially in rural districts,  
 depends upon the question whether the local boards are to be stifled  
 by the red-tape exigencies, and starved by the reckless extravagance  
 of the Public Works department. Unless the local boards under the  
 supervision of the district officer, advised possibly by a supervising  
 European engineer, are allowed to carry out their own works out of  
 their own local funds, and by means of their own local contractors,  
 their independence and responsibility is practically destroyed.

There remain the essentially Imperial departments of post-office,  
 telegraph, salt, customs, mint and finance. In these branches of the Civil  
 Service, where the work is of a routine nature and where industry and  
 intelligence are the chief qualities required, there seems no reason to  
 suppose that open competition held in India would not supply the  
 necessary rank and file of the service, proper supervision being  
 secured, as in the case of the higher branches of the general adminis-  
 tration, by a different principle of appointment. Adequate salaries, and  
 strict control would no doubt supply a sufficient safeguard against  
 the possible dishonesty of officials exposed to corrupting influences.

To sum up, then, these are the main principles on which it is  
 proposed that the Indian administration should be remodelled. First,  
 there should be an Imperial supervising agency mainly European,  
 partly recruited by open competition in England, partly by nomination  
 in India of men of exceptional merit and ability already tried either in  
 the second division of the Civil Service or in the native army. Second,  
 there should be Provincial Services, mainly Indian, composed of men  
 selected by the different local governments from among candidates  
 nominated by the chief provincial authorities, and tested by a proba-  
 tionary period of work where no prior proof of efficiency is forthcoming.  
 Third, selection by open competition should be reserved for such  
 posts, whether in the Imperial or Provincial Administration, which  
 merely require such qualities of industry and intelligence as can be

adequately tested by examination. The aim of the Government should be to enlist in the different branches of its service those men who are most fitted by their training to perform well the duties required of them, and training must be understood to mean not merely that of the school and college, but of domestic traditions, social position, worldly experience and professional success.

Whether the lines traced out in the above scheme are the best lines or not on which to proceed,—and on this point there must necessarily be a large difference of opinion,—there is, I believe, an overwhelming body of reasons for adopting some method for further associating the natives of India in the work of administration. Apart from the necessity of giving a career to the honourable ambition of the upper and middle classes, of disarming criticism by directing it against native officials, of making the critics feel the responsibilities of action and restraints of public opinion, of diminishing the growing outlay on the Civil Service, of bringing the Government more in touch with genuine native opinion through native officials, there is one other consideration which is to my mind of enormous importance to the welfare of India. Nothing is more fatal to any country, and especially to an Oriental country, where natural conditions, social customs, and religious convictions tend to encourage apathy, than that the sphere of governmental action should be continually on the increase. And if this is true of a native government, *à fortiori* is it true of a foreign one. A foreign government, representing a higher civilization, not only disarms the native population and substitutes the reign of law for the reign of force, but it to a great extent undertakes the duty of protecting the country against external attacks. It thereby necessarily depresses the martial spirit of the people and is in danger of destroying the core of self-reliant, self-protecting manhood. If, in addition to this function of protecting the people from physical force within and without, it proceeds not only to carry on the civil administration but to absorb into itself various other activities of trade and industry, it goes still further towards undermining the moral and mental energies of the people. Meanwhile, with the removal of the old physical checks, population increases at an unprecedented pace, and periodical decimation by famine, with its attendant demoralization, can only be avoided by the growth of prudential checks. The part played by the military spirit must now be played by the industrial spirit, and this can only be developed by the growth of practical intelligence, individual energy, business enterprise, professional talent, and of public spirit. Otherwise, an ever increasing population of improvident and spiritless peasants, dependent on State-support, must end in national degeneration and decay.

This is to my mind the greatest danger awaiting India, owing to the continual growth of Government departments, which do not merely supervise private enterprise, as in the West, but actually supersede it. "The Government of India," wrote Sir A. Colvin in the financial statement of March, 1884, "in its character of railway constructor, and in its control of various individual or commercial operations, undertakes large, varied, and expensive enterprises. . . . It constructs railways and telegraphs, conserves or creates forests, makes and excavates salt, provides savings banks, digs canals and tanks, organizes and controls mechanical workshops and foundries, prospects for coal, provides funds for agricultural or industrial experiments, and subscribes to economical exhibitions. It holds a large opium monopoly." It seems, as one reads through this catalogue of colossal undertakings, with all the capital, skill, enterprise, and intelligence involved in them, that it is a proud thing for a government to do so much for the people; but our next thought is how enervating a thing it must be for the people to have so little left for them to do for themselves. Think of all the spontaneous activity that has been suppressed by governmental interference; think of all the investments for private capital destroyed; think of all the inevitable waste and jobbery which necessarily go hand-in-hand with State-managed industries; think of the red tape and routine of officialism, instead of the elasticity and versatility of private business, and then ask yourselves whether this continual increase of State action will not end in financial ruin and national death. This fatal tendency of British rule in India towards State Socialism must be put a stop to, and the only way in which this can be done is by making it the interest of the British Government and the British functionaries to lessen the sphere of their operations. The increase of departments in India is, no doubt, partly due to a genuine belief in governmental remedies, partly to the hope of increased revenues, but it is largely due to the inevitable and almost unconscious desire of British officials to increase the number of official berths for themselves, their relatives, friends, and fellow-countrymen. Human nature is much the same everywhere, and beneath many a fair fabric of bureaucratic benevolence there lurks the serpent of private self-interest. And even if the self-interest has no hand in the original construction, there soon creep in and cling to it all kinds of parasitical growths, interested in finding a snug home, secure in salaried competence. As structure after structure rises, and establishment after establishment grows, the belief in their natural necessity spreads, and the bond that unites the servants in their maintenance gets closer and closer, and their bias more and more corrupt. The only remedy is

to break up the bloated establishments, to make it the interest and duty of the supervising staff to criticize the subordinate staff, and the subordinate staff to criticize the supervising staff. When the upper servants find that they have no interest in the lower berths, they will help to cut them down, especially if they find that their own salaries may be ruthlessly curtailed if they do not initiate a policy of retrenchment. This contraction of State interference and State service would, I believe, soon result from the changes in the administration which I have advocated, and it would not only lighten the financial burdens of the State but confer enormous benefits on the people generally.

In conclusion, I cannot do better than quote the words of Professor Fawcett, to whose sober advocacy of sound reform India owes so much. "The question of a larger employment of natives in the public service," he wrote in 1879, "is alike important, whether regarded in its political or its financial aspects. There is no surer way of attaching the people of India to our rule than to place within their reach an education which will fit them for the public service, and then to freely open to them all positions which they are qualified to fill. In spite of repeated pledges that no unnecessary barriers should be placed in the way of natives obtaining admission to the public service, it is now officially acknowledged that the efforts to give these pledges practical effect have been spasmodic, unsystematic, and altogether incomprehensible to the mass of the native population; while the great increase in the number of Europeans in some branches of the public service and various other acts may have seemed to them to be a partial violation of this policy. It cannot be denied that whatever may have been the intentions of successive Secretaries of State, very little progress has been made in giving effect to it."\* As may be seen from these joint utterances the question is no party-question. It is an Imperial question of the most vital importance.† Anglo-Indian administrators

\* See Budget speech of Mr. Stanhope, House of Commons, May 22, 1879.

† No part of India has ever been more economically and more efficiently administered than Mysore under the régime (1832-1857) of Sir Mark Cubbon. The principle of his administration was the employment of a native staff carefully supervised by four Europeans at the cost of £13,000 a year for the European agency. The native system of revenue assessment, and of keeping the accounts was retained, simple rules for the administration of justice were issued, and small public works, suited to the country, carried out by the natives themselves. Taxes were reduced, and yet the revenues were increased. Between 1857 and 1875, the country was gradually drained by the increased cost, amounting to £90,000 a year, of European administration, by a public works department and a new land-settlement, and finally exhausted by the famine of 1875-78. For a full account see *Discontent and Danger in India*, pp. 31-36, and 108-113.

of the widest experience and British statesmen of the highest position have again and again admitted the existence of this grievance, and no better proof could be given of goodwill to India in the year of the Queen's Jubilee than the promulgation of some statesmanlike scheme for a much larger association of natives of India in the government of our Indian empire.

The CHAIRMAN having invited discussion subject to the ten minutes' rule of the Association,

Mr. LAKSHMI NARAYANA said: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—I think Mr. Connell has done fullest justice to the important subject that he has treated of; especially may this be said of that portion where he handled the legitimacy of the Indian demand for further admission into the Civil Service of their country by Indians, and the extent which that demand has been met up to the present time. He conclusively proved that the British Government has not adequately satisfied the legitimate demands of educated India, and therefore their discontent on this question is most reasonable. So far Mr. Connell was fair and outspoken, but when he came to the third head of his paper, as to the best method of satisfying our just claims to extended employment in the Civil Service, I was disappointed. I thought that some really just solution would follow so impartial and forcible a statement of our case, but, to my great regret, that he has not done. Mr. Connell says that he would increase the age of candidates from 19 to 21, but he would not make any change in the present rules. His opinion is, that Indian youths ought to come to England in order to compete in the Civil Service examinations, and that examinations ought not to be held simultaneously in India. The reason that he gives for this opinion is, that the surrounding circumstances of residence in England by Indian candidates are calculated to produce good and fitter men than by exclusive training in India. We admit this as being a, though not very important, reason in favour of his opinion; but Mr. Connell is aware of our reply to it. We say, let the examinations be held in India, and that it shall be imperative for successful candidates to come to England to pass two years of probation in some English University. In my humble opinion, Mr. Connell's reply to this plan is weak, and may be easily disposed of. He says, "It no doubt may give a certain amount of that character required for the Imperial service to the Indian candidate, but it is much more likely to hamper his inherited force of will and natural common sense, and to make him a mechanical copyist of the

worst qualities of Englishmen." I ask Mr. Connell why the same reason should not apply to a youth of two years below the age of competition? I think Mr. Connell has unnecessarily laboured to prove that the candidates competing at the examinations in England will naturally be the fittest persons for the Civil Service in India. This seems somewhat contradictory to his introductory remarks, and to the authorities whom he has quoted. If my limited experience goes for anything, many of the English youths who get admission into the Indian Civil Service are not of a very high class, and for this reason I would advocate the transfer of all the Civil Service examinations to India, so that only those English youths may be able to compete in examinations in India whose parents are well-to-do, and who belong to the higher classes in England. The first Committee, which was formed for framing rules and regulations for the Indian Civil Service, of which Lord Macaulay was Chairman, recommended that the maximum age of candidates should be fixed at 23, and that recommendation was accepted and given effect to. In 1859-60, when Lord Stanley, now the Earl of Derby, was Secretary of State for India, he suddenly reduced the maximum of age from 23 to 22, and Mr. Pestonji Hurjeebhoj Wadia, who was then preparing to go up for the examination, found himself disappointed. The people of India naturally suspected that the alteration had been deliberately made with a view to disqualify the only Indian candidate who had till then ventured to proceed to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service, and it must be confessed that the suspicion was not without some foundation. Lord Stanley gave no sufficient reason to justify the reduction, which moreover was effected without any previous intimation. Mr. Satyendra Nath Tagore was the first native of India who passed the Civil Service examination. He entered the service in 1863, when he was in his 21st year, and two years later the maximum limit of age was again reduced from 22 to 21. This reduction had the effect of disqualifying one or two more Indian candidates who were then in England, and strengthened the suspicion that the change had been dictated by considerations not wholly unconnected with the prospects of Indian candidates. Between 1869 and 1873 no less than eight natives of India obtained admission to the Civil Service by passing the competitive examination in London, not one of whom was under 19. It was, therefore, probably thought that a further reduction of the maximum limit of age from 21 to 19 years would practically have the effect of shutting out Indian candidates from the Civil Service. Besides the limit of age there is another difficulty in the way of Indian candidates entering the Civil Service. The subjects prescribed for

the examination are such as require special training by the native candidate, whilst the only subjects in which he is at no disadvantage with his English competitor are the very subjects in which the maximum number of marks obtainable has been reduced. This is a subject which is not touched upon in Mr. Connell's paper, but it is one that deserves careful consideration. I had much more to say on this subject, but the time fixed for each speaker has elapsed.

The Rt. Hon. CHAIRMAN: I will now call upon Mr. Martin Wood, who has spent many years in Bombay, and is very familiar with Indian topics.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD: This paper is a very full one, and abounds with many details into which it is difficult for one to enter in the short time allotted. There are certain propositions and principles, however, that we should bear in mind all through. For instance, Mr. Connell states in his earlier pages, what is the demand made by the people of India. That may be put in this way:—To share on equal terms with all other citizens of the British Empire in the government of their country; and again, as quoted from Mr. Cameron, "to open to our Indian subjects a career of indefinite advancement in every line." On page 262 Lord Macaulay is quoted in that memorable speech on the passing of the Indian Charter Act of 1833, in which he solemnly protested against the doctrine that we should limit that possibility of advancement by any fear of the continuance of our domination. He certainly did not wish to lessen the power of England over India, but he had faith in these principles of political right and was determined to trust to them to the utmost. Then, going back to earlier authorities, we have that broad-minded man, Sir Thomas Munro, who said, "We must open the road to wealth and honour and public employment; without the prospect of such a reward no attainments in science will ever raise the character of a people." Mr. Connell has very properly referred to that very interesting Blue-Book published in 1867, entitled "Correspondence regarding the Comparative Merits of British and Native Administration in India," in which as he says, "On one point there was a remarkable consensus of opinion, and that was that the greatest Indian grievance consisted in the exclusion of natives from the higher posts of the administration and the increased want of touch between the Government and the governed;" and in support of that statement Mr. Connell quotes Sir Richard Temple and Sir Salar Jung. Then, the writer of the paper



admits fully that the demand is a natural and a legitimate one. The legitimacy of the demand has been established, as he says, by the Charter Act of 1833, and again, by the Act establishing the system of competition in 1853. It has been remarked that no native of India came forward and passed the examinations until 1863; but upon that point we must bear in mind the instance quoted by the last speaker, where a promising young Parsi student, Mr. Pestonji Hurjeebhoy Wadia, who was preparing to go up for the examination, was prevented by a capricious change in the regulations. You, Sir, made a very memorable reference to that incident in one of your speeches to the House about that time. Then, again, as to authority we have the Royal Proclamation in 1858, in which it was promised that no native should "by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour be disabled "from holding any place or office." And now comes the question whether that demand has been satisfied? Mr. Connell meets that at page 266, where he says that out of 900 civilians holding practically all the higher administrative, secretarial and judicial posts there are only ten natives of India. There are besides thirty in the Statutory Service—that Statutory Service which satisfies no one, not even Mr. Connell. Then, again, as he points out on pages 268 and 269, there is the great army of the Uncovenanted civilians, numbering 14,500, of whom about half are natives of the country. With regard to that service Sir Stafford Northcote, in 1868, sent out a dispatch in which he pointed out that the Uncovenanted Service was too exclusively occupied by Europeans who had not entered after fair competition but had gained their appointments by favouritism of various kinds. That dispatch laid down the doctrine that those persons had no claim or right to over-ride "the inherent right of the natives of India to "occupy those positions." That was Sir Stafford Northcote's phrase and a very important one it is. Those directions of his that were sent out were disregarded by the authorities of India until the Circular Instructions of 1879 were issued which, as Mr. Connell says (and I am inclined to agree with him) went far to nullify the object with which the Secretary of State framed those liberally intended regulations. But the great question raised by Mr. Connell's paper is as to the method of admission to the Covenanted Service. He says, on page 271, that after having weighed all the arguments for open competition he considers that it is not the best method. Well, it is very easy to criticize competitive systems, especially when they are incomplete and badly organized, as this one has been in many respects; but if you set that aside you must fall back upon nomination or patronage or favouritism in some shape or other. (Hear, hear.) That alternative

is shown in the latter part of Mr. Connell's paper, where he opens up such a vista of nominations by favouritism, such a scramble for place as must make one shudder to think of what the consequences would be in India. Mr. Connell remarks that the competitive system is not applied to the higher Civil Service here, referring of course to the Parliamentary posts—cabinet ministers and other executive administrators. But that is no analogy with the Indian system. The only parts of the Indian service that are in an analogous position to those are the Governor-Generals, the two Governors, and a few of the Judges; all the rest come under a different category, and are on a similar footing to that of the permanent department here. We must always remember there is an essential difference between the two countries. In England, and in Europe generally, the basis of power and politics is the representative system. In India power goes downwards; it is from participation in administrative position and work and responsibility; and that participation, we say, must be essentially on some basis of equality of admission. Mr. Connell says we must go back to first principles; I quite agree with him; but those principles are set out on pages 261 to 263. We have there the testimonies as to first principles of Peel, Macaulay, Munro, Malcolm, Elphinstone, and the beloved Henry Lawrence. Just contrast those principles with Mr. Connell's efforts at pages 272 to 275, to adapt or rather to constrain those declarations of principle within an artificial system that he has devised for the Services, and you will be inclined to exclaim, "What a falling off is there!" (Hear, hear.) As usual with many writers on this subject, Mr. Connell's bugbear is the Bengali Baboo, and on page 273 Mr. Connell has repeated a passage that he wrote some years ago. He begins his list with the Bengali Baboo and runs down to that hairy man the Bheel. But he really need not have done this, for that passage is one with which in various forms we are too familiar as coming from those who oppose anything like the equal impartial admission of the people of India to the public service. You will find it in the papers of Calcutta and the North-West Provinces constantly, and in some higher places too. It is entirely inapplicable. It is a classification suitable for an anthropological society, not for a political discussion. (Hear, hear.) There is another misunderstanding there which is frequently repeated, namely, the classing together of the martial and the ruling races. Now, the martial races of India, as they are called, are not the ruling races. The ruling races are those who are the most likely—and who have so shown themselves, so far as they have had opportunity—to come through the gate of competition and thereby attain a position in the Service under modern conditions.

Therefore, I say that this new plan which Mr. Connell recommends is utterly opposed to the law of the Empire—that law which was established by the Charter Act of 1833; again, by the establishment of competitions in 1853, and confirmed in the Proclamation of the Queen in 1855. That principle of free and open competition is regarded by the people of India as, so to speak, the Magna Charta of their political future. With regard to the Public Service Commission, I may just read one or two passages from an Anglo-Mahratta paper in Bombay. After alluding to the way in which that Commission was constituted, the preponderance of European members and the fact that some of the native members were known to be opposed to the rest of their countrymen, it says: “The main burden of popular dissatisfaction is in reference to the (threatened) closing of the competition and the inauguration of a lower native Civil Service; these are the two heads against which strong and powerful agitation will have to be kept up. The right of competition was granted by an Act of Parliament which no amount of official opposition ought to be allowed to take away from us.” That, I say, is what the people of India regard as being essential for their safety. (Hear, hear.) Generally speaking, with regard to this paper of Mr. Connell’s it reminds me, with a difference, of a story of Charles Lamb. There was brought to him the volume Dodd’s “Beauties of Shakespeare;” he said, “Yes, I see; but where are the other nine?” Now, with regard to Mr. Connell, the difference is he gives everything with a generous hand in every particular but one. He gives the nine privileges, but where is the one right? That is the one firm ground of justice on which the people of India have a *right* to enter into the public Service independently and impartially. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—My first impulse was not to send up my card at all; but attending this meeting and hearing the paper that has been put before us it was necessary that I should not put myself in a false position, and as I disagree with a portion of this paper it became necessary that I should make that disagreement known. The third part of the paper is the part that is objectionable, and it seems to me it is a lame and impotent conclusion of an able and well-considered beginning. For me to undertake to reply to all the many fallacies that that third part contains will be utterly out of the question in the ten minutes allotted to me; but I have one consolation in that respect—that my views are generally known, that they are embodied to a great extent in the Journals of this Association, that I can also direct the attention of

Mr. Connell and others to two papers that I submitted to the Public Service Commissioners; and that I hope there are two other papers that are likely to appear in *The Contemporary Review* in the months of August and September. These have anticipated and will, I trust, directly and indirectly answer most of the fallacies of Mr. Connell's paper. I would therefore not attempt the impossible task of replying to the whole of this paper, but I will make a few remarks of a different character altogether bearing upon the vital question before us. This question of the Services is not simply a question of the aspirations of a few educated men; it is the question of life and death to the whole of British India. It is our good fortune that we have in the chair to-day the gentleman who put a very pertinent question, going to the root of the whole evil, as far back as a third of a century ago. Mr. Bright put this question in the year 1853; he said: "I must say that it is my belief that if a country be found possessing a most fertile soil and capable of bearing every variety of production, and that notwithstanding the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are that there is some fundamental error in the government of that country." Gentlemen, as long as you do not give a full and fair answer to that question of the great statesman, that statement made a third of a century ago, you will never be able to grasp this great and important question of the Services. It is not, as I have already said, a question of the mere aspirations of a few educated men. Talking about this destitution, it is a circumstance which has been dwelt upon in the beginning of the century by Sir John Shaw. Lord Lawrence in his time said that the mass of the people were living on scanty subsistence. To the latest day, the last Finance Minister, Sir Evelyn Baring, testified to the extreme poverty of the people, and so does the present Finance Minister. The fact is, that after you have one hundred years of the most highly paid and the most highly praised administration in this country, it is the poorest country in the world. How can you account for that? Grasp that question fully, and then only will you be able to see what vast interest this question of the Services means. Then I come to the pledges that have been given. Here are open honourable pledges. The statesmen of 1833 laid down distinctly, in the face of the important consideration whether India should be allowed ever to be lost to Britain—they weighed every circumstance and they came to the deliberate conclusion which was embodied in the Act that they passed. But then, you had not the experience of that fear of the risk of losing India. Twenty-five years afterwards you actually experienced that very risk; you actually had a mutiny against you; and what was your conduct

then? Even after that experience, you rose above yourself; you kept up your justice and generosity and magnanimity, and in the name of the Queen and by the mouth of the Queen you issued a Proclamation which, if you conscientiously fulfil, will be your highest glory and your truest fame and reward. Gentlemen, take the bull by the horns. Do not try to shirk this question. If you are afraid of losing India, and if you are to be actuated by the inglorious fear of that risk, let that be stated at once. Tell us at once, "We will keep you under our heels; we will not allow you to rise or to prosper at any time." Then we shall know our fate. But with your English manliness—and if there is anything more characteristic of you than anything else it is your manliness—speak out honestly and not hypocritically what you intend to do. Do you really mean to fulfil the pledges given before the world and in the name of God, with the sanction of God, and asking God to aid you in the execution of that pledge—do you mean to stick to that pledge, or to get out of it? Whatever it be, like honest Englishmen speak out openly and plainly, "We will do this," or, "We will not do this." But do not expose yourselves to the charge—which I am not making, but your own Members of the Indian Council have made—of "keeping the promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope." Looking at the time, I cannot now enter into all the different and important considerations that this paper raises, but I simply ask you again this question,—whether, like honest Englishmen such as you are, in a manly way, you will say the thing and do it. If you mean to fulfil these pledges honestly, do so; if you do not mean to fulfil them honestly, say so, and at least preserve your character for honesty and manliness. Mr. Connell has, in the first part of his paper, laid down as emphatically as he could the principles upon which the English nation is bound to act, and in the third part of the paper he has done his utmost to discredit the whole thing and to say how not to do it. But he forgets one thing; that the pledge you have given, you have never given a fair trial to. If you only give a fair trial to that pledge, you will find that it will not only redound to your glory for ever, but also result in great benefits to yourself. But if India is to be for a long time under your rule with blessing and not with a curse, it is the fulfilment of that pledge which will secure that result. Ah, gentlemen, no eternal or permanent results can ever follow from dodging and palavering. Eternal results can follow only from eternal principles. Your rule of India is based not on sixty thousand bayonets or a hundred thousand bayonets; no; it is based upon the confidence, the intense faith, like the one that I hold, in the justice, the conscience, and the honour of the British nation. As long

as I have that faith in me I shall continue to urge and plead before statesmen like Mr. Bright and before the English nation: Fulfil your pledge honestly before God; because it is upon those eternal principles only that you can expect to continue your rule with benefit to yourself and benefit to us. The reply to your (President's) question, Sir, about the fundamental error is then this:—A foreign rule can never be but a curse to any nation on the face of the earth except so far as it approaches a native rule, be the foreigners angels themselves. If this principle is not fairly borne in mind, and if honest efforts are not made to fulfil your pledges, it is utterly useless for us to plead or to expect any good result, or to expect that India will ever rise in material and moral prosperity. I don't mean to say a word against the general *personnel* of these Services as they are at the present time; they are doing what they can in the false groove in which they are placed; to them there is every honour due for the ability and the integrity with which most of them have carried on their work; but what I say is this. This system must be changed. The administration must become native, under the supreme control of the English nation. Then you have one element in India which is peculiarly favourable to the permanence of your will if the people are satisfied that you gave them the justice that you promise. It is upon the rock of justice alone that your rule stands. If they are satisfied the result will be this—it is a case peculiar to India; there are Mohammedans and Hindus; if both are satisfied, both will take care that your supremacy must remain over them; but if they are both dissatisfied—and any paltering with justice and sincerity must produce that result—they will join together against you. Under these circumstances you have everything in your favour—in fact, the divine law is, that if you only follow the divine law then alone can you produce the divine results. Do good, no matter what the result is; if you trifle with those eternal and divine laws the result must be disastrous. I must stop as the time is up.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call upon Dr. Leitner, who has had a long residence in India and has been greatly and eminently concerned in public education in that country.

Dr. G. W. LEITNER: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—May I ask you for a moment to descend from poetry to prose—from eloquence to facts, and to the somewhat dry detail that knowledge is apt to interfere between itself and first principles. Our President has alluded to the fact that I have had some experience in connection with

the cause of education in India. I do not know whether he still remembers that as early as 1869 he was the means of creating a better social intercourse between the natives and Europeans on the lines which I then ventured to submit to him in consequence of the necessity which I feel of bringing the two into greater contact with one another. But whereas from 1864 to 1882 I had the task of pointing out that being black was not a disadvantage, since 1882 I have occasionally had to bring forward the equally important fact that being white is not a disadvantage. I have had to point out that "Indian opinion" is a vague term, just the same as to speak of "European opinion" would be the vaguest of terms. If you come to think of the vastness of India, you have to approach every question advocated by a native of that great Continent with the inquiry, "Who is who?"—of what particular caste, what particular race, what are the traditions that govern him; and, giving him the full benefit of that knowledge, receiving what he says with the greatest respect, still you must limit your opinion by those particular circumstances; otherwise you may be taking as "Indian opinion" what would be equivalent to taking as European opinion, say, the opinion of a Portuguese peasant, as contrasted with that of a British nobleman, say on Gladstone's last utterance. To begin with, the whole of Europe, educated as it is, may not know of that utterance—it is possible to conceive this—whereas in India the races are so different, the interests are so varied, that with every wish and desire to do the best for the peoples of India we are bound to ask, "Who is who?" From that point of view, I find myself in some conflict with my honourable friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, than whom there can be no greater well-wisher of India—but, a well-wisher of what part of India, and educated in what particular training, and representing what particular section of the community of India? He represents the sober-minded educated community of Bombay, in which the ancient moorings have not been entirely lost sight of, and in which reverence for existing associations still combines a regard for ancient culture with a keen perception of modern requirements. It is not a province in which the aristocracy is so prominent as elsewhere, but there, as elsewhere, what entitles people to rule is power, character, loyalty to the Government, and "a stake in the country," and, with regard to the rest, proved merit. If by proved merit any native of India, no matter of what caste, can rise, there is not the least doubt that he should be encouraged to do so, and if my humble aid is of the least importance in such an effort, that aid shall ever be ungrudgingly given. And I may say at once that I think, that of ten men employed in the Government of India, certainly

nine ought to be natives. In my own small way, I may say that I have been instrumental in securing appointments for a considerable proportion of anglicized and other natives in the Punjab, of whom those of good caste or family have invariably turned out better than the rest. But I cannot conceal from this audience this great fact; the British sympathy and British hospitality that go out, as it should, to the stranger, is not sufficiently discriminating, and that very often the interests of the true native gentleman, the one who is fit for Government, who has liberally supported the Government, suffers in consequence of that sentimentalism which will not discriminate between the class that deserves to rule, including the man who has raised himself by proved merit, no matter what his class, from the class which is chiefly composed of men all over India who have revolted against their old associations and who are driven into the ranks of so-called reformers, whose main object is a fuller emancipation from already existing restraints, of which some, at least, are of a wholesome nature. Therefore, Sir, I would ask one who, like you, has done so much for India and who is prepared, I believe, to do as much for her again, that neither by British society nor by the Indian Government should that fatal step be taken of raising into power that very class which in all countries has led to subversion, and which has introduced the rule of rampant cleverness for that of loyalty, for that of knowledge, for that of bravery, and for that of a stake in the country. Believe me, that in the possibly harsh words I may have used I have been actuated by the truest sympathy for the natives of India, to whom the best years of my life have been devoted. Now, approaching the question as we have before us in this paper, will you allow me to support some of Mr. Connell's statements? I may say that although the most indefatigable labourer or inquirer in the vastness and diversity of India can only be said to have scratched the Himalayas with a quill, I have spent twenty-two years in labours in or for that great Continent, in many parts of which I have travelled a great deal, sometimes on foot or horseback and always with more attention to the people than is paid by the globe-trotters whom the railway (fortunately, perhaps) quickly takes through and out of the country. Mr. Connell's paper seems to me to be characterized, if not by the profound knowledge that the Honourable Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji possesses of his own Presidency, by a good general knowledge with regard to India, as a whole. I can confirm a great deal of what he criticizes in the present state of things. As regards the remedy for it, the details have not been sufficiently worked out by him and others, and I should feel obliged in some respects to agree with some of the modifications that have been pro-



posed in the course of the present discussion. One of the greatest material changes, if you will allow me to submit it to you, is this—and I hope you will not consider that I am stating a paradox. The great remedy in the financial as also administrative working of India is this: to reduce all salaries by half and to carry on most of the work through the vernaculars and on indigenous enlightened methods. You must do that if you wish to have a better class of men anxious rather for position than money, whether European or native, and if you wish to increase the number and efficiency of the Services, so as to keep pace with growing requirements. In the Diplomatic Service, in the Political Service and in other Services in various parts of the world, with which I have been connected or of which I have a personal knowledge, I have always found that those in whose family exists the tradition of rule, those who look to position as its own reward and not as a means of improving their income, are perfectly satisfied, whether European or native, with salaries that would be despised by the money-making classes. You will remember that “honoraria” not “merces” mark the “honourable professions.” I may mention (it may look like a piece of personal vanity, but I hope you will not regard it as such) that I began my career in 1855, during the Russian war, as a Chief Interpreter in the British Commissariat, with the rank of a full colonel and the glorious pay of 17s 3d per day during war time, including war allowances; and this pay, which would be scouted by the English or native “Baboo” aspirant to higher office, I considered then and I consider now to have been uncommonly good pay. The first thing, therefore, to be done is this—reduction in all Indian higher salaries. Never mind how strict you make the examinations; reduce the pay of the Civil Service right through, and you will get more efficient men and men who will more appeal to the aristocratic instincts of India. The second thing to be secured is the rendering of English administration more intelligible, efficient and economical by conducting it almost exclusively through the medium of the vernaculars on indigenous methods and through, chiefly, native agency. Descending to minor points I would suggest the assimilation of the marks allotted to the classical languages of India with the classical languages of Europe in the Competitive Civil Service Examination, and holding the same in India as well as in England among candidates nominated on liberal principles, which I have sketched elsewhere. Forty of my own pupils at King’s College, before I went out to India, succeeded in passing the examination at a time when the standard was intended for men and not, as it is now, for boys. I consider—in support of what various speakers have said—that if you want men to

govern India and not boys, you must raise the standard to twenty-four or to twenty-three as it was before. The statistical tables of Dr. Mouatt prove conclusively that the physical condition of the man of twenty-four is more competent to resist the supposed pernicious influences of the Indian climate than that of a man of a lower age. Besides there is the very strong consideration that the man who is taken so young does not possess that power of loyal opposition, gained by greater experience, which it is so abundantly necessary that an official should have in loyally or academically opposing the Government in its own interests in the particular department with which he may be connected. If you send out a very young man he will not only have had less spent on his education and therefore, presumptively, does not belong (though that is not a matter of importance) to the wealthier classes, but he goes out obtaining almost at once a position of power surrounded by the sycophancy which accompanies office and which his youth is unable to withstand. He must sometimes feel that uncontrolled by public opinion as he there is, if he only satisfies his immediate superior he can do almost anything with his more or less defenceless subordinates and a voiceless country. The civilian must, therefore, be a law unto himself and, therefore, whether European or native, possess the associations which birth, education, and a certain wealth generally give. As regards the natives themselves, there is no department in which the native, especially of the old school, has not earned his spurs. It is only when he becomes an imitator of Europeans that his creative talent in art and his capacity for government and learning are greatly weakened. Even in engineering, a supposed European scientific monopoly, we have the large districts of Telingara where formerly under Hindu rule there were literally thousands of tanks which covered an area now given over to the tiger. In Bhopal, it was by the restoration of native appliances that we restored fertility to that country. It is so in every branch of learning and art. In architecture, for instance, the common mason in the native states, where he has not been supplemented by the Baboo imitator of what you may call the Anglo-Indian school of architecture (though it does sometimes build durable barracks), can not only fix the true north, but he has also a mythology and literature of his craft that elevate him out of the rank of a common workman to that of a true gentleman, finding his highest perfection in doing his own traditional work in the best possible way, and looking upon being the best in his own craft as the highest ideal to which he can reach. That, indeed, is the true view of the much maligned system of "*caste*" which has not yet been brought forward, but which is destined, even in Europe, to

reconcile the aspirations of different classes, which can only be equally great, if equally true to the dignity of their respective occupations or traditions. So, too, if you give the native, especially the native gentleman, that stake in the country in all departments which he deserves to have, you will find that you will have a less corrupt and a more efficient administration, without barring the road at all to those who, by means of competitive examinations, wish to enter certain departments in the lower ranks, and then rise by experience and merit to the higher posts. I have taken up your attention very much, and I feel it is only by great indulgence on your part that I have been allowed to go on so long; but I wish on behalf of the true native of India, the gentleman of India, to point out that there is a view yet to be approached and to be examined, which has not yet received that consideration by British statesmen and scholars that it deserves. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. BHAGAT RAM expressed thankfulness on behalf of himself and the millions of his native fellow-subjects who were considered fit for taxation, but unfit for representation, that the English people, though in a misguided way, had commenced to take an interest in the welfare of India. Notwithstanding the solemn pledge given by the Queen at the time of the suppression of the mutiny, that pledge remained unfulfilled, and no reasonable trial had been given to Indians in the service of their country. Their aspirations were not founded upon impossibilities, but upon justice. Many narrow-minded Anglo-Indians put the case of the natives in a most unfair light before the English people, and always represented that the native had no backbone. One point which had been overlooked in the paper was, that many subjects were taught—such as Greek, &c.—that were of no earthly use in the Indian Civil Service. If the classical language of India were taught with the logic and philosophy which it imparted, it would be of more value in the Civil Service than Greek or Latin.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call upon Mr. Robert H. Elliot, who has been concerned, I think, a great deal with commerce in India, and is quite competent to express an opinion upon this subject.

Mr. ROBERT H. ELLIOT. (of Clifton Park, Kelso, late Planter of Mysore): Mr. Bright, ladies and gentlemen: I have often advocated the principles laid down in this paper, the greater and more extended

employment of the natives of India, not only in India itself, but I have advocated their representation at Westminster—or rather, to speak more correctly, I mean on the Indian Council at Westminster. I have had, I need hardly say—when I tell you that I went to India about thirty-two years ago to work in the Province of Mysore as a planter—a very considerable experience of British rule and also of native rule, the one following the other in rapid succession. When I went to India first, as you will see in the note at page 30 of the paper, Sir Mark Cubbon was at the helm, and the administration consisted of a few Europeans supervising the native administration: the administration having been maintained in that condition in order that if necessary the country might be handed back to native rule. We thought of absorbing Mysore or annexing it, and after the death or retirement of Sir Mark Cubbon we introduced a more highly Europeanized system which went on for a number of years. The right of adoption was allowed by the British Government, and now this province has got back into an almost purely native administration, that is to say, I think there is only really one European official, or at the most two, still left under the employment of the native Government. That was carried out by Lord Salisbury a good many years ago. Now having lived under these various forms of administration, and having been one of the governed, and not one of the governing classes, my opinion is, I think, at least based on a pretty extensive practical experience. What, then, has been my experience of a native administration, of this mixed administration, and of a European administration? In the first place where you had, as under Sir Mark Cubbon, a few Europeans superintending a native administration, I think that, notwithstanding the defects which were apparent in that administration, it was practically a good one for the country, because it was extremely cheap. I have no time to go into that question at any very great length, but I may say here that this administration was cheap, it was satisfactory to the natives, and it was satisfactory to the Europeans. Then as to the more highly Europeanized administration, that I think on the whole was satisfactory to the natives, and it was satisfactory to the Europeans. When it was announced that the country was to go back to native rule, I was at that time so highly in favour of the natives that I asserted in every direction that the country would be just as well off under the native administration as it had been under the two previous administrations. For a time everything seemed to support my view: but when about two years ago I found that the messenger from the Government office who had

carried money for me for a great many years, had been brutally murdered in broad daylight, my feelings began to undergo a slight change. Shortly after this another murder was committed under pretty similar circumstances : I heard the other day of another daring murder of exactly similar character : and the manager of my plantations informs me that he was lately told by one of the native policemen that the roads were not safe after dark. Now that may seem, of course, at first sight to be rather a wholesale condemnation of native administration : but let us look at another point connected with this matter which I think is extremely interesting. We have never had any reason to complain of the civil administration of the natives. I, myself, when I went to India at the beginning of last year, found myself involved in a very important law-suit ; the judge was a native : I had never been in a native Court before, nor ever, I think, in a European Court, because I have always kept out of Courts, and I never would allow my people to enter them ; however, I was dragged into this law-suit, and Europeans were engaged in it. I had a European opponent, and there were Europeans as witnesses. I confess I was not only surprised, I was delighted, I was astonished at the way in which the native judge conducted the business of the Court. His manner, his bearing, and the promptitude with which he shut out irrelevant matter, reminded me very much, though it may seem to some an exaggeration, of the manner and style of the late Sir Alexander Cockburn, and I happen to have had particular opportunities of observing his style and manner of conducting business. At the end of the trial I, and all the Europeans engaged in the matter, were of one accord as to the excellent conduct of the judge. I may mention that after the trial I fell in with my opponent, who was excessively mortified at the result, which was favourable to me, and though he had lost the case, he agreed, as all the Europeans present did, that he would just as soon have any business tried by that native judge as he would by any judge in Great Britain. Now, here you have two very great contrasts. You have on the one side the fact of great satisfaction in the civil administration, and great dissatisfaction as regards the criminal. The native head of that part of the country told me, "I don't know what may be the case in the North of India where the natives are more vigorous, but, at any rate, in the South we require an admixture of Europeans and natives in the administration." That is simply because the natives, though of great intellectual activity, have not the physical power which is necessary to rule in India. Now, in the

northern division of Mysore at that time there was one European, and in that part of the country there were no complaints that I could hear of as regards crime. There is another very singular result connected with this subject, which, I think, is very interesting. I found that, with the exception which I mentioned as regards the failure of criminal justice, the Europeans are satisfied with the native administration. But the natives of the country are not satisfied with the administration. Wherever I went I heard complaints. The native authorities are very well aware of the circumstances. I think that sometimes the natives form a prejudice, perhaps a little unjustly, against superiors of their own race; but there is no doubt whatever that they did feel very much, and disliked excessively, the change back to the native administration. There are many points here which, of course, I should like to advert to had time admitted, but there is one conclusion that has come home to my mind, and that I find is in agreement with the natives themselves with whom I have discussed these subjects—at least with many of them—that, whatever may be the case in the North of India, in the South of India we have not amongst the natives there that physical activity and vigour which is absolutely necessary for administrative details and for criminal justice.

Mr. NANDA LAL GHOSH: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—I have not had time to read this paper, through having come in at the latter part of the reading, but from what I can gather, the question before us is this: the principle of admitting more natives of India into the administration of the country is admitted, but the dispute is as to the method by which they should be distributed in the various services. As to the method, that is a question of detail, and I think Mr. Connell has very justly to himself said, in the latter part of his paper, that the scheme which he has laid down may not be the best. I think it is not the best, because there are various things in that scheme which appear to me not only fallacious but dangerous. He refers with something like audacity to the race differences in India, and I am sorry to hear Dr. Leitner emphasize the race differences in the way he has done. I was sorry to hear Dr. Leitner describe Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as simply a representative of Bombay, unacquainted with the conditions and needs of other provinces. Coming from Bengal, I stand up here to say that, if India needed a leader, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji would be the leader, not only of the Parsees of Bombay but also of the Bengalis, as well as of the

people of Madras, the Punjab, and the North-West Provinces. I have not found myself, though I have travelled over a great part of India, that amongst the educated classes race prejudices exist at all. If they do exist, they exist in the imagination of Anglo-Indian officials. I think Dr. Leitner has let the cat out of the bag when he says that we must take into account family considerations, the caste and the race of the people of India when we admit them into the Service. I entirely differ from him on that point. Mr. Justice Mitter fills the High Court bench at Calcutta, with a great deal of dignity and honour to himself. He is not a Brahmin and not of the highest caste; but does the high caste Brahmin ever raise any objection to having his quarrels settled by that judge? Or does the Brahmin youth ever object to be birched by a low caste Sudra, who is the head-master of his school in India? Under these circumstances, I cannot understand how and why these race prejudices should be emphasized—not by the natives themselves, but by the Anglo-Indian officials—except, it may be, that they think that if they can show to the public in this country that race prejudices do exist in India, that will be the safest way by which they will be able to hold India, and they will be able to mislead the Parliament and the Government of this country. It is unjust to the educated classes of India to say that they are mere agitators, and want to get into the Services simply for their own interests. On the one hand you give education freely to the high class and to the low class, but on the other hand you say it is only the high class, the scions of Indian aristocracy, who are fit for high posts in the Service, and not the low class. What must that lead to? It must lead to a social revolution created amongst the people themselves: the low class will go against the high class, so that you create thereby an animosity you cannot check when once created. Under these circumstances I think that the principle which has been admitted, not to-day, but which has been repeatedly admitted, as my friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji pointed out—which was admitted in 1833 and again in 1857—ought to be acted up to. Repeated assurances have been given by various Viceroys, and statesmen in and out of place in this country. Taking that into consideration, taking the various pledges given, pledges which remain unfulfilled and untried, I cannot for the life of me see that the plan sketched out in this paper would be of any effect. The only method by which you can judge whether a man is fit or not is by allowing him to compete with his English fellow-students as well as his Indian fellow-students. We have in the words of our most gracious Sovereign the conditions, “education, ability and integrity,” that would entitle my countrymen

to serve their Empress and their country; those conditions are not of race, caste, or long pedigree; but this scheme if adopted would falsify the Queen's Proclamation, and no man calling himself loyal would for a moment countenance that. The only sound way of testing those conditions and those qualifications is by the door of competition, open, full and fair. Until you adopt that way you will create a prejudice among the people themselves, and you will be misleading the British Parliament and the British nation.

The CHAIRMAN: I will next call upon Sir Roland Wilson, who is, I think, a Reader on Indian Law connected with one of the Universities.

Sir ROLAND KNYVET WILSON: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—My sole claim to address this important meeting is not in respect of my very slight personal acquaintance with India, but in respect of a tolerably long acquaintance with the methods of preparation for the Indian Civil Service before and after selection; an acquaintance extending over something like sixteen years, and applying both to the old system under which the age was twenty-one and the present system under which the age is nineteen and a-half. I propose to address myself chiefly to the remarks of the writer of the paper which will be found on page 277, in which he recommends that the age of candidates selected by competition should be raised to twenty-one, if not to twenty-two or twenty-three, "in order that men of wider experience, maturer judgment, and greater knowledge of the world might be sent out to India." In order that it may not be supposed (although I am unable to agree with the writer of the paper on that point) that I desire to criticize the paper at all in a hostile spirit, I may first remark that what Mr. Connell says later on, at page 285 and the following pages, with regard to the importance of narrowing the whole range of the public service, commands my most sincere and cordial agreement. I do think that if remarks in that spirit had more often influenced the Indian Government, the question which we are now discussing would have lost a great deal of its importance and a great deal of its bitterness. If the British Government had set itself to contend against what Mr. Connell very properly calls the State Socialism of India, if it had set itself to reduce the number of places in the public service as much as possible, and if it had also earlier and more heartily adopted that policy which is now being adopted, largely owing to the efforts of Lord Ripon, and given more importance to local representative institutions, I believe we should have still further narrowed the range of the question which we are discussing. But now



with regard to this very narrow point, whether the age should be nineteen and a-half, twenty-two, or twenty-three, I wish to make a few remarks upon that, carefully bearing in mind its connection with the subject which we are now discussing, the admission of natives to the Civil Service of India. Mr. Connell has, I think, rightly drawn a broad distinction between the higher and Imperial Service, and all the other branches of the Service to which he would freely admit natives, either by competition or by nomination; and it is to this Imperial Service alone that the question applies. I fully accept the principle which he has laid down, that there must be such a Service conducted—he says by Europeans; I say, on European principles. I now wish to direct your attention to the bearing of that question on this question of the age. The common view, I think, that has been taken by those who are in favour of opening the Covenanted Service more freely to the natives of India than at present, has been that the higher you raise the age the more you increase their chances of success. The alternative proposal in favour of the natives of India has been to have examinations in India itself. It is that which I wish to recommend to this meeting, and I will state now how my special experience bears upon that point. The particular view which I wish to combat is that which Mr. Connell cites on page 277 from Lord Ripon, an authority with whom, I am sure, most of us would differ with extreme hesitation. He says: “It is important that “ the men who enter the Indian Civil Service should be men trained “ by the best English methods, and thoroughly imbued with the highest. “ English thought.” I agree cordially with that. He then goes on to say, “The influences to which English youths are exposed in this “ country are to no small extent of a narrow kind, powerful in a “ limited society, but not calculated to keep alive the best tendencies “ of English opinion.” I think we shall agree with that. He then says: “The boy, whose real education is stopped at eighteen or earlier, “ and who after that age, instead of receiving the widest and most “ complete education of the day, is thenceforth to be trained specially “ for an Indian career, will not have acquired before he arrives in India “ that grasp of sound principles, moral, economical and political, which “ it is of the utmost importance that as the future representative of “ English opinion and feeling among the natives of India he should “ possess. What we want in India are English men in the best and “ fullest meaning of the term, able to hold their own in the midst of “ narrowing influences and local prejudices, not English boys who are “ too young and too unformed in character not to fall, as a rule, into “ the current of the opinion in the midst of which their lot is cast.”

Now, what I wish to submit is that this object is better obtained by the present system, which puts the age for the open competition at the same age at which boys usually leave public schools and go to the University, nineteen and a-half, and which provides for an after-education at the Universities. I have had some experience of the training in the old days—the training of crammers for the open competitions. I am fully aware that more attention was given in those open competitions to the subjects of which Lord Ripon speaks, moral, economical, and political subjects, than is possible under the present system, and for that reason I was at one time very unfavourably disposed towards the change; but I have since observed that these subjects—subjects which will really open the young man's mind and make him understand the responsibilities of the profession into which he has entered, are better studied after the competition on which his fate in life depends than before, and are better studied at the University than at the school. Competition has its undeniable advantages, but it has also, when it is very keen, a certain narrowing influence; and I do think that subjects of this character, moral, economical, and political, can be better studied by young men who have had that great load of anxiety removed off their minds, than by men who have merely to satisfy a pass standard. And that being specially trained for India, as Lord Ripon says, does not imply any narrow and exclusive direction to Indian topics, will be obvious to anyone who looks at the rules laid down by the Civil Service Commissioners. They will see there that a very large part, as measured by marks, of the curriculum is devoted to law, not exclusively Indian, but including jurisprudence and Roman law, and a considerable portion of the remainder is devoted to political economy. I submit that all these subjects are studied under more favourable conditions after the open competitions than before. Of course, if you can raise the age as Mr. Connell proposes up to twenty-two, and find room for a two—or, as I think it ought to be, three—years' course after that, I have no objection to make; but I rather doubt if the Government, having regard to the administrative requirements of India, would consent to that. Now, as to the bearing of all this on the admission of natives to the Indian services. Mr. Connell, considering the proposal of examinations for the Covenanted Civil Service in India itself, to be followed afterwards by two or three years in England, doubts whether a native could be Anglicized within that time. I submit that, if properly selected in the first instance, he could be. Before his selection, if he is to be selected by open competition, he must have had his attention directed to the nature of Indian Civil Service, and to the fact that no caste prejudices will be

at all compatible with the duties which he has to perform; and he must almost inevitably have been trained in an English College. I will refer just in conclusion to the College with which, I daresay, some of you are familiar, the Mohammedan College of Aligarh. The students who come from that College are trained in most respects as English boys, with the same devotion to cricket and other athletic sports, and with their minds as thoroughly imbued with English literature. Two or three years after that spent in England, in company with the very men with whom they are afterwards to work in India, must, I think, make it quite easy for them to work harmoniously with such colleagues.

Mr. M. P. GASPER (Member of the Calcutta Bar): It is with some hesitation, Sir, that I venture to say a few words to the meeting on the subject upon which this able paper has been read by Mr. Connell. My hesitation is due to the fact that, with one very important exception, this is the first time I have ventured to address in this country a meeting of a public character; but, having spent the greater part of my life in India, and having had a good deal to do with the Indian Civil Service, and having given the matter much consideration and thought, it was in some sense my duty to enter my protest against the conclusion with which Mr. Connell's paper terminates. It seems, to me, Sir, that the question before us may very fairly be divided into two parts. The first part may be stated thus:—Are the natives of India entitled to a greater share in the public service of their country or are they not? That question appears to me to admit of only one answer. It seems to me that it is too late in the day to make a retrograde movement. The Government of this country have repeatedly in the most solemn words and on occasions of the utmost gravity stated that no reasons of creed or colour or race should disentitle any person from holding any office in the Government of India. That was the pledge that was given after the Indian Mutiny, in the year 1857, in the Proclamation of the Queen to the people of India. Is that pledge to be departed from? Is there to be a backward movement or is there not? If there is not, then it is obvious that the figures given by Mr. Connell, namely, that out of 900 members of the Covenanted Indian Civil Service there are, as a matter of fact, only nine natives of India, contain a statement of the fact that natives of India have not got their fair share of rule in that country. That being so, the only question that remains to be considered is what means are to be adopted for the purpose of giving them that share which they in justice and equity have a right to

expect. Mr. Connell's remedy is, so far as I have been able to understand his paper, that the system which ought to be adopted there is the system of nomination. With that I entirely disagree. I think, Sir, using language as moderate as the circumstances will admit, that the system of nomination is an accursed system. It is a system that even in this country is not one which is at all approved of—in this country where public opinion is so strong, where a piece of jobbery is forthwith exposed in the strongest and sternest manner possible, where even the highest officers of State, even the Prime Minister himself is exposed to the strength of public opinion—even in this country the system of appointments by nomination is discouraged. In India the matter is far worse. In India there is no such thing as public opinion. The newspapers of India are not to be compared with the newspapers of this country. There are but few public men in India in the true sense of the word: and even of this small number most of them are gagged; they are dumb; they dare not speak their minds. That being so, what safeguards are there that nomination in India would not be synonymous with jobbery? Therefore, nomination must be put out of the question. And it seems to me that nomination was put out of the question by the Commissioners, consisting of Lord Macaulay and others, which considered the matter when the open competition was established in 1857. If nomination is not to be admitted, the only other method left is open competition. The only matter left to consider is, if there is to be open competition, ought it to be by a system which would allow the natives of India an equal chance with the people of this country? If that is to be so, then there is no escape from the conclusion that the examination ought to be held in India contemporaneously with the examination in England; and that, to put a concrete case, supposing there be fifty vacancies in India in any given year for admission into the Civil Service, then the first fifty men, be they men who have competed in India or be they men who have competed in England, ought to be selected. The object should be to get the best men, be they Englishmen or Scotchmen or Irishmen, Hindus or Mohammedans, Bengales or Punjaubees—the object should be to get the best men regardless of creed and colour. Believe me, it is too late to hark back. You have given the people of India a wide education, a general education; you have raised aspirations in them which you must acknowledge and gratify, and that being so, it is inconsequential and illogical to say that the principal offices of India are not to be open to natives, but only the subordinate offices and clerkships—that merely mechanical duties are to be performed by the people of that country, in the public services of their country. That would be an injustice

to the people of India, and that would not be carrying out the Proclamation of Her Majesty the Queen, but deliberately setting at naught that Proclamation.

Mr. BUDROODEN TYABJEE (of the Bombay Bar): Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—Having heard the very able paper which has been read by Mr. Connell, I certainly think it my duty, as in some sense a representative of the Bombay presidency, to thank him publicly for the very able and, to the best of his judgment, impartial paper which he has laid before us this afternoon. Gentlemen, in approaching a question of this importance, it seems to me that we must welcome a discussion of this kind no matter what may be the conclusion to which the reader of the paper may be driven by these arguments, whether they be true arguments or not true arguments. Therefore I am not at all disheartened by the conclusion that Mr. Connell has come to. I do think, however, that the conclusion he has come to does not logically follow from the arguments which he has himself used in the course of his paper. I must protest against the conclusion that the system of nomination which is apparently suggested is at all a remedy for the great grievance which is acknowledged on all hands to exist so far as the practical exclusion of the natives of India is concerned from a due share in the administration of their own country. I perfectly agree with the last speaker that the real question now is whether you can improve the system by which candidates are to be examined. It is, I think, too late now to go back upon the old system of nomination. It has been pointed out that nomination does not work well in England, and I think that the objections which exist to that system here apply with tenfold greater force in India. You must all acknowledge that it would not be a true competitive system if the different candidates are to be placed upon different platforms in regard to examinations. Can it be for a single moment contended that you are placing the youth of India upon an equal footing for a fair and open competitive examination, when you compel the natives of India at a very early age and at an enormous cost to leave their own country and go thousands of miles away, not for the purpose of passing an examination, but forsooth for the honour of presenting themselves for examination at a period of time when it is utterly impossible either for themselves or their parents to accurately gauge their abilities or know whether they will or will not be able to pass the examination. The competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service is said to be, and I think with justice, the very hardest examination that exists in the world. Therefore, before you can expect any natives of India to

send up their young children to England at an enormous cost, you ought surely to give them some means of judging whether or not they would be able to pass the severe tests on which they have to compete here. Can we expect that any parents could satisfactorily make up their minds upon that point until their sons have attained a certain age? If you make the age for competition between seventeen and nineteen, in order to have the smallest chance of success an Indian lad must leave his native country at least at the age of thirteen or fourteen; is it reasonable to expect that Indian parents could by that time have made up their minds whether their children of thirteen or fourteen will be able to pass their examinations? Therefore I say that if you are going to have competitive examinations you must have them fair; you must put the two classes of the community upon an equal footing; and it does seem to me that there is no way of doing that unless and until you hold examinations in India, and raise the age for that examination so as to enable the native youth to have some time more for the purpose of studying those different subjects which are taught in England from the very earliest ages of a boy's life. English is the language in which the examination is conducted: is it reasonable to expect that any Indian lad can compete with an English lad at the age of seventeen or nineteen? If you make it twenty-one to twenty-three you give the Indian youth a couple of years more for the purpose of enabling him to make himself familiar with the language, which is extremely difficult to him and entirely different from his own native tongue. The competitive system I say is the only system, and the only way in which you can make it work equally and fairly is by holding a contemporaneous examination in India and by raising the age for competition.

Dr. CLARK, M.P., said that when the Tory Government reduced the age they frankly confessed that as they would have no chance of getting Parliament to repeal the Queen's Proclamation or go back from the promises which it held out to the natives of India, they had determined to achieve the same object by that indirect means. This matter could not be discussed with Sir Roland Wilson from a purely academical standpoint; what had to be considered was the unfair method by which a Tory Government kept back the fulfilment of the promises of the English people towards their Indian fellow-subjects.

Mr. A. K. CONNELL (in reply), said: Mr. Chairman,—I find myself this afternoon in a very novel position. Hitherto it has been my fate, in criticizing the Government of India, to find myself in some

warm conflict with the Anglo-Indian officials; to-day it seems that the opposition and the attacks come entirely from the side of native gentlemen. No doubt it is very good for one to find that the tables have been turned. I only mention this in order to show that I have come to this question with, if anything, a bias towards the native view, and that if I have not satisfied the native view I can say it is owing to some inherent objections which have presented themselves to my mind, when I have tried to examine the question impartially. Now let me say a few words as to what fell from the lips of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. I quite agree with him—in fact, it is impossible to do otherwise than agree with him—in saying that we have to carry out the eternal laws of the Universe, and also that we should keep our promises and pledges. But I have yet to learn that open competition under certain conditions is an eternal law of the Universe for selecting people to Government employment, and I would call Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's attention to this fact: that in the Parliamentary Charter of 1833, and in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, though, of course, the promise is held out that the natives shall have a career opened to them, it is not promised that they are to have it by open competition. All that is said is this:—"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our services, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward." (MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI: That means something, surely.) I quite agree, and in common with others I think that pledge ought to be carried out; but we may differ very largely as to what is the best way in which to prove the ability of candidates for Government service. I would further insist upon this point; that so far as I know the opposition to me has come chiefly from those Indian gentlemen whose experience is largely, if not wholly, confined to Bombay and Calcutta—(oh, oh)—whilst the Anglo-Indians who have agreed with me have had experience in other parts of India. If I have made any mistake on that point I am quite willing to apologize, but certainly in reading through the whole evidence on this subject as summarized in the Indian papers I have found very strong opposition indeed, coming from native gentlemen of the North-West, and Oude, and the Punjaub, against the open competition system for the whole of India. (A NATIVE GENTLEMAN: Only two or three.) I am afraid we must go into a sum of arithmetic in order to make the total exactly right, but that is my impression, and it is gathered from a careful reading of the

evidence. As I have said in my paper, though open competition may be a good system for the selection of gentlemen for the Indian Civil Service, in Calcutta, Bombay, and places where the conditions are similar to those in England, yet, for the larger part of India, I believe it would not be the best method. As I have had the advantage not only of reading my paper, but of replying, I am glad to hear that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is going to overwhelm the arguments which I have offered in two articles in *The Contemporary Review*. I have no doubt that I shall gain very much instruction from these articles; I do not feel sure that I shall be convinced by them, because I have already most carefully read not only the evidence taken before the Commission, but also the interesting papers which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji himself presented to the Commission, and I imagine that the main part of his argument is to be found there. Therefore, on the whole, I do not think that I shall be converted, but still I have no doubt I shall be instructed, and I shall certainly read what he says with great care. I think at this late hour you will hardly expect me to go into any more detail, and I will give way to Mr. Bright, whom all of you, I believe, have come to listen to, rather than to my humble self.

The Right Honourable CHAIRMAN said: I suppose that I was asked to preside at this meeting because I have been understood to have taken a very strong interest in Indian questions, and particularly with regard to the Indian Government many years ago. It is quite true that I did take a great interest; I suppose it must be nearly thirty years ago or more. So far back as the year 1853, when the question of the renewal of the Charter was before Parliament, I formed one of a small Committee that called themselves an Indian Reform Association, and we did our best to expose what we thought was the evil character of the Government of that day, with the view of preventing any renewal of the East India Company's Charter. We were not fortunate in accomplishing more than some exposition of our views; we were not fortunate in preventing the renewal. On one occasion we had a debate in the House of Commons, and Sir Charles Wood, afterwards Lord Halifax, who was then the President of the Board of Control (which was the title of the Indian Minister of that day), rose at five o'clock in the afternoon, soon after the House met, and made a speech which lasted until ten o'clock. (Laughter.) That was five hours, and the whole of his speech was a continuous eulogy of the Indian Company, and of its manner of managing this great Government of India. When he sat down at ten o'clock I rose to answer him, and I spoke until twelve o'clock. (Laughter.) The



Indian Minister and myself had the whole of that night to ourselves, but he had five hours and I had two. I thought then, as I think now, that I had very much the best of the argument, and that my facts were very much stronger than those which he had laid before the House. In 1858, many of you will recollect the circumstance if you do not all recollect the date, there occurred that frightful catastrophe in India which we know as the Indian Mutiny. As soon as the Indian Mutiny broke out and wore a serious character two things happened, one consequent on the other. The India Company vanished altogether, was given up and abandoned by the Government, and the Queen's Government took its place, and all the wonderful things in praise of the Indian Company which Sir Charles Wood had taken five hours to explain to us were apparently forgotten, and the East India Company was no more. Now, great results have followed from that, and great changes. I recollect one of the statements that I made in debating against the India Company was that in the town of Manchester, which I then represented in Parliament, a town which then I suppose had not very much more than half its present population, the Municipal Corporation of that town had, in the last fourteen years, speaking at that time, expended more money in popular improvements and advantages for the town and its population than the East India Company had expended in the same period throughout the whole of their vast territories with their countless millions of population. I showed how entirely failing was the Indian Government at that time in duties which we had a right, and which the people of India had the right, to expect from it. Since then, as we all know, there has been a wonderful step forward in India, although it might have been still greater. There have been canals dug, some of them, I believe, not very successful undertakings; there have been railways made to a large but still to by no means a sufficient extent. There have been telegraphs established to all the principal portions of the country. There have been many steps taken, as Dr. Leitner could tell us, on behalf of education, and there is abundant room for much more effort in that direction. There has been also in existence a free press, which is a remarkable thing in a country under a despotic Government, and not only a free press, but there is the right apparently—for I have read many reports of them—practised of holding public meetings in various parts of India, and discussing freely, apparently, all kinds of public questions. Now, it is a wonderful thing for a despotic Government to allow to the people it governs the privileges and the practices of free nations. It is one of the things of which I think the English Government in India may

be proud, and one also, I think, which the natives of India ought to take into account when they are sometimes probably induced to judge hardly of those who have become their rulers. But still there remains this question which we are discussing to-day. The natives are, I must not say absolutely excluded (because they are not) from employment, because there are many thousands of them employed, but they are excluded from the higher offices and the positions of chief authority, with some exception, I believe, as far as regards the administration of justice, in which I think some natives have occupied and do occupy very eminent positions in the courts of some of the Indian presidencies. I have heard, not from natives only, but from Englishmen who have been over there, and from lawyers, that nothing can excel the ability and the impartiality, the justice, the honourable character of these lawyer-natives who have been raised to these high and important positions. Of late years, too, from the spread of education, which, although it is very little compared with the vast population of the country, still is important, and is every day gaining a wider influence, from the discussions which take place at these meetings that I have spoken of, from the incessant discussions in the free press—they are not always judicious, but they very often are, and they must teach the natives for whom they are published, and they must teach also the rulers of the country, because the opinions of the native population expressed through a free press must naturally be important in the eyes, not of the people only, but in the eyes of their rulers. All this creates and stimulates the demand for what has been claimed to-day, that is for a greater employment of natives in the administration and practically in the government of their own country. These conditions make the natives from year to year more powerful to urge their claims, and they also make from year to year the resistance, whatever there be of resistance, from the Anglo-Indian community more feeble. So that the question which we have been discussing, and about which there has been so much difference of opinion is, after all, there can be no doubt, making way in India, and its progress can by no power of ours be absolutely stopped. It is built, as several gentlemen have remarked, upon a foundation that is immovable, that is, on the foundation of the declarations of the Charter Bill of 1833, and on the declarations of that admirable Proclamation which was issued by the Queen at the conclusion of the disturbances of the Mutiny. Every Indian gentleman who gets up, or every Englishman who gets up, and argues for a change and a progress with regard to the subject of our meeting, must admit that the declarations of the Charter and the words of the

Queen's Proclamation make it absolutely certain and necessary that this question must march on; and although nobody can tell precisely the pace at which it shall go, or, at present, the extent to which it shall go, everybody must admit that a question that is based upon fundamental declarations and principles of this kind, can by no means be snuffed out, but must go on, to a much greater satisfaction of the mind of the Indian population, than it has proceeded to up to the present time. Now as to our right in India. Some people say, in a coarse sort of way that I feel always irritated to listen to, that a country being, as they say, gained by the sword must be held by the sword; but that in the mouths of these people means this, that we must hold it by a system against which the native population dare not revolt. They say, "you cannot hope to hold it by a generous government and a just government, and by that sympathy which grows up naturally between a people governed and a just government; you gained it by the sword, you must keep it by the sword." That is what some men say; but, in my opinion, that is the very class of men who would bring the English rule in India to a termination very much sooner than would the policy of those who would be just and generous to the people. Well, our right to India and the rule of it at present must rest on the services which we render to the millions of her people. It cannot depend permanently upon our imports from India, say of rice, or jute, or tea, or cotton, or wheat. It cannot depend on our exports of calicoes from the mills of Lancashire to India. All these things, of course, are advantageous to both countries, and they bring the two peoples into greater connection; they enable us to know far more of India than our fathers knew, and they teach to intelligent and commercial classes in India a knowledge of this country which they hitherto have not known; and therefore these things are good as between the two countries. But our supremacy there must rest, and ought to rest, only upon services, under a providential condition of things which we cannot understand, we are in a position to render, being placed for a time as directors and rulers in that great empire. Mr. Macaulay (who has been quoted in Mr. Connell's pamphlet) had generous sentiments with regard to India. I made a note of what he said. After arguing strongly in favour of the admission of natives to positions in the administration he said, "This admission to high office must be carried out by slow degrees." I do not say that there was not wisdom in that, and that there may not be wisdom in it to-day, but I think that the degrees have been so exceedingly slow that if Mr. Macaulay were here he would very likely join in the condemnation of the past as much as I

do, and would ask this meeting and everybody concerned if it is not desirable that we should go a little faster. Then he says further, in a very fine passage, "But when the fulness of time is come, when the heart of India requires the change, shall we refuse to make the change lest we should endanger our power? This is a doctrine of which I cannot think without indignation." Well, I will make no answer to that question further than what is made in the proclamation of the Queen, the concluding words of which I think are these, "In their prosperity" (that is, the prosperity of the millions of India) "will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our reward." There is no doubt—nobody in this country can doubt, and I hope nobody will doubt it in India—that when the Queen put her hand to that proclamation she held these sentiments and she meant that that proclamation should have force so far as she who wields the sceptre and wears the crown is able to interfere in a constitutional country governed by an Imperial Parliament. So I come to this conclusion, and I think we may in some degree comfort ourselves, notwithstanding the division of opinion, that all are agreed as to the growing and moderate demand in India, for, although the growth is apparent, it is still, in my opinion, extremely moderate considering all the circumstances of the case. And I think all are agreed also on the indestructible and just principle on which the claim of the natives of India is based; and I think we are all agreed to a large extent that justice and even safety require a distinct and measurable advance. I am not competent to determine the mode in which it should be done or the extent to which it should be done. Nobody here can doubt the sympathy of Mr. Connell with the people of India in this matter. My friend who sits down there and who has made so eloquent a speech (Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji)—nobody can doubt his view and his sympathy; and, in fact, I do not know that there has been a single observation made during the whole of this discussion which would enable us to say of any speaker that he was without sympathy with the people of India and that he did not wish them to take a somewhat, at any rate, larger share in the administration and government of their country. I have never been in India, and I have known people who have been in India a good while and who do not know much about it—I have never been in India and cannot pretend to personal knowledge of it, but I say, with, I think, proper and becoming humility, that if I had the whole of this matter to settle to draw up a Bill, or a Proclamation, or Minutes of Council, or something of that sort, I should be very much puzzled exactly what to do in the condition in which we find ourselves. You could not say, or

example, that a given percentage of the population of India should take offices to the same extent that Englishmen there would do, because with that enormous population of two hundred millions it is quite obvious that the natives of India would have the whole of the offices, except a mere handful, in their own hands, and no friend of India here would say that the great bulk of the two hundred millions are qualified by education, or experience, or independence of character to undertake the great offices of the government of a great country with its vast and countless people. So that when I come to consider the matter I am driven rather to this. I have not the audacity myself to insist upon a particular plan; I would not adopt altogether Mr. Connell's plan as stated in his pamphlet, nor would I adopt the rather strong condemnation with which some gentlemen have spoken with regard to it, but I would say this: I am in hopes, as the attention of the people of England is more turned to this matter—and I hope that the influence of this meeting we have had to-day will do a little in that direction—that there are wise and good men (they are not all wise and good, but there are wise and good men in India), whose sympathies are strong with the Indian population and who can see the necessity for the changes which we have been advocating, who will undertake, from time to time, to promote such changes as will lead in the direction that we are seeking to advance in. And without, at a meeting like this, coming to any absolute declaration as to the exact mode or as to the exact pace, at any rate we may satisfy ourselves that we have done this to-day—we have done something, I believe, to promote inquiry as to the mode, and, further, that we have done something too to stimulate and accelerate the pace at which further changes and improvements may be expected to take place. Then, English opinion is all friendly to India, but English opinion is not very well informed. There are things nearer home about which they know very little, and a great many things in India about which they may be said to know absolutely nothing; but still the English mind is open to any teaching that can come from Englishmen on this subject, or from Indians. My friend down there (Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji), who has told us that he has got two articles ready—I suppose in manuscript, which we shall all have an opportunity of seeing by-and-by—will find not an unwilling audience, but an audience honestly anxious—not with any very burning feeling, perhaps, but honestly anxious as he is that the Government of India should be a wise Government, and that all that is sensible and intelligent in that country amongst the natives should have a fair opportunity of taking some share in that government. Now, I do not know that I have much else to say; but after considering

this subject whilst we have been discussing this paper, and before, I would like to make a reference to one point which it is a common thing for people here to urge. If anybody finds fault with anything in the government of India, they say, Why, don't you see what enormous advantages the English rule has conferred on that country? They do not remember any of the terrible sufferings which come upon any country that is subjected to foreign conquest. But this may be admitted—and must be admitted—it is obvious to all, that over that vast territory and over that vast population there has been a condition of peace, absence of turbulence, absence of war and bloodshed such as probably in the whole record of history scarcely ever has for so long a time existed in India, as since it became subject to the English rule. I do not argue for a moment—I do not know—I do not know whether one may say that this peace is an ample compensation for the suffering or whether it is any excuse for the violence and the crimes which have been committed against that country. I will not say that. That must be left to a higher and to a just tribunal, to balances with which and in which there can be no error. But of the peace as it reigns we are confident, and we know it exists. From one end of India to the other almost there is a safety, a security, which in all probability never existed before throughout so wide a domain. I do not know that I am speaking beyond the mark—I think I am not. I was struck the other day on reading that fine Ode of Mr. Lewis Morris's at the laying of the foundation stone of the Imperial Institute. He says there, speaking of our pacific disposition in this country—which, by the way, people here are very apt to over reckon—our pacific disposition comes now and then, and then we have spasms of something very different; but I was very glad to see the two lines which I am going to quote in that Ode read in the ears of so many who are calculated to do so much to give effect to it. He says:—

“No more we seek our realm's increase,

“By war's red rapine, but by white-winged peace.”

Now, that is very fine—in poetry; I wish we had it in fact. You know who read the papers, and many persons from India must know, that in this country there is a certain wide-spread and, in my opinion, a very ignorant jealousy of the great northern Empire of Russia. Some people here seem to fear and tremble if Russia even looks over a fence. I met a gentleman at dinner one night last week, and he was saying how much he had travelled in Central Asia. I said, “What were you doing there?” He said, “Watching the Russians.” “Well,” I said, “I suppose there were some Russians watching you, were not there?” He said he thought it very likely there were.

I told him I thought they were both occupied in very absurd and unnecessary business. While we are terribly alarmed if Russia looks over a fence, what is it that we have been doing just recently? We have invaded and conquered and annexed a whole kingdom; and the moment we crossed the frontier we declared every one who should contest our right a rebel against the English rule and the English Crown. Now, I wish we could put some of my friend Mr. Lewis Morris' poetry into practice. I think that there is a great opportunity in India; that we should try if something like moral sentiment and Christian principle would not be better than continual aggrandizement and wars for which there is no justification, and which bring intense and immeasurable suffering to the persons whose country we interfere with. That is my view of a good deal of what has been going on lately in India. I think it is deplorable that we should not desire to put an end to constant accessions to the British Empire, which in all probability, some day or other—I hope it may be long delayed—may bring about a greater catastrophe and a greater fall than that which befel the great empire of ancient times on the banks of the Tiber. My own opinion I state freely here, where there are, I am sure, some who do not quite agree with me; but my own impression, from all that I have heard and read and learned of India during the last thirty years, is that it is high time, at any rate, that we should put a stop to the aggressive mood, and try, if it be possible, wisely and justly to govern the countless millions that by some mysterious dispensation of Providence have been committed to our rule. I shall say no more. I have been very glad to be here to-day and hear this discussion, which has been carried on in a friendly and proper spirit. It is a very great question, none of us can give too much attention to it; and as we have opportunities of moving about amongst our countrymen, I think it is our duty, if we are able, to forward anything that appears just and advantageous to the population of the Indian Empire.

Major-General R. M. MACDONALD: Ladies and gentlemen,—Before dispersing I must ask you to give a vote of thanks to the illustrious statesman who has been good enough to take the chair on this occasion. It has not been the first time that he has done so. The interest which he has taken for the last thirty or forty years in the welfare of India is known to all of us, for it is recorded in speeches which have become a part of English literature. The particular question which has been brought before us this evening has been on previous occasions brought under his attention, and we are glad that we have had his presence to-day. We have also had the honour of

seeing present here his Highness the Thakore of Gundal and the brother of the Maharajah of Kupurthullah, who is sitting by my side. I desire to join in this vote of thanks due to Mr. Connell for the able and thoughtful paper which he has read on this occasion. Even those who have been most opposed to the conclusions at which he has arrived must, I think, admit that if the proposals which he has made were fully carried out, the people of India would gain considerably more than they possess at present. I must confess that I am prepared to go a good deal further. In one part of his paper he refers to the great ability which the natives of India have shown in judicial matters; and we know how ably they fill the posts of judges in the High Court of different Presidencies; but I think we have scarcely done the natives justice as regards administrative and financial skill. Coming as I do from a Presidency which has produced such great statesmen as Sir Madhavi Rao, A. Seshayya Sastri, and V. Ramiengar, all of whom, under our own rule, were or would have been in a comparatively subordinate position, I cannot help thinking that native gentlemen might have been employed more largely than they have been in the administration of districts, and not merely in judicial work. I believe there have been more cards sent up than it has been possible for gentlemen to speak, but if any are desirous of continuing the discussion on this subject, the Association will be happy to receive any additional paper going into further detail. I beg to move a vote of thanks to Mr. Bright for presiding, and to Mr. Connell for his excellent paper.

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER (late Commissioner of Patna): Gentlemen,—I am requested to second the vote of thanks to the Chairman and to Mr. Connell. I must confess that I feel very much tempted to say a few words on the extremely interesting subject which has been laid before us, but the time will not admit of it. I may, perhaps, without presumption say that I am specially interested, because I have lived myself thirty-eight years in India without ever coming home, and my eldest son, who has just returned from India, is said to be the "*father of the Bengal Civil Service.*" I am sorry to say that ill-health for the last two years has prevented me from attending the meetings of this Association, and in consequence from taking as close an interest in all the subjects that have been dealt with as I otherwise should. It is with some pride and satisfaction that I now venture to second these votes of thanks.

The resolution was carried unanimously.



Mr. C. E. PARKER RHODES interposed to briefly comment on the fact that though the Proclamation of 1858 was final and binding, and contained pledges of the most solemn character, no step had yet been taken by Parliament to enforce the carrying out of these pledges.

Mr. A. K. CONNELL: Ladies and gentlemen,—In acknowledging your kindness, I must say that I feel that the success of this meeting is largely due to Mr. Bright having kindly undertaken to preside. I can only say for myself that next to the writings of Burke I have learned more from Mr. Bright's speeches as regards the proper tone of the policy to be pursued with regard to our Indian Empire.

The Right Hon. CHAIRMAN: I have been compensated for the time that I have spent here in hearing the several speeches that we have had delivered to us from those who are well acquainted with the subject they have been talking about. I hope that the effect of this meeting will be to stimulate our interest in India, and point out to a certain extent how in some direction we may be of service to that country. I thank you very much for the kindness with which you have received me.

This concluded the proceedings.

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## APPENDICES.

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*Letter from MR. L. B. BOWRING, C.S.I.*

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22, PRINCE OF WALES' TERRACE, KENSINGTON, W.

*22nd July, 1887.*

DEAR SIR,

I had to thank you for your letter of the 20th.

I fear there is no probability of my being in London next November, so that I should not be able to read any paper containing my views regarding the freer admission of natives to the higher ranks of the Indian Civil Service.

I may state briefly, however, that, in my opinion, natives are heavily overweighted by the necessity of sending their sons to compete for the Covenanted Service in this country. The expense to parents must be enormous, while it is accompanied with the risk of failure; neither do I think that the statutory appointments have given satisfaction.

My idea is that a certain proportion of the appointments each year should be reserved for Indian youths, say one-third or one-fourth of the whole. Supposing that there were forty appointments, there would be at the latter rate ten allotted to India. These I would distribute to the several Presidencies and local governments — say two for the Punjab, two for Oudh, North-West Provinces and Central Provinces, two for Lower Bengal and Assam, two for Madras, and two for Bombay. For such appointments I would follow the Foreign Office system, that is, give the local administrations the right of nominating candidates. I daresay there might be twenty nominees for two vacancies. These youths would then pass a competitive examination in their own province, but having thus secured as far as possible the best young men in each province, I would send them at Government expense to England, and let them acquire here that higher education, and knowledge of European ways, which would put them on the same footing as English

ths. The Indian Government would, of course, pay them during their stay in this country, as they pay the successful candidates among their own people.

It might be said, What is the use of having nominees from each province, and why should not competition be open to all? The answer to this is plain enough to any one who knows anything of the usages and opinions of the people of different parts of India. One could hardly expect a Sikh gentleman or a North-West Musulman of good family to go down to Calcutta to compete there with the Bangali youth. They would probably fail, and a Bangali would get the appointment; but send the latter to the Punjab where vigour and energy are quite as much needed for executive work as brain-capacity, and he would find himself derided by the warlike population of that province. My notion is that the native staff in each administration should be people of the country whose families are known and respected, and who would have legitimate influence over their countrymen. The statutory appointments appear to have been devised with a view to securing, partially, at least, such ascendancy, but the Government has not obtained the services of the best men, neither has it striven to improve their efficiency by sending those whom it nominated to perfect their education in this country.

There may, of course, be practical difficulties about holding local examinations in the several administrations of which I have no cognizance, but I cannot suppose that they are insuperable.

The whole question is confessedly intricate, but I do not think it is insoluble.

I listened with great regret the other day to some of the speeches of the native gentlemen present, for, although there was no want of attacks on the Indian Government for its supposed breach of faith, I did not hear a single practical suggestion as to how the natural desires of the natives could be met, or any plan which that Government would be likely to consider as reasonable.

I may, perhaps, be permitted to mention that I was, I believe, the first head of a province who appointed a native as a District Officer, and I am glad to say that the experiment was thoroughly successful; but the gentleman so selected (the late Mr. Krishniengar, of Mysore) had an intimate acquaintance with judicial and revenue procedure, and was a man of great energy and ability, whose like it would not be easy to find. Although I fully admit that natives make excellent judicial officers in regard to hearing and deciding cases, I believe that the superior executive agency should—for the present, at any rate—be exclusively European. I do not think that I am prejudiced in

saying this; for if any one will note the condition of a native Province when controlled, during a minority, or by reason of misgovernment, by an English official, and then mark what its condition is after its restoration to a purely native *régime*, he will assuredly perceive that it relapses—slowly, perhaps, but surely—into its former unsatisfactory state. And if this be true in respect to a native province, how much more necessary in our own territory is the close and watchful superintendence of English officials, by whom alone can the pitch of efficiency which now prevails be maintained.

I have jotted down these few remarks, which are to be taken for what they are worth, and must apologize for the crude way in which I have written them.

Yours faithfully,

LEWIN B. BOWRING.

I do not see any necessity for altering the age up to which candidates can compete, *if examinations are held in London*, as I suggest.

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RECEIVED FROM DR. LEITNER.

*Extracts from The Bombay Gazette, dated Friday, January 14th, 1887,  
and Thursday, January, 27th, 1887.*

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DR. LEITNER ON THE "DANGERS OF SENDING NATIVE YOUTHS  
TO ENGLAND."

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DR. LEITNER, who entered the Public Service during the war with Russia in 1855, and who (between 1858 and 1864), when Professor of King's College, London, paid special attention to the preparation of candidates for employment in various parts of the East, especially for the India Civil Service, in which there are or have been about 40 of his pupils, besides a considerable number of natives, now in the public service, who have studied under him as Principal (since 1864) of the Lahore Government College, including one or two Statutory Civilians, has forwarded to us two papers on "The Dangers of Sending Native Youths to England," and on "The Re-construction of the Civil Service," which are still of sufficient application at the present moment to deserve re-publication. The first-named paper was put before the Council by Mr. (now Sir) H. S. Maine in 1868, and was circulated by the Panjab Government:—

"It is singular that a measure (the Gilchrist Scholarships, now abolished), for which, perhaps more than for any other, Sir John Lawrence's reign will be remembered by the 'educated' natives, should have received so little critical treatment by the Indian Press. *The Hindu Patriot* was, probably, loudest in its expression of satisfaction; other journals had misgivings, but none, I believe, pointed out that His Excellency's proposal was likely to injure the very cause which, on the eve of leaving for England, he had so generously espoused. I have often advocated the policy of sending native officials of rank, ability and proved trustworthiness to England, and I believe that the late proposal regarding the Uncovenanted Leave Rules which allow only three years' leave in India, has been specially designed in order to induce them to visit Europe by the bait of an additional three years' leave. Had native officials been sent home at the expense of Government, the result must have been a satisfactory one, as their experience in Europe could, on their return to duty, have at once been utilized by the State, which knew their worth before it sent them on their travels. But to send youths home can at the best be only a doubtful *experiment*, and it is because I fear that *it will cause a reaction* against native interests that I now venture to point out some of its dangers.

“There seems to be no reason why one portion of Her Majesty’s subjects should, more than any other, be educated at the public expense for professions and Government service. It may be said that India has the wealth, if not the enterprise, to send nine of her sons annually to Europe for professional or ‘official’ ambition. It may be threatened that *English* candidates will clamour against a one-sided bestowal of public patronage, and force Government either to retrace its steps or involve itself in greater expense; and it may be finally urged that the *selection* of any candidate is against the present system of *competition*.

“It is in vain to hope that these native youths will, as a rule, prefer professions, with the single exception, in some cases, of the legal one, to Government service. If they qualify themselves to be engineers or surgeons, it will be with the view of competing for Government posts in those departments.

“There is nothing to prevent natives *now* from availing themselves of the Medical and Engineering Colleges which India already provides, and there is no reason why some title equivalent to that of ‘Barrister’ should not be conferred by Indian Inns of Court that might be founded. It is just because *professions* (on European lines) have yet to be created among the natives, at any rate, of Upper India, that they, without the prospect of Government employ, do not attract many students in this country. Even superior minds have been known to prefer fixed to precarious incomes, and it is scarcely likely that even the few ‘professional’ native students will prefer, especially under the pressure of their relatives in India, private practice on their return home to the chance of successfully competing for a Government appointment.

“It is to be presumed that there will be numerous failures among the native competitors for public appointments, especially in the Indian Civil Service, to which their attention will, in the majority of cases, be directed. This will be a very probable result, especially if the marking of the Civil Service Commissioners for Oriental languages is not raised to, what it should be, 750 marks for Arabic and Sanscrit in the ‘Competitive Examination.’\* These failures may throw discredit on the generous measure about to be carried out, and will certainly cause disappointment to the unsuccessful candidates, for whom, probably, Government may have to provide appointments in, what is now called, the Uncovenanted Service.

“Some of the moral and political effects of the proposal in question cannot be contemplated without apprehension. Familiarity with our vice-stained classes in England will cause contempt for our civilization which the native students on their return to India will not be slow to show. The youthful mind is the slave of appearances. The numerous Turkish youths, although belonging to a race as vigorous and honest as any in India, who have been trained in Europe, have, in the majority of cases, returned to their country with only a taste for champagne, kid gloves, and oaths, a use of the small talk of infidelity, and an unmistakable tendency to libertinage. It would be sanguine to hope more from Indian youths, and I apprehend that even the best of them will be so much spoilt by the petting which they will receive at home, as to fret under subordination and imaginary slights on their return to India.

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\* In 1867 the Anjuman-i-Panjab addressed the Civil Service Commissioners on the subject of the reduction of the marks given to Arabic and Sanscrit from 500 to 375. Since then I am glad to see that the marks have again been raised to 500, though justice will only be rendered to these subjects when their marking is made precisely identical with that for Latin and Greek.

" *The great objection*, however, to the proposal is, that it will not allay the irritation which has been expressed, in the name of the more intelligent and ambitious natives, by the British Indian Associations of this country and England. It is always doubtful whether, in the case of alien and conquered races, any half-measure between total exclusion and general admission to higher office is, if practicable, wise or generous. In this case it is certain that the clamour for the total abolition of race distinctions will grow, rather than decrease, at this first instalment of Government concessions. This is perhaps only what should be, and it is probable that all the services must be eventually thrown open to all subjects of Her Majesty.

"The concession is not a simple and intelligible but a complicated and conditional one, and as such will create dissent, confusion, and apprehension in the native mind. The natives will say that Government is only liberal when it can denationalize them. Indeed, it is the expectation of some such result that will induce many Europeans to support 'the proposal.' But the majority of natives, who are too bigoted to let their sons leave their country, will say—why have a competition *in our case* for a *competitive* examination, or why have a *selection* for a competition? [These remarks apply to the proposal in 1868, of selecting natives to study in England at the cost of Government.] Why alienate natives, even for time, from the country in the government of which they are to take a share, and are Englishmen sent to other countries to learn to rule their own? &c., &c.

"Finally, after a great deal of bitterness and misconception of the generosity of Government, the course will have to be taken, which might be adopted *now* without the slightest cost to Government, viz., a certain number of appointments will be thrown open for competition *in this country* [India].

"The vitality of outside agitation on this subject would then be destroyed, or should it still continue, would have to narrow itself to a clamour about the *number* of those appointments. To this the Government will always be able to reply effectually, by referring to the necessary standard of qualification, the claims of the different provinces of India, the production of the candidates, and other facts that do not introduce race opposition.

"In thus expressing my opinion, I trust I shall not be deemed blind to the many advantages to be derived by a native from residence in England, or that I am actuated by anything but the sincerest affection for the natives of this country. It is only because the concession referred to will not achieve all it intends, and will not prevent the eventual course that must soon be adopted, that I have ventured to express my dissent from a measure whose generosity and felicity of conception are worthy of the great Government from which it has emanated.

"Should the measure in question be after all carried into effect, I trust that the native students will not be relegated to country Colleges or Universities. London, *near* which they should reside, alone of all cities in the world, gives a conception of size, diversity, and immensity, which would not be lost on the native mind. In London are found the best teachers on all subjects; there are hospitals on a large scale; the great Courts of Law; the National and Indian Museums and Libraries; our Houses of Parliament; the great learned Societies; Engineering Workshops; vast Mercantile and Industrial Establishments, &c.; in fact, all that, *under proper guidance*, can impress the native students with the grandeur of our civilization. London also possesses an University and two Colleges, King's College and University College, which offer special advantages to native students. 'King's College,' above all, combines with strict discipline a liberality and exhaustiveness

in all branches of knowledge which, in my humble opinion, places it in the first rank of educational institutions, and its 'Oriental Section,' can be easily amplified to meet the requirements of Indian students. The temptations again of London are as nothing when compared with its advantages, and it should not be forgotten that in London, where students generally live with their parents or in lodgings, there do not exist those associations among them for purposes of gambling, drinking, &c., &c., and for engaging in profligate expense and amusements, dignified into national pursuits, to which the monotony of collegiate life in the country consigns even those who would not otherwise be affected by a prevailing atmosphere of fashionable extravagance.\*

"In Oxford and Cambridge, mainly institutions for instruction in Classics and Mathematics, subjects to acquire which natives are not sent home presumably, the new students would wander about under the impression, however, possibly incorrect, of not being properly taught. Whatever the respect with which we might be inclined to regard these Universities, we cannot deny that, for the purpose in question, they are thoroughly unsuited. The departments for Indian Civil Service candidates which have been established in connection with them, have been, hitherto, failures. The project of Oriental Hostels started by Mr. G. Williams, Senior Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, fell through miserably. In fact there are no appliances for meeting any, but certain social and intellectual requirements of a certain description of the English mind.† Even Trinity College, Dublin, and still more the Queen's Colleges in Ireland and any of the Scotch Universities would be more suitable to the native student. But I think you will agree with me that, after every due praise has been given to these institutions, no town in England can in its complete and manifold advantages compete with London. If the students are placed in charge of a tutor,—who will control their conduct and direct their studies, who will honour them even in their prejudices, and yet instil into them lessons of progress and high-mindedness, who, acquainted with Oriental customs and languages and an admirer of what is true and beautiful in Oriental literature, will, through the comparative method, develop an enthusiasm for European civilization and science in his native pupils, and yet be free from national and religious bias,—I am sure that, the purposes of discipline being thus secured, no field provides such special opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge of every kind as London, in the immediate proximity of which they should reside."

We think that native candidates who have passed the "competitive" examination in India (should it be decided to hold it also in this country) may be encouraged to pass their period of probation or of preparation for the "further" examinations in England, provided thorough arrangements are made in that country for the supervision of the conduct and studies of native students, and for the prevention of their complete loss of caste, which operates to their social disadvantage on their return to India, whatever those who have themselves lost caste may say to the contrary.

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\* The new rules for giving a cheaper University education have not yet been sufficiently tried to enable us to discuss their merits. But we fear that "cheap" will, as usual, be also "nasty," that the wealthiest students will keep away from their poorer colleagues; and that the very prestige of the Universities which will at first attract a new class of men will suffer the moment that the new class becomes at all numerously represented.

† The scheme of Professor Monier Williams, however excellent in some respects, will suit neither the general system of the University nor the special requirements of Indian professional students.



## DR. LEITNER ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

WE now republish a few extracts from the second paper forwarded to us by Dr. Leitner, and, like its predecessor, adopted in 1877 by the Anjuman-i-Panjab Association after a very careful discussion among its members (European, Mahomedan, Hindu and Sikh officials and native gentlemen of standing of the various communities). [The general conclusions at which Dr. Leitner arrives are:—

1. That, as in the case candidates for employment under the Foreign Office and in various branches of the Home Civil Service, nomination (on well-defined, but liberal, principles) precede the competition of both European and native candidates for the India Civil Service. Military officers and the men who serve in Ceylon and under the Foreign Office, are of, at least, equal social standing with the bulk of Indian civilians. They serve, however, for much less and sometimes in worse climates. Indeed, in proportion as a service is "close," a higher class of men enters it than is now generally attracted by the large emoluments of the Covenanted Civil Service in India.

2. That, whatever may be possible as regards the nomination of English candidates, native candidates be required to show that they possess landed property at least to the value of Rs. 12,000, which is equivalent to the sureties of £1000 that candidates in England have now to give to Government prior to their appointment in India. No person, he considers, is fit to be a ruler in a country in which he has not a stake, both in property and position. The "closer" also the service, the more stringent can be the examination and other tests for admission to it.

3. That a certain number of appointments be reserved for competition annually in each province among nominated candidates.

4. That the distinction between "Covenanted" and "Uncovenanted" Service be abolished, and that there only be one "Indian Civil Service" with various branches and corresponding tests, the present "Covenanted Civil Service" being the higher judicial and executive branch, into which the present higher Uncovenanted officers may be admitted in regular course of promotion.

5. That European and native barristers, as also pleaders of standing, gradually fill the present judicial service on two-thirds of the salaries now attached to these posts.

6. That in any case, the details of the "Competitive" examination, as to subjects and marks, be modified in accordance with the scheme contained in the following paper on "The Re-construction of the Civil Service."]\*

"The following are some of the details of the scheme:—

The "Covenanted" Civil Service to be entered, 1st, by examination; and 2nd, in the course of regular promotion from a lower grade.

### 1st.—By Examination.

The scheme of the Civil Service Commissioners, especially as regards "selected" candidates, to be generally adhered to,† but the "competitive" examination to be modified in the following manner:—

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\* The portion between brackets, including paragraphs 1 to 6, is a communication, to *The Journal of the East India Association*.

† Candidates for the Indian Civil Service have to pass three examinations in England before they are sent out to India. The first is called the "Competitive" Examination, held once every year, at which any British subject, under a certain age and of good character, can compete, taking his choice of one or more among a

<i>Optional Subjects.</i>	MAXIMUM MARKS.
Language, Literature, and History of England .....	1000
English Composition .....	500
Language, Literature, and History of Greece .....	750
"                    "                    Rome .....	750
Arabic Language and Literature .....	750
Sanscrit "                    " .....	750
Language, Literature, and History of France .....	375
"                    "                    Germany .....	375
"                    "                    Italy .....	375
Hindustani Language (or the Vernacular of the Indian Candidate) and History of India .....	375
Persian Language and Literature .....	375
Mathematics .....	1250
The Science of Language (Philology) ..	750
Natural Sciences (any three of the following subjects:—Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Electricity, Chemistry, &c., &c.) ...	750*
Mental and Moral Science (including Indian Logic) .....	500

No marks to count, unless a candidate has obtained one-fourth at least of the number of maximum marks allotted to the subject or subjects which he may take up. (The standard of the Examination generally to be raised to what it was between 1858 and 1864, and to be intended for men between 21 and 23 years of age, and not as now, for boys between 17 and 19.)

The advantage of this scheme is that, whilst being essentially fair to English students, it gives a chance to Indian candidates, and that it can be extended with ease to this country, should it be finally decided to throw a number of appointments open for public competition in India. A glance at the following may show the fairness of the scheme:—

Mathematics .....	1250	}	Equal chances for both English and Indian students.
Natural Sciences .....	750		
Mental and Moral Science .....	500		
The Science of Language (Comparative Grammar, &c.) .....	750		
Latin .....	750	}	The "Classics" of an Englishman.
Greek .....	750		
Arabic .....	750	}	The "Classics" of an Indian.
Sanscrit .....	750		

An equally high standard to be insisted upon in both European and Oriental Classics.

certain list of branches of general knowledge, to which certain marks are allotted. The marks obtained by a candidate are totalled up and a certain number of candidates, corresponding to the number of vacancies in appointments for the year in India, who obtain the highest marks among their fellow-competitors, are said to "pass." The men who have thus "passed" become now "selected" candidates, and as such have to study and pass in certain prescribed subjects fitting them for their career in India. In the "further" Examinations all the candidates who come up to a certain standard may pass and be appointed.

\* The unaccountable increase of marks for that subject from its former amount of 500 to, I believe, 1250 marks, is, I consider, an exaggerated concession to the recent clamour in favour of an "useful" education, and must encourage cramming in those subjects.

French.....	375	} Modern literary lan- guages for an English- man.
German .....	375	
Italian .....	375	
Hindustani (or the Candidate's Vernacular)	375	} Modern Literary lan- guages for an Indian.
Persian .....	375	

Here the English candidate has a slight advantage over the Indian by having one more modern language, but this, I fear, cannot be helped.

English Language, Literature,  
History, and Composition ..... 1500

Here the highest inducement is held out, and most wisely, for proficiency in the most useful subject for both the native and the Englishman.

The Indian student will thus be able to rely on his Sanscrit and Arabic *versus* the Latin and Greek of his English competitor, though, even then, the chances will not be quite in favour of the Indian student, as it is rare that a Hindu knows Arabic, or a Mussulman Sanscrit, whilst an English Classic knows both Latin and Greek, and has thus a maximum of 1500 marks to the other's 750.

Against the English candidate's French, German, and Italian, the Indian has his Hindustani and Persian; whilst with regard to English and "scientific" subjects generally, both sets of candidates are offered the same chance in examination. The introduction of "the science of language" (Comparative Grammar, Philology) is, I consider, a step in the right direction, because it recognizes a science which has special interest for "Indo-European" scholars and officials. But the great recommendation of the suggested scheme for the "competitive examination" is that it will induce English candidates to pay greater attention than they have given hitherto to the subject of Oriental languages (both classical and modern), and thus increase the number of those officers, who alone have influence with the masses of his country, because they understand their languages and customs, and have a respect for their literatures.

The second means, by which I suggest that the Covenanted Civil Service should be entered, is

*By regular promotion from lower grades.*

I may state here that naturally the great personal interest which is felt in this matter induces native officials to lay greater stress on it than on admission by examination. There are men amongst them who have been 10 to 20 years in the service, and yet see no prospect of promotion. They suggest that:—

1. The present rates of pay in the different grades of Extra Assistant Commissioner (or corresponding appointments in other parts of India) be raised.
2. That Extra Assistant Commissioners be appointed, either by selection or competitive examination, and that Tahsildars, after certain length of service, be promoted to Extra Assistant Commissionerships.
3. That the principle of a graduated increase of pay, depending on every year of service, be conceded.
4. That an allowance be made to those who pass certain examinations, and receive "full powers."

I think that there is nothing extravagant in the above proposal, especially if a good class of men, possessing the necessary attainments, is secured for the service.

Their usefulness, after so many years of tried and approved service and of experience of the people, would—especially if they had passed the necessary linguistic

and legal examinations satisfactorily—be, at least, as great to the State, as that of a young civilian of one or two years' standing.

Reverting to the subject of the "Competitive Indian Civil Service Examination," it seems to be a question well deserving of consideration, whether a certain number of marks should not be allotted to those candidates who, previous to offering themselves for the Indian Civil Service, had satisfactorily passed examinations in Law, Medicine, Engineering, &c., &c., as these attainments, having a scientific basis, together with a practical application, exercise the candidate's mind in caution and precision, and render its possessor doubly valuable as a public servant. The adoption of this suggestion would also have the advantage of enabling a number of candidates, whose previously professional training would, under the present system, be thrown away, to come forward. This measure would also strengthen the principle of every educated, and otherwise, fit subject of Her Majesty having a right to compete for public appointments. The age, too, of admission to the competitive examination might, to the great benefit of the State, be raised from 21 to, at least, what it formerly was, 25 years of age. It is undoubted that the first competition civilians were superior men, and it is questioned whether the last few batches are equal to their predecessors. Whatever be the case, the proposition, that it is better to have men as Judicial and Executive Officers than youths, would certainly commend itself to most minds; and it would not be outweighed by the consideration that immaturity and ignorance of the world, rather than self-interest and the official safeguards of discipline, ensure intelligent subordination such as is required in a public servant. The convenience of the examiners and the ill-founded assumption of the fatality of the Indian climate on a difference of a few years are, of course, as nothing when urged against any measure which tends to ensure a more perfect administration of the country. (Dr. Mouat's statistics seem to prove that a man coming to India at 24 years of age is best able to stand the Indian climate.)

With regard to "selected candidates," the present system seems to be a very good one, as far as I have been able to judge, but it seems to me a *sine quâ non* condition that their instruction in Indian Law, Literature, and History, should contain special and exhaustive accounts of the *social and religious habits and prejudices* of the natives of the different parts of India.

In conclusion, I must apologize for the dogmatic tone into which I have in two or three places been led in the course of the preceding remarks. My experience of the Indian Civil Service Examinations extends from 1858 to 1864, during which time about 40 of my pupils succeeded in passing them. I can, therefore, only lay claim to a personal knowledge of the system as it existed during the above period, but I have kept myself, through information obtained from friends and papers, somewhat *au courant* of the effect of the modifications, especially as regards the examinations of "selected" candidates, that have since been introduced. These modifications do not, as far as I know, effect the principles which I have ventured to discuss in this paper."

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# EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,

Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

26, CHARING CROSS, LONDON, S.W.

## President.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BART., M.P., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D., D.C.L.

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SESSIONS 1883-84-85-86-87.

Papers on the following subjects were read during 1883-87.

- INDIAN PUBLIC WORKS' FINANCE, EXCHANGES AND LOANS. By  
W. MARTIN WOOD, Esq.
- SOCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN EUROPEANS AND NATIVES IN  
INDIA. By M. D. DADYSETT, Esq.
- THE RYOT, THE ZEMINDAR, AND THE GOVERNMENT. By Miss  
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.
- LIBERAL PRINCIPLES IN INDIA. By H. G. KEENE, Esq., C.I.E., M.B.A.S.
- THE CRIMINAL JURISDICTION BILL. By ROBERT H. ELLIOT, Esq.
- THE POONA RAIYAT'S BANK. By SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART.
- EURASIAN AND ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF INDIA. By D. S.  
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- THE MISCHIEF THREATENED BY THE BENGAL TENANCY BILL.  
By SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, C.I.E
- THE INDIAN RAILWAY POLICY. By EDMUND KIMBER, Esq.
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- INDIAN PAUPERISM, FREE TRADE AND RAILWAYS. By A. K.  
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- THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF INDIA. By H. G. KEENE, Esq., C.I.E.,  
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- INDIGENOUS ELEMENTS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA. By  
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- EUROPEAN PAUPERISM IN INDIA. By THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON  
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- THE PRESERVATION OF WILD BIRDS IN INDIA. By ROBERT H.  
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- THE MUTUAL ADVANTAGES OF THE CONNECTION BETWEEN  
ENGLAND AND HER INDIAN EMPIRE. By GENERAL SIR ORFEUR  
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- THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE. By NUSSERWANJEE SHEREAJEI GINWALLA, Esq.
- THE AGE OF COMPETITION FOR THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE. By  
A. K. SETTNA, Esq.
- THE COSTLINESS OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION. By ROBERT BROWN,  
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- THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA BY ENGLAND. By MANECKJEE  
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NANDA LAL GHOSH, Esq.
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- THE NEEDED REFORMS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF BRITISH  
INDIA. By MANECKJEE BYRAMJEE DADABHOY, Esq.
- THE CAPITAL OF INDIA. By SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, K.C.S.I., M.P.
- HOW TO DEVELOP INDIA. By J. S. JEANS, Esq.
- THE COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS OF ASSAM. By OSWIN WEYNTON, Esq.
- INDIA AND THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE. By GENERAL SIR ORFEUR  
CAVENAGH, K.C.S.I.
- THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE AND THE FURTHER ADMISSION  
OF NATIVES OF INDIA. By A. K. CONNELL, M.A.

# BRIEF OBSERVATIONS.

ADDRESSED TO THE GENERAL READER.

ON THE

## BASIS OF THE REORGANIZATION

OF

## OUR POWER IN INDIA.

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BY

AN OLD RESIDENT IN INDIA.

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London:

R. C. LE PAGE & Co.,  
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1858.

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1858

NOTE.

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The following observations were written at the time when the news first reached this country of the relief of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell, and were addressed to an influential London journal, but failed to receive admission into its columns; the writer is therefore induced to offer them to the public in their present form.



# BRIEF OBSERVATIONS,

*&c.*

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Now that the two great centres of the Indian Mutiny, Delhi and Lucknow, are in our possession, and no further serious disaster can be anticipated, the time is fitting for the consideration of the relations that shall henceforth exist between Great Britain and her Indian dependency. To this end, too much thought cannot be given to the consideration of the basis upon which the reorganization of the government and control of India should be established, and it appears to me, notwithstanding the able discussions and valuable information that have appeared upon the subject since the outbreak, that the fundamental principle upon which it should rest has scarcely been sufficiently analysed.

The character lately displayed by the Indian population presents such a marked and unfavorable contrast to the previously existing impression of it in the public mind, that, with the exception of the comparative few who are practically acquainted with India and its people, and

a further small proportion who are in a position from their own enquiries and connections to arrive at accurate ideas, the great mass of the public must in its estimate of the people, and what is desirable for them and the country, be embarrassed by a confliction of opinion difficult to reconcile.

In considering how to benefit an individual or a people, we should have an accurate knowledge of the character and tendencies of each, and to obtain this we must have recourse to their antecedents or history; hitherto this practical evidence has been lost sight of, not only by the public, but by those whose duties essentially required them to possess and act upon it; but, contrary to this common-sense course of procedure, the public mind has indulged itself in a sentimental hallucination—similar to a romantic girl, in her idea of shepherds in Arcadia—and has invested the mild native of India with qualities as remote from the dry truth as the young lady's shepherd.

One prominent idea in the public mind is the extent of population under our sway in India, and the rights which attach to such an immense aggregate of people; this idea naturally results from our national perception of what is just, deduced from our own social system, but, applied to an Asiatic people from an English point of view, it is altogether unsound and impracticable; the people of India have no idea beyond a despotism, and if under this system of government life and property be secure, and the laws impartially administered, it is to them the attainment of a height, beyond which their ideas, or those of their best writers or legislators, have

never soared. Under the government and control of Great Britain the people of India will be in a safer and happier position than that of any other Asiatic people, and under the safeguard of the national character and the press, India will possess guarantees for just government that but few civilised nations can lay claim to.

The fundamental element in the question of re-organization appears to me to be the absolute and irremediable mental inferiority of the native of India compared with the Anglo-European, an inferiority I believe to be so fixed and decided, that no intimate union can ever result between them.

To elucidate this question of inferiority, I may refer to the general records of Asiatic or Indian history, which shews the people to have been at a remote period as far advanced in civilization as they are at this moment, and looking to the result, the rational conclusion is that their perceptions have not and will not henceforward enable them from their own efforts to attain a higher standard than they have done. Notwithstanding our connection with and control of them for a century, throughout which period they have been exempt from the vicious example of massacre and cruelty so frequent in their previous history, and accustomed under our rule to see life and property respected, and to have brought within their observation and practical experience the purer refinements of our civilization, the late outbreak goes to prove that they are true to their instincts, and that in their mental organization they are and ever will be incapable of rising

by their own efforts to a higher standard than their history has hitherto exhibited. It may be said of a people, as of an individual, that the child is father to the man, and that the qualities which are developed in the course of maturity, are likely to hold to the end, and, looking to the qualities chiefly developed in the course of Indian history, I fear there is nothing in it upon which we can found a hope for the future.

It has been said that the outbreak was simply confined to the military, and that the people themselves took no part in it; in this view I do not concur,—no doubt there is a mixture of truth in the statement, and that a large proportion of the population were not actively connected with the Mutiny, but I am convinced, from my experience of the native, that the general feeling was more hostile than favourable to us, and this not from any act or violation of their prejudices on our part, but resulting simply and naturally from the difference of mental temperament, habits, and colour between us and them, in which there are no affinities. But supposing it to be the case that the Mutiny was confined to the native army only, the conclusion, I think, is equally unfavourable to the people, seeing that they remained passive observers of the atrocities perpetrated; in either way they are in a false position, and prove the absence of those qualities essential to a fair standard of national character: the mutiny afforded them a hopeful opportunity for achieving their independence, and had they seized it the act would have gone far to justify and prove them worthy of it, but they were wanting in the needful qualities; on the other hand, what is to be inferred

from their remaining passive? certainly no love for us; they exhibited no active feeling of sympathy towards us, but remained quiet observers of the struggle, exhibiting in themselves no favourable or honourable impulse—no sympathies for the torments of women and children—no appreciation of the energy and high qualities of the few brave, struggling with such overwhelming numbers. This was the general feature, but it must not be overlooked that there were many individual instances of sympathy and help displayed by the natives towards us, and they would have been demons without redemption had such not occurred; in the worst examples of human nature some better traits are always to be found; but, on the other hand, these kindly examples are counterbalanced by numberless cases of the foulest treachery.

If we look to the prominent impulses or characteristics developed in the late outbreak, we find no general element of good; two feelings were in operation, one active and the other passive. In the ordinary operation of popular or national feeling there is generally combined with it, in a greater or less degree, a proportion of worthy motives and impulses; but we look in vain for these in the late disturbances in India: among the active, the prominent impulses have been the very worst violences of our nature, without one redeeming trait; and, in the use they made of their advantages in discipline, arms, ammunition, and position, their efforts have exhibited the lowest mental standard, their mental activity having been chiefly displayed in the skill and ingenuity they could exercise in torture: on the other

hand, the quiet or passive have been equally deficient in the exhibition of any quality that can entitle them to respect; wanting in patriotism and humanity, without a single aspiration beyond the feeling of self, they waited the issue, content to abide it, and to come under the authority of the victor, whether it resulted in the sway of a Christian, or was inaugurated by the lust and bloodshed of the Sepoy and the Mahomedan. The qualities thus developed, taken with all the antecedents of the people, should carry conviction to our mind that they are wanting in those mental essentials that would fit them to be placed on the same level as the European; and, admitting this to be the case, we come to the consideration of what should be their position under the re-establishment of our power.

These remarks are made in no feeling of hostility or prejudice against the natives; on the contrary, I estimate them, in certain respects, very favourably: our experience of them, until the late outbreak, showed them to be peaceable, tolerant, and industrious, temperate, and obedient. The world, I think, affords no parallel of a country of the same extent, population, and wealth, being so easily governed, and where the controlling government has less to fear from the population, as long as its functions are exercised with a firm hand, and in a just spirit; the late evils are clearly traceable to our own acts in an undue reliance on the natives. The late rising resulted from no real or, as I think, even imaginary grievance; with such an unreflecting people no grievance is grievance enough, and the will is never wanting to seize any actual or apparent

advantage that may present itself, and this was furnished to them to the fullest extent in the form of solid and substantial power; all the other causes or motives that have been assigned, such as the greased cartridge, proselytism, &c., were merely the result and growth of this power, and served as watchwords to combine and launch it against our rule. The prevailing impulses of the native are the love and fear of mere physical or absolute power, and under the influence of either he runs to extremes, both of which we have now realized, and it is seen that he is wanting in the perception of the duties and rights of either position, whether governing or governed; under the one he is brutal and irrational, while under the other he bends and yields implicitly as the reed to the wind.

In these remarks I am anxious to bring under consideration the basis upon which it is necessary to proceed to reorganize the government of India, and to do this effectually it is important to examine well the materials we have to deal with, and endeavour to apply each to its most practical functions. It is now generally recognized that the social condition, government and institutions of a people are as much the result of their inherent character, as of the circumstances which surround them, and whatever the general character be that is formed or developed, such it ever remains, despite of example or teaching; looking, therefore, to the prominent characteristics of the two races that have to be brought into connection and united under one government, it will be evident that great deliberation and clear practical perception is necessary to grapple with the

subject, and lay down a system that shall afford the best security for its sound and permanent working. The prominent characteristic of the Anglo-European is an accurate perception of what is just and equitable, both as regards his own and the rights of others, with mental and physical energy necessary to give practical effect to this high quality, resulting, as we see, in the freedom and permanence of his social condition; on the other hand, the prominent characteristic of the Asiatic is of a directly opposite tendency, and exhibited in an undue feeling of self, and an imperfect perception of his own and the rights of others. Under this inherent and fundamental characteristic, he alternates, as his latest and antecedent history has shewn, between tyrant and slave; in the one condition he developes everything that is abhorrent to our nature, but in the other he displays qualities of the utmost value and usefulness. If this analysis of the characteristics of the two races be correct, there will be no difficulty in assigning to each his relative position; the Anglo-European, with his higher mental perception, his sense of equity and energy of character, must and ought to represent and embody in a definite and comprehensive form, the power and authority of the government; and the Asiatic, under a like necessity or instinct, must as naturally fall under subjection to him. This is the position which they intuitively assume towards each other when left to themselves, and it is in this position that the respective better qualities of each combine to develope the best practical results. The late outbreak is, to my perception, more definitely traceable to a departure from this state of things, than to



any other cause. For a hundred years the natives yielded ready allegiance to our rule, and would have continued to do so, so long as we held them in hand, and properly estimated what was due to ourselves as well as to them, but adverse influences were allowed to operate, arising out of the nature of the government and the influence of uninformed opinion at home.

I look upon it that we are all more or less chargeable with the evil of the late calamitous mutiny, and in tracing its course, we are led to reflect upon the heavy responsibility of those who, by their neglect, are answerable for it; and, heavily as this responsibility may appear to fall upon the East India Company, I think it will be found, when dispassionately considered, that it falls with equal weight both upon the supreme government and the nation. The control and surveillance claimed and exercised by the supreme government over the action of the East India Company fixes it with its full proportion of responsibility, and it is further answerable for the manner in which it has exercised its more direct and administrative functions—I allude more particularly to its appointments of Commanders-in-Chief; for these errors of administration in connection with interests of such magnitude the nation is deeply liable as an unquestioning and consenting party, while the East India Company are equally chargeable in exercising their high functions in the spirit of monopolists, in looking only to their special interests, and neglecting those of the nation and of the country entrusted to their charge, and the independent Anglo-European residents are alike culpable for a lax fulfilment of their

duties of citizenship, in having failed in any well-directed attempts to enlighten their government or countrymen upon the practical evils that were in existence, and which they were well cognisant of, and must have seen and felt operated so injuriously to their own and the general interest. Under this state of things the East India Company, acting in the spirit of its organization, and looking only to its own immediate and special interests, instinctively avoided any real identification of the national interest or of the interests of its countrymen in India, unconnected with its services; its tendency lay entirely towards the natives, in dealing with whom it had no vigour of mind or will to contend with, and it was under this anti-national feeling that it handed its whole power over to the charge of the native, and also directed its efforts to the introduction of a system of legislation, calculated in its operation to reverse the true relative position of the European and native. This tendency of the East India Company was in a serious degree assisted by public opinion in England, which in the activity it displayed was exhibited in an ignorance of the true circumstances and character of the country and people; under this mistaken phase of popular opinion in England it fell in with the interests or views of the East India Company to adopt what was supposed to be an enlightened and liberal policy towards the natives, which resulted in their admission from one position to another, until a principle of eligibility had been recognized and established, under which the native mind was familiarized with ideas of rights and claims having no definite limit, and to which, until thus incul-

cated by the policy of government, he had never for a moment considered himself or thought of laying claim to. This inconsistent and suicidal policy has produced its natural results, and must now force us to the election of a definite principle upon which to base our future government of India; the effect of the late policy was to reverse our position from that of conquerors, looking to a permanent hold of the country, to that of temporary guardianship, preparatory to an early renunciation of control, for no other result could naturally follow in its material effect or in its influence upon the native mind.

The European population in India, including all classes connected with or independent of the government, is estimated at 150,000, and the result of the late struggle has shewn that, even this small number, had it had fair play, and been judiciously organized and compacted, the chances are that no rising would have occurred, or, if the attempt were made, that it would have been promptly suppressed, but, under the prevailing policy, the European element was well nigh swamped. If it were possible to look forward, within any reasonable period, to a time when we might safely retire and leave India to its own government and well-being, I would willingly give my adhesion to such a policy, believing that it would be, on moral and material grounds, the best course we could pursue; but I look upon this as Utopian—the connection must be maintained; instead, therefore, of lowering and diluting, or, to speak more correctly, dissolving our small number into the great dark mass of its population, our true policy will be to elevate and keep it intact, as a standard for the

one hundred and eighty millions to work up to. Our national character is sound and true to itself, under all circumstances of position, whether of climate or distance, and with its inherent tendencies to what is free and just, the dark race, whose evident destiny it is to come under the subjection of the white, can no where for their welfare be in safer or better hands.

In these observations it will be seen that I have not ventured to offer any remarks or opinion upon the many important questions that must come under consideration in adjusting or re-organizing our rule in India: my object is simply to urge attention to what I conceive to be at the bottom of the whole question, being satisfied that, if we go to work upon a right and sound foundation, any errors that may occur in carrying out the details or superstructure will be of minor importance, and admit of easy removal or correction.

AN OLD RESIDENT IN INDIA.

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# THE COMPANY'S RAJ

REPRINTED FROM

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE; NOVEMBER 1857

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BY

GEORGE TREVOR, M.A.

CANON OF YORK

*Formerly Chaplain on the Madras Establishment*

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## P R E F A C E.

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SOME hesitation has been felt in affixing the Author's name to this reprint, from a fear that sentiments resting exclusively on personal observation, inquiry, and judgment, might be prejudiced in some quarters, as proceeding from one who was once in the Company's service. On the other hand, it seemed important to assign the authority—whatever it may be—attaching to an individual who ventures to take part in so important a controversy. It is not always that retired servants are unduly biassed in favour of their former employers, and it may be in itself no unimportant feature in the question, if the Company's officers, Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastical, are found to retain a favourable appreciation of masters, under whom, as under all governments, many a private grievance must have been felt.

My determination, however, has been chiefly governed by the importance so deservedly attached to the religious portion of the controversy. Having warmly entered into Missionary operations during my term of service as a Chaplain at Madras, I have proved in my own person that the supposed restriction upon Company's servants attempting the conversion of the heathen, is one of the delusions with which the public mind is abused in England. Not only are the Missionary Societies openly and actively aided by civil

and military officers of all ranks, but several of the Company's chaplains are engaged in direct Missionary work. I had myself the happiness to found a mission and to build a church at Bangalore, in which above a hundred persons were baptised by my own hand out of idolatry. These efforts were not only not in any way discountenanced by Government, but they received the express sanction of the local authorities. A site for the church and schools was granted by Sir Mark Cubbon, the British Commissioner in Mysore, and the consecration was attended by Lord Gough, then in command of the Division.

My Mission Church stands in a very public situation, close to the principal bazaar, and in full view of the Sepoy lines. No peculiar prohibition was imposed with respect to that class of natives; in fact, a Sepoy was actually a candidate for baptism at my hand, which was only withheld from his being married to two wives. The Bishop thought the last-married wife should be put away, a conclusion at which I scrupled—on grounds which have since obtained the sanction of some eminent prelates at home—and the man's regiment left the station before the question could be settled.

I am far from alleging that no fault was to be found with a Government under which the connection with idolatrous practices, adverted to in this article, was then still in operation. Landing too late to add my name to the Madras Memorial of 1836, I cordially sympathised with its object; and the latest sermon I delivered in India was preached in the cathedral, in the presence of the Governor, against the exclusion of the Holy Scriptures from the system of public education. The interval was spent in intimate intercourse with missionaries of various denominations, and my attachment to them and to their work is in no degree abated by time or distance.

But I cannot concur in many of the statements by which



the public mind is now inflamed. It seems unjust to recall errors which have been corrected, in order to establish an accusation against the East India Company, to which our leading politicians of all parties are equally liable.

The acts of particular officers are not to be charged on the constitution of the Government, nor local practices confounded with a general policy. No religious policy beyond that of neutrality has been designedly adopted by the East India Company. The acts so justly complained of are those of particular officers in India, acting in the spirit of the age and of the mother-country. They have been sanctioned or reversed at home, as the principles of the gospel more or less influenced the revising authorities. They were inconsistencies grievous and culpable, but not more the crimes of the Company than of the nation.

It is not a revolution in the political government which is required for the evangelisation of India ; but a larger and truer sense of Christian duty in the people of England, influencing all classes at home and abroad, and specially exhibited in an adequate extension of Missionary operations.

With these convictions, I cannot but view with regret the Memorial addressed by the Church Missionary Society to the Queen, impugning the very "profession of neutrality," as "dishonouring to the truth of God's Word," and demanding a degree of Government encouragement to Christianity which, I am persuaded, is uncalled for, dangerous, and unjust.

It is one thing to *exclude* the Bible from the public schools, and another to make it so necessary an element in the course of education, that the Mussulman or Hindoo who declines to accept its authority must be wholly shut out from the great boon designed to elevate the subject races and qualify them for public employ.

Neither can I think the pledge which the Memorialists propose to hold out against infringing liberty of conscience

under such a system, so consistent, or so feasible, as the "neutral" policy, which they pronounce to be "dishonouring" and impracticable. A genuine neutrality is, in my mind, the true and proper policy of the secular government.

In any case, it is difficult to see what the cause of Missions is to gain by transferring India to the exclusive administration of Her Majesty's Ministers. On the contrary, the well-known principle of upholding the authority of the Queen's representatives, might render any obstacle experienced in India more difficult of removal under the Crown than under the Company.

The same Governor who, at Madras, bore down the Bishop and Sir Peregrine Maitland in their opposition to idolatrous practices, had in person, as the representative of the British Crown at Malta, walked in a procession scarcely less idolatrous, and even dismissed from the Royal Artillery two conscientious officers, who refused to fire a salute to the idol he was honouring. For that prodigious violation of the rights of conscience no redress could ever be obtained from the Royal Government. It was justified by the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords as a necessary piece of discipline. The Madras Memorialists were at least protected from persecution; and the grievance they complained of, notwithstanding the resentment exhibited at the time, has since been altogether abolished.

Considering, moreover, the views upon which successive Administrations in this country have upheld the endowment of Popery at Maynooth, little good to evangelical Christianity is to be augured from the more direct intervention of parliamentary government in India.

Finally, the adoption of so great a change, at a moment when the native mind is widely and ruinously agitated by apprehensions of a Government design upon *caste*, would in all probability be accompanied by declarations of non-inter-

ference, which might prove more injurious than the existing "profession of neutrality;" for such declarations, put forth in the Queen's name, on the occasion of Her Majesty's assumption of the empire, might be construed hereafter, both by governors and governed, as amounting to one of those "*treaties*" for the protection of the native religions which have hitherto existed only in the imaginations of those who desired them.

THE MINSTER YARD, YORK,  
1st February 1858.

## THE COMPANY'S RAJ.

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“ THE Company's Raj is ended!—The English have been long in the country, but they know little of us!” Such were the oracular sentences—worthy of the First Napoleon,—which fell upon the astonished ears of the officers of the 22d Bengal Native Infantry, when, one morning in June last, they found the usual relations of military discipline suddenly inverted, and themselves awaiting, from the mouth of a subadar, the doom so mercilessly inflicted on their compatriots at other stations. Happily the revolt was conducted at Fyzābad in a spirit which stands out in bright relief upon the gloomy mass of Sepoy treachery. Guards had been placed to prevent any pillage of public or private property. The former was taken possession of for the “ King of Delhi,” the latter was placed at the disposal of the officers. Boats were provided to convey them down the Gogra to the Ganges, and money offered to defray their charges; all which being despatched in the most business-like manner, the “grave subadar” turned out his guard, and bade adieu to his former superiors with the general salute! We trust that some way will be found of remembering the gentle Moslem's courtesies, should he survive to meet his European friends again upon the ancient footing.

Meantime his words have found an echo in quarters which the subadar never dreamed of. We do not now allude to the *Univers*, whose rabid Popery shrieks with delight at Protestant suffering and humiliation; nor to that small portion of its Celtic co-religionists, whose pitiable insanity has earned the well-merited designation of Irish Sepoys. Even in England, where neither the press nor the public is wont, under the severest pressure, to give itself up to absolute forgetfulness of truth and right, a dis-

position has been manifested to traduce ourselves in respect to the acquisition and government of our Indian Empire to an extent at once highly foolish and unjust. It is nothing new for us to perform with ostentatious publicity a piece of household work which other nations—like decent individuals—confine to their back premises. Our dirty linen is always hung out in the face of the world, and that gentleman and his wife formally invited to take notice of our determination to expunge every spot, pay what we may for salt and soda. The British public, in such moments of introspection, is eminently conscientious; it accuses itself with a prodigality of censure which would be ill borne from another quarter. Perhaps it ought rather to be said that one portion of it accuses the rest; for it must be owned that the public, like the private, conscience has a tendency to that most popular of all penances, the confession of other men's sins. In the Crimean troubles, the Secretary of the Admiralty acknowledged with edifying candour the shortcomings of the Horse-Guards; and in the same spirit, a portion of the press has begun to prepare for a national whitewashing, by making a scapegoat of the East India Company.

Our Indian possessions (we are told) have been too long sacrificed to the commercial spirit of a mercantile corporation. The "double government" which impedes the development of a truly imperial policy must be swept away. The British nation will no longer tolerate the timid policy which, for the sake of gain, has deferred so shamefully to Hindoo idolatry, and obstructed the spread of civilisation and Christianity in the East. It was a sin to permit a company of merchants to invade a distant continent, and go on adding province to province in the British name. This national offence must be now repaired by at once transferring the natives to the protection of the Crown, so allowing free scope for the intelligence and energy of Parliament to ameliorate their condition, and consolidate our power in the interests and affections of the indigenous races.

Such is the language not unfrequently heard in circles that ought to be ashamed of the dense ignorance on which it is based. The *Times*, which claims to be the instructor of the public mind both in England and Europe, informed the world, at the close of the week in which our National Humiliation was performed, that "what is called public opinion, is taking in hand Indian affairs;"

—“a more public and responsible management is already resolved on; and when Parliament reassembles, it will treat the subject with as little reserve, and with as direct an appeal to the responsibility of the Minister, as if it were a purely domestic question.” The same article talks of “the mysterious and unapproachable body which actually governs India,” declaring “that no Minister will be henceforth permitted to throw on the shadow of a company or a board the responsibility of measures or neglects in which we are all as deeply concerned as in the welfare of our own metropolis.”\*

Now, it is only natural that those peers and representatives of the nation, who have always emptied the benches of Parliament, as if a grenade had been cast among them, the moment an Indian question was mooted—or hailed the rising of the President of the Board of Control to open the Indian budget, as the most legitimate of dinner-bells, should be in utter ignorance of the actual government of India;—though their ignorance, unhappily, offers small impediment to the post-prandial eloquence which helps to confuse the minds of their constituents during the recess. The *Times*, however, is well aware that no portion of the national possessions is more directly under the control and administration of the Queen’s Ministers than British India is, and has been ever since the establishment of the Board of Control in 1784. The despatches which bear the signatures of the Directors, and are dated from the East India House, are really the orders of the Queen’s responsible Minister, the President of that Board. Though originated at the India House, they are jealously scrutinised and remorsefully altered by the President; whole paragraphs are struck out and others introduced, changing the entire tenor and effect of the original draft. Drafts, again, are freely originated by the President himself; and cases are not wanting when the Directors have been compelled to affix their signatures to a despatch altogether composed at the Board of Control, and from every word of which they earnestly dissented. So absolute is this power, that it has actually been enforced on the Directors by *mandamus*. Nay, the President often orders despatches to be signed by the “Secret Committee” (consisting of the Chairman, Deputy-Chairman, and one other Director, bound to secrecy), which are transmitted to India without the knowledge of the Court of Directors. All the power, in short, which the East

\* *Times* Leading Article, October 10.

India Company or their Directors ever had in the political government of India, was to submit their opinions to the consideration of the Queen's Ministers; and as the Company always comprised the persons in England best acquainted with Indian affairs, this was, in effect, but to surround a Minister, whom the exigencies of party politics often placed at the head of a department of which he was wholly ignorant, with sources of information which he would have sought for in vain in either House of Parliament.

A more potential voice was possessed by the Company in the management of its commercial affairs, so long as it continued to be a corporation of merchants; but this character altogether disappeared at the parliamentary review of its charter in 1833-4. The Company then ceased to be a trading body; its commercial assets were transferred to the nation, subject to the fixed dividend payable on the capital stock; and the "East India Company" has since designated simply the holders of a certain species of public stock, who are privileged to elect the Directors to execute the function we have described in advising the Board of Control. This privilege, again, was considerably abridged at the review of 1853-4, when the number of Directors was reduced from twenty-four to eighteen, and the appointment of one-third of the body was lodged with the President of the India Board. This change may possibly have tended to shorten the discussion (if that be any advantage) of the President's measures; but it was certainly not required to give him absolute authority over the ultimate decision. Lord Ellenborough, when questioned on this point, answered, "While President of the Board of Control, I governed India." And Lord Broughton was not less explicit on the operations which, of all our military proceedings in India, admit of the worst defence: "I made the Affghan war," said that nobleman—whose qualifications for the post were not so much superior to Mr Vernon Smith's,—"*the Court of Directors had nothing to do with it.*" Again, the Directors were not only not consulted in regard to the late Persian war, but the Company's troops were ordered on that expedition without their assent, by the present Ministers of the Crown. In the face of these facts the public is urged to secure a more public and responsible management of Indian affairs," by abolishing the Directors, whose function it has been to make the interests of

India heard in the strife of party politics at home, and so occasionally to protect the natives from the ignorance or rashness of an inexperienced Minister of the Crown.

It is in India itself, however, much more than in the Home Government, that the administration is practically lodged. Here, again, under the name of the East India Company, the Ministers of the Crown are absolutely and exclusively responsible. The Court of Directors have about as much to say to the appointment of their Governor-Generals, Governors, and Commanders-in-Chief, as a dean and chapter to the election of their bishop. The individual is first named by the President to "the chairs," and then Her Majesty's approval is formally requested by the Directors for his appointment. Where there is a personal quarrel, as in the case of Sir C. Napier, the Directors may resist an appointment; but the effect is only to continue in power the previous nominee of the Crown, and even delay is at last overborne by the weight of the royal authority. Or, as in the case of Lord Ellenborough, the Directors can *recall* a Governor who drives them to that extremity of indignation; but the unwonted paroxysm only renders the Court more supple and obsequious towards the next nominee of Her Majesty's Ministers. It is by the Governor-General, and by the Governors and Commanders-in-Chief over whom he exercises supreme authority, far more than by the despatches from home, that India is and must be ruled. The home despatches themselves arise out of their acts, proceed on their representations, and depend largely on their discretion in the carrying out, or modification, of the line of proceeding laid down in this country. The Governor-General, in fact, is invested by Parliament with *legislative* powers not accorded either to the Board of Control or the Court of Directors; and we suspect that when Lord Ellenborough wielded that authority—which has no equal in the world save perhaps in the imperial crown of Russia—he discovered that he ruled India far more practically and extensively than while presiding at the Board of Control.

Now, the only share accorded to the Court of Directors in the constitution of the Indian governments, is the nomination of a moiety of the *Council* with which the governors are to advise in the execution of their functions. The Supreme Council at Calcutta consists of the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief,



and a legal member, nominees of the Crown, together with three of the civil or military servants of the Company, nominated by the Court of Directors. The Councils at Madras and Bombay are in like manner composed of two nominees of the Crown (the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief), and two civil servants of the Company appointed by the Directors. In all cases the Governor has a casting vote; and he is further privileged, by simply entering a minute to that effect, to act in any matter on his own sole responsibility *against* the united opinion of the rest of the Council. These extensive powers it has been found necessary, from experience, to lodge in the persons selected by the Queen's Ministers to govern India; and it is far more likely they should be still further extended and consolidated, by uniting the offices of Governor and Commander-in-Chief, than abridged through any changes consequent on the present disturbances. The abolition of the Court of Directors, then, would only take away an existing check on the selection of the persons to administer these extensive powers in India, in order to vest the patronage exclusively in Downing Street and the Horse-Guards.\*

It is strange that such a proposal should proceed from the very quarter which so vehemently censured the imbecility and corruption of the Government offices in the conduct of the Crimean war; stranger still that it should be based on the alleged determination of that "public opinion" which so short a time since called for the infusion of *middle-class* energy and intelligence into the affairs of Government. For this is precisely the function discharged by the East India Directors in the management of our Indian Empire. They are themselves, to a man, sprung from the middle classes; being either City merchants or retired Indian officers, presenting a striking contrast to the "junior lords" who are supposed to aid the labours of the Premier and the head of the Admiralty. The patronage of the Directors flows, in consequence, almost wholly to the middle classes. In their service there is neither purchase of commissions, nor the cold shade of aristocratical influence, to check the career of merit. Their civil and medical services are now open

\* It was overlooked when these remarks were written, that by the last Charter Act, (16 & 17 Vict., c. 95, § 20), the nomination of members of council is likewise subjected to the Board of Control, as that of Governors and Commanders-in-Chief were before. The Crown is therefore already absolute in the appointment of the Indian Governments.

to unrestrained competition, and their cadetships are bestowed on the sons of officers, clergymen, attorneys, surgeons, merchants, and even tradesmen, enabling many a gallant spirit to earn the highest distinctions in India, which might have pined and died in obscurity before a way had opened to its aspirations through the avenues of Whitehall.\* For this reason, if for no other, we should venture to demur to the authority which has re-echoed in England the short-sighted sentence of the deluded subadar at Fyzabad,—“the Company’s Raj is ended.”

The title and character of the British rule in India, even more than the authorities by which it has been administered, have likewise been made the theme of misrepresentations, for which ignorance is no excuse. Before preachers or members of Parliament attempt to make a clean breast for the nation at the expense of the East India Company, they are bound to ascertain not only the authority really responsible for the alleged misdeeds, but the existence of the guilt they deplore. On this point, so lugubriously reiterated in our public confessions, we meet with nothing but empty declamation or insinuations ludicrously out of place. A senator in one place censures the East India Company for having kept up an inordinate army, with the view of acquiring territory by unjust conquest; when it is matter of notoriety that our Indian possessions were mostly acquired by Governors-General, *against* the repeated injunctions and protests of the Company, and that the Indian armies are *smaller*,† in proportion to the

\* “There cannot be found in the history of Europe the existence of any monarchy which, within a given time, has produced so many men of the first talents in civil and military life as India has first trained for herself, and then given back to their native country.”—*Speech of Mr Canning at a Public Dinner to Sir John Malcolm, 13th July 1827.*

† The effective strength of the Bengal army in 1856 was as follows :—

European Officers,	2,070
Do. Non-Commissioned rank and file,	21,522
Natives, Regular,	95,642
Do. Irregular,	43,311

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162,545

The Madras and Bombay armies were, in all, 120,325

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Total British Troops, 282,870

Add the contingents of native princes, 32,300

And the light troops of our allies available on emergencies, 398,918

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Making a total of 714,088

for the defence of 180 millions of people, or not quite one soldier to 250 per-

population and territory they have to defend, than that of the least warlike nations of the West. At another time the people are called on to repent of the national guilt in displacing the ancient dynasties of India, and intruding a foreign government on the oppressed natives.

It is no doubt very natural for speakers, who must be conscious they have bestowed no attention on the history or actual condition of British India, to be visited by misgivings that all is not right in a country where we are now subjected to such unheard-of calamities; but really some inquiry ought to be made into the fact before the sufferers are concluded to have been "sinners above all men." Some account of the spirit in which our Indian possessions were really being governed at the moment of the Sepoy insurrection, appeared in *Maga* of December last; \* the rise and progress of the Sepoy rebellion was traced in *September*, † and we shall now proceed to furnish the materials for a sounder judgment than "what is called public opinion" (to adopt the phraseology of the *Times*) would appear as yet to have been able to form on the questions it professes to have "taken in hand."

So far from supplanting the ancient and legitimate rulers of India, it is matter of history that no power retaining even the semblance of such a title existed in India when the foundations of our empire were laid. The Mohammedans, from whom our first acquisitions were made, were neither an indigenous, an ancient, nor a legitimate government. Their power rested neither on natural right, nor on possession consolidated by time and the consent of the natives. From the middle of the tenth century to the close of the twelfth, they were nothing but robbers, invading the land in a succession of predatory expeditions, conducted by different tribes, and marked by ferocities greatly exceeding those of their contemporary marauders, the Saxons in Europe. After Kutb-oo-deen had established a Mohammedan throne at Delhi in 1193, the land was equally far from finding rest under its shadow. Three Affghan, or Patan, dynasties succeeded one another, the advent of each being emblazoned in

sons. The army in France is as one to 100; and even in the United States, the numbers trained to military employment, and available for the defence of 23 millions of people, amount to 1,923,280, costing, in time of peace, £3,139,436.

\* *Blackwood's Magazine*, No. cccxcv., "Our Indian Empire."

† *Ibid*, No. dlx., "The Bengal Mutiny."

characters of blood and flame, till Tamerlane plunged all government again in destruction, killing 100,000 prisoners in cold blood before the walls of Delhi, and delivering up the city to incredible massacre and pillage, A.D. 1398. Out of the anarchy which ensued, two Mohammedan kingdoms arose in the Deccan—Golconda and Beejapore—wholly independent of the empire of Delhi. Bengal and Gujerat were also independent governments, and at war with their neighbours. The Mogul dominion was not founded till 1526, when Baber took Delhi; nor consolidated till 1686, when Aurungzebe subjugated Beejapore, and exhibited for the first time a single Mohammedan empire in India. Aurungzebe, whose personal character was detestable, and his long reign one series of bigoted persecution of Hindoo faith and worship, died in 1707; and the eleven succeeding years witnessed the violent ends of eleven princes of his blood, six of whom had attained, and the other five were competitors for, the royal title. In the midst of these intestine commotions, Nadir Shah once more carried fire and sword through Hindostan, delivered up the city of Delhi to another indiscriminate massacre, and returned to Persia with treasure to the amount of twenty millions of money.\* The Affghans broke in again after his retirement. The Mogul emperor was reduced to a puppet in the hands of his revolted feudatories, and incurable anarchy overspread the land. The Mahrattas were at the gates of Delhi twenty years before the battle of Plassey.

Our territories were really acquired, first, from the Nabob of Bengal, a revolted feudatory of the Great Mogul, who attacked us while in the peaceable pursuit of commerce, in factories erected under the plighted protection of the Imperial Government, and perpetrated the massacre of the Black Hole;—secondly, in defending the Nabob of the Carnatic, in whose territory Fort St George was founded, against the usurpation of the Nizam assisted by the French;—thirdly, in chastising the unprovoked aggression of Hyder and Tippoo, who had deposed the Hindoo Rajah of My-

\* Among the spoil then abstracted was the Koh-i-noor, which had been found in the mines of Golconda, and presented to the father of Aurungzebe. From Nadir it descended to the Dooranee monarchs of Afghanistan, from the last of whom, Shah Soojah, it was wrested by Runjeet Singh, and being found in the Lahore treasury on its capture in 1849, was presented by the victorious army to Her Most Gracious Majesty.

sore and usurped his dominion ;—fourthly, in repressing the Mahrattas, a Hindoo clan, who, originally driven by the persecutions of Aurungzebe to take refuge in the Western Ghauts, founded a state at Sattara, from which they issued in clouds of light-horse to levy *chout* or tribute on every territory they could reach. These were, in effect, professed freebooters, and the tradition of their origin is still preserved in the domestic ceremonies of a Mahratta chief. On some occasions it is “ custom ” to send out his retainers to plunder some neighbouring bazaar—paying, indeed for the articles abstracted, and only seeking, by this fictitious robbery, to keep alive the memory of “ the good old rule, the simple plan,” which formed the glory of his ancestors. We are almost ashamed to be obliged thus to recall to English memories the character of the enemy whom Wellington defeated at Assaye. To talk of *injustice* in rescuing the population of India out of hands like these, is much like accusing the good Samaritan of man-stealing, for bearing away to his inn the exhausted victim of thieves and assassins.

It is perhaps not drawing too heavily on the memory of “ what is called public opinion,” to assume that it has not forgotten the Burmese, from whom we acquired the Tenasserim coast in 1824 ; or the Sikhs, who, having overrun the Punjaub under Runjeet Singh, and been treated as British allies, while their leader lived to restrain their audacity, poured across the Sutlej on his death, and, after the usual routine of defeat, treaty, breach of faith, renewed hostilities, and final conquest, have since reposed in great prosperity under the Company’s Raj.

Exceptions may doubtless be taken to this summary statement of the growth of the British empire in India. We do not pretend that every part of its history is free from a charge that can be brought against almost every country in Europe ; but we deny that any war of simple acquisition was ever undertaken, that any nationality was ever obliterated, any franchises destroyed, any injury or degradation inflicted on the natives.\*

\* These remarks refer to our progress toward the position of paramount power in India, proclaimed by Lord Hastings after the close of the Mahratta war. Since then we have occupied a position which brought with it its own necessities and obligations, by which the various “ annexations ” of minor territories are to be judged. We must add, that we have no intention of apologising for the invasion of Afghanistan, or the appropriation of Scinde. These were the acts of the Crown Ministers, protested against by the Directors.

Our conquests, if they may be called so, have differed from all others in being limited to the assumption of the sovereign power, without violence to private rights or national institutions. When the Normans conquered England, a foreign nation was permanently intruded upon the native population. Castles, manors, and freeholds changed hands; the Saxon heiress was forcibly given in marriage to the Norman adventurer; the native bishops and thanes were ejected to make room for foreign prelates and barons. The whole constitution in Church and State was subverted, and the conquered race became the serfs of the conqueror. Similar were the effects of the Mohammedan invasion of India, and of the Spanish conquests in America. The British occupancy of India, we say, is altogether of another character. It plants no foreign colony in the land, invades no man's property, subverts no public usage, civil or religious.\* Instead of reducing the conquered race to serfdom or bondage, it zealously uproots the slavery it found existing in the country. Far from subverting, it occupies itself in searching out, re-establishing, and enlarging, whatever popular rights existed in old times; while its every act of interference is designed to bestow, or to educate for, yet higher advantages. The only charge alleged with any shadow of truth in this particular, is, that our Government has not yet secured for its native subjects all the benefits which a never-flagging zeal for civilisation and Christianity might have been able to develop. That it has *deprived* them of a single comfort or privilege—that it has not vastly improved their condition, both morally and materially—are assertions never hazarded but by the most ignorant, as well as the most unnatural, calumniators of their country.

We propose to lay before our readers some few of the many facts which incontestibly establish the character of British administration in India. And first as regards the native princes. India contains at this day upwards of two hundred Hindoo and Mohammedan potentates, exercising jurisdiction over territories more or less affected by our supremacy. Some are subsidiary,

\* The "twenty-four Pergunnahs" (the district in which Calcutta is situate), was granted in property by a *sumnud* of the Nabob's. But the native proprietors alleging their claim, Mr Hastings was convinced of the illegality of the grant, and restored them to their rights.

some protected, some independent—subject, therefore, in various degrees, to British interference, but even the latter class obliged to acknowledge us as the paramount State, and the sole arbitrator of peace or war. The total area of the native states is returned at 627,910 square miles, while British India covers 838,019 square miles, making respectively about 3-7ths and 4-7ths of the whole. These native rulers comprehend the representatives of every dynasty, ancient or modern, which could on any pretext lay claim to authority; they may well be supposed ready to take advantage of the first opportunity to throw off a foreign and oppressive yoke. Nine months have now elapsed since symptoms of open discontent appeared in the Bengal army, and five since it broke out into a bloody revolt, and planted the Mohammedan flag upon the walls of Delhi. Our stations were never so bare of European troops. The native army has disappeared, or taken up arms against us; and the cruellest tortures—designed expressly to dishonour as well as to afflict—have been endured by our officers and their families, while England has as yet seemed powerless to avert or avenge them. How many injured princes, we ask, have appeared in the field to exult and assist in the destruction of their oppressor? How many subsidiary powers have rushed to secure their independence? How many independent allies have taken advantage of our moment of weakness to chase the foreigner out of the land? The answer to these questions is almost incredible. *Not one* native ruler has repaired to the standard of the Padishah at Delhi! The contingents of Holkar and Scindia have yielded to the mutinous example of our own Sepoys; but both those Maharajahs, though at the mercy of their troops, are firm to our cause, have protected our officers, and rendered most material assistance in keeping open the communications. Rumours reach the Calcutta papers of apprehended intrigues by the old Begum of Bhopal, and some agitation has been manifested at Hyderabad; \* but nothing as yet implicates even these Mohammedan rulers in the “conspiracy,” so gratuitously imagined in this country, against the British power. A few Nawaubs and Khans have robbed and murdered on their own account; but the high-spirited princes of

\* The latest intelligence reports all now quiet, and the Nizam (the most likely head of a Mohammedan rising) our friend.

Rajpootana, Malwa, Bundelcund, and Gujerat, with the Sikh rulers on both sides the Sutlej, are entirely with us; while our independent allies, the Rajahs of Nepal and Cashmere, afford both sympathy and succour.

The position of some of these states was such as absolutely to cut away the base of our operations against the mutineers in Delhi, had they been so disposed. The communications between the North-western Provinces and the Punjaub were in their power, on one side; they could have interposed against reliefs from Calcutta, on the other. Had they been actuated by any common hostility, it was in their hands to have absolutely extirpated our countrymen through the whole sphere of the revolt. Instead of attempting this, they have stood loyally forward to our assistance. Where, then, are those "time-honoured" thrones subverted by British aggression? Where are the princes whom we have alienated by injustice and perfidy? Positively only *three persons* of any pretensions to the title have as yet engaged, or been suspected of engaging, in the Sepoy insurrection. These are the Padishah at Delhi, the ex-king of Oude, and the miscreant Dhundoo Punt, called the Nana Sahib. The stories of these men are alone sufficient to justify the government which they have so basely assailed in a moment of difficulty.

Mohammed Bahadur Padishah is the grandson of that Shah Alum whom the British rescued from the hands of the Vizier of Oude in 1765, and restored to a territory yielding £200,000 a-year, in return for a formal grant of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, then actually in our possession by the defeat of the revolted nabob. The return he made for our assistance was to go over to the Mahrattas, under whose protection he entered Delhi, to find himself the prisoner of Scindia. At sixty-five years of age, one of his jailers, a Rohilla chief, fell upon the unhappy emperor, struck out his eyes with a dagger, and subjected the females of his family to plunder and outrage. When Delhi was taken by General Lake in 1803, this poor blinded representative of the "Great Mogul" was found in the most abject destitution, and being again received into British protection, was released from captivity, and settled with the royal name and honours in the palace at Delhi (described by Bishop Heber as only second to Windsor Castle), with an



annual allowance of twelve lacs, or £120,000. In this condition of comfort and affluence, exceeding all he had ever known before, Shah Alum died at the age of eighty-six, and was succeeded by his son Akbar in 1806. The prestige attending the title of the Mogul, and still more the possession of Delhi (which, under the name of Indraprestha, was the seat of Hindoo royalty before the Christian era), rendered it advisable to retrench some of the regal customs observed towards the nominal Padishah. It was, in fact, a serious mistake to allow him the semblance of a throne, or indeed an abode within the city, which is venerated alike by Moslem and Hindoo throughout India. It could scarcely have been foreseen, however, that the pride of the puppet Mogul would have been wounded by Lord Hastings taking a seat in his pensioner's presence when Governor-General! Lord Ellenborough further affronted his present majesty by finally forbidding, though not without pecuniary compensation, the presentation of *nuzzurs* or royal offerings by Government functionaries. But the summit of British oppression was reached when the descendant of Timour was required to pay his debts to the members of his numerous family. His poor relations complained that their share of the allowance designed for the maintenance of the royal family and household was withheld; and after some remonstrances, the Padishah was prevailed upon to accept an addition of three lacs to his revenue (making £150,000 per annum), with the condition of providing for the claims of his dependants.\* This unpalatable stipulation constitutes the grievance, upon the strength of which this traitor hailed the arrival of the blood-stained mutineers from Meerut; admitted them into the city through the palace; supplied them with scaling-ladders to attack the magazine; and personally ordered the slaughter of Mr Fraser, Captain Douglas, the Rev. Mr Jennings, his daughter, and some others, who were conducted to the palace alive.† It is quite in keeping that he

\* Such is the statement given in that most accurate compilation, *Thornton's Gazetteer of India*. But the total amount returned as paid to the "Royal Family" in 1855-1856 is £130,988, of which £95,776 is the stipend and allowance of "His Majesty," and £4407 of the heir-apparent.—*Parl. Paper*, 135, 26th June 1857—*House of Commons*.

† The statement of the native informant transmitted by the supreme Government in subsequent despatches, corrects the many painful and inconsistent accounts current in different parts of India respecting the details of this horrible

is said to have subsequently offered to surrender the place, with all the mutineer Sepoys, to British justice, on condition of his allowance being augmented to thirty lacs! If the Sepoys discover the proposal, they may probably anticipate his benevolent intentions; otherwise, we trust that General Neill and his provost-marshal may have been charged to award his majesty his deserts on the capture of the devoted city.

The ex-king of Oude owed the title of which he has been deprived to the same authority which has adjudged its forfeiture. His ancestor was the revolted vizier whom we utterly defeated and reduced to submission, after occupying Lucknow in 1765. After the settlement then agreed upon with the Mogul,\* he became an ally, and eventually a subsidiary, of the British Government, with whose sanction he assumed the title of King in 1818, thereby formally renouncing his long-expired dependence on the Great Mogul. These relations appear to have been maintained in perfect amity down to 1837, when a disputed succession to the throne occasioned some internal disturbances. On the accession of a new king in 1842, the British Resident was instructed to press for the reforms requisite to restore tranquillity and security. Promises were made and broken; nothing had been effected at the death of this prince in 1847; and his successor, Wajid Ali Shah, proving weaker and more profligate than his predecessors, the ultimate resource, long threatened, was carried into effect by Lord Dalhousie, and the territories of Oude were annexed to the British empire. To dispute the justice of this proceeding was the object of the queen-mother's visit to this country, and her cause is intrusted to an advocate who will not fail to give it every effect in the House of Commons. We shall not here anticipate Sir Fitzroy Kelly's case, *or the reply*; but we may at once dispose of the notion that the proceeding complained of was the cause of the Sepoy rebellion, by observing that neither Mohammedans nor

tragedy. It mentions that their bodies were seen in the palace, where they had been killed by order of the king, without any allusion to the further barbarities reported in some private letters. It may be hoped, therefore, that no additional outrages were really perpetrated. Brigadier Graves also, who, when we wrote in September, was believed to be among the murdered, escaped with his life.

\* The emperor first offered the Soubah of Oude to the Company, and on their refusal, asked their assistance in resuming it himself; but the English preferred to restore the vizier.

Hindoos, beyond his own family, could take any deep interest in the fortunes of Wajid Ali. By the former he is regarded as a rebel against the Great Mogul, who, as was remarked by the intelligent subadar at Fyzabad, "never made a King of Oude." To the Hindoos he is of course a natural enemy as a Mohammedan, and notwithstanding its long subjection to Mohammedan rule, by far the greater portion of the inhabitants of Oude are Hindoos. The *Sepoys* in this district, as in others, may have gladly hailed a military revolt, and from the disbandment of a large portion of the late monarch's ineffective army, there was doubtless an excess of the inflammable element scattered over the territory. Still the delivery from Mohammedan oppression of one of the earliest seats of Hindoo government and civilisation, could not in itself be other than satisfactory to the Brahmins and Cshatriyas, who still muster strong within its borders.

The third and most infamous of the three native chiefs implicated in the revolt, is Dhundoo Punt, called the Nana Sahib,—a name, or rather a title,\* not unknown in Mahratta history. This man is the adopted son of Bajee Rao, the last *Peishwah* of the Mahrattas. The nominal sovereign of these freebooters was the Rajah of Sattara; but the *Peishwah* (a title nearly equivalent to *vizier* among the Mohammedans, though originally inferior to another functionary called the *Priti Nidhi*) had long become virtually supreme. Bajee Rao falling into difficulties with Holkar and Scindia, powerful chiefs of his own race, was saved from utter destruction by a treaty concluded with the British at Bassein, in 1803. Faithless and cruel as Hindoo princes in general, he again provoked hostilities in 1818, which resulted in his casting himself on the British mercy, after his country had been reduced, and his own deposal from power formally proclaimed. He received, through the misplaced generosity of Sir John Malcolm, a pension of eight lacs, together with the Jaghire of Bithoor, a place on the Ganges sacred to Brahma, who is said to have there sacrificed a horse on the completion of the act of creation. The

\* *Nana* literally means maternal grandfather, and is used by the Mahrattas simply as a title of honour. The same designation was borne by the Nana Furnavese, the great opponent of Bajee Rao and his father in their struggle for the supreme power. The account in the text is corrected agreeably to a Note on this article which appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* for January 1858.

pin of the god's slipper, believed to have been left behind on the occasion, is still worshipped in one of the steps of the splendid ghât which rises from the sacred stream. Here Bajee Rao quietly ended his eventful career in 1851. Having no son, he adopted for his heirs two children, of whom Dhundoo Punt is the younger, and in virtue of this adoption Dhundoo laid claim to a continuance both of the pension and the jaghire granted to the deceased. Lord Dalhousie disallowed the claim, granting him, however, permission to reside at Bithoor, though the civil and criminal administration of the jaghire was resumed by Government. The pension was claimed as granted to Bajee Rao and his heirs; and it was urged that the adoption of these children was formally made by will some considerable time previous to his decease.

But the words of the treaty of 1st June 1818, under which the old Peishwah surrendered to Sir John Malcolm, are these: "That Bajee Rao shall receive a liberal pension from the Company's Government for the support of *himself and family*"—an ambiguous expression, which, taken alone, might seem to admit the interpretation of "him and his heirs." Sir John Malcolm, however, in his letter to Mr Secretary Adam reporting the transaction, under date 13th June 1818, writes as follows: "I therefore fixed his pension at one lac more than that enjoyed by Amrut Rao, as considering it only temporary, being *for his life*, and *including* all his family and future dependants, with whom we had not made separate terms." This language leaves no doubt as to the understanding upon which the surrender of Bajee Rao took place. The pension was for his life only, and to include all claims on the part of his family.

With respect to the adoption of the pretended heirs, we are also enabled no less conclusively to refute a claim which has strangely enough found a qualified credence among some official persons in this country. The following is a copy of the official letter from the Commissioner at Bithoor reporting the circumstance:—

From G. J. JOHNSON, Esq., Commissioner, Bethoor, to G. SWINTAN, Esq., Secretary to the Government.—Fort William, 14th June 1827.

Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council, that Bajee Row adopted two children on the 7th instant.

2. When informed that such was his purpose, a day before the ceremony took place, I hinted to him that it might have been better had he given me the opportunity of informing his Lordship of his intentions.

3. He replied that he had been unwell for some time past, and at that moment laboured under an attack of fever (which I am aware was the case), and that he did not deem it proper longer to put off what eventually he had determined on performing.

4. Under these circumstances I did not think I had any right to offer further remarks ; the ceremony was completed.

5. The names of the two boys are Suddchoo Rao, aged four years ; and Doondy Rao (the Nana Sahib), aged two years and a half : they are the sons of two Bramins who have lately resided at Bethoor, and arrived from the Deccan about one year ago.

6. It has been intimated to me that Bajee Row would consider it a great compliment were I to present a Klulluth to him, and receive one in return on this occasion. I of course declined so doing until I had received the orders of Government, which I now have the honour to solicit.— I have, &c.

(Signed) G. J. JOHNSON,  
Commissioner.

BETHOOR, COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,  
14th June 1827.

This document makes it perfectly clear that this Doondy Rao or Punt, the Cawnpore butcher, is no blood relation whatever to the deceased Peishwah, and that so far from meaning to confer on him the rights of succession now claimed, Bajee Rao did not even think it necessary to communicate the intended adoption to the Supreme Government. It is an established principle in Hindoo public law that political rights do not pass by adoption, unless guaranteed at the time by the paramount power ; and as the Peishwah did not even solicit such a guarantee, it is clear that he knew his interest in the State pension to be only a life one, and had no thought of its being continued to the adopted son. It is well known that adoption is a matter of religious obligation among Hindoos who have no male representative to perform the funeral rites. Bajee Rao, being a Brahmin, would naturally be solicitous that his pyre should be fired by an orthodox hand—*Dardaniique rogum capitis permittere flammæ*—and in strict accordance with the law, the whole of his enormous personalty became the prize of the wandering “Brahmins from the Deccan,” who had the good fortune to be intrusted with the office. The pride and covetousness of the Mahratta were deeply wounded by

the decision; and then, with our usual criminal indulgence towards extinct or supposititious royalty, the pretender was allowed to continue in his stronghold, to assume the title of Peishwah, and to surround himself with troops and guns! \* The bitter fruits of this halting between two opinions were reaped by the unhappy fugitives from Futteghur and the murdered garrison of Cawnpore.

We were unwilling, in September, to stain our pages with the ghastly story then floating doubtfully in the Indian papers; but it is, alas! too true that 126 men, women, and children, who had effected their escape from Futteghur in a boat, were intercepted by this ruffian a short distance from Cawnpore, and butchered in cold blood in his presence. The account of a native eyewitness, sent home by the Government, states that "one young lady, daughter of a general, told the Nana it was cowardly to butcher women and children, told him to remember that the day of retribution would come, and it would be severe; she was then murdered!" The second wholesale massacre of the gallant Sir Hugh Wheeler, who, wounded and dying, was prevailed on to capitulate, and then basely slaughtered with the whole remains of his garrison, also took place in the presence of this fiend in human shape. He looked on unmoved by the agony of wives who were torn from the arms of their husbands, or the expostulations of the betrayed victims, with many of whom he had lived in friendly intercourse and hospitality. He could even order the clergyman's bonds to be loosed for the purpose of consecrating their last moments with Christian offices, and then slaughter the pastor and his flock together without remorse. Finally, it was by his personal order, and probably in his presence, that the ladies and children reserved from that massacre were ruthlessly butchered—*ay*, literally *butchered*, by men and weapons fetched from the *shambles*—the evening before Havelock reached Cawnpore. Altogether, *a thousand* British lives have

\* The whole question of these "Political Pensions" ought to undergo a thorough revision. They are returned in the Parliamentary paper before quoted, at £1,244,498; a heavy charge on the public revenue, and consumed for the most part by individuals who represent no genuine royalty or nationality, and whose "courts" and "palaces" are dens of immorality and intrigue against the Government.

fallen a prey in cold blood to this villanous Mahratta—the genuine type of his race, and of the “ princely dynasties ” which British arms are blamed for overthrowing.

Turning now from the princes to the *people* of India, we are in a condition to show, from the most unmistakable evidence, their appreciation of John Company’s Raj. The most decisive test of the permanent character of any government, is the increase or decrease of the population under its sway. Under a harsh and oppressive rule, the subject either sinks into bondage and pauperism, or saves himself by emigration. In either case a decrease in the population uniformly attests the pressure on their freedom and resources. Apply, then, this rule to British India, and particularly to the districts which have been longest under our sway. There is now before us a printed statement, dated at the East India House, in February last, showing the area and population of each division and presidency of India, according to the latest returns. The importance of this document can hardly be over-rated, since it alone affords the materials for the completest refutation of the charges made against British administration. The following are the totals :—

	Area in Square Miles.	Population.
Under the Supreme Government of India,	246,050	23,255,972
Under the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal,	222,609	41,212,562
Under Lieut.-Governor of N.W. Provinces,	105,726	33,216,365
Bengal, &c.,	574,385	97,684,899
Under the Madras Government,	132,090	22,437,297
Under the Bombay Government,	131,544	11,790,042
Total British India,	838,019	131,912,238
Native States,	627,910	48,423,630
French and Portuguese,	1,254	517,149
Total,	1,467,183	180,853,017

Let us compare these results with the condition of Christendom. Excluding Russia and the lesser states of the Baltic, the area of the remaining portions of continental Europe is 1,202,173 square miles, and the population 161,446,854, giving an average of 134 to the square mile ;—while that of British India, including all its wide tracts of jungle, marsh, desert, and mountain, is as high as 124. If we pursue the comparison into the details

given at the foot of the page,\* we shall find that Bengal, our most ancient possession in India, presents an area considerably less than Austria, yet is equal in population to Austria, Switzerland, and Holland put together. The North-Western Provinces contain almost as many inhabitants as France, though only half its dimensions. The Presidency of Madras, greatly exceeded in territory by Spain, has a population outnumbering Spain, Portugal, and Belgium put together. The Bombay Government, if we exclude its recent acquisitions of the Sattara mountains and the sandy deserts of Scinde, rules over a territory about the area of the united kingdoms of Bavaria, Hanover, Wirtemberg, and Saxony, and the population is only about a million less than that of these select portions of Germany. In short, if to these mature kingdoms of Europe we add the latest member of their family, Turkey with her European principalities, and compare the whole with British India (including every recent and unsettled acquisition), it appears that the much-abused government of the East India Company retains, on an area smaller by 100,000 square

	Area.	Population.
Austria, . . . . .	256,784	35,750,621
Swiss Confederation, . . . . .	14,907	2,392,740
Holland, . . . . .	13,571	3,397,851
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	285,262	41,541,212
	<hr/>	<hr/>
France, . . . . .	201,961	35,783,170
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Spain, . . . . .	144,698	14,216,219
Portugal, . . . . .	36,510	3,412,500
Belgium, . . . . .	11,369	4,359,090
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	192,577	21,987,809
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Bavaria, . . . . .	29,327	4,559,452
Hanover, . . . . .	14,802	1,819,253
Wirtemberg, . . . . .	7,503	1,733,263
Saxony, . . . . .	5,759	1,987,832
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	57,391	10,099,800
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Add Turkey in Europe, . . . . .	210,583	9,645,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total Twelve States of Europe,	947,774	119,056,991

The European populations are taken from the valuable little compilation before referred to, "*India and Europe compared*," by Lieut.-General John Briggs, F.R.S.



miles, a population exceeding the Western administrations by twelve millions of souls !

Against this comparison it may be urged that the East is naturally more populous than the West—an objection not sustained, however, by the condition of the oriental portions of Europe under Mussulman rule. Let us carry the comparison then to the East, and to obviate all imaginable ground of disparity, let us compare India with India—the *British* with the *native* states, possessing the same climate, and inhabited by the very same races and tribes. It appears that while British India includes about *four-sevenths* of the whole area, it contains more than *five-sevenths* of the total population. The native states, though containing less territory naturally uninhabitable, present an average population of only 77 to the square mile, to set against the 124 belonging to British sway.

Now, the people being the same in blood, religion, and habits of life under both dominions, and possessing the most absolute facilities of migration, we conceive this test to be perfectly decisive as to the native appreciation of the respective systems of government. Naturally, the domination of the foreigner, the white man, and the Christian, must be objectionable to the native, whether Mohammedan, Hindoo, or aboriginal. Some great counter-attraction must exist to account for the disproportion we have exhibited ; and the material conditions of soil and climate being the same, it can only be the superior protection afforded to life and property under British authority which occasions the augmented population. The verdict thus pronounced by the natives themselves, outweighs all the declamation of preachers and orators in England.\*

We have yet a further use to make of these instructive statistics. British India, as already observed, includes, in its vast diversity of climate and soil, a considerable extent of unculti-

\* "The comparison was instituted with a similar result, in the earliest period of the Company's government. The Marquess Wellesley pointed out to the Vizier of Oude, in 1801, the marked difference between the state of his Excellency's dominions and that of the contiguous territories of the Company. "While the territories of the Company," he wrote, "have been advancing progressively, during the last ten years, in prosperity, population, and opulence, the dominions of the Vizier, though enjoying equal advantages of prosperity and security, have rapidly and progressively declined."—THORNTON'S *India*, vol. iii. p. 193.

vated territory. To render the comparison thoroughly effectual, we should select the districts most approximating to each other in the natural conditions which necessarily influence population. The returns do not afford the means of examining more closely the condition of the native states of India. But if we turn again to the European world, the results are most astonishing. The most thickly populated country in Europe is Belgium, the paradise of agricultural fruitfulness; and next to it stands England, with its swarming hives of manufacturing industry. Belgium, then, exhibits a population of 337 persons to the square mile, and England 304. Ireland has 242, Holland 231, France but 147, and Scotland only 110. Now, in Bengal, taking the average of five of the most populous and five of the least populous districts, while the lowest gives 118 persons to the square mile, the highest yields 698! Again, in the North-Western Provinces, the lowest average is 200, and the highest 678; in Madras, the lowest average is 117, and the highest 324; while in Bombay the average ranges from 124 to 243. Thus, while there is no portion of cultivated India presenting so thin a population as Scotland, it has many districts more than twice as thickly populated as the most populous portions of Europe!

The decisive character of this test has induced us to dwell upon it at greater length than we can assign to others only second to it in importance. Few things, to an English mind, are better tests of the character of a government than the amount of *taxation* levied from the subject. Under Aurungzebe—the Great Mogul, whose dominion immediately preceded our own, and is often contrasted with it in utter ignorance of its real character—the imperial revenue is stated to have amounted to £37,724,615—a sum by no means extravagant in the gross, when compared with the extent of his dominions; though, if that amount were actually realised to the imperial exchequer, it must imply, under Mohammedan collectors, a vastly larger sum wrung from the taxpayer. Now, the Mogul empire was at no time nearly so extensive as the British, the gross revenue of which amounts to only £28,821,192; less than four-fifths of the revenue of Aurungzebe. This is the total amount paid by the hundred and thirty millions of our native subjects in India for all the purposes

of government: when contrasted with the number of persons who pay it, the result is incredibly small. In England, in the year 1852, the taxation was at the rate of £1, 19s. 4d. a-head; in France it is. £1, 12s.; in Russia 19s. 3d.; but in British India the average payment is only 4s. 4d. It is true that the value of money as compared with the necessaries of life is widely different in India and in Europe. The wages of labour, which represent the cost of living and the means of paying taxes, are on a different scale. Let us adjust the comparison, then, accordingly. The price of labour in India may be taken at about seven shillings a-month, and in England at ten shillings a-week, or about six times as high, but the taxation in England is *nine times* greater than in India. While in this country, then, the charges of government demand from each individual an annual sum equivalent to nearly *four* weeks of labour, in India they require only *two and a half*.\*

Moreover, of the total revenue so accruing, £26,599,461 is spent in India itself, in the military defence of the country, the administration of justice, and the civil and political expenditure of Government; only a very few of the agents employed being Europeans, and they expending a large part of their incomes on native servants and dealers. The charges for military stores and all other payments in England amount to little more than three millions, leaving a deficit of about a million.

General Briggs, in fact, censures the Government for having overlooked several items of taxation always levied under native governments, and sanctioned by the Institutes of Menu, declaring that "there would be no difficulty in creating new sources of revenue."

From the Parliamentary paper before quoted we have compiled a brief abstract, which we here annex, of the total income and expenditure of the year ending 30th April 1856:—

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\* This statement includes the land revenue—more than half the whole amount—which partakes of the character of *rent* more than taxation, and the opium-tax, paid almost wholly by foreigners. The *taxes* (in the proper sense of the word) paid by the native of British India are incredibly small.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
Land Revenue, . . .	£17,840,416	Charges of Collection, Re- payments, &c., . . .	£6,743,952
Customs, . . . . .	1,974,999	Civil and Political Estab- lishments, . . . . .	2,276,262
Salt, . . . . .	2,485,736	Judicial and Police, . . .	2,510,799
Opium, . . . . .	4,871,227	Public Works, . . . . .	1,881,606
Stamps, Post-office, and all other items, . . . . .	1,648,814	Military Charges, . . . . .	10,417,369
	£28,821,192	Indian Navy, &c., . . . . .	5,908,070
Deficit (reduced to £972,971 by gain on exchange and other casualties), . . . . .	1,042,892	Mint and Miscellaneous, . .	127,085
		Interest on Debt, . . . . .	2,044,318
			£26,599,461
		Charges paid in England, including military stores, transport of troops, fur- lough pay, and dividend of £632,689 to East In- dia proprietors, . . . . .	3,264,629
	£29,864,090		£29,864,090

More than half the taxation of India, it will be seen, is raised from the land, the tenure of which is well known to be of a very complicated nature, and has given rise to an abundance of misplaced censure on the Government. Whatever may be thought either of the Zemindarry or the Ryotwar systems (and they have each their champions to the present day), it is certain that neither Lord Cornwallis in adopting the one, nor Sir Thomas Munro in the other, were actuated by any but the most generous intentions towards the natives. The question was never regarded by either as one of advantage to the State, but entirely as one of justice to the proprietor and cultivator. The difficulty arose in great measure from the obscurity which Mohammedan oppression had thrown over native institutions; and if, with the light which has now been shed upon this question by subsequent researches of the Company's officers, we are now inclined to view with greater favour the village-system applied by Sir Mark Cubbon with signal success to the embarrassed territories of Mysore, and more or less followed in our later acquisitions and the north-western provinces of Bengal, it is surely no reproach to the East India Company or their servants, that, having done their best in former times with the information then available, they have steadfastly laboured, both by inquiry and experiment, after a better system, and, unlike Government departments at home, have been ready to adopt every improvement that was discovered.

We proceed to another head. Nothing is more common than to hear the "Company's government" censured by the smatterers at home for their neglect of *Public Works* in India. It is taunted with the magnificent operations of the Mogul emperors, particularly with respect to *irrigation*, than which nothing is so important to tropical agriculture. Now, we happen to have learned something of these imperial works, from a description given of them in a recent publication of Colonel Baird Smith, F.G.S., now Chief Engineer in the camp before Delhi. An important canal was made by the Emperor Feroze Toghluq in the middle of the fourteenth century, but more to water the gardens of his favourite hunting-place of Hissar, than to supply the wants of the people over whom he reigned. This canal ceased to flow shortly after the death of its projector. Nearly two centuries later it was reopened by Akbar, but ceased again in 1707, the year of Aurungzebe's demise. This canal was the more important for running through a country bordering on the desert, which returned to its original sterility on its stoppage. The famous Delhi canal was only finished under Shah Jehan in 1626, and ceased to flow at Delhi in 1753. In short, all the boasted canals of Mogul construction were practically extinct before the British came into possession. The country they had watered was, for years before our acquisition of it in the opening of the present century, the battle-field of the Mohammedans and Mahrattas, and still exhibits the traces of the ruin effected in their desolating wars. No sooner had this region come under British sway, than engineer officers were employed to report on the means of restoring the irrigation. Military engineers had, of course, but little experience to guide them, and the operations were difficult as well as novel. It is no wonder, then, that their schemes were conflicting; and the Nepaul and Mahratta wars ensuing, no progress was made up to the year 1817. The works were then vigorously pushed forward, and in the thirty years ensuing, upwards of half a million sterling was expended on canals to the west of the Jumna, and nearly £200,000 on those to the east. When the difficulty of the work is fairly considered, with the danger of mistakes,\* this implies no inconsiderable amount of exertion.

\* The town of Lalpur, whose extensive ruins are still visible in a hollow near Rohtuk, was entirely destroyed by the inefficiency of the line originally given by

Some account of that stupendous work, the Ganges Canal, opened on the 8th April 1854, was given in our issue for December last.\* Applicable to the double purpose of irrigation and navigation, it extends over 525 miles in length, measuring in its greatest depth 10 feet, and in its extreme breadth 170 feet. Viewed as a means of irrigation, it is five times as long as all the main lines of Lombardy and Egypt put together. As the channel of navigation, it nearly equals the aggregate length of the four greatest canals in France, greatly exceeds all the first-class canals of Holland put together, and is larger by one-third than the greatest navigation canal in the United States of America. The different branches in progress will extend this unparalleled monument of British engineering skill to a total length of 900 miles, affording irrigation to 1,470,000 acres of land. The cost of this splendid work amounted in 1854 to £1,400,000.

Under the government of Madras, also—though the minor presidencies always complain of the restrictions laid on their expenditure by the Supreme Government, and for some years the public works were in fact greatly neglected—yet a commission of inquiry, issued by the Court of Directors, has been attended by the most gratifying results. In the province of Tanjore, which has been better cared for than others, the yearly expenditure on works of irrigation, from 1831 to 1850, averaged £9152, effecting an increase of cultivation to the extent of 79,869 acres, with an aggregate addition to the land-revenue of £277,525—the value to the proprietors being of course augmented in proportion. Colonel Arthur Cotton, the Chief Engineer at Madras, gives the result of fifty years' work in Tanjore, as involving an expenditure of £250,000 on *new* works and improvements, effecting an annual increase of revenue of £4000, and an addition to the value of the land of £200,000 a-year. On the banks of the Godavery the same talented officer projected, in 1844, a scheme of irrigation involving the construction of a dam or weir across the bed of a broad river, with no foundation but loose sand. Adopting a native method, he succeeded in erecting a structure which required the labour of 10,000 work-

Ali Murdan Khan to the Delhi canal. The accumulated waters burst the banks, and overflowed the country with a widespread devastation.

\* *Blackwood's Magazine*, No. ccccxcv., "Our Indian Empire."

men, and the laying of 200,000 bricks per diem for four months consecutively. The part of the country irrigated by these works is estimated at 1,200,000 acres; an increase of £35,000 per annum has already accrued to the land-tax, and the ultimate result is expected to add £3,320,000 to the annual value of the land.\*

Of the munificence displayed by the "cheesemongers of Leadenhall Street," in fostering this department of national improvement, a striking illustration is afforded in the volumes of Col. Baird Smith, published under the orders of the Honourable Court of Directors. This distinguished officer was despatched by the Court on a mission, in 1850, to examine that "classic land of irrigation," Northern Italy—the only country in Europe possessed of any system of the kind worthy of scientific investigation. To a personal narrative of much interest he has annexed historical and descriptive details of the canals of irrigation in Piedmont and Lombardy, with a careful examination of the practice and legislation in both kingdoms, and a comparison of their systems with those of Northern and Central India. When "public opinion" in this country shall have enlightened itself by the perusal of these volumes, it will perhaps be less inclined to sneer at the supineness of the East India Company and its servants.

We are not the indiscriminate advocates, however, of any Government. We neither conceal nor defend the little attention as yet bestowed on the other great requisite for the development of internal resources—the construction of *roads*. In this department the Indian Government have certainly not kept pace with the demands of the age, or with the practice of other conquerors. It is chiefly on this point that the tribe of detractors, whose one idea of India is as a rival to the United States in the supply of cotton for the Manchester market, are enabled to give the semblance of justice to their complaints. It is true that much has been done to promote the growth and improve the cleaning of cotton in India, but the want of good roads ruinously cripples every other scheme for the development of native industry. The want is the more remarkable, since it is just the kind of public work most required for the political exigencies and the personal comfort of the governing race. It is quite unaccountable how English governors and commanders-in-chief should

\* BRIGGS' *India and Europe compared*.

have gone on so long,—sending troops across the country with an enormous train of camp-followers, at the rate of ten miles a-day, and wasting three precious months themselves on a river-voyage from Calcutta to Delhi,—when the system of roads with which they were familiar in England might at once have quadrupled the despatch (and therefore the efficiency) of their armies,—administering, moreover, in no small measure, to their own health and convenience, at the same time that it developed internal resources, certain to repay all the cost a hundredfold. The only apology that can be made lies in the extent and variety of the labours which an Indian Government is expected to undertake. We need hardly remind our readers that English roads are the product of private skill and capital. Even in the construction of railroads, which the other nations of Europe have instinctively assigned to the province of government—so deep-rooted is our distrust of “government work” that we have insisted on retaining them to private enterprise, at a ruinous loss (as it has proved) of land, money, and system. It is, after all, then, but a national peculiarity which the Indian authorities have unfortunately not been free from. They have been actuated too much, instead of too little, by the views which make up what is arrogantly called the “wisdom of Parliament.” And the remedy would seem to be, not to sink the Indian administration deeper in the vortex of “public opinion” in England, but to withdraw it more carefully to the special and distinctive peculiarities of India.

It must be borne in mind, too, that the principles of British government do not admit of the *forced labour* by which less scrupulous masters constructed the high-roads of antiquity. The traces of Roman skill and enterprise are still patent in this island; but no records remain of the hundreds of thousands of British bondmen whose lives may have been sacrificed in penetrating the forest or the marsh, and whose bones lie unnoticed in the foundations of the conquerors' roads. Still this is unquestionably the department that most presses for improvement in India. Railroads in particular ought, ere this, to have extended widely in a country which they are so certain to ameliorate at every point of national life. A railroad from Calcutta to Lahore would have either prevented the Sepoy insurrection, by affording the means of instantaneously removing wavering corps from the



contaminating atmosphere, and overawing the disaffected,—or would at least have crushed it in the bud, by concentrating the small available European force on the scene of the first outbreaks. A public work, so certain to add almost indefinitely to the power of Government as well as the riches of the country, must no longer be delayed by the reluctance of British capitalists to invest in India without a Government guarantee, nor by the hesitation of Government, however natural, to extend a guarantee where they are not able, or not permitted, to exercise a corresponding amount of superintendence. Whether the respective parties would be likely to come to a speedier agreement, by transferring this discussion from Leadenhall Street to Whitehall, may well be doubted by those who have been initiated in the mysteries of patent-seeking, or cooled their heels in the “Circumlocution Office.”

From the material departments of Government let us now ascend to the higher regions of mind. The foremost object—the very *τελος*—of all government is the *administration of justice*; and that not so much for the equitable adjustment of individual claims, as for leavening the public mind with the great principles of moral rectitude. Few, perhaps, reflect how much the strong sense of right and wrong which actuates the English mind is owing to the operation of our courts of justice, daily bringing the rules of equity in a practical form to the experience and observation of the masses who attend their sittings. There is, hence, in the generality of Englishmen, such a sense of the sacredness of justice that it seems a light thing to say it is never *bought* among us. The man who would see little harm in quietly pocketing a *douceur* from a candidate for his seat at an election, would indignantly spurn a five-pound note to say Guilty or Not Guilty in the jury-box. We should all rise up in one shout of horror if it were but hinted that a British judge was open to a *bribe*. It may seem little, then, to advance, that this national incorruptibility of justice has accompanied its administration in India. Yet it may be remembered that our forefathers found it necessary to bind their kings, in the Great Charter, not to *sell* as well as not to *delay* justice—that the great Lord Bacon was not free from this vice—and that in fact judicial bribery has more or less tainted the administration of all countries, except our own under the light of its present improved state of public morals.

In the East, from the days of Solomon downward, the "wicked man has taken a gift out of his bosom to pervert the ways of judgment" (Prov. xvii. 23). In India the practice is so rooted in native ideas, that it governs the ordinary forms of salutation. In place of grasping your right hand in frankness and truth, the native accosts you with a *present*. If it be only a worthless lime, the form must be preserved, "to make your honour's face white;" so attesting the universal conviction that neither kindness nor justice is to be obtained *gratuitously*. Such forms are the straws which show the current of public feeling. When royalty is approached, they take the more substantial form of *nuzzur*—*i.e.* gold pieces—to anoint the hand which is the fountain of justice. The spirit indicated in these compliments may be judged of by a little anecdote related to us in the Mysore territories, where the Rajah, sitting in the hall of justice, and pronouncing on the complaints of his subjects, in that Oriental and paternal simplicity which dispenses with professional judges, advocates, and forms, *decided the same case five times over—terque, quaterque*, reversing his former judgment, as a confidential agent whispered in the royal ear the sum by which the litigants kept alternately bidding for victory!

It is not so small a thing, then, we say, to have practically taught the natives of India the great lesson of judicial integrity. A book has just appeared called the *Autobiography of Lutfullah*, a Mohammedan gentleman who travelled through much of British India, visited England, and has written his observations in our language. Such a work is alone enough to indicate a revolution in native mind and practice, not effected in all the previous centuries since the Christian era. The views of the author are generally favourable to the Company's government: in particular he fails not to note that, wherever he went, he always heard, "The Feringhees were *very just*." The general conviction is farther attested by the resort of litigants to our several courts. One of the delusions with which we love to cheat ourselves in this country is, that all the world stands enraptured at the sight of our "free institutions," hastening, like flies to a sugar-cask, to partake of their blessings the moment they are exposed to view. But there is, perhaps, not one "institution" of ours which the "benighted Hindoo" does not consider vastly inferior to his own. He has not the slightest respect for our laws—he greatly prefers

his *punchayet* to our jury—laughs to scorn the notion of deciding by the evidence which, he quietly remarks, can be manufactured at pleasure—deems the subpoenaing of witnesses on public prosecutions in which they have no interest, an intolerable interference with private affairs—and marvels incessantly how a wise judge can let a notorious criminal escape for such simple reasons as a flaw in the indictment, or even a defect in the evidence. What the native does respect is, that—hampered, and foolish, and blundering as he deems our modes of procedure—the British judge is above the suspicion of corruption. He trusts the Englishman for what he never found nor expected in any native,—judgment without gift or respect of persons. It is this which fills the courts in India with crowds of litigants, for whom we could heartily desire a better provision than at present exists.

This is a province which peculiarly belongs to the Crown, and the royal prerogative was very early exerted, under parliamentary sanction, in the establishment of a Supreme Court of Judicature at each of the three Presidencies. We consider these courts to be decidedly the worst in the country. Presided over by Queen's judges with enormous salaries, they have seldom secured even a decent amount of professional knowledge on the bench; while the bar is, of course, proportionally second-rate. Barristers of fame or promise at home, will seldom\* forego the career that opens in Westminster Hall and St Stephen's. The crimson silk, silver sticks, and "barbaric gold" of the Indian judge are the insignia of acknowledged mediocrity—not seldom of proved incapacity—in English law; they always decorate ignorance of native usages and even speech. Such courts are mere caricatures of Westminster Hall: their absurdity was conclusively demonstrated when it was found necessary to exclude them from all jurisdiction over the members of Government, and persons acting under their orders; for it is only as a check on the Company's government that a royal court could have a *locus standi* in the country. The indispensable denial of such powers should have taught the Legislature the folly of erecting such a court. Yet, like the currier in the fable, Sir Erskine Perry's

\* The names of Sir Edward Ryan and Sir Laurence Peel forbid us to say *never*; and doubtless other individuals might be named very superior to the system they belonged to.

main idea of Indian reform seems to be the unlimited importation of English lawyers!

The courts presided over by the Company's civil servants are undoubtedly anomalous in their composition, and burdensome in their procedure; while courts-martial, which in stations not included in British territory are obliged to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction over British subjects, are naturally unqualified for the cognisance of any but military causes. Perhaps the system of administration best adapted to native wants is that which obtains in the Mysore territories, where the courts of the Rajah are continued under the native judges, but superintended at every point by the Commissioner and his European assistants. The whole judicial system of India, however, undoubtedly demands a searching and consistent reform.

On the efforts of the Company's government to promote the *education* of the natives in the Sanscrit, the vernacular, and the English languages, we have already spoken.\* They are confessedly experimental, and hampered by the great question of *religion*, which we are presently to notice. No one can fairly charge the Government—apart from this question—with any want of zeal or honesty in their several exertions. It is probably the fact, also, that the results are far greater than is usually supposed. In the army, however, and among the mass of agricultural natives, but little seems as yet to have been attempted. The Sepoy, in particular, is in general childishly ignorant; very few can read their own language. Even the native officers often cannot write their names. As a necessary consequence, their minds, when off duty, are left to fluctuate between dull vacant stupidity and the wild fictions of their legendary faith. This state of mind is of course liable to a credulity more than childish, and to outbreaks of passion bordering on frenzy. To this cause may in great measure be attributed the readiness with which the cartridge grievance was accepted, and the atrocious outburst of "heathen rage" that ensued. It seems to us, however, that the Indian Government, like too many friends of education at home, have been aiming too high,—travelling, in fact, too fast instead of too slow, in the race of secular instruction and civilisation. Far from thinking that our century of British rule has done little

\* *Blackwood's Magazine*, Dec. 1856.

for India, we are lost in astonishment at the extent and progress of the movement attempted.

Next to Religion, the greatest of educational agencies is *legislation*; and the legislation of British India during the last fifty years has introduced new principles of thought and action, exceeding probably what any other people have had to grapple with in any century of the world's history. It may be doubted whether England herself during the sixteenth century, which changed the entire relations of Church and State, and subjected the whole literature of the land to the influence of the Holy Scriptures, experienced a greater or more rapid revolution of public opinion. Shock after shock has been administered to minds to which change was unknown for a thousand years. The ancient rite of *Suttee*, which, though nowhere positively enjoined as a religious ordinance, had been the *decus et tutamen* of female honour in the highest ranks, as far as the influence of Brahmanism extended, has been abolished by an act of the Legislature throughout the British dominions, and almost entirely abandoned, in consequence of our representations, in the native states. *Infanticide*, tolerated if not licensed by Roman civilisation, and based among the Hindoos on the sanctions of religion, has in like manner been declared illegal; and though not yet absolutely exterminated,\* is in process of entire abolition. *Human sacrifices*, judged essential, and systematically offered among the hill-tribes, have been utterly prohibited to the extent of British influence, and numbers of victims devoted to the knife have been released and provided for. *Thuggee*, defended by the sanctions both of caste and creed, has been put down with a remorseless hand, and the worshippers of the divinity, from whom Calcutta itself derives its name, are sent to the gallows as murderers. *Slavery*, which had subsisted since the Brahmanists reduced the aboriginal races to serfdom, more than thirty centuries ago, has been wholly abolished. These acts alone involve an enormous amount of progress, declaring, to a certain extent, the equality of sexes and races, putting human life above the demands even of religious worship, and proclaiming the laws which defend it more sacred than the most binding obligations of custom and caste.

\* The population returns exhibit in every district throughout India, both among Mohammedans and Hindoos, a preponderance of males over females, which we know not how to account for save as the effect of female infanticide.

To these demands on Hindoo "public opinion," for centuries so immobile, we have lately added a further assertion of "woman's rights," in releasing young widows from the bondage of an enforced celibacy; and lastly, that prodigious leap out of darkness into light taken by the famous *lex loci*, passed 11th April 1850. This latter act, for brevity and range of application, is positively without parallel in the field of legislative reform. Its text is as follows:—"So much of any law or usage now in force, within the territories subject to the government of the East India Company, as inflicts on any person forfeiture of rights or property, or may be held in any way to impair or affect any right of inheritance, by reason of his or her renouncing, or having been excluded from, the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in the courts of the East India Company, and in the courts established by royal charter within the said territories." In these few unostentatious words was established at one sweep the completest liberty of conscience and faith among 130 millions of human beings, with whom, a century ago, conscience had no existence, and a change of religion was not only impossible, but inconceivable!

If to all this innovation we add the effect of Government operations, conducted on principles of rectitude and good faith exceeding the highest pitch of native opinion, yet criticised and condemned by a *free press*, with a license that would disgust in England, there is surely little cause to complain of any want of *stimulus* in the march of Hindoo civilisation. Rather may it be feared lest a too eager advance on so many different points at once should provoke a reaction in the direction aimed at by the *Dherma Sobha*.\*

To judge aright of the effects produced and in progress under the East India Company's government, we must view the question not so much with European as with Asiatic eyes. The very propagation of our language in the Government schools is an enormous instrument of national education, though censured, and

\* We have now before us a minute, written by Sir Thomas Munro on the 12th April 1822, in which, considering the proposal for a free press, after arguing against its utility or safety in a country where the natives have no voice in the government, he predicts as its consequence—not immediately, but after many years—an insurrection of the native army. The Sepoys, he says, will rise *first*, and not the people!

we think with justice, for that over-rigid view of impartiality which proscribes all use of the Scriptures. These schools are judged by the educated native, and even by the missionaries who blame their exclusion of Christianity, as engines of immense power in uprooting prejudice and ignorance. "It is impossible," says one of the most experienced Protestant missionaries of the day, "to exaggerate the importance of these facts (the study of English, and the circulation of English books), and especially as to their influence for good or evil on the Hindoo mind. This will become more apparent when it is known that *English education, apart from religious instruction, is subversive of Hindooism.* . . . The literature and science of the Hindoos being incorporated with their religion, if you destroy the former, which abounds with palpable errors, by the introduction of the true science of Europe, the foundation of the latter must be overthrown." The editor of a public paper in Calcutta says, *in relation to Government education, from which Christianity is wholly excluded*, "No missionary ever taught us to forsake the religion of our fathers; *it was Government that did us this service!*" Another says, himself too the editor of an English paper: "Has not the Hindoo College been the foundation of a new race of men among us? *Have all the efforts of the missionaries given a tithe of that shock to the superstitions of the people which has been given by the Hindoo College?* This at once shows that the means they pursue to overturn the ancient reign of idolatry is not calculated to insure success, and ought to be abandoned for another; which promises better success."\*

Dr Percival, in adducing these extracts, rejects, of course, the fallacious inference, that the missionaries should adopt the Government system; "but," he adds, "we cannot reject this writer's testimony as to the efficacy of the means of enlightenment which detached him and others from their ancestral faith. It is a most interesting fact (he continues), that in almost every part of India—I mean its chief cities—the spread of the English language and literature is rapidly altering the phases of the Hindoo mind." The alteration, indeed, is taking a direction which neither the Christian nor the statesman can contemplate without alarm. The most evident tendency of such education hitherto has been, to generate a "sceptical infidel cast of mind," which, while it is

\* *The Land of the Veda*, p. 472. By the Rev. PETER PERCIVAL.

far from effecting the moral regeneration aimed at by the Gospel, is ominous in relation to the stability of British power. Still this condition of mind is regarded by many friends of Christianity as not only constituting a peculiar call upon the Church (whose office more than the State's it is to supply direct Christian instruction), but also as affording some assistance to her labours. Dr Percival adduces the following from the pen of a gentleman, himself many years resident in India, as worthy of the most serious consideration :—

“ At Calcutta, and in the great cities of Bengal, the Government have founded colleges and seminaries to instruct natives in European knowledge, and to fit them for the very responsible and high offices in the public service to which they are now eligible. But the knowledge so imparted is not confined to the few who draw the higher prizes in the lottery of Indian official life, nor even to the larger number who hope by fitness to open the way to selection for office; it will have imparted its tone to all who come within the scope of its operations, and of its results; and it is accordingly acknowledged that the native mind is awakened and inquisitive on matters to which it was formerly utterly indifferent. The truths of science, and the philosophy of real history, cannot consist in the same mind with Pauranic fables, and the abominations of mythology and idolatry; but it is too well known that they may consist with the profession of benevolent atheism, or still more with the seductive and self-applauding discoveries of natural religion. It is to the native mind, in this advanced state of cultivation, that it becomes important that Christianity should be presented with its saving truths in the effulgence of Divine light.”

This latter extract conducts us to that part of the East India Company's administration, which is just now most universally, and (we are free to confess) most deservedly condemned. Still, on this great question of *religion*, we are constantly struck by the vagueness, as well as unfairness, of the public censure. When we hear of the timid policy which has shrunk from avowing its Christian belief, and shamefully cowered before Hindoo idolatry, we have great difficulty in comprehending exactly what the public means to complain of, and who are the parties to blame. The charge divides itself into two heads—sins of omission, and sins of commission: the Company has not done what it ought for



the manifestation of British Christianity, and it has done what it ought not, in supporting or countenancing the native superstitions.

Let us consider, then, under the first head, what is meant when it is said that the East India Company's government have shrunk from manifesting their own religion before the natives of India. If it be intended that the several branches of their administration have not been conducted on the principles of mercy, justice, and good faith, which characterise the Christian religion, we have disproved the charge in the preceding portions of this article. We affirm, on the contrary, that an example has been set before the eyes of the natives, which, however inferior to the high standard of the Christian Scriptures (as it is common both for governments and individuals in this world to fall short of the requisitions of their religion), is nevertheless so infinitely superior to any exhibited in India before, as to necessitate the inference that its present governors are actuated by a purer faith than either the Mohammedan or the Hindoo rulers of former times. We have not the shadow of a doubt that this inference is generally drawn by the natives, and that Christianity is proportionately respected.

If the allegation be that the Company's governments do not, in the persons of their Christian officers, show that respect for religious ordinances which is demanded by Christianity, we again deny the fact. The public mind is abused with stories which, if they had ever any foundation in truth, belong to a period long since passed away. It is true that, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, when churches were confessedly both insufficient in number and but thinly attended in London—when every pulpit in England and Scotland resounded with complaints of the low tone of piety and morals induced by the French Revolution—there was not much appearance of religion in our Indian stations. Few could boast of a chaplain—fewer still of a church; the clergymen sent out were sometimes not of the best order, and officers and soldiers were scandalously inattentive to the exhortations of the most commendable. We know not, however, that even then the case was worse than in the military stations of our other distant possessions, or even in some of the barracks and quarters in our own Christian land.

So far as the East India Company is concerned, we can dis-

cover no greater "timidity" than in the Ministers of the Crown. Their articles of war were the same as those of the royal army—nay, a solicitude was manifested on this head by the City Company, which we never heard of in Downing Street or the Horse Guards. So early as the 25th May 1798, we find a despatch of the Court of Directors strictly enjoining a decent observance of the Lord's Day (which they had heard was often profaned by public amusements), and threatening with dismissal the chaplains who should neglect their sacred duties. These instructions were so vigilantly followed up, that within a few years a great improvement was perceptible. The strictest attention was paid to religious duties under the government of Lord Wellesley,\* and Sir John Shore declared that he witnessed in India fuller churches and more attentive audiences than he believed to exist in any other part of the world.

In the present day, we need hardly inform our readers that churches and chaplains are to be found in all the military stations, and in many of the civil ones; and, as a general rule, religious duties are even more carefully observed in India than in England. A clergyman who officiated there as a chaplain for several years, and now fills an important position in a large town at home, assures us that he had always a larger attendance, both at church and sacrament, than is usual in this country; that the general tone of society there is more religious than our own; and that numbers both of the civil and military servants of the Company are eminent for their Christian life and conversation. We rejoice to circulate such a testimony at the present juncture, proving that the gallant hearts whose unparalleled sufferings and heroic deeds have filled all Europe with sympathy and admiration, were not so deficient in yet higher duties, nor, we reverently trust, so devoid of their consolation in their bitter extremity, as some ungenerous detractors would insinuate.

\* The following is an extract from a letter written in 1806, by the Rev. Daniel Corrie, one of the most exemplary of the Bengal chaplains, and afterwards for a brief season Bishop of Madras:—"The state of society is much altered for the better within these few years. The Marquess Wellesley openly patronised religion; he on every occasion made moral character a *sine quâ non* to his patronage, and sought for men of character from every quarter to fill offices of trust. He avowedly encouraged and contributed to the translation of the Scriptures into the native languages, and wherever he went paid a strict regard to divine worship on the Sunday."

What, then, is the accusation? That the Company's government has taken no step actively to promote Christianity among the natives? Here again we are obliged to demand *what* steps they ought to have taken? Only on one point can we find anything like a tangible complaint—viz. the exclusion of the holy Scriptures, and generally of Christian books, from the Government schools. This exclusion is enforced, however, not from any reluctance on the part of Government to acknowledge its own religion, but from a fear of interfering with the religion of the natives. It is really nonsense to talk of a Government being afraid to acknowledge its religion, which at the same moment is engaged in a deadly struggle, occasioned by a widespread suspicion in the minds of its native soldiers of an intention to effect their conversion to Christianity. Can it for a moment be imagined that the 80,000 Sepoys who have broken out in rebellion from this suspicion, or the much larger and more intelligent portion of the native population by whom it was shared, supposed the Government to be indifferent to its own religion? Mr Colvin reports that the opinion of the Sepoys "was held, however unwisely, by the mass of the population, and even by some of the more intelligent classes. Never was a delusion more wide or deep."\* The English press has chosen to think the "cartridge grievance" a mere pretext, put forward to conceal a plot of another description; but whatever may have been "the plot" (which remains to this day as great a mystery as Titus Oates's), it is certain that the cartridge was the spark which fired the train, and the train itself was the general suspicion of an intention on the part of Government to bring the natives over to Christianity. Mr Colvin reports this as the unanimous view of his best officers, produced by acquaintance with the native feeling through a variety of sources. The general conviction, he says, was expressed by a Brahmin, who said that having reduced all India to one government, it was intended also to reduce it to one religion, and that was impious. Now it is simply impossible that such a state of feeling should have existed, had it been true that our Governments were afraid to exhibit their faith. The native suspicions, however mistaken in the particular fact, demonstrate a knowledge on their part both that the Government was Christian, and that Christianity laid claim to be a universal religion. It was because of this

\* See Appendix to Papers first presented to Parliament, p. 381.

knowledge that they would not receive the disclaimers made to them by the Government and its officers.

It is manifestly unjust, then, to stigmatise the exclusion of the Christian Scriptures from the Government schools as a denial or concealment of their own religion. It was adopted from precisely the same motives as dictated the exclusion of the authorised version of the Bible from the national schools of Ireland, simply because its introduction might have repelled the scholars whom it was wished to attract.

As a matter of policy, we think the Indian Governments have made a mistake. It has been proved by experiment in the mission schools that Hindoos do not object to study the Christian Scriptures, or other books imbued with Christian teaching. The Calcutta School-Book Society circulates upwards of 30,000 English publications of this character yearly, and it is said the missionary seminaries are even more numerous attended than those of the Government. This may seem paradoxical to English minds, contrasting this extravagant horror of a cartridge with indifference to the Bible, the acknowledged standard and vehicle of Christianity. But in this we have only another illustration of the wide distinction between *caste* and *creed*. It is no breach of caste to study the Bible, nor even to accept its doctrines. Caste is compatible with Vedantism, deism, atheism, quite as much as with idolatry. It is not lost by the avowal of all Christian *doctrine*, if only the *act* of baptism be abstained from; and even baptism has been received by thousands, who still retain the distinctions of caste, and enforce them at the Lord's table.\* Neither history, geography, astronomy, medicine, nor natural philosophy can be taught to Hindoos without impugning some established tradition, or even some direct statement of their religious standards. Such contradictions, it seems, do not shock the native conscience, which appears to have the faculty of combining contradictions; there is no reason why we should find it in scruples which it does not challenge for itself.

\* Caste is still observed in the Lutheran missions in the south of India, and has only within these few years been abandoned—if it be yet abandoned—in the Church of England missions at Tanjore and Vepery. It was tolerated under Bishop Middleton, viewed as a social distinction by Bishop Heber, and not condemned as inconsistent with Christianity till the arrival of the present Metropolitan of Calcutta.

It is another question how far the simple introduction of Christian books would increase the leverage for that gradual upheaving of heathenism which we have seen to be the effect of Government education as at present conducted. The Mission Schools further disregard *caste*; another and a larger question, on which we cannot now enter. The missionaries may fairly confine their instruction to those who choose to accept it on their own terms. It might be otherwise in the case of Government, if any classes were deterred from advantages which ought to be open to all.

That Government should engage in direct efforts for the propagation of the Gospel we can hardly think seriously contended for. At all events, they who desire it can have little encouragement to wish for a transfer of Indian affairs to the Queen's Ministers and the Parliament of Great Britain. By the latter it has been judged essential to the principles of civil and religious liberty, to withdraw the grants once made for the spread of Christianity in our North American colonies, and even to secularise the lands assigned for the endowment of a Protestant clergy in Canada. We are at a loss to conceive from what funds any one could hope to carry a grant for the diffusion of Christianity in India. Would the English tax-payer submit to find the means? or are they to be wrung from the Mussulman and the Hindoo? Again, if the funds were forthcoming, where is the Government agency for their application? Are the civil and military officers in India to turn preachers? or, if clergymen are to be employed, who is to engage them? and which form of Christianity is to be preferred?

All these practical questions are lost sight of in blaming the Indian Government for not enabling us as a nation to extend our religion among the natives. A nation is represented in two ways—by the State and by the Church; the executive government is the organ not of the latter, but the former. As long as the nation is united in Church and State, the Government may act for both; but when many churches or religions are included in one State, this is plainly impossible. To preach the Gospel is the province of the Church, not of the Government: the latter can only engage in it by founding or sustaining a Church. The Portuguese Government did this in India, because that nation owned only the Roman Catholic Church. The Dutch and the Danes had the same facility, because each nation recognised but one form of Protestant Christi-

anity. The English East India Company probably intended to pursue a similar course, when it was provided in their charter that chaplains of the English Church should be maintained in every factory and settlement, who should learn "the Gentoo language," in order to instruct the native servants and dependants in the Protestant religion; and it is only necessary to recall the names of Brown, Buchanan, Martyn, Corrie, Thomason, Fisher—all chaplains of the Company—to be aware that the original conception was never extinguished. It was in England, not in India, that its modification commenced. The regiments of the royal army ceased to take out chaplains, and were consequently thrown on the clergymen employed by the Company. When it was first proposed to make provision for missionaries proceeding to India, the Imperial Parliament negatived the clause; and it was argued, even by a bishop, that we had no right to "interfere with the religion, the laws, and the local customs of the people of India!" In 1813, Parliament, in granting the desired permission for missionaries to resort to India, endorsed the principle that the Government chaplains were intended chiefly for their European servants; and as many of these were of the Presbyterian communion, chaplains of the Established Church of Scotland were then provided at each Presidency. Subsequently the Legislature has sanctioned, on the same principle, grants to Roman Catholic priests for the soldiery of that Church.

It was clearly impossible, in such circumstances, even if it had been desirable, for the Government of India to engage in efforts at the conversion of the natives. These were left—and, we conceive, properly left—to the missionaries sustained by the voluntary contributions of those who feel an interest in their sacred undertaking. They neither desire co-operation from Government, nor could it be granted to any without provoking both the jealousy of others and the just complaints of the natives. The duty of Government is to protect all in the peaceable pursuit of their calling; and whatever may have been the objections in former days, when missionary feeling was at a lower pitch both at home and in India, there is little now to complain of. The Governments not only permit, but, by various indirect methods, assist the prosecution of such labours; while the removal of all legal disabilities in the way of conversion is the most important help that could have been rendered to the cause of truth.

On the whole, we see little to complain of on the score of

neglecting Christianity. Far heavier is the charge of actively countenancing idolatry. It is not to be denied that this has taken place to a lamentable extent. The details may be found in the appendix to a memorial presented to the Government of Madras by Bishop Corrie in 1836, and afterwards published in a pamphlet, which is now lying before us.\* It is there stated, and proved by instances—1. That salutes were fired by our troops in honour of heathen and Mohammedan festivals, and that not unfrequently on the Lord's day.† 2. That Christian soldiers were compelled to attend in procession at such festivals. 3. That in some places the pagodas were actually managed by Government, the revenues and endowments being vested in their hands; so that all the ceremonial, including the appointment of priests and dancing-girls, the decking of the idol, its procession, &c., was directly ordered and paid for by the European officers of Government. At Madras, an idol which had been forgotten by the natives for thirty years, was evoked from its obscurity by the zeal of the European superintendent of police, and its festival re-established in great splendour at the cost of the Government; the admiring Hindoos positively refusing to pay the trifling charge demanded of them for this piece of ancestral worship. 4. Direct acts of worship were publicly performed to the idols by the officers of Government, in the name and on behalf of the British nation. Lord Clive, in person, offered a jewel worth £400 to the idol at Conjeveram, a temple stated to be “assumed by the Government, and the festival performed by the Honourable Company.” The Collector publicly adored “the Madras goddess” with the offer of a *talee* (a necklace used for the same purpose as our *ring* at a marriage), in the revived festival of 1818. In Canara, the Collector customarily ordered *Poojah* (worship) to the idols in time of drought, “for the protection of the ryots and the coming of rain.” It is needless to enter further into details.

This connection with idolatry appears to have been carried further in the Madras Presidency than in any other. It originated apparently with one Mr Place, a collector, whose zeal was

\* *Connection of the East India Company's Government with Idolatry, &c.* Hatchards, 1838

† We shall not easily forget hearing the clergyman's voice drowned the first time we attended the Holy Communion in India, by the thunder of the cannon fired from the neighbouring ramparts in honour of an idolatrous festival!

moved by the peculation of the Brahmins, and the indifference of the ryots to the duties of their religion. The pagodas being largely endowed with lands and offerings, he found the Brahmins appropriating the revenue and starving the idols. The ryots, on the other hand, whose tenures bound them to attend and drag the cars, preferring their ease to their religion, often left the gods in the lurch. The church revenues (as Mr Place singularly denominated them) were disappearing—the “clergy and churchwardens” all corrupt—the irreligious peasantry sinking fast into infidelity. In good truth there was some reason to think that, had it been let alone, Hindoo idolatry would have perished, in some places, under its own corruption. But extensive endowments could not be allowed to disappear in this way. British equity demanded the due execution of trusts, and Mr Place set himself to enforce their obligations on the reluctant trustees. It was impossible, however, to make the Brahmins honest, or to inspire the people with a proper sense of religion; so it ended in “assuming” the pagodas for Government, taking the revenues into their own administration, appointing the officers, providing for the ceremonies, fetching in the worshippers by gentle messages through the collector’s peons, and—such is the excellence of British administration—carrying a very pretty “surplus” to the public account, after “performing the festival” with a magnificence unknown to the Hindoos. Never was there such an example of the maxim, “Do as you like, or I will make you!” Mr Place’s toleration extended to a pretty active coercion of the “spiritless outcasts,” who would not stand up for their rights; and, seriously speaking, there is no doubt that an energy was thus infused into the idolatrous system, which was a scandal to the cause of Christianity.

Happily we can speak of these blots on our Government in the past tense. The celebrated despatch indited by the present Lord Glenelg at the India Board, on the 20th February 1833, entered fully into the question, and laid down the principles on which it ought to be regulated for the future. The Madras memorialists complained, with justice, of the delay in carrying out the directions of that despatch. But we believe that in principle, if not in every detail, it now regulates the proceedings of all the governments, and the practices complained of are no longer in existence.



The Court of East India Directors has doubtless been largely leavened with the views which originated these objectionable practices, and still more with the "timidity" which shrunk from rescinding them when established. On the other hand, many of the leading Directors have been eminent as advocates and liberal supporters of Christian missions; the Court of Proprietors, by whom the Directors are elected, repeatedly protested against the idolatrous policy; and its debates contributed materially to the more enlightened views which have eventually prevailed. There is no pretence, therefore, for charging the East India Company's government with any special perverseness in this matter: certainly we have little reason to think the national guilt would have been less, or the prospects of Christianity more cheering, if the entire administration had been vested in the Ministers of the Crown. We do not find higher principles obtaining in the colonies so ruled. The Cape of Good Hope was acquired just three years after the taking of Delhi by General Lake; but to this day the British Government, enlightened by all the wisdom of Parliament, has not only done nothing for the conversion of the Hottentots, Caffres, and Zoolus, but has not even made provision for the religious wants of the Christian settlers. The bishops, archdeacons, and chaplains in India, are liberally sustained from the public revenue. The scanty pittances of our South African bishops and clergy are drawn entirely from voluntary contributions. This contrast by no means warrants the persuasion that the unchecked administration of the Crown is the surest way to purge the national conscience. If a director be found still struggling for the "traditional policy," is it to be overlooked that the great opponent of the Directors—the minister who, at the India Board, was most absolute, and who, from his great knowledge and vigour of mind, would at this moment be the most popular appointment to supreme authority—not only publicly honoured Hindoo idolatry by bringing back the gates of Somnâth, but has attributed the present rebellion to missionary exertions, and declared a Governor-General unfit for his post who contributes even a private subscription to their support?\*

\* See Lord Ellenborough's speech in the House of Lords, 8th June 1857. The author of this article, standing at the Bar of the House, was shocked to hear such an accusation preferred in a Christian assembly; but such is the temper of Parliament, that not one of the right reverend prelates, who must have heard it with

These examples show that great questions of this sort cannot be disposed of simply through being "taken in hand by what is called public opinion." They demand that patient and concentrated attention from experienced minds which the Directors of the East India Company have hitherto supplied with so much benefit to the general character of our government in India, but which would certainly be looked for in vain amid the tempests of parliamentary strife, or the intrigues of political office. In religion, as in everything else, India demands the whole soul of the department which administers its government. Its material, moral, and social features must be ever present to the mind that rules it. We have a problem to solve there never presented to any other age or people. Brahmins, Moslems, Romanists, and Dutch, had all a royal road to conversion: it was simply to supplant the native worship by their own, proselytising by force or fraud, and treading out remonstrance with oppression. Our harder, higher, holier task is to evoke a conscience in the heathen, and then convince it. We have to govern men whose one idea of power is the subjugation of others, on the principles of civil liberty. We are to proclaim political equality of sects and religious freedom, in a country where faith is swallowed up in caste, and moral purity consists in domineering over the rest of mankind. Moreover, while exercising impartial government over all, we are called as Christians to propagate a religion which allows of no rival; which, tolerating and compassionating the idolator, cannot cease to attack his idolatry; which, gentle and courteous to all men, is ever striving to tread under its foot the dearest distinctions of Hindoo life. There is no human example to guide us in the twofold office. The two swords were never before lodged with rulers so sensible of the distinction between the civil and the spiritual ministry. Never had nation so much need of a watchful eye and steady hand to bear them evenly. The short-sighted prejudices of faction, and the blunders of ignorance or imbecility, easily rectified in England or in a colony by the sense and courage of the subject, may in India kindle a flame that shall spread moral ruin through the East.

What is wanted, then, is not the abolition, but the revision and improvement of a system which, drawing its raw material no less pain, rose to rebut it, while the Minister could only defend the accused by questioning the *fact!*

from the middle classes, has trained up statesmen and generals to adorn the annals of India without depriving England of their mature experience. No country ever produced a nobler band of public officers than are found in the civil and military services of India. Taken from the bosom of our Christian families in England, educated in our schools and colleges, glowing with all our English sentiments, they carry out to India a spirit which draws its every inspiration from the great mother in whose lap they were nurtured, and in whose arms they hope to die. Such men are not unworthy to be England's agents in the elevation of her native subjects; nor, when their powers have been ripened and enlarged in the glorious work, of being listened to in her councils at home. Nor are we ignorant of the benefits derived to India from the practical good sense of our city merchants and bankers, incorporated in the Court of Directors with the experience of the civil and military services. To these men, however, the doors of Parliament must be closed; their services are unknown, their aspirations incomprehensible, to the constituencies whose "sweet voices" give admittance to the Imperial senator. We do not wish to see them dangling, either, in the ante-chamber of a minister. We trust, therefore, that both the Subadar and the *Times* are mistaken, and that "the Company's Raj is *not* over."

The country will be slow to change an instrument of proved advantage during the shock and crisis of a calamity, the origin and cause of which is shrouded in so much uncertainty. It is easy to say that a form of government has failed, which, after steadily rising amid the convulsions of party conflict and colonial revolution, to culminate in the admiration of the world, is now obscured by one sad disaster; but it is not so easy to devise another which shall promise more glory to the sovereign country, more benefit to the subject races, or more sure and steady progress in the advancement of Christian civilisation throughout the East.

THE  
POLITICAL PROSPECTS  
  
BRITISH INDIA.

BY  
THOMAS CAMPBELL ROBERTSON,  
LATE MEMBER OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF INDIA, AND LIEUTENANT-  
GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES

LONDON:  
THOMAS HATCHARD, 187 PICCADILLY.

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THE

POLITICAL PROSPECTS OF BRITISH INDIA.

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IN writing upon India, two qualifications are essential to success—an acquaintance with the people of that country, and a familiarity with the tastes, feelings, and prejudices of the reading public in England. The former may ensure accuracy, but by the latter alone can even a patient hearing, much less popularity, be expected. Wonderfully correct as are the remarks of Bishop Heber, considering his opportunities, his *Journal* owes its extensive circulation mainly to the elegant, yet thoroughly English-minded, tone in which it is written; while the late Colonel Sleeman's published account of his own "Rambles" as an "Indian Official," though replete with much more curious information than the accomplished Bishop could possibly collect, is hardly known even by name, because the writer, from long residence among those whom he describes, was wanting in knowledge of those whom he sought to address. Though India is no longer the stranger-land it was when the works just cited appeared, there is still the same distinction to be observed between the classes who, either by public speaking or writing, undertake to treat of its concerns; and there is still, as formerly, room to regret that the most knowledge generally resides with those who are least gifted with the art of arresting the public attention. No man really acquainted with the people of Upper India can open a newspaper without groaning in spirit to observe the winning fluency of language which is made the vehicle of the most enormous misstatements; and this feeling is often aggravated by a consciousness of his own inability, even with

truth at his back, to cope with error armed with this power of words.

Still it seems almost like shrinking from a duty, for one who has taken an active part in the government of our Indian Empire, to refrain, at such a crisis as the present, from at least attempting to impart some of the results of his experience to those who can have no practical knowledge on many points, the final decision on which is, nevertheless, certain to be influenced by their convictions.

At the present moment, it is fearful to look at the conflict of passions and prejudices through which our rulers will have to fight their way, ere they can arrive at a sound and safe decision on the course to be pursued, after the suppression of a mutiny which has given our power in the East the rudest shock it has ever yet had to sustain. Among ourselves, how many are the darling theories, speculations, and predictions, likely to be either imperilled or discredited by the final resolution, whatever it may be, to which those who have to regulate the future administration of our colossal dependency must eventually come! Among our Eastern subjects, at the same time, what a fierce medley of passions must be agitating the breasts of thousands of guilty, and millions of innocent, men of every grade and class, as they await the decree which is to fix their future fate! With the ever-benevolent, but sometimes self-sufficient, ardour of the British proselytizer, and the no less benevolent, and in no degree more diffident, zeal of the British utilitarian, on the one side; and the chronic, sullen fanaticism of the Moosulman, with the fitful but almost objectless fury of the Hindoo, on the other, there is a prospect of such an angry clashing as may render it difficult for the sober voice of reason to be heard. At such a season, it is to be hoped that, reckless of the past as the present age in general is, it may be permitted, in groping our way to the future, to avail ourselves of the guidance of the views and sentiments of one of those leading men of former days, to whom we owe it that we have such an empire to legislate for. The lately published "*Life of Sir John Malcolm*" supplies exactly what is wanted.

Malcolm may, indeed, be taken as one of the best specimens

of the good Sepoy officer. He was, it is true, from an early period of his career, continually employed in high political posts, separating him in some measure from the Madras army, to which he belonged; yet we are told by his biographer, "That the habits and feelings of a soldier clung to him throughout his career. Whatever might be his official environments, his heart was continually turning with a tender and sympathising interest to the single-poled tent of the subaltern officer, and the matted hut of the faithful Sepoy." In this readiness to sympathise, not only with "the faithful Sepoy," but with natives of every class, lay the secret of Malcolm's extraordinary success in winning the affections of all over whom he was placed in authority. Such sympathy, though an engine of wondrous potency in dealing with Asiatics, is, it may be feared, regarded by the cunning workmen of the present day as an implement too rude and simple for their handling. Instead of learning from the natives themselves, as Malcolm did, how to make them happy, we now-a-days undertake to teach them what they alone can thoroughly understand.

Our designs are doubtless benevolent, but they are carried out with so little consideration for the feelings of those to be affected by them, that, coming in the shape of inflicted blessings, they more often estrange than conciliate. Take, for example, the law not many years since passed by the Legislative Council in Calcutta, to permit the re-marriage of Hindoo widows. Abstractedly viewed, no enactment could be more just, but it was a direct infringement of that tacit compact, not to meddle with the social relations of the people, in virtue of which we had ruled with ease and profit to ourselves for a whole century. Those who advocated this measure doubtless laid much stress on the precedent of the Suttee, abolished in 1829, without any of the evils predicted having ensued. But the cases were not parallel. The Suttee was an outrage on the feelings of humanity, and even worldly morality called for its suppression. Its abolition was preceded by a long discussion, in which many intelligent Hindoos argued in favour of the proposed prohibitory enactment. Thus we had a party amongst the Hindoos themselves, and the whole of our Mahommedan subjects on our side;



and thus it was that this great measure was carried through without any strenuous opposition, or even distinctly marked discontent. A great moral triumph was thus achieved; and it had been well, perhaps, if, contented with this success, we had refrained from any similar act of direct legislative interference for a century. The Widows' Re-marriage Bill, to use an English Parliamentary phrase, was directed against a purely private evil, and of the working of which natives alone could judge; for the most experienced amongst ourselves know little or nothing of them in their domestic sphere. We have only to figure to ourselves what our feelings would be, if a conqueror, obtaining sway in Great Britain, were to pass a law removing the restraints at present imposed by our creed and code on the number of wives to be lawfully wedded by each man, and we may form an idea of the shock given to the feelings of our Indian subjects by this indication of a disposition to let our legislation trespass upon points not to be alluded to, even in conversation, without a violation of Eastern ideas of decorum.

In the present state of our information respecting the movement still in progress among those who constituted the flower of our native army, we can only speculate on its source and origin; but it is probable that, when the whole truth shall be disclosed, it will be found that it was to this very re-marriage enactment,\* and other analogous measures, that those pointed who wished to work upon the religious feelings of the Sepoy, and stir him up to acts of sudden and murderous mutiny. Who those instigators were, whether a Brahminical conclave in Bengal, or a Mahommedan cabal at Delhi, Lucknow, or Calcutta, matters little; all that is here argued for being, that in this instance our own legislation has probably furnished them with a weapon of offence against ourselves.

Among the various reasons assigned for the recent revolt,

\* The following passage in a letter, dated 12th May, and given to us with the sadly consolatory intimation that the lady who wrote it died at Cawnpore before the massacre, is strongly confirmatory of the opinion stated in the text. "They, the natives, have an idea that the Government are trying to convert them to Christianity; and what with the mistake of the cartridges being greased with cow's fat, and this new law allowing Hindoo widows to marry, *which I think has a great deal to do with it*, they are frantic about it."

none is more frequently dwelt upon than the scanty and defective officering of native battalions, in consequence of the number of military men who are employed in the political and civil departments. The practice of thus draining the army of its cleverest members has certainly been carried too far, but it was the encouragement afforded by the prospect of such advancement that made Malcolm and others what they were, by stimulating them to qualify themselves for the highest political offices. The evil, too, it must be remembered, is not one inherent in the system, but might at any time have been corrected by each successive Governor-General, if he had perceived the mischief now alleged to have thence resulted.

But, in truth, no Indian ruler, when he wants aid in the management of a newly-acquired territory, can resist the temptation to employ the fittest available person he can find; and this will generally be a military man, because the Civil Service has few hands to spare from the duties of the original settled provinces of our empire. No man in this way did the thing against which he wrote more than the late Sir C. Napier, who not only drew military men from their regiments to act in civil capacities, but drove away six of the ablest civilians who were sent to his assistance in Scinde. The practice, if it be an evil, is only one of the many attendant on the too-rapid growth of our empire; and it would probably be best corrected, not by debarring young military men from all hope of political promotion, and so preventing the development of much latent talent, but by rendering the command of a battalion so lucrative and attractive, as to induce the juniors to remain with their regiments, in the hope of attaining to that post.

But it is not so much on the number, as on the character and capacity, of the English officers present with a Sepoy battalion, that its efficiency depends. In former times, when the attachment between them was at its height, the officers were, we believe, fewer in proportion to their men than they are now; but then they were almost all good colloquial linguists, or in the way of becoming so; and though somewhat wanting in the graces of European society, had obtained an insight into the social system of Asiatic life, such as their more accomplished

successors seem to think it beneath them to acquire. The Sepoy officer of the present day, equal to his predecessor in courage and conduct in the field, and generally his superior in book-knowledge, in manners, and perhaps in morals, falls far short of him in point of real acquaintance with those under his command.

This defect, though in some degree imputable to the system which makes escape from his regiment the great object of every young officer's ambition, is still mainly attributable to the increased facilities of intercourse with England.

Young men who are frequently refreshing their acquaintance with their mother-country cannot settle down to India as their home, in the same way as was done in the bygone days, ere steam was known, and a return to England was looked forward to as a remote and barely-possible contingency.

Tastes acquired in Europe do not readily conform to exclusively Asiatic pursuits: the native nautch is more than insipid when the opera lives in recent recollection; and thus there is no community, even of amusement, to bring the European and the native officers into something like social intercourse with each other. It is impossible here to conceal the fact, that the increased number of our fair countrywomen in the East has probably made the separation between those classes wider than it was before. It is alleged, we know not with what truth, but it is alleged by natives, that their best friends among European functionaries are lost to them from the moment of their marriage; and they generally impute the colder reception they meet with at any but business hours to the influence of the lady of the house.

It would be easy to fill many pages with instances of the friendly feeling that formerly subsisted between English officers and Sepoys of every grade, and also between the latter and the common European soldiery, classes apparently dissociable by nature; but it is enough to draw attention to the following incident in Malcolm's life, in order to show how enduring may be the recollection of kindness in the minds of men of the same class as those whose enormities of ingratitude, as well as cruelty, we are now deploring.

The first great opening stroke of Lord Wellesley's brilliant policy, in 1798, was the dispersion at Hyderabad, in the Deccan, of a force under French officers in the pay of the Nizam. In this hazardous enterprise, Malcolm, as Assistant to the Resident, bore a conspicuous part. After the terms for their surrender had been settled, the lives of the French officers were placed in jeopardy by a mutiny among the native soldiers recently under their command. Malcolm was despatched to calm the tumult, but soon became himself involved in the same peril with those whom he came to rescue. His escape is thus described by Mr. Kaye:—"Among the crowd of mutineers were some men who had formerly belonged to Malcolm's company, in the 29th battalion, but had deserted to the French corps. They now recognised their old officer, and went at once to his assistance. He had been kind to them in former days, and they had not forgotten his kindness. Lifting him up, and bearing him away on their heads, they rescued him from the hands of the infuriated mob."

While contrasting this little anecdote with the terrible tales brought by each successive mail, it is difficult so to divest ourselves of the partialities of nation and race, as to be able to decide fairly on the question of who is changed; ourselves, or those over whom our sway has hitherto rested, on moral influence rather than on superior physical force? The probability arising out of our own progressive nature, and the stationary character of the Asiatic, is turned into certainty by our knowledge of what has lately been going on among our Indian rulers, both at home and abroad; and we must pronounce that it is *we* who are not what we were. A perception of this fact is indicated in the question said to be asked by natives, "Whether the English gentlemen of the present day are of the same caste as those of former times?" It is more distinctly shown in the following extract from the pamphlet of the late Mr. Francis Horsley Robinson, of the Bengal Civil Service, published in the year 1855. Having been officially compelled to make a communication to an old retired officer of Gardiner's Irregular Horse, and to a Mahomedan of rank, calculated to hurt the religious feelings of both, Mr. Robinson thus describes what followed:—

“I shall never forget the looks of mortification, anger, and, at first, of incredulity, with which this announcement was received by both, nor the bitter irony with which the old Russuldar remarked, that no doubt the wisdom of the *new gentlemen* (Sahibilogue, so they designate the English) had shown them the folly and ignorance of the gentlemen of the old time, on whom it pleased God, nevertheless, to bestow the government of India.”—(Page 17.)

But it is needless to cite authorities in support of what, so far from being denied, is with all of us more or less a subject of congratulation. That there was much room for improvement in the manners and morals of the Anglo-Indian community of former days, must be admitted even by those who regret that this improvement has not come unmingled with a certain unwinning bearing, in English functionaries of every grade, towards all natives but those who evince a disposition to Europeanize.

Our regimental officers, not being exempt from this change, it may be doubted whether an increase to their number would have abated the evil of scanty intercourse between them and the native soldiery; and it certainly would have added little to their general efficiency, under a system of centralisation calculated to lessen their influence and deaden their zeal. The conclusion to be drawn from what has just been stated is, that it is not by the inadequate officering of our army that the pending mutiny has been provoked, and, on general grounds, it may be asserted that such a cause is totally insufficient to account for the event. Insubordination in a battalion or two might thus be brought about, but it seems absurd to suppose that a large body of men would throw away pay, promotion, pension, and rush into frantic excesses, through mere disgust at the incompetency of their leaders. Such incompetency may further their ends, when revolt has been resolved on, but it requires some more stirring motive to engender the spirit to give birth to so desperate a movement.

Annexation, and consequent extension of our direct dominion, comes next in the list of causes assigned for this revolt. Whether such extension be matter for praise or blame, it is

desirable at the outset to make it clear to whose account it ought to be charged.

An examination of the various blue-books published since the year 1838 will show, that it is from Downing Street that the policy of extension has of late years, in almost every instance, emanated. The prophetic protest of the Chairman of the Court of Directors, the late Mr. St. George Tucker, against the invasion of Afghanistan is on record; and we know that some, who ought to have studied it before, could hardly, when they did peruse that able document, bring themselves to believe that it was not written after the event. The questionable sequel to that unhappy war, the seizure of Scinde, was, we all know, condemned by the same Court. The conquest of the Punjaub, to be sure, was forced upon us by circumstances, and of that even the natives do not complain. On the three remaining Indian annexations (for Pegu falls not within the limits of India) carried through by the late Government of our Eastern Empire, what judgment was pronounced by the Court of Directors is uncertain; but it is well known that each of these steps has been taken in direct opposition to the declared opinion of some one or other of their ablest servants in India.\*

On the whole, then, it may be assumed that Her Majesty's Ministers, and not the Court of Directors, are the authors of that annexation-policy alleged by some to be one main cause of the prevailing disorder.

A remark of Lord Metcalfe's, made in the hearing of the author, in the year 1835, deserves to be here recorded. When an opinion was expressed in favour of sending some slight aid to Dost Moohammed, the then reigning and friendly chief of Afghanistan, Lord Metcalfe's reply was: "Depend upon it, that the surest way to bring Russia upon ourselves is, for us to cross

\* The extent and population of each of the three provinces thus annexed may be roughly stated, as follows:—

Berar, in Central India, is 70,000 square miles in extent, with a population of 3,000,000.

Satara, in the south-west, 14,000 square miles in extent, with a population of 1,500,000.

Oude, on the north-east, 20,000 square miles in extent, with a population of 3,000,000.

the Indus." Had the East India Company and its servants been allowed at that juncture to rule the country, for which the British public persist in holding them responsible, it is pretty clear, from what has just been stated, that the war in Afghanistan, and all its humbling and damaging consequences, would have been avoided. That the since-ensuing annexations would, in that case, have all of them been avoided, cannot be confidently asserted; but thus much is clear, that in the plunge made in the Afghan affair our Government seemed to get rid of all those scruples about the rights of others, and strict adherence to agreements, which sufficed to hamper such weak politicians as Wellington and Malcolm in dealing with the native princes of their day.

While those two men of a former age were engaged together in settling terms of peace with the beaten Mahrattas, a question arose as to whether the important fortress of Gwalior should belong to us or to Scindiah. The Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, was for keeping; his illustrious brother, and Malcolm, for resigning it to Scindiah. In a letter to a private friend on the subject, Malcolm argued that the mere fact of doubt existing ought to decide the case in favour of the weaker party; "For," he wrote, "if we decide a case of disputable nature in our own favour, because we have power, we shall give a blow to our faith that will, in my opinion, be more injurious to our interests than the loss of fifty provinces. What has taken us through this last war with such unexampled success? First, no doubt, the gallantry of our armies, but, secondly, and hardly secondly, our reputation for good faith." In the same strain his glorious colleague, then plain Arthur Wellesley, writes on the same subject: "I would sacrifice Gwalior, or every other frontier of India, ten times over, in order to preserve our credit for scrupulous good faith. What brought me through many difficulties in the war, and the negotiations of peace? The British good faith, and nothing else."

The wisdom evinced in these sentences, written by two of our most distinguished countrymen more than fifty years since, receives a most mortifying confirmation from the following lines, penned in the English language by a most intelligent Brahmin,

on the 23rd of June last, at Indore, the capital of Holkar's dominions, in Central India:—"There can be no doubt that much of the disturbance owes its rise to the bad name our Government have lately acquired through annexations. People don't keep it a secret now, and say that our Government has become faithless ('be-eeman'), and none but the mercantile community would be glad to see order restored. I was glad to know from your kind favour that they did not warmly wish for annexation in England. This is good, but how one can believe what is in one's mind when the act is against it? Why were the measures carried? Indeed, *the* annexation-policy has done the Government of India a harm which will not be early repaired."

Passing from the question of the value of a reputation for good faith, it may be interesting to view the contrasted opinions of two high authorities, equally remote from each other in point of time, on the subject of annexation. Sir John Malcolm, in a letter to a friend, about the year 1818, thus expresses himself on that most important question:—"The native governments are abused as intolerably bad. Why, even in this view, the very contrast of their government with ours is strength. Make all India into zillas (civil districts), and I will assert that it is not in the order of things, considering the new sentiments that must be infused—the operation (unchecked by comparison) of that dislike to rule which all human beings have, and that depression and exclusion from all high rank and fame, civil or military, of more than a crore (million) of men, which must be the consequence of the establishment of our direct authority, that our empire should last fifty years; but if we can contrive to keep up a number of native states without political power, but as royal instruments, we shall, I believe, exist in India as long as we can maintain our naval superiority in Europe: beyond this date it is impossible. But, on the other hand, while we have that superiority, no European power, not even the redoubted Russians, can shake our Eastern throne, if we have wisdom enough (which I doubt) not to destroy ourselves."\*

\* Kaye's "Life of Malcolm," vol. ii. p. 271.



Thus wrote the soldier-statesman of the beginning of this century. Let us now see how the same subject is treated by an Editor of the present day, whose very clever paper, "The Friend of India," was not long since reputed to be the organ of the Supreme Government in Calcutta:—"The policy of annexation may be considered secure. One by one its opponents convinced, or otherwise confess by their silence, that they are logically defunct. The dreamers who feared that the empire would be weakened by extension, and the Orientalists who believed native governments better than civilised rule, are already, for practical politics, extinct. The more generous class, who invested native princes with a right of property in their subjects, and hold conquest to be excusable only by invasion, are rapidly passing to the grave; they will soon be extinct as the dodo, or the party of protection."\*

A single glance at the history of the brief period separating us from the date of this manifesto is enough to check our disposition to smile at the arrogance of its assertions. Even while it was being written, the extension of our dominion over Oude had caused a European battalion to be withdrawn from Cawnpore, and so weakened the chief military station on the Upper Ganges, as to prepare it for becoming the scene of events so dreadful, that we shudder to read the recital of their details. "Dreamers," indeed, were they who "feared that the empire would be weakened by extension;" but such dreamers as seem to have seen farther in their sleep than those who sneer at them did in their waking moments. If the writer of this passage stood alone, his presumption might do little more than provoke mirth; but unhappily he is the organ of a party,—and a party having in its ranks many a name of mark, both in England and in India. The peculiar characteristic of this party is a fanaticism in favour of its own measures; so that it cannot be made to believe that the reasonable being is to be found who would take offence at their enforcement. It was to this sort of feeling that Sir Thomas Munro, though he lived before the period of

\* "Friend of India," June 6th, 1856.

its fuller development, alluded, when he said that "the English are as fanatical in regard to their institutions as the Mahomedans are with their religion."

Take the case of Oude. Admit that humanity required us to eject in favour of ourselves the very ruler whom we were pledged to support, in return for the vast cession made to us by his ancestor at the beginning of the century,—admit all of this, for the sake of argument,—but the question will still remain, what grounds had we for supposing that such an enormous addition to our empire should not bring with it a proportionable addition to our risks? If it were reasonably to be assumed that the cultivator, and the agricultural community generally, would gain by the substitution of our power for that of the native ruler, were there not many, and those of the more active and energetic classes, who would suffer by the change? Were there no existing and expectant placemen to have their pride mortified, their hopes blasted, by the coming in of what the wits of Upper India have long since called the "Sweeper's rule?"

Was it not more than imprudence to take no precaution against the animosity of such a class, beyond the lamentable measure of bringing over from Cawnpore to Lucknow—a distance of fifty miles—the only European regiment to be found along a line of about 500 miles in extent? How is this apparent fool-hardiness on the part of men of eminent ability to be accounted for, but by imputing it to an overweening reliance on the power inherent in their favourite measures to command the applause and assent of all mankind?

That some material benefits would accrue to the inhabitants of Oude from its annexation was seen. What the feelings of any class among them might be was not, therefore, deemed worthy of a thought. Yet there was plenty of proof, in printed works, as well as in unpublished despatches, to show that our seizure of the country would irritate a very formidable body among its inhabitants. Bishop Heber, five-and-thirty years ago, in his hasty progress through the land, perceived this; and in repeating a conversation between a friend of his and a horseman forming part of his escort from Cawnpore, mentions that, though

full of complaints against his own rulers, this man fired up at the mere suggestion of the extension of British rule as a remedy for the abuses complained of, and said that any tyranny was preferable to such a degradation. The late Colonel Sleeman, known even in Europe by his successful operations against the Thugs, and who knew the natives better than any man of his time, when afterwards Resident at Lucknow, warned the Government of the umbrage that would be taken by many classes at our seizure of the country, mentioning particularly that our own Sepoys would be likely to be offended by such a step.

Another Resident, when compelled, some twenty years ago, to address a remonstrance to the rulers of Oude, on the alleged disorders in that kingdom, was met by the significant question, "Whether there had been any emigration from that territory into ours?" But the warnings of danger were not confined to India. More than twenty years since, on the design being hinted at in the House of Commons, the late Sir Robert Peel, not then in power, expressed his apprehension that the absorption of Oude would shake the confidence of every independent prince in India in the good faith of our Government. Thus warned of the agitation likely to ensue, common prudence seemed to require that the measure should have been postponed until, at least, two strong European regiments could be added to our force in Oude, without weakening our strength at other important points, like Cawnpore. It was not, however, only before the step was taken, that the warnings of approaching danger must have been apparent, for the author has himself seen a letter written in Hindee, in the month of November last, addressed to an officer now in England, commencing with these words:—"By the seizure of Oude all Hindostan has been thrown into consternation." Yet it was at this very juncture that the Government of India, receiving its instructions direct from Downing Street, was compelled to reduce its European force by sending regiments to Persia. Meanwhile, extension in another quarter had reduced the strength of the European portion of the Indian army. Pegu, so needlessly added to our dominions in 1852, furnished employment to four or five stout European battalions, who were thus virtually lost to British India,

properly so called ; for Pegu, it must be remembered, is not a part of India, but an entirely distinct country. Annexation has, then, unquestionably contributed, both directly and indirectly, to bring about the disastrous revolt of our Bengal army. Directly, by weakening our European force, in spreading it over a wider surface ; indirectly, by stirring up the animosity of influential classes, not only in the countries added to our rule, but also in the original provinces of our empire. Our annexation of Satara and Berar, on the by them accounted insufficient plea of default of natural heirs, alarmed the Hindoos ; while our seizure of Oude galled the Mahommedans, every one of whom felt a pride in the independence of that principality. Thus, by these almost simultaneous measures, we have supplied a motive of potency to bind in temporary league against ourselves those two discordant races, whose dissension was our strength ; and thus it probably is, that Mahommedans and Brahmins have been brought to co-operate in spreading disaffection among our Sepoys of either persuasion.

The last and most difficult question remains to be considered. Has, or has not, any indiscreet meddling on our part with their religious prejudices operated to provoke our Mahomedan and Hindoo Sepoys, hitherto so faithful, to break out into such a hideous display of perfidious cruelty as they are even now exhibiting to the world ? The question is a thorny one, and whoever enters upon it must be prepared for much misconstruction.

Judging by the analogy of all past history, there is to be found in the very ferocity of the Hindoo portion of the native soldiery a proof that some religious delusion must have been at the bottom of their hostility, however mixed may have been the motives of their Mahomedan comrades.

The Hindoo Sepoys have, for nearly a century, been esteemed, by those who knew them best, to be a kindly-dispositioned race, and, when well managed, ever well affected towards their English chiefs. That such a body, having literally no wrong wherewith to garnish the manifesto issued from their rebellious stronghold at Delhi, should have been worked up into a state of deadly and unreflecting fury, by any feeling short of religious

exasperation, would be at variance with what we know of the history of mankind.

Excepting in the one case of the French Revolution, the author can call to mind no instance of men becoming for a while divested of their humanity, through the action of any weaker emotion than one of religious wrath. It seems almost superfluous to do more than allude to the recorded instances of revolting barbarities perpetrated by members of the great European family on one another, on account of a disagreement on some mysterious point of faith. It is remarkable, also, that women and children have always been the victims of these outbreaks of fanaticism, and that such slaughter has never been accounted by their own partizans as discreditable to the perpetrators. In every record of the struggles of parties during the first centuries of Christian history, we find mention made of women and infants being murdered.\* Neither sex nor age were spared in the crusade against the Albigenes in the thirteenth, or in the massacre of St. Bartholomew in the sixteenth, or the Irish insurrection in the middle of the seventeenth century; while Milton's celebrated Sonnet tells us how

"The bloody Piedmontese roll'd  
Mother with infant down the rocks."

Yet Dante devotes a whole canto of his *Paradiso* to the praises of Dominick, who was the main promoter of the war of extermination standing first in this list; the court of Rome returned thanks to Heaven for the treacherous butchery in Paris; no Roman Catholic writer has expressed any great horror at the event in Ireland; and the acts denounced by Milton were doubtless accounted pious by those whose descendants have, in our own days, evinced something like a desire for their repetition.

Instances of like barbarity towards females can be found even in the early annals of Scotland, as appears from the following passage in Tytler's "*History*," vol. i. p. 113:—"Their revenge seems especially to have been directed against the English ecclesiastics who were possessed of Scottish livings. A public edict passed by the Scottish Estates, in 1296, had banished these

\* See Fuller's "*Profane State*," book v. chap. ii.

intruders from Scotland, and this edict Wallace, it is said, improved upon with a refinement in cruelty. Some aged priests, and it is even asserted, although almost too horrid to believe, *some helpless women*, had their hands tied behind their backs, and in this helpless state were thrown from high bridges into rivers, their dying agonies affording sport to their merciless captors."

If such is the power of this principle, even on the comparatively phlegmatic European temperament, what must not its influence be over the more excitable Asiatic races? With these its force is the greater, because it is the only one that tells at all upon their collective feelings. Patriotism is almost unknown in the East; no encroachment not trespassing, directly or indirectly, upon their religion would ever there excite any general indignation. But, then, religion is in those regions so intertwined with all social institutions, that none of these can be touched without risk of jarring with the great master-principle of the Oriental mind. It may be observed, also, that the nearer any European nation approaches in character to the people of the East, the more sensitive do we find it on points affecting religion; and we have within the last few months seen a disturbance arise at Belfast, that might have swollen into something as bad as the massacre of 1641, if the restraining hand of government had been suddenly paralysed in Ireland, as it has been in India. *A priori*, probability is, we therefore think, on the side of those who assert the present Indian movement to be essentially a religious one; and there is nothing in after-events to warrant the adoption of a contrary conclusion. It is urged by some, for whom the author feels the sincerest respect, though he cannot adopt their opinions, that a movement participated in both by Mahommedans and Hindoos cannot have religion for its source, because it is impossible to believe that these two races can be actuated by any community of feeling on such a point. Their antagonism may be admitted, without acquiescing in the inference thence deduced. The Mahommedan is astute enough, when it serves his purpose, to feign a regard which he does not feel; and the Hindoo, being by far the simpler of the two, may be so blinded

by his cholera as to lend a willing ear to the suggestions of his hereditary antagonist. Cardinal Richelieu was no friend to the Protestants when he used their zeal as a weapon of offence against the house of Austria; yet surely no one will, for that reason, deny that the movement in Germany was a religious one? The real question is, what was the character of that distempered mood which fitted the Hindoo Sepoy to become, as many believe, a tool in the hands of the more wily and steadily vindictive Mahomedan? That mood was evidently one of extreme religious exasperation, arising out of dark suspicions of our designs, infused into his mind through some as yet undiscovered agency, and deriving confirmation from several indiscretions on the part of our Indian legislature, as of various individual members of the Anglo-Indian community, some of whom, we know, have acted as missionaries, without resigning their military commissions; while others, we have heard, have even gone so far as to compel their native servants to attend daily at family prayers. This view of the case is supported by the declaration of the Sepoys themselves, who loudly proclaim that they are acting in defence of their faith, and in their manifesto from Delhi accuse their rulers of nothing but a design to make Christians of them by force or fraud.

So great, however, is the reluctance to give credit to the Sepoys' own statement of their own motives, that we see continual attempts made to account for their conduct on some other principle. Not long since, in defiance, apparently (perhaps in ignorance) of the fact that for a hundred years past a million of millions has been faithfully guarded and escorted by Sepoys alone, it was stated at a public meeting, that their motives on the present occasion have been entirely sordid. Riots, of course, lead to plunder, and accordingly the Sepoys, having once broken loose from authority, obeyed the instinct of all mobs, and rifled the treasuries, which they had for so many years protected; but, like those who followed Lord George Gordon in 1782, though they ended with pillage, it was by a religious feeling that they were first set in motion.

The point is not one of mere curiosity, but of vast prospective political importance; and it may not, therefore, be lost labour

to bring together some of the proofs to be collected from the blue-books, of a religious feeling having been at the bottom of the discontents which, after long smouldering in the breasts of our native soldiery, have at last been fanned into a flame by the unwise attempt to force the obnoxious cartridge upon the 3d Cavalry at Meerut. At Amballah, the station on the plains nearest to Simla, where the Commander-in-Chief was then residing, no less than fifteen fires were reported by the cantonment magistrate to have occurred between the 26th March and the 1st May; and these he, in a letter dated 4th May, distinctly ascribes to "the newly-introduced cartridges," and the Sepoy's ineradicable belief, that "the innovation is derogatory both to his caste and religion."

The magistrate further remarks, that "similar conflagrations had occurred at Barrackpore, Oude, Meerut, and Lahore, all owing to the supposed impure and tainted cartridge." These conflagrations, unmistakable symptoms of discontent, as every reader of Eastern tales must know, ought to have made the Commander-in-Chief pause before he offered to the troops at Meerut a choice between the cartridge and the jail. The latter was accepted, and those consigned to it from that moment were regarded as martyrs. The whole Bengal army being one great military family, the feeling rapidly spread, and the contagion of revolt extended to every station. Panic aided its development, for it is clear that, in many instances, the Sepoys flew to arms under an impression that the European troops were advancing to attack them. In a Division Order of Major-General Hearsay's, published at Barrackpore on the 5th April, the conduct of the Sepoy, Mungul Pande, then under sentence of death for mutiny, is ascribed to his having been "in a state of religious frenzy." In a previous letter, dated 23d January, the same gallant officer, and thorough Orientalist, informs the Government, that "a report has been spread about by some designing persons, most likely Brahmins, or agents of the religious Hindoo party in Calcutta (I believe it is called the Dhuurma Sobha), that they (the Sepoys) are to be forced to embrace the Christian faith." In the Governor-General's Minute of the 27th March, it is recorded that the men of the 7th Native Infantry assigned as a



reason for their mutinous movement at Berhampore, that they thought that "the guns and European troops were coming; and they said they were prepared to die rather than lose caste."<sup>1</sup> A letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner in the Punjab, dated 16th May, asserts the "cartridge" (which word is the embodiment of the religious feeling) to be the cause of the existing disaffection, recommends its immediate disuse, predicts that nothing else will stop the spread of the evil, and ends with the following remarkable passage :—"Even punishment will not prove effective, for the sufferers will become objects of sympathy, and be looked upon as martyrs for their religion."

Mr. Colvin, the late-lamented Lieutenant-Governor of the North-western Provinces, in a letter dated 22d May, after noticing his own address to the troops on parade at Agra, adds the following remarks :—"They all at the moment expressed their belief of my communications to them; and I have seen them in a familiar way on several occasions since. They have undoubtedly been infected by a deep distrust of our purposes. The general scope of the notion by which they have been influenced may be expressed in the remarks of one of them, a Hindoo, Tewarree Brahmin, to the effect that men were created of different faiths; and that the notion attributed to us, of having but one religion, because we had now but one uninterrupted dominion throughout India, was a tyrannical and impious one."

Again, in a letter dated 24th May, Mr. Colvin says of the mutineers: "Many are in the rebels' ranks because they could not get away. Many certainly thought we were tricking them out of their caste; and this opinion is held, however unwisely, by the mass of the population, and even by some of the more intelligent classes. Never was delusion more wide or deep. Many of the best soldiers in the army, amongst others, of its most faithful section, the Irregular Cavalry, show a marked reluctance to engage in a war against men whom they believe to have been misled on the point of religious honour."\*

\* In confirmation of what is stated in Mr. Colvin's letter regarding the mass of the population and their feelings, it may not be out of place to mention that a system of feeding the prisoners in messes, a system not to be carried out without occasional violation of the laws of caste, has caused the inmates of our jails to become objects of sympathy to those without.

The concurrent testimony of three such authorities as General Hearsay, Sir John Lawrence, and Mr. Colvin, ought to be conclusive; and those who still demur had better, perhaps, be left to their prejudices; nevertheless, it is as well to draw attention to a circumstance showing, in the strongest light, the extreme improbability of the Sepoys having acted under any influence of less power than one of religious delusion. Two regiments, the 26th and the 46th, broke out into open mutiny at Mean Meer, and Sealkote\* in the Punjaub, after they had been disarmed, when success was impossible, and swift retribution certain, from the proximity of a strong European force. The reasonable conclusion, therefore, is, that they were not quite free agents, but were impelled by the same kind of force as has oftēn driven our fellow-subjects in Ireland to crime, and sometimes to rebellion.

There is one other reason assigned for the mutiny, to which alliteration lends its artful aid. The Sepoys have, it is constantly repeated, been "pampered and petted" into a state of insurrection. In one sense, though not in that generally attached to the words, there is some truth in the saying. Ever since that lamentable expedition to Cabool, which destroyed our reputation for good faith, and the prestige of our invincibility, the native army has been led to think too much of its own strength and importance, and an insubordinate spirit has too often been passed over, from the necessity of gently handling a cord which might snap, if pulled too tightly. The spirit alluded to showed itself in a very formidable shape before Sir George Pollock's advance to retrieve our disasters in Afghanistan; and few know how much his country is indebted to that distinguished officer for the patience and skill with which he allayed the discontents, and raised the "morale" of the native portion of his army, before he advanced into the Khyber Pass. Various indications of the presence of such a spirit in the Bengal army have since broken

\* The 5th Irregular Cavalry acted in the same manner at Bhangulpore, a station on the Ganges below Patna, on learning that Sir J. Oatram had arrived off that place, *en route* to Upper India, with a large European force. Another regiment at Chittagong, far down to the south-east, and completely cut off from the rest of the army, is stated in the last accounts to have broken out into the same sort of hopeless and objectless mutiny.

out from time to time; but the Indian Government were powerless to apply the only sufficient check, by increasing the numerical strength of the European branch of its force.

In so far, therefore, as mere discipline is concerned, there, perhaps, is some truth in the assertion, that the Sepoy has been over-leniently dealt with at times, when there was a call for rigour; but, as regards his scruples of caste, it can only mean that the Government have adhered to the conditions on which the high-caste men have entered its service. One of the first of these stipulations is that of not being obliged to embark. When service beyond the sea was in prospect, volunteers were ever to be found for the duty. Certain regiments, called "General Service Battalions," were raised, upon an understanding that they were to embark when required. Of late years it has been ordered that all recruits are to be enlisted on this understanding. This order practically excludes the relations of half the men in an old regiment—men who served as much in the hope of being able to push on their kinsfolk, as to advance themselves. This order, therefore, savoured of bad faith, and must have tended to add strength to the distrust of our designs, which, however engendered, was, during this period, excited by the malevolence of the native and the extravagance of the European press,\* until at last "the cartridge" appeared, with its alleged pigs' and cows' fat, to cement the union of the two classes of our subjects against us.

The cartridge was the proximate cause of the revolt; and the revolt itself is now becoming the fulcrum on which the lever to upset the East India Company is to be made to rest. Yet the revolt proves nothing against the general administration of India, and only shows that there have been great mistakes committed in the military department, where the Company holds

\* How closely the English press is watched by many of the more educated natives, may be seen from the following passage, copied from a letter written by a Hindoo of rank, in the month of June last:—

"I cannot but regret the tone of several recent articles on religious subjects, especially one in the Bengal 'Harkaru,' headed Christianity *v.* Brahminism. These things, with a greased cartridge, have led to fearful results. They may promote the cause of Christianity, but they can hardly be said to promote that of humanity, when they cause so many innocent people to be slaughtered."

but divided sway. It was not, be it remembered, from a servant of the Company, but of the Crown, that the order issued which provoked the explosion at Meerut. But though there has been a mutiny, there has been no insurrection. We have lost control over a large tract of country, not by the people driving us out of it (they were too well pleased with our rule for that), but by our European officials being compelled to flee from bands of mutineers, who sought to destroy them and plunder the country. Chiefs and Princes have stood by us to a marvel, all the trading classes are with us, so are the landholders, and even the peasantry, with few exceptions, in every province but Oude, where, as yet, we are regarded as invaders. It behoves us now to beware, lest by indiscreet public speaking, and precipitate passionate legislation, we bring upon ourselves the evil from which we seem to have escaped, and cause the very suppression of the mutiny to give birth to a popular insurrection.

It unfortunately happens that the East India Company and its servants, though closely connected with, we might almost say, every family in the country, are viewed with unfriendly eyes by men of every class and order. This probably arises from their having to deal with races whose habits and feelings are so foreign to our own, that measures suited to meet their wants often strike those not conversant with Eastern subjects as being strange and unaccountable. It is easier to blame than to learn, and a fluent abuse of what they do not understand enables many to escape from the mortification of avowing that they are ignorant. Jealousy ever treads hard upon success, and the East India Company, when left to itself, has been the most uniformly successful governing body in the world. Every check which it has ever sustained may be traced in some shape or other to those disturbing influences which the late Lord Metcalfe had in his mind when he said, in the hearing of the author, that "the real dangers of British India would commence from the day when the party spirit of the British Parliament should be brought to bear directly on its administration."

The Company's troops were successful in every war, and every war engaged in was admitted to be justifiable, until the luckless Afghan expedition was forced upon the reluctant Court

in Leadenhall Street by the ministry of the day, in 1838. Since then, the Company's rule has ceased to be as firm and consistent as it was before, because Governor-Generals took their tone from Downing Street, and shaped their measures accordingly. Still it is most unjust to tax the Company with remissness in those branches of administration over which they retained their sway. If their Government in India has erred, it has been less from hanging back than from advancing too rapidly with its improvements, and striving too hard to keep up with "the spirit of the age." If the thirty years' settlement of the revenue, a work of immense labour, were all that there was to show, the agricultural classes in Upper India evince by their present conduct their sense of the value of that blessing. Conscious of its own anxiety to promote the welfare of its subjects, the Indian Government for a while forgot the necessity of being physically strong, as well as benevolently disposed. It was consequently taken by surprise, but has not found the fabric of its power to crumble beneath the shock. How is this? Is it not a proof that for one hundred years we have been moving in the right direction, slowly, it may be, in the opinion of platform orators, but as rapidly as is consistent with safety in such a country as India? Those who "account mechanical inventions the great agents in the history of mankind" will, of course, blame the Indian Government for not having overspread the land with railroads. Yet the truth is, that works of this class have perhaps gone on with greater speed than is quite consistent with safety; and the only blame attaching to the Government is, for not having sufficiently appreciated their tendency to create alarm in that Brahminical body whose influence it was folly to ignore.

Another cry, proceeding from the same quarter, blames the Indian Government for not having covered their territory with European colonists. No account is taken of the obstacles opposed by Nature to British colonisation in any but temperate climates. Englishmen will never go to India, excepting to make fortunes to be enjoyed in other lands, and under a milder sun. Landed estates would by such settlers be merely held as subsidiary to commercial speculations. Should they become numerous, the effects of the domination of race over race would

be exhibited on a scale to surpass, as is well remarked by the Indophilus of "The Times," all that is recorded of the Normans in England, or of the Orangemen in Ireland. In confirmation of this view, take the following passages in a letter addressed to the author, in the year 1854, by a most intelligent Hindoo gentleman in Bengal :—

"The fact is, that European traders have obtained, in many places in the interior of the Bengal Presidency, almost uncontrolled power,—a power which they are seldom sufficiently scrupulous not to exert to the injury of those with whom they come in contact. It is not exaggeration to say, each indigo factory, together with its surrounding estate, is a little kingdom within itself, wherein avarice and tyranny hold unlimited sway. The police is too feeble to render effectual aid in suppressing the lawless oppression of the factor."

Those who raise the cry for colonisation, and other kindred measures, are the original authors of the clamour commenced in Calcutta, and, though now dying out, for a while re-echoed in London against the present Governor-General and his councillors. These gentlemen, who undertake to teach the Governor-General his duty, and choose the most embarrassing moment for doing so, have, in fact, but one great object at heart, and that is, to get rid of the Civil Service, which stands as a protecting barrier between them and the people of the country. It is with this end in view that they have spread rumours of dissension in the Supreme Council, and sought to stir the gallant Commander-in-Chief into opposition to the Government, of which he is at once a member and the servant. The furious abuse of Mr. J. P. Grant springs from the same source, and tends to the same end. That gentleman's talents being unquestionable, he is taxed with presumption and vanity by a writer who, having served, as he tells us, under Sir Charles Napier, has caught not a few of the witty old General's foibles, among others, that of an outrageous antipathy to the Civil Service. To explain to the English reader the nature of Mr. Grant's mission, it is necessary to state that, as the enemy is expelled from the rich provinces of Upper India, it becomes actually necessary to provide for the resuscitation of something

like regular government, otherwise all the revenue now in abeyance would be lost, and the provision of food and carriage for the army would become almost impracticable.

Mr. Grant's mission has two objects; one is to put together, into something like working order, the fragments of our temporarily shattered system of internal government; the other, that of putting as speedy a stop as possible to the fierce measures of vindictive retaliation, burning of villages, and wholesale hanging, which, however natural under the circumstances of the time, could not but have a ruinous effect, if persisted in for a moment longer than stern necessity warranted. What those measures were, will be seen from the following passage, extracted from a letter written at Cawnpore by an intelligent young officer, detained at that station by wounds received in General Havelock's first advance towards Lucknow:—

“The English newspapers are frightfully bloodthirsty and revengeful. So are the people here; but I hope a stop will be put to wholesale hanging. I have seen a tree ornamented with nine or ten Sepoys in a few minutes by our men. They just tied feet together and hands behind back, rope round neck, and throwing the other end over a low branch, up the fellow went. But these were fellows caught with arms in their hands. The talk here is, ‘Hunt down every Sepoy!’ If they do, they will keep the flames alive for long. As to their massacres, I should like to come in upon them *à propos*, to teach them manners; but our civilised officers and men would, if allowed, surpass them in horrors by way of reprisal, which I think as bad as the original.”\*

\* The following is from a second letter from the same pen:—“People at home, as well as those here, seem to have gone mad about revenge. Half-a-year ago it was wrong, cruel, and tyrannical to hit a native, even if he were impertinent; and as to calling him a ‘nigger,’ oh, horror!! but now nothing is half punishment enough. The magistrate catches a nigger upon some sort of evidence, he is made out a Sepoy, or rebel, and of course ordered off to the gallows, and sometimes is previously flogged. The gallows are erected where the women were murdered, and the culprit is made to lick the ground where blood is supposed to exist, and every soldier or person gives the rascal a lick with a stick till the man's head bleeds. Some cram grease into his mouth, and if the wretch refuses to open his mouth, the most gentle means are not resorted to in order to compel

It is hardly necessary here to repeat the refutation of the silly story of the release of 150 mutineers by Mr. Grant, though, in spite of its manifest falsehood, it obtained credence in quarters supposed to be above the reach of vulgar delusion. Had editors been capable of cool reflection, a glance at the map might have assured them that the whole was a fabrication. Cawnpore is about 200 miles from Benares. If General Neill had taken any mutineers, red hand, it was most unlikely that he, who had hung so many, should suddenly have hesitated, and referred their cases to Mr. Grant, who, without such reference, could not have had time to intermeddle. But the object was to get up a cry against the Civil Service; and so the tale was seized on, and written about, until the next mail came in, and the spiteful bubble burst. We are as yet without any information as to the limits of Mr. Grant's powers, but we may be assured that there will be no interference with the military authorities where martial law prevails, though much will doubtless be done in anticipation of the period when civil authority may with safety be re-established.

The destruction of all the records will make the re-adjustment of the revenue, and the recognition of landed tenures, a work of the first importance to individuals as well as to the state, and one which none but an experienced civil functionary can possibly perform. Let those who propose to leave all such matters in military hands reflect whether, if a similar storm had visited England, and swept away all the title-deeds and documents in the country, it is from the Horse Guards that they would have sought for the man to clear away the rubbish, and reduce the troubled mass into order.\* The great danger that now threatens

him to do so; and many other like *practical jokes* are carried on. Now, I would hang the culprit myself and flog him too with pleasure, but as many natives come to enjoy the *entertainment*, I would read the crime and sentence, and nothing more should be inflicted; but here I am considered mad, because I see any harm in such reprisals. What a very just idea the natives must have of the atrocities they committed, when they see us now trying our utmost to vie with their ingenuity! It won't be many months before 'The Times' will turn round, and then we shall not have many confessing they assisted at the *fun*."

\* It may here be allowed to say a word about the salaries of Civil servants. Those who think them too high should ask themselves this question. Would any man with 1000*l.* a-year, secured to him in London, go out to live under an



Upper India is dearth, perhaps famine. To avert this evil may be difficult, and, if the sanguinary politicians of Calcutta held the sway, would be impossible. Judging from the tenor of their writings, indeed, we may almost assume that they would exterminate the fifty millions of Upper India, and then rail at the Government for letting the land fall out of cultivation.

Of all the absurdities springing up in the course of this discussion, none is more extravagant than the attempt to link the mutiny in some way with the torture-story brought home from some remote province in Southern India, where, as was well remarked by the Earl of Harrowby, "it is difficult to protect the people, because they will not help you to protect themselves." It is ever necessary to remind the purely English reader that India is a country as large as Europe, and that what may be true of one province may never have been heard of in another. In the Gangetic portion of British India no such thing as authorised torture has ever been known; and this, indeed, was admitted in the House of Lords, and accounted for by the charitable supposition that the hardy character of the people in that quarter deterred the Court of Directors from sanctioning its introduction! As the author limits his remarks to the provinces connected with the Bengal Presidency, he must leave the members of the Madras Service to defend themselves, as they are well able to do. But though it is strange that the cruel practices of which a man of some note, not long since, told a farmers' meeting that he had inflicted a volume of official proofs on a happy party assembled at a country-seat, did not stir even the softer races of Southern India to some acts of mutiny, it is stranger still to know what actually did once provoke a rebellious movement in that very region.

In the year 1837 a rebellion broke out in the district of Mangalore, on the western coast of the Indian Peninsula. It

Indian sun, and lead a lonely life in the interior, for less than double, or even treble, that sum? Multiply a stay-at-home salary by three, and you will come near to the Indian equivalent. Moreover, where men are largely trusted, they must be largely paid; and no men are so largely trusted as the Civil and Political servants of the Indian Government.—See, on this point, Lord Macaulay's "Essays on Clive and Hastings."

spread like an epidemic, infecting every class, even the officers of Government of every grade, some of whom tried to dissuade the Collector from sending off the public treasure to a vessel that was luckily at hand, in order that it might be reserved for the insurgents who were then advancing towards the station. This movement was suppressed by the arrival of troops in steamers from Bombay, and with the aid of the people of the newly-conquered province of Caorg. Now, what was the cause of this insurrection? It was nothing more nor less than our humane substitution of the process of selling land, in realisation of public and private debts, for the simple coercive measures in use under Asiatic rulers, or what we should call torture. Now, no one would propose to allay the discontents on the Malabar coast by the re-introduction of the good old practice of subjecting the bodies of defaulters to a little suffering, and leaving their lands untouched; but such instances as the above should teach those whose knowledge of India is scanty, to beware of passing hasty censures upon the men by whom that extraordinary empire has been governed, with such undeniable success, from the days of Clive until the outbreak of the present disturbances, for which it remains to be seen who is responsible. A letter of the Duke of Wellington, dated 13th October, 1803, is full of instruction to censors of the class in question. Writing on the absurdity of trying to reduce things in India to the European standard, he thus expresses himself:—"In short, the only conclusion to be drawn from all reflection and reasoning on this subject is, that the British Government in India is a phenomenon, and that it will not answer to apply to it, in its present state, either the rules which guide other governments, or the reasoning on which these rules are founded."\*

But the most serious, and certainly the most popular, as being the most easily-understood, charge against the Indian Government is, that of taxing it with religious indifference, and even hostility, to the diffusion of Christian knowledge throughout its dominions.

At the by-gone period, when that charge had some appear-

\* Gurwood, vol. ii. p. 411.

ance of truth, it might have been brought against the Government of England, as well as against that of India. The early years of this century were certainly not years of religious zeal, and our public men in the East partook of the apathy which prevailed among our Gallios in office at home. As religious feeling revived in the mother-country, it was gradually communicated to the dependency. Bishops were appointed, churches built, the numerical strength of the clerical body was increased, the strict, at least the decorous, observance of the Sabbath was enforced, the utmost freedom was allowed to missionary bodies, American as well as British, whose agents traversed the length and breadth of the country at their pleasure; and, more than that, were, when well-mannered and good linguists, ever treated, not only with politeness, but with respect, by the natives, especially by the Hindoos. Higher testimony was never borne to the moral and intellectual merits of any body of men, than will be found in a speech delivered in the English language by a native gentleman in Calcutta, himself a Hindoo, on the 25th July last, in praise of the Christian missionaries in Bengal.

It is curious to observe how the disposition to carp at our Eastern administration veers round with the varying humour of the time. At the beginning of this century, the Bard of Hope winds up the first part of his poem with an apostrophe to the Hindoo Olympus, imploring its intervention to avenge the wrongs endured by the "children of Brama" at the hands of the "free-born Britons" of those days. Seriswattee, Canideo, and Gunesa, are invoked by name, and the "tenth avatar" is hailed by a Christian poet with more than Hindoo fervour. Now-a-days the tide is turned, and our countrymen in India are accused, with equal injustice, though less imagination, of undue deference to the scruples and feelings of the people over whom they were once said to tyrannise. Both charges may, in as far as the Gangetic provinces are concerned, be pronounced to be figments. The religious or superstitious feelings of our subjects have, in that part of our empire, never been either outraged or petted. Salutes to idols, or parades in honour of Hindoo festivals, are unknown on the banks of the

Ganges, whatever may be the case in the Southern Peninsula. All that can be alleged against the Company's government in that quarter is, that it has kept faith with those high-caste men whom it received into its service, and with religious establishments found by us in possession of endowments when we took the land from its former rulers. Even in this respect, the leaning of our administration has for the last thirty years been directly the reverse of what is often, with over-confidence, asserted. This will appear from the following passage taken from the pamphlet of Mr. F. H. Robinson, to which we have before referred :—

“The Government have of late years systematically resumed all religious endowments, an extensive inquiry has been going on into all endowments, grants, and pensions; and in almost every one in which the continuance of religious endowments has been recommended by subordinate revenue authorities, backed by the Board of Revenue, the fiat of confiscation has been issued by the Government.”—(Page 17.)

Whether these confiscations, or resumptions, as they were called, were wise or just, is a matter of dispute; the fact of their occurrence is unquestioned; and that fact alone is a proof of no over-indulgence having been shown to establishments having the support of either the Hindoo or the Mahomedan faith for their object. It is remarkable also that the natives themselves coupled the idea of religious zeal in their Christian rulers with activity in carrying out these very measures. The author has more than once had the question put to him whether Mr. A. B., and Mr. C. D., gentlemen known for the strictness of their views, did not account it a duty to bear hard upon the Moosulman and the Brahmin, and the conjunction of these hitherto dissociable names struck him at the time as ominous. It may be recorded, as worthy of notice, that Hurdeo Bukhs, the landholder, to whose good offices Messrs. Edwards and Probyn, of the Civil Service, owed their escape from the fate which overtook the other fugitives from Futteghur, is said to have declared, that in saving these Englishmen, at some hazard to himself, he was actuated by his grateful recollection of kindness shown to

his father by the very gentleman \* from whose pamphlet the passage above cited is taken. Much stress has been laid on the case of the Brahmin native officer gently withdrawn from his regiment after his conversion to Christianity. This event happened nearly forty years ago, and yet it is spoken of and preached upon as if it were an act of the ruling power of the present day. Those concerned in it have long since passed away. Yet, in justice to the departed, let us consider what the circumstances of our empire were in the year 1819. Two great wars, that with Nepal on the East, and with the Mahrattas and Pindarrees on the West, had just been brought to a conclusion, but the passions excited by the struggle had not even begun to cool. Runjeet Sing, at the head of the Sikhs, stronger at that time than when they afterwards tested our mettle to the utmost, though his good sense had withheld him from taking advantage of our merely apparent difficulties, while engaged only with foreign foes, might have found, in such a falling-off of our own troops as we are now witnessing, an opportunity too tempting for even his prudence to have withstood. A mutiny in 1819 would have been a more serious matter than we find it now, for *then* there was no steam to shorten distance. Twelve months must have elapsed before any succours could have reached India from England. To assert that no mutiny was to be dreaded, is merely to beg the whole question at issue, and therefore we must conclude that they who blame what was done by the Government of the Marquis of Hastings, in 1819, would, if they had been in power, have followed a contrary course, and taken their chance for the consequences, even if the loss of the empire itself had been among the results to be apprehended. What would have happened in that case cannot, of course, be known, but what has happened we see and feel. The men of 1819 have transmitted to us an empire which has not certainly been brought into jeopardy by over-adherence to their principles of government, but which

\* The late Mr. P. H. Robinson had held the office of Commissioner of the Futteghur division not long before he left India. It is hoped that the above anecdote may draw attention to his clever and original pamphlet.

we are, nevertheless, now reduced to a struggle to preserve and hand down to our successors.

But in what form are we to transmit it? As an absolute conquest, to be ruled over in the manner most consonant with the wishes and passions of the dominant minority, or as a country held by an official tenure, where the duty of the Government, acting as trustee to the estate, is to endeavour to administer it for the benefit of the various races interested in its welfare? The first of these two modes of rule will be the most popular in England, and with what are called "the independent Europeans" in India. It will be popular with that more numerous than sagacious class, which hates the East India Company, it knows not why. It may allure the ministry of the day by the promise of a vast accession of direct power, freed from the harassing necessity of having often to contend with men of superior intelligence, whose counsels there is a pre-determination to overrule. To the Horse-Guards, also, the cry for a re-modelling of the Government of India, and the re-conquest of a country which has never revolted, must have an attractive sound, for it holds out a prospect of increased patronage, and the riddance of that standing perplexity—the Company's army. The absolute-conquest scheme will also command the suffrages of such proselytising societies as seek for the co-operation of Government, without distinctly declaring what the nature of that co-operation is to be. The same scheme will, of course, be in favour with the "independent European" class in India, for it is with them that it originates. Thus there is a formidable display of interests in support of a scheme which, nevertheless, appears to be fraught with both injustice and danger. It is unjust to visit millions with permanent humiliation on account of the misconduct of some thousands, whom we have ourselves detached from the bulk of the people and brought into an artificial state, more directly under our own influence than that of any other section of the community. It will be dangerous to attempt, with our numerical disparity, to introduce a system only to be sustained by an ever-present and ever-watchful superiority of physical force. Admit that we can conquer and scatter every enemy whom we may for the next three or four

years encounter in the field, still the question will remain of, How is the pressure to be kept up which, in the case supposed, will continually be required to suppress the heavings of discontent? A mighty force is now assembling on the Upper Ganges, — a force, perhaps, a little in excess to the means of feeding or moving; cavalry without horses, sappers who cannot work in the sun, and artillery to supersede, rather than to co-operate with, that noble corps of Bengal, pronounced even by Sir Charles Napier to be perfect. Of all this array, if deprived of the assistance of native troops in the discharge of duties involving continued exposure to climate, at least twenty per cent would, before a year is out, be dead, and few forthcoming to supply their place in what would then be considered an unattractive service.

It is necessary here to remind the English reader how almost incredibly small is the European machinery employed in the government of India. Excepting at about ten stations, far apart from each other, along a line of nearly 1200 miles in extent, there is not an armed European to be seen from the sea to the boundary of the Punjaub. These stations are mostly on the Ganges and the Jumna; while to the right and left of those rivers vast provinces, peopled by more millions than half Europe contains, are governed by little knots of English functionaries, sometimes only two or three, and seldom more than five or six in number, with nothing but native physical force to support them. In its very essence, such a system, resting mainly on moral influence, is of course one of compromise. The people yield their obedience to all the fair behests of their rulers, but expect in return to have their social freedom respected, and to be exempt from all authoritative intermeddling with their religion. They also calculate upon being subjected to no novel mode of taxation, and upon the bulk of what is levied on them being taken in the form of the portion of the produce of the land, assigned by immemorial custom to the ruling power to meet the exigencies of the state. Partial deviations from this course may be submitted to (though even to these fierce opposition has at times been made), but any such alteration of the whole revenue system, as is evidently contemplated by the advo-

cates of the "colonising" policy, would estrange from us the good-will of the now well-affected agricultural class. Two instances of open resistance to fiscal innovations may here be noticed; the one took place in the year 1809, when the townspeople of Benares, to the number of half-a-million, left their homes and bivouacked in the fields, until the Government yielded to their petition for the abolition of a recently imposed house-tax; the other occurred at Bareilly, in the year 1816, when a police-tax, eventually carried into effect, provoked on its first enforcement an armed resistance, which soon assumed a religious Mahommedan aspect, and was only quelled, with the loss to the insurgents of about 1500 killed and wounded, by the firmness of three companies of Bengal Sepoys.

The proposed substitute for the immemorial land revenue has not yet been distinctly stated, but, considering the quarter whence it may be expected to proceed, its tendency most probably will be to make the Indian Government pay for the cotton to be supplied to Manchester. This end will be virtually gained merely by reducing the assessment on land, and leaving it to the Eastern exchequer to find in new imposts an equivalent for that of which it will thus, for the first time in the history of India, be deprived.

It is impossible to read what daily appears in print without perceiving that the scheme of Colonial Government, once cried up as fraught with blessings to the people of India, is now built upon a studied disregard, or rather hatred, of their race. This, indeed, is openly avowed by the hasty, and is implied in the suggestions of the more cautious, advocates of the measure. To take a specimen of each:—A letter inserted in the "Morning Post" of the 26th November, and professing to come from India to a correspondent in Paris, contains the following passage:—"The hatred of the *Bengalese*, whatever his calling, is such, he will be treated like a ferocious wild beast; he is one, and we are to treat him, forsooth, as a mild and faithful Hindoo. Oh, this lovely country!—for in some parts it is a paradise—to think that the race of Ham should enjoy it under a mild Christian rule, and not appreciate the goodness of God! England must make the Government a Colonial one, and no



native of India, for many years to come, privileged to enjoy a share in its bounty, or hold an office of either trust or responsibility."

The use here made of the name "Bengalese" warrants a suspicion that the letter was written by a Calcutta cockney, unaware of the fact, that although our native soldiers in that quarter are called Bengal Sepoys, there is not a Bengalee among them. Bengalee is a name exclusively applied to the native of Bengal Proper. There are forty millions of this race, and it is hard to make that portion of our subjects the special objects of our hate; for to them the triumph of the mutineers would have been so fatal, that we may be assured of the sincerity of the prayers which they offered up for our success.

The Bengalee is a timid being, and may be dealt with at discretion; but it is as well to think how the other "children of Ham" will relish the scheme for reducing them to the condition of serfs in their own land. It is almost useless to waste argument on so wild a scheme as that for Helotizing all India, with its 170 millions of inhabitants, of whom one-fourth are not yet under our dominion. More consideration is, however, due to a graver project, lately presented to the public in the form of a letter printed in "The Times" of the 2d December. The project is detailed in six separate propositions, and these it may be useful to review *seriatim*:—

1. "India must be kept free from external war, and from further expansion."

A wise suggestion, doubtless, but the English public must be changed before conquest can be stayed. If they will be so blinded by the glare and glitter of successful battle as to be unable to see when a conquest is unjust, as in the case of Scinde, or unnecessary, as in the case of Pegu, how is it to be expected that men in power abroad, to whose "quick bosoms quiet" often "is a hell," will not be tempted to indulge in the enticing luxury of military expeditions?

2. "The high lands of India, north, central, and south, must be systematically filled with European colonies."

If the mountainous tracts in the Himalaya, Cossya, and Neelgherry ranges are here alluded to, there is no objection to

the scheme, excepting as concerns the interest of the colonists, who, in those mountainous tracts, will find very pleasant places to reside at, but few spots to promise extensive profit to any great number of agricultural settlers. Should we ever reconquer the site of the ancient Bactrian kingdom, a colony in a country blest with an almost European climate may be feasible.

3. "English citizenship must be recognised in India as a distinct element, and be cautiously imparted as a reward to individuals, to classes, and to places."

An attempt to apply the policy of a continuous continental empire, like that of ancient Rome, to a detached dominion based upon maritime superiority, like ours in India, would probably in practice fail.\* It carries with it a semblance of fairness, but is intrinsically one-sided and partial, as will appear from what is to follow.

4. "Well-defined political as well as social rights should be granted to all English citizens in India."

The real drift of this proposition is, that the Government of India ought to be placed in the hands of those "unofficial" Englishmen who may migrate to that country for a while, to make or to repair a fortune. This will appear more clearly in the sequel.

5. "The Indian Government must not fluctuate with English party, nor its policy be made subservient to the shifting politics of Europe."

This, like the first proposition, is a wise one, and furnishes the best possible argument for keeping the Government of India in the hands of a body like the Court of Directors, who, as the representatives of a separate constituency, with chartered rights, can alone effect what is here truly stated to be most desirable. The same chairman of that Court who protested against the Afghan war, in 1838, the late Mr. St. George Tucker, said on another occasion, what *then* was true, that "India is of no party."

\* Egypt alone, of all the Roman provinces, bore any resemblance to British India, and there the "Equites," with their exclusive right of administration, seem to have stood in a position very like that of the Civil Service of the present day.

6. "The permanent burdens of India must, in the long run, be borne by India."

There is no objection to be urged against this. In fact, it only approves of what always has been, for the Home Treasury has little cause to complain of Indian importunities. It is, however, in the comment that follows, that the latent injustice of the whole scheme is disclosed. Taxes are to be voted in "Parliaments consisting of English citizens, and of none besides." There is a show of consideration for the native in the provision for "imparting English citizenship to him as a reward," but who, that knows anything of the bearing of the races towards each other, will fail to perceive that in such a motley parliament the voices of the dusky portion would be drowned by that of the robuster whites?

The concluding passage of the letter hints at the possibility of setting up one of our own Princes as King of India, which very idea has ere this occurred to two well-informed men of different countries and races, writing at the distance of half-a-century from each other. No. 31 of the "Edinburgh Review," published in the year 1810, contains the following speculation on the future Government of India:—

"A simple form of arbitrary government, tempered by European honour and European intelligence, is the only form which is now fit for Hindostan. But that government should be one, the interests of which are identified with the interests of the country, and arbitrary as it must be, such checks and influences might easily be applied as would render it mild and paternal in its exercise.

"It has occurred to us, then, that the only way to escape great evil, both to India and to England, is at once to give the former country a government to itself. Instead of sending out a Governor-General, to be recalled in a few years, why should we not constitute one of our royal family Emperor of Hindostan, with hereditary succession? The sovereign would then be surrounded by Britons, and the spirit of Britons would animate and direct his government. Europeans of all descriptions would be invited to settle in his country, and to identify their interests with those of the nation. The productive powers of European

industry, under the protecting hand of a British Government on the spot, would soon give new life and new riches to the state, and the commercial enterprise of Britons would find a field of boundless extent, every year presenting a more vast and precious produce from which to cull for the commercial aggrandisement of their country." \*

The same opinion, supported by almost the very same reasoning, is expressed in the following passage, in a letter from an intelligent Hindoo at Indore, dated 23d June, 1857, of which the first part has been already given:—

“As I have always been allowed the indulgence of writing anything to you that comes foremost in my head, I hope you will excuse a question from me, how foolish soever I may appear in putting it. Pray, why does not England send out a King for India? Surely Her Most Gracious Majesty would have no objection to instal the Prince Royal to that high office. Sir Vernon Smith and Sir George Clerk may come out as wuzeers, and the Honourable Court of Directors may come out as the council of state. The princes, and the intelligent gentry and nobility of India, may furnish material to form a parliament, and India may be governed in India, and for India; I don't know who loses by this plan. This country has always been governed by monarchs. The difference of religion between the governor and the governed will not signify a bit, seeing how endeared the Hindoos had become to Mohammedan kings. But one great point will be gained. There will then be some one to think India his own, and, so far, to take interest in its actual prosperity. A Governor-General for five years cannot take a permanent interest; he may do something to secure a pension or a name, but very little for the country.

“But I am afraid I am rising from the foolish to the presumptuous, and will end here.”

Climate, the great bar to every attempt at Europeanizing India, would stand in the way of this kingly project. To give it a chance of success, an English Prince, with a retinue of courtiers, must be found ready to take a life-long leave of England, to

\* “Edinburgh Review,” vol. xvi. p. 156.

become the denizens of a tropical country. This is as little to be expected as the emigration of the thousands of substantial Englishmen who would be wanted to thrust out, or crush, a corresponding number of native landholders, and become the basis of that democratic despotism so evidently desired by the more ardent advocates of colonisation.

Since, therefore, inexorable climate opposes every projected change, why should we quarrel with that official tenure proved by experience to adapt itself to the peculiarities of the reciprocal position of England and India better than any device that we now can hit upon? The still existing, though perhaps expiring, form of rule, gives as free a scope to the English progressive spirit as is consistent with a due regard for the stationary character of our Indian subjects. Electric telegraphs have overspread the surface of Upper India, and probably contributed to alarm what they bestride; railways are advancing steadily, and have had their share in startling the Brahminical directors of the Hindoo mind. Canals to command the admiration of all engineers have been completed, roads and bridges have been constructed, schools in villages, colleges in towns, dispensaries, attended by native practitioners educated in Calcutta, are yearly increasing in number in the interior.

The settlement of the land revenue for thirty years nominally, but in fact in perpetuity, is a blessing, their appreciation of which is shown by the general good conduct of the landholders in Upper India during our recent difficulties.

The labour attending that settlement was immense, and many a young civilian injured his health, about seventeen years since, by tarrying at the most trying season in tents, to carry on this most important, though not showy work.

The police and administration of justice in these Gangetic provinces will, if viewed with reference to the character of the people, not be found to merit all the reproaches bestowed upon them, mainly by that "independent\* European class" whom it is often the painful duty of our judicial officers to reprove and restrain. The admission by Lord Brougham, that the Privy

\* See ante, p. 27, Letters from a native of Bengal.

Council reversed in appeal more, proportionately, of the decisions of Her Majesty's judges of the Supreme Court than it did of those passed by the Company's judges, is a clear proof that the latter cannot be so very bad, notwithstanding what some other Law-Lords have declared. If those sages of the bench could be transported to the banks of the Ganges, and placed at the head of some troublesome district in Bengal, they would soon discover that an acquaintance with the native character and language is there of more use in the administration of justice than all the knowledge that can be imported from a land of complicated rights and artificial habits like England.\*

If, turning from the subject of internal management, we look abroad to what is passing on and beyond our actual boundary, what a wonderful spectacle of administrative skill meets our eye! On this, however, as it has been stamped with the recent applause of our Sovereign, it is needless, and would be perhaps presumptuous, to dilate.

In one department only has there been any serious failure, and that one, as before remarked, is not under the East India Company's entire sway. The supreme command of our forces in the East has always been held by one of Her Majesty's generals, and to this circumstance, perhaps, may be ascribed that tendency to centralisation which is said to have weakened the authority and damped the zeal of commanders of battalions. Yet, if the regimental organisation of the army has proved faulty, how admirably have not its administrative departments worked! No cries have been heard from our armies before Delhi or Lucknow like those that reached us from the Crimea. Notwithstanding the prevailing disturbance, the commissariat, aided by the civil and political authorities, has proved equal to every emergency.

There is, therefore, but one great want to be supplied, namely, that of a good working native army.

In putting this indispensable force together, care will, of

\* Reports of cases decided by the Sudder Courts used to be published annually. The series was begun by the late Sir W. Macnaughten. If still continued, its republication in England would probably furnish the best reply to much that is said against the Company's judicial officers.

course, be taken not to fill it with too many men of the same class. Geographical circumstances tended to introduce this evil into the now dissolving army.

The Bombay army, being drawn from the motley population of a sea-board, partook of the character of those from among whom it was raised. The Bengal army, on the contrary, was formed far inland, and drew its recruits mainly from the agricultural class. This may account for the sort of family feeling that pervades the whole body. Henceforward we must enlist from various classes, not, perhaps, mixing them promiscuously in the ranks, but forming them into separate battalions or companies, according to their tribe.

Goorkhas and Sikhs will, of course, be largely employed; yet we must not overdo this, lest, in extinguishing one evil, we should give birth to another. Every mercenary army has its dangerous aspect; and it is possible that even our own countrymen, if stationed permanently in large bodies on the Ganges, might catch the Prætorian cohort feeling, by some believed to have been at the bottom of our Sepoys' recent misconduct. A great, but not an extravagant, increase to the permanent European force will be desirable. In Oude, Rohilcund, and perhaps in Bundelcund, new stations for European troops will be wanted; but in the rest of Gangetic India (apart from the Punjaub), it will probably be thought enough to add the fortresses of Allahabad and Delhi, and the town of Dacca,\* to the posts to be in future occupied by that description of force.

Leaving, however, the resuscitation of a native army on the Ganges to be discussed by those professionally familiar with the subject, let us now consider how the civil and political branches of the public administration are likely to be affected by the disturbing influence of the late explosion on the minds of our subjects abroad, and of our countrymen both at home and

\* In the Cossyn hills to the east of Dacca, at an elevation of about 5000 feet above the level of the sea, there is, at a place called Myrung, a high table-land admirably suited for a European cantonment. The situation is a most commanding one, with Assam on the north and Sylhet on the south. There is water-carriage to the foot of the hills on both sides, and the spot is to be reached in three marches from Assam, and in two from Sylhet.

abroad. Of all the perils in prospect, none are so formidable as those to be dreaded from the last-mentioned of these two sources. If we could keep our countrymen within bounds, the difficulty of correcting or guarding against the suspicions and alarms of our native subjects would be wonderfully diminished. It is a hard thing to calm the minds of a very sensitive people, who are constantly told by Englishmen of authority and weight, that what the Local Government assures them will not be done, must, and shall, be attempted. It is true that these declarations are, for the most part, qualified by a disavowal of any desire to see coercion or bribery employed to effect the desired end. But when in the course of any discussion the mode of stating facts is calculated to make but one impression, it matters little whether the object be expressly acknowledged or not.

Detached declarations, disclaiming the only rational conclusion deducible from the premises, will, in such cases, only excite a suspicion that the real object is one that cannot, without inconvenience, be clearly and explicitly avowed.

The preceding remarks bear more immediately on the writings and speeches of the proselytizing bodies in England, who, though enjoying the fullest liberty of persuasion, are still discontented; but they may be often found to apply to those of political speculators also. Two specimens of startling lucubrations of the latter class have already been given, but as neither of these derive any weight from the quarter whence they proceed, it seems desirable to adduce another sample, having the sanction of the well-known name of the Member for Sheffield. This gentleman and his friends cannot be said to have courted discussion, for in the report of what passed at a meeting held in St. Martin's Hall, on the 17th December, it appears that all the speaking was on one side, and that a gallant captain who tried to make himself heard was, "by a unanimous vote of the meeting, expelled the room."

The speech thus guarded against any immediate contradiction opens with a fair and true description of the empire established in India; but goes too far in its adulation of the people of England, when it asserts the fabric to be one of their rearing. The people



of England as a nation, acting through its legitimate organs, the Parliament and Ministry of the day, contributed little to the completion of the work beyond furnishing the East India Company with a body of European troops, which that Company could, if permitted, easily have raised for itself. There is, of course, no question as to the power of the nation to deal as it likes with whatever may have been acquired by any of its members; but every argument adduced to defend the seizure of the imperial estate created by the East India Company through the agency of its own servants, may be used to justify the laying hands on all the property of every railway or joint-stock company in this kingdom. It was by an accident, rather than by any deep design, that a trading company was from the first interposed between Great Britain and its dependency; but to that accident is it mainly owing that the present generation has got any Eastern empire to dispute about. France started at the same time as England in the Indian race, but the French *ministry* directed the operations of the French officers; while a trading Company, presided over by men of the middle order, imparted their own homely vigour to the founders of the English dominion in the East.

Thus the great talents of Bussy, and other French officers on the spot, were neutralised by courtly influences emanating from Versailles; while Clive, with his coadjutors, were screened by the intervention of their commercial employers from what would have proved the equally baneful interference of the British Cabinet and Parliament.

All this is evidently perceived by the Member for Sheffield; but, in his anxiety to avoid ascribing any merit to the East India Company, he speaks of Clive as if he had received his mandate direct from the people of England.

The force of truth soon after extorts an admission that the British, which means the Company's, rule in India, has been a blessing to those under its sway, though the blessing might, it is urged, have been greater than it has been, if it were not for that double government, which seems to be the *bête noire* of all Indian reformers.

If, however, it be true that the President of the Board of

Control can "do exactly as he pleases," what would be gained in point of vigour by the transfer of his duties to a personage with another designation, to whom it would be impossible to impart more power than is already possessed by the functionary who is styled "the real ruler of India?"

As to responsibility, unless we mean to revive the terrors of Tower Hill, it is a term of little meaning. Will the author of any blunder in these days sleep the less soundly for knowing that he is personally responsible for the measure?

But why should a constitutional Englishman feel such a horror of a system of double government? Is it not by checks, sometimes a source of inconvenience but more often of safety, that all limited Governments must be carried on? To the despot or the democrat they may be odious, but no good reason can be shown for their proving hateful to the intelligent member of a really free community, even in the regulation of a conquered dependency. A few instances of the vicious working of the system in force would be of more avail here than any general declamation. Where any evil has been done, or good omitted, there never will be much difficulty in determining whether the controlled or the controlling authority is to blame. We may all, even now, find out, if he who caused an unjust and impolitic war has his seat in Leadenhall Street or in Cannon Row; and if the existing partition of power does not shroud him from detection, what would be gained by placing him in a more exposed position, while he is at the same time to be freed from the wholesome restraint imposed by the mere necessity of answering, even when determined to overrule, the objections of a body of able and well-informed men? Those who think such restraint to be of no use, need only peruse the correspondence that passed in the year 1833 between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, on the subject of what was called the Dosses' claim upon the Nawab of Oude, to perceive into what fearful errors a home-bred statesman, if entirely unchecked, might fall in dealing with an Indian question. The sketch that follows of the character of our Indian subjects is too sweeping in its conclusions for the induction on which it rests. There is no good to be done by exasperating the hatred of

race against race. After an allusion to the barbarous acts of the Indian insurgents, it is asked whether Englishmen could "in their wildest fury have done such deeds?" Until we see order overthrown, the jails broken open, and St. Giles's let loose, we cannot say of what Englishmen may or may not be capable; but the passages cited below,\* from Lord Normanby's recent account of a "Year of Revolution in Paris," show that other Europeans can be guilty of acts equalling in atrocity all that we read of the enormities committed by the Sepoys or the liberated convicts in Upper India.

The next topic touched upon is the capacity of the Hindoos for self-government. Here the Hindoos are spoken of as if they were the sole inhabitants of India, no account being made of the millions of Mahommedans residing in that land. The Hindoos are pronounced to be incapable of self-government, and perhaps, if tried by a European standard, they may appear to be so. Yet the people whose ancient system of village communities is thought to have contained the germ of our own municipal institutions, cannot be so entirely destitute of all administrative capacity as the Member for Sheffield supposes.† Long subjection may have deadened the governing faculties of

\* "I am sorry to hear every hour fresh accounts of the barbarities committed by the insurgents upon those who fell into their hands; all tending to show that no savage tribe could have been more sure to abuse power, should they unhappily have obtained the upper hand. Every one of the Garde Mobile—many of them lads from sixteen to eighteen, who were taken by them, were frightfully mutilated."—Vol. ii. p. 67.

"All that has been said of the cruelties practised on the Garde Mobile is true. In one place they took four or five of these children, who had surrendered as prisoners, stuck a pike through their throat under the chin, tied their hands down, and placing them in front of a window, fired between their legs, thinking the soldiers would not return the fire when they saw the Mobiles. They cut also off a head from one, filled the mouth with pitch, lighted a match in it, and danced round to the tune of 'Les Lampions.' Having surprised a small Corps de Garde filled with Mobiles, they killed them all in cold blood; and some female monsters amused themselves with cutting out their tongues and stringing them upon a cord."—Vol. ii. p. 75.

† See on this subject, General Briggs's "India and Europe compared," p. 5, with the extract from Sir John Malcolm's letter on the subject of "Village Government," written during a day's detention on the banks of the Godavery, as he was proceeding to join the army in the field in 1817.

those under our rule, but many of the independent Hindoo states, both in Bundelcund and Rajpootana, exhibit every outward sign of being ruled with moderation and wisdom. The Hindoos being pronounced to be by nature placed in a state of pupillage, are of course to be provided with suitable curators and guardians, who, it may be presumed, are to be taken from among the "English traders and missionaries," these being the only individuals accounted worthy of trust in matters connected with India.

The members of the Company's service, both civil and military, are all lumped together under the name of "Old Indians," and to be cast aside as useless. - Yet it may be well, with the accounts of their skilful management in the Punjaub, at Delhi, in Oude and Upper India, before us, to pause a little before we postpone them to either of the respectable classes to whom alone the people of England are advised to apply for information. Traders or planters, and missionaries, are both in a situation calculated to warp their judgment regarding the capacity and conduct of the officers of Government. Both must at times labour under a galling sense of subordination, for both carry about with them the feeling that their complexion alone entitles them to rank with their official countrymen, to whose authority they are, nevertheless, obliged often to submit. Both are liable to disappointments and failures, and these it is a relief to impute to the mismanagement of the local officers, under whose control they chafe. It is right, therefore, to listen to their statements, for their opportunities of acquiring information are great; but in weighing their testimony, the circumstances of their position should ever be kept in mind.

There was a time when the independent Europeans affected to make common cause with the people of the country; and though even then they never cried out about the natives being oppressed so loudly as when they had themselves been checked in some act of oppression, still their now openly avowed hostility to the whole dark-skinned race must greatly simplify the task of the legislator. No one can now deceive himself into a belief that he is promoting the happiness of the native population of India by subjecting it to the authority of legisla-

tive or other chambers, in which the unofficial European element is to predominate.

Let us hope, therefore, that whatever may be the changes to be made in the controlling authority at home, the administrative power in India may be allowed to remain in the hands of an official body, set apart from their youth for this special duty, and whose primary object it may be to administer the country for the benefit of its inhabitants, trusting thus best to promote the real interests of their own parent-land. It is immaterial whether the body into whose hands the internal government is to be intrusted shall be called the Civil Service, or receive any other appellation, provided the principle be maintained of employing in the territorial government of India those only who have been educated and trained expressly for that duty. If a knowledge of English law shall really prove to be a requisite for the efficient discharge of civil functions, the addition of a few years to the prescribed age of admission will probably bring what is wanted into the ranks of the Civil Service.

The prevailing impression at the present moment seems to be, that the mutiny, with the collateral insurrection in Oude, is suppressed. A careful revision of the last accounts received may warn us against being too hastily assured of this conclusion. Much, in a military point of view, remains to be done; and there will be still more of civil and political work to be performed before that province, wherein alone we have as yet encountered a hostile nationality, can be reduced even to the state of tranquillity enjoyed by it at the time when it was annexed to our possessions.

In one of those admirable letters signed "A Civilian," lately inserted in "The Times," we are told the secret of much of the resistance encountered in Oude.

Our first administrative act has there been to suppress the upper class of landholders, called the Talookdars, and thus to convert them into foes. It would be tedious to explain the nature of their tenure, and it may be enough to say, that it is not easy to reconcile the maintenance of the order of Talookdar with the preservation of those village communities, which present

the most pleasing feature in the old Hindoo system of rural polity. Still, as the whole of Oude seems to have been for a length of time divided into Talooks, under which, by some sort of compromise, the village proprietors still held their ground, one would have thought that the danger of abruptly reducing the former class must have been apparent from the first ; yet such was the confidence felt in the inherent power of a favourite measure to command the assent even of those whom it injured, that no precaution whatever was taken against this most obvious risk. In Oude, moreover, it ought to be borne in mind, that all who oppose us are not rebels.

A letter, dated 23d November, and bearing in every line the true Calcutta stamp, tells the readers of the first "Times" of the opening year, that the three million opposed to us in Oude were composed of feudal retainers and bad characters, or what in Europe would be called adventurers.

"These," he says, "have nothing to lose, are fighters from boyhood, and detest the English, who prohibit plunder."

Instead of nothing to lose, it would be more correct to say that they have everything to lose — all upon which they prided themselves ; and although it may not be consistent with our ideas of the general good that they should retain what they possessed, still, as they owe us no allegiance, they have an obvious right to resist our establishing ourselves in their country.

The hatred of all native independence that runs through this letter shows, that however great their ability, the unofficial Calcutta politicians would, if invested with power, soon involve us in a war of races.

Notwithstanding the fidelity under trying circumstances of the great bulk of the states to the west of the Jumna, the correspondent calls this part of India "a pestilent nest of rajahlings, nawabs, chiefs, independent zemindars, and titled vagabonds of every kind."

Let any one reflect on what the position of our army before Delhi would have been if the native chiefs in its neighbourhood had only applied the means at their command to stop supplies, and he will perceive how much was owing to the wise

policy which had made them our friends. It was a remark made by the two most intelligent Eastern potentates with whom we have of late years come into contact, Dost Mahommed and Runjeet Sing, that the secret of our power lay in our not having reduced the native princes of the country to despair. Let us take this saying to heart, and couple it with what both Wellington and Malcolm have said on the strength derived from a reputation for good faith, and our position may be improved by the very struggle through which we are passing.

The perils recently encountered have been fearful, but they are slight in comparison with what would have assailed us if the counsels of the more violent party among ourselves had in former years been adopted. The extinction of all native independence was, as may be seen from Malcolm's reflections (formerly quoted\*), long since a favourite doctrine of one class of politicians, who maintained our dangers ever to have arisen from the armies of independent states. That occasional wars did arise from that source was true enough; but these wars only kept our troops in exercise, and averted the very perils to which we are now exposed. We must ever remember, that it is not only the reigning prince who is reduced to despair by our occupation of his country, but every man among his subjects who, from hereditary pretensions or personal character, is susceptible of the impulse of ambition, even in its most subdued and best-regulated mood.

If our conquests had embraced (as many desired) the territories of all those who have lately been standing by, or abstaining from injuring us, what a terrible addition would have been made to our embarrassments!

Even now the furious prejudice against colour, which prevents many of the English in India from discriminating between the rebellious Sepoys and the natives of the country, who have in many instances suffered as much as ourselves from their violence, is producing a most pernicious effect.

The people at large, it is said in many quarters, hardly know which to dread most, their own miscreant countrymen or the

\* Ante, p. 13.

revengeful Europeans. It is for contending against this spirit, and striving to avert the consequent risk of arousing a nationality of many millions into hatred and active resistance, that Lord Canning and his coadjutors have been so fiercely and wantonly abused. Two classes combine to keep up the outcry against any pause in the career of vengeance. The vaguely vindictive, who, to use the words of the late Sir Charles Napier, "mistake rigour for vigour," and who, to ensure the punishment of every criminal, would make complexion the criterion of crime; and the more methodically sanguinary, who dread lest any relaxation of the estrangement resulting from indiscriminate severity should lead to the firmer establishment of government on its previous footing, and so balk their hopes of seeing their own favourite schemes speedily introduced.

Both these classes are urging the Government upon what it has not the power, and ought not to have the desire, to perform. Notwithstanding the many questionable acts our rulers have lapsed into since first they lent an ear to the counsels of those who array conquest, even when unprovoked and aggressive, in the garb of a moral and religious duty, there is still so much reliance reposed in our good faith that we as yet retain many powerful and valuable allies. Nepal, with its army of 40,000 brave and well-trained soldiers, the lately conquered Sikhs, and the hitherto unruly borderers beyond the Indus, the wealthy protected chieftains of the Cis-Sutledge territory, almost all the warlike tribes of Rajpootana, and even the two Mahratta princes of Indore and Gwalior, have proved faithful to our cause in our hour of extremest need. But they who thus far have stood by us cannot but have many feelings in harmony with those of our own mutinous subjects.

Community of religion, and other sympathies binding the Asiatic family of mankind together, and disparting them from the European, must, on an occasion like the present, cause those thus connected by nature to gravitate towards each other.

This tendency has been hitherto counteracted by the prestige of our uniform success, by the reliance placed in our good faith, and by the diplomatic skill of those able members of the Indian



services who, under the name of Political Agents, have been the objects of so much silly abuse.\* But the resistance to a natural impulse must have a limit, and should our conduct ever give real disgust to the great body of our own native subjects, they would certainly find sympathisers among our native allies; and thus a combination might ensue too strong for us, with all our prowess, to make head against. Now nothing is more likely to generate a contagious feeling of hostility to us, as a race differing in religion, in language, in complexion, in habits, from our allies, as much as from our subjects, than a continuance of such indiscriminating severity as, it is to be feared, is still in practice in Upper India,—not without direct encouragement from the press on both sides of the water. The greater part of the favourite measures of those who write in support of systematic vengeance, would have a tendency to shake the confidence of our neighbours in the safety of an alliance with us. An almost Judaical hatred of them as idolaters has come in, to add sternness to the feelings entertained towards the people of India by the British public at home.

Judging by the tone of their speeches and writings, we might imagine that our mission in the East is believed by some to be like that of Joshua, and that we ought to go forth accordingly to smite the obstinate worshippers of false gods wherever they are to be found.

To contend by argument against such an impression would be useless; and it is here alluded to, only because it may account for the very un-English apathy exhibited by the public in general on the subject of the “wholesale hangings” which, as has been shown in a preceding passage,† excite the disgust even of the youngest military men on the spot.

\* It is instructive to observe how cordially the General Arthur Wellesley co-operated with the Political Agent John Malcolm, when both were employed together in the very early years of the present century. It is also instructive to notice how many of those whose wisdom and energy have saved the Punjab, and with it all Upper India, were included in the late Sir Charles Napier’s denunciations of the pestilent politicals who thwarted the plans of military commanders.

† See ante, p. 28.

The Gospel of peace has, it is true, often been heralded by wars and tumults, yet it is not by spreading terror and dismay among those whom we wish to bring under its benign influence that we ought to pave the way for its advance.

“Our prayer therefore,” to use the words of one of the ablest officers in Upper India, in a recent letter to a friend, “should be, that God will overrule the passions of sinful men, not of one, but of all classes.”

Let an earnest hope be added, that our rulers may not be tempted to hurry on a change in the administration of our Eastern empire at a moment like the present, when men’s minds are unhinged, and each successive mail brings intelligence of varying and deepening import.

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As the event to which these pages refer, is thought by some not far off, I would point my readers to the nearest road to the conclusion.

“ India was never more tranquil than now”—all speak of its tranquillity—the same was written of Caubul the day before our expulsion from it—the mutiny of Vellore was ushered in by a similar state of repose—one of our best cotemporaries of the Indian press tells us, in a recent issue, that “ Peace and quiet prevail throughout the whole of India.” Some are never less at rest than when quiet: this is the characteristic of the native of India—patient under injury, and prudent where redress is beyond his reach; he broods in silence over his wrongs, bides his time, and watches his opportunity. “ *Odia in longum jaciens quæ recorderet auctaque promeret.*”

With all this vaunted tranquillity, the mind of the people of India is unsettled; on one point only is it fixed, that one, the hatred of our rule, which was never more deeply felt, and never more openly expressed.

Until lately, the Hindu had not scanned his own strength nor our weakness—he had regarded us as an invincible if not a moral people, as a race, not to be cut short by the means at his command. A free press and free discussion have combined with the spread of education to dissipate many delusions, and the truth has at length reached him—that Englishmen are like other men, subject to the same weaknesses as other men, and to be overcome by the same means as other men.

India is tranquil; we have no external enemies, every native state capable of plotting against us has been laid low, a few minor states only being left for decency's sake, and to meet the next financial difficulty. It is the inward canker that gnaws our vitals; we have raised an enemy within, more dangerous and more powerful than the native princes we have dethroned and plundered; in place of foreign enemies, we have the inhabitants of all India in hostility to our rule; we have to contend with the results of universal poverty and misrule, with the social degradation of all classes, with the disaffection that ever follows in the wake of insult and oppression.

An English gentleman writing to me in April last, from the seat of Government in India, says, “ Only yesterday I heard the bitterest hatred of the English expressed in the most unmeasured terms, contemptuous and indignant, by one of the first natives here; this by a man of singular

“ power of intellect, speaking and writing many  
 “ languages with equal facility, and, on account of  
 “ his intellectual attainments, lately noticed by the  
 “ Government. ‘ The word of the English,’ said  
 “ he, ‘ was formerly as it were engraved upon  
 “ ‘ granite, now it is written in water ; so long as it  
 “ ‘ was politic to keep faith with the natives, who  
 “ ‘ could be more observant of your faith than you  
 “ ‘ English ? now that you have the country at  
 “ ‘ your feet, you have fairly thrown off the mask ;  
 “ ‘ you may not believe me, but I swear I would  
 “ ‘ lay down my head this minute (suited the action  
 “ ‘ to the word), if I could one whit raise my  
 “ ‘ countrymen from their present condition. It is  
 “ ‘ the repose of a corpse, dead, degraded ; there is  
 “ ‘ no need to conceal it, we hate you and you  
 “ ‘ deserve it.’ This is no historical Thucididean  
 “ speech, but word for word, as nearly as I can  
 “ recollect, what he said ; and I believe it fairly  
 “ represents the feelings of the natives towards us,  
 “ and I for one echo his words, we deserve it.”

Where a country is sunk in poverty,—where  
 industry is not stimulated by a return,—where  
 existence is but a passage to another state,—  
 where a people legally free are in the subjection  
 of slaves, the seeds of disorder inherent in such  
 a state cannot long be germinating. A sense of  
 wrong may for a time remain torpid, and the  
 power of resistance may for a time lie hidden ; but  
 sooner or later a thirst for vengeance must arise,



and with it a strength beyond the means of any government to control. Even the slaves of America, obtuse as they are said to be, look forward to a day of retribution and justice. How much more must a people like the natives of India, enlightened by science and education, feel restless under a treatment (at once unjust, and unsanctioned by any precedent of a conquered people,) which levels them with the slave, and insults them with legal freedom. "Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer,—as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility? Revenge. If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example? Why revenge. The villany you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard, but I will better the instruction." I leave the moral to my readers.

The recent disaffection in the Indian army has attracted much less attention than is due to it. It has been assumed that the sepoy is so separated

from the people as to have sunk all feeling of country in allegiance to his military garb. The argument is not merely unsafe, it is absurd. The army of India is composed of men gathered from all parts, of all castes, and of all tribes; if the citizen is occasionally forgotten in the soldier, it is but the exception to the general rule. A sepoy may be born in a regiment and call the regiment his birthplace; he never ceases to look forward to the period of his pension and retirement, when he may return to the village of his ancestors. There is no nation of the earth in which the tie of relationship is stronger than among the Hindus; none in which love of the paternal hearth is more deeply rooted. The soldier and the citizen of India have all things in common, and the wrongs done to one will be avenged by the other. Discontent is not confined to the military service of India, it reigns throughout the public service. The same hatred of our persons that animates the public services pervades the whole of our territories, and nothing but English vanity and English ignorance could suggest the possibility of the people's attachment.

Under the rule of the East India Company the condition of all classes of society is hopeless. The native officer, however high his merit, however high the rank and honour he may have acquired in the public service, can never aspire to the station and distinction of a gentleman. Holding the

commission of an officer, he is always a subordinate: he is commanded by the non-commissioned officer of the English army. By any sudden freak of authority,—by the mere fiat of the Government he serves, he may be deprived of rank, pension, and honour, and reduced to shame and beggary. Any real attachment is incompatible with such conditions of service.

The native civilian, not less than the native soldier, is ever a subordinate: he may be the instrument by which our treasuries are filled; our courts of justice may be impossible except by his means; on him may depend, and on him does depend, all that belongs to the administration of the affairs of Government. In his social character he can never rise to the level of his European superior; he can never assume a position of equality with him, though oftentimes in moral and intellectual endowments vastly his superior. By the arbitrary fiat of the Government he serves, he may be degraded from his office, deprived of his pension, and the services of half a century scattered to the wind; he may be proclaimed by the Government in its official organ of the press a criminal, and without the ceremony of a judicial sentence, declared unable to hold office under the Government; he may even be made the scape-goat of his European superior, and dismissed on charges untried and on which he is refused a trial; *he is without redress.*

It is not given to any native of our Indian

territories,—citizen or otherwise,—to aspire to the position of the governing class, and to acquire the station which every individual living under the British constitution has a right to look forward to. We have declared the native of India free by law to enjoy the privileges of an English citizen. The Legislature has declared all offices open to him; almost with the same breath we have denounced him as unfit to fill them. In practice he is excluded from every relation to the Government but one,—that of blind submission to its authority. In the means of improving the country, of adding to its prosperity, and of ameliorating the condition of his fellow countrymen, he is not allowed to participate. All these matters are consigned to the intelligence of the foreigner, who is intent only on the amount of revenue to be drawn from the people, to be distributed among his own countrymen; or on the value to be extracted from the country, to increase the wealth of England.

Many of our native fellow subjects are highly educated, and have exhibited abilities and intellect for all the offices the Legislature has laid open to them. What is it that operates the disability under which they labour? It cannot be the colour of their skin, for the law has, in specific terms, repudiated that as a ground of exception. The real value of the enactment is by this time understood,—the native admires the *sincerity* which

dictated it, and the good faith manifested in its application.

He demands, whence is the source of the disqualification? You say we are unfit to govern, to aspire to the offices, which you monopolise. Does experience indicate a better title to them, in you? is there a single point of government in which you have not failed? Your administration of justice is a proverb and bye-word, a theme for jest and scorn, wherever its practice is known. Your revenues are collected by torture,—your judgments are obtained by cruelty, fraud, and even murder. There is neither security of person nor of property in the territories you affect to govern, and lastly, one universal poverty pervades the land. Could the territories under your rule have been worse governed by us than they have been by you? Where is the superiority of your administrative faculties? Look at the report of the Commissioners appointed at the instance of Parliament to inquire into the practice of torture in your territories. Has anything worse been imputed to the police of Naples than has been brought home to your own? You have made the practice of torture the basis of your revenue and judicial administration,—you have pursued it as a system, in spite of the remonstrances of your own servants; the truth was placed before you, and you despised it. “The police establishment has become the bane  
“ and pest of society, the terror of the community,

“ and the origin of half the misery and discontent  
 “ that exist among the subjects of the government  
 “ —corruption and bribery reign paramount  
 “ throughout the whole establishment,—violence,  
 “ torture, and cruelty are the chief instruments  
 “ for detecting crime, implicating innocence, or  
 “ extorting money.” These are the words of your  
 own Commissioners.

“ That the police in India has lamentably failed  
 “ in accomplishing the ends for which it was  
 “ established is a notorious fact; that it is almost  
 “ useless for the prevention, and sadly inefficient,  
 “ for the detection of crime is generally admitted.”  
 It might be supposed that this was the language  
 of an enemy,—it is the language of the Court of  
 Directors, in their dispatch to the government of  
 India, of the 13th March of the present year.  
 “ The village police are in a permanent state of  
 “ starvation—they are all thieves and robbers, or  
 “ leagued with thieves and robbers, insomuch that  
 “ when anyone is robbed in a village, it is most  
 “ probable that the first person suspected will be  
 “ the village watchman; it is even a question  
 “ whether an order issued throughout the country  
 “ to apprehend and confine them would not do  
 “ more to put a stop to theft and robbery than  
 “ any other measure that could be adopted—the  
 “ administration of justice is little better than a  
 “ lottery.” These results of a rule two hundred  
 years old are recorded in the words of Mr.  
 Haliday, the Deputy-Governor of Bengal, within

the last twelve months:—Did Colonel Sleeman, General Outram, General Low, or Lord Dalhousie detect anything worse in mis-government in the territories of Oude to justify their seizure? Did they find a manufactory of opium, which the government forced upon the Chinese in violation of the laws of the Empire? or an abkarry system, which fostered drunkenness for the sake of revenue? or a system of Ferries as a barrier to social and commercial intercourse. As for your Christianity, on which you so much pride yourselves, have your practices shewn that your religion is better than our own? The Bramin retorts on the Missionary, “ You have set forth in  
“ a very engaging manner the superiority of the  
“ religion you profess; but we do not see that the  
“ professors of the religion of Christ, who reside  
“ amongst us, prove by their lives and conduct  
“ that these things are true. When we go into our  
“ temples, we appear before our God with that  
“ reverence which is due to Him who fills the  
“ universe with his presence—we return to our  
“ homes, considering that we have been paying  
“ our vows, not to the stones of which our altar is  
“ built, but to the invisible God,—we injure none;  
“ nor do we condemn others for differing from us.  
“ When your people go into your temples, they  
“ conduct themselves as if they were in a place of  
“ amusement. When your worship is ended, they  
“ go to riot and drunkenness, and to gratify their  
“ unconquered inclinations; with these proofs of

“ the lamentable conduct of the professors of your  
 “ religion before our eyes, we do not see that we  
 “ should gain anything by forsaking the ancient  
 “ profession of our venerable fathers.”

Instead of applying yourselves to good government, you have been intent only on your private interests—you have drained the country of its wealth, in order to enrich your own countrymen—you have excluded the natives from rank and position, in order to satisfy the cravings of the foreigner, and to provide for the younger sons of English families. Where is the evidence of your fitness for government in the improvement of the condition of the people, in an increase of wealth in the country, and of the means of wealth in an increase of its population? Your land assessment has sat like an incubus on the country, involving in common the ruler and the people in its consequences. Your financial schemes have been limited to keeping up one standard of revenue. Change has succeeded change in rapid succession—the Zemindarry settlement, the village settlement, and the village lease, the triennial and decennial lease have all been tried in their turn, and lastly, the annual or Ryotwar settlement, which is now to be supplanted by a thirty years' lease—the Ryot has been without stability in his tenure, and your own revenue has been subject to the fluctuation inseparable from over taxation and insecurity. In a country abounding in waste land,



you have forced upon the Ryot the cultivation of good and bad land, every improvement made by him has been but a prelude to fresh taxation, even the fruit trees have had an ascending scale of taxation appointed for them before they had come to maturity. The advantage to the country of increased production, of selecting the most fruitful lands for cultivation, formed no part of your scheme; while the extension of the revenue by the obvious means of improved irrigation, and by reduction, where the weight of the land tax crippled the resources of the cultivator, have, until very lately, failed to arrest attention, or been deemed unworthy of it by you.

Your land tax has been collected in season and out of season—the demand has been made before the crops were raised—and the individual or Ryotwar settlement, that grand panacea established by you for the purpose of bringing the cultivator into direct intercourse with the Government, has terminated in the creation of a middleman, who, absorbing the profits of the land, is now the habitual mediator between the Government and the cultivator. In the sequel you have ordered a general survey as a means of usurping a proprietary right over the lands of the country, and of proving to the people that your grasping spirit is without limit.

I will now offer a few remarks on matters which have recently engaged more attention than is

usually awarded to Indian subjects. In a discussion in the House of Lords on the 9th of June last, the cause of the disaffection of our Indian army is traced to a spirit of proselytism in the Indian Government. It were well it could be shewn that the cause has been mis-stated. The address of General Hearsey to the sepoy's will go but a short way to eradicate the impression which daily experience sanctions, and the events which rendered the rule of the Marquis of Tweeddale as famous in Madras as it did throughout the Hindu community of India, so fully justifies. The Directors of the East India Company may deprecate interference with the religion of the Hindus; all this will be to no purpose as long as they allow the active opposition of their servants to pass without reproof and without punishment.

It was not the suet at the cartridge ends that contaminated the Hindu, and stirred within him a feeling of resentment, nor would the result of a mere accident be deemed by him a motive sufficient for hostility to the Government. The Hindu has the common sense and intelligence of other men, and is not more prone than other men to find insult in what is not intended to convey one. There was more on his mind to produce the conclusion he came to. A pretext ("To your tents, Oh Israel") might have been wanting, the sequel perhaps of the mysterious cakes lately distributed over the country. The manly sentiments of General Hearsey

found an echo in the breast of the sepoy, and a tribute was paid to the man which was not perhaps due to the occasion. But is the Government of India so tolerant as the General supposed? Can it be said that the Government does not interfere with the religion of the country, when we see the countenance and support it gives to the missionaries?

When the natives of the country see the courts of justice overturned; the judges dismissed from their offices for refusing to side with the Christian convert against his adversary the Hindu—when they see the Hindu insulted by the Government in their official documents, by the opprobrious taunt of “heathen”—when they see the labours of the missionaries terminate in civil discord, the cause of strife in families, of children disowning their parents, of wives abandoning their husbands, the magistrates of the country straining the law against the “heathen,” and all this passing unheeded—is it possible that the natives of the country should doubt that the Government is enlisted in the cause of conversion, and that the missionaries are the chosen instruments of their purpose. The events of Lord Tweeddale’s government which have been referred to, occurred ten years ago. The impression made by them, we see in a petition which within the last month has been laid before both Houses of Parliament. In their memorial, addressed to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, in 1847, the Hindus say

“ The Hindu community have lost all hope of  
 “ obtaining justice where their religion is con-  
 “ cerned—they have seen themselves marked out  
 “ for judicial severity under the invidious appella-  
 “ tion of heathen, and the judges removed from  
 “ the bench for upholding their cause against  
 “ oppression and injustice.”

The missionaries of India have a large paper-  
 “ army of martyrs,”—their converts, if they can  
 arrogate the name, are for the most part taken from  
 the lowest caste, the Pariah—a numerous body,  
 living without any settled notions of religion, and  
 without any refined sense of moral obligation—  
 outcasts, and too impure for general society, they  
 readily join a powerful body such as the missionaries,  
 from whom they receive protection, and very often  
 food, the bond of their allegiance and the test of their  
 faith. An inquiry made some years ago, at Bangalore,  
 by a deputation from one of the societies in England,  
 resulted in the discovery that the converts and their  
 families were nearly all of them stipendiaries of  
 the mission ; supported as the convert is, by an  
 arrogant and overbearing priesthood, he not un-  
 frequently puts on the airs of his superiors, and  
 priding himself on the position acquired by his  
 new faith, he revels in any insult or indignity  
 cast on those whom the institutions of the country  
 have placed above him in society.

When we find the courts of justice of the  
 country turned into instruments of conversion, the

introduction of the Bible as a class-book into the institutions for native education, ordered "as a means of fitting the natives for their various duties, that something more solid than is to be found in the Hindu and Mahomedan faiths is required to qualify them for the change that learning operates on the mind," and the Governor of Madras concluding these sentiments with "a grant in aid" to the missionaries, out of the money ordered by Parliament for the education of the natives, and all this passing without comment by the Home authorities, we are forced to the conclusion that the natives were not wrong when they ascribed a spirit of proselytism to the Indian Government.

At this period the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government was a principal agent of the Church Missionary Society, as was his brother the collector and magistrate of Tinnevely, the district in which Lord Tweeddale built his fame, by supporting the Christian converts against their "heathen" adversaries. The missionary mania infected the principal departments of the Government, civil and military, confidence was so completely lost in the impartial administration of justice, that one of the magistrates of Tinnevely, in a letter written at the time, states the pleasure he felt at quitting a district, in which the "cry was rife" that there was no justice in any case between a Christian and a Hindu; the missionaries openly interfered with

the course of justice and appealed to the magistrates in behalf of their converts. Appointments under Government were supposed to emanate from them: aspirants for the public service flocked to the chapel of the Church Missionary Society in such numbers that the reverend secretary was obliged to denounce the practice from his pulpit, in the face of the whole congregation.

Among the incidents of this period was the court martial arising out of the mutiny of the 6th Light Cavalry, followed by the execution of two of the soldiers of the regiment, the banishment for life of thirteen others, and the dismissal without trial of several native officers. One of them, Soubadar Syed Ebrahim, after a service of fifty years, in which he was twice wounded, and received a pension for his services, at the mutiny at Vellore. The grounds of the dismissal are, as recorded in a letter of the Adjutant-General of the army, dated 14th August, 1844, that, when asked for information, "none of them had stated anything worth knowing." It did not perhaps occur to the mind of the Commander-in-Chief that if the native officers were aware of mutiny without revealing it, themselves were guilty of mutiny, and liable under the Articles of War to suffer death for the connivance. The circumstances of this trial will ever be remembered by the Madras native army, and at any time furnish an example to be used against the Government. Had the

responsibility been on one less fortified by the accidents of birth and political influence, an event of such importance would not have been allowed to slumber.

The origin of the mutiny was a breach of faith on the part of the Madras Government (who refused the sepoys their pay), which was followed by a worse breach of faith on the part of the Commander-in-Chief. The late Adjutant-General of the Madras army, Colonel Alexander, thus speaks of it in his evidence delivered before the House of Lords: "I was not present at army head quarters on either occasion, and I do not now remember so particularly the circumstances of the 47th Native Infantry. I remember in the case of the 6th Cavalry it was necessary to punish the mutineers."

"In both instances, was not faith broken with the sepoys?"

"Faith was broken with the 6th Cavalry, and according to the interpretation established by Sir Thomas Munro, when Governor of Madras, of what constitutes foreign service, it was also broken with the 47th Regiment of Native Infantry."

The trial was held nine months after the occurrence, and after the offence had been condoned and legally disposed of. The letter of the Adjutant-General of the army, addressed to Major Litchfield, the officer in command of the regiment, states:—

“ The Commander-in-Chief has received the  
 “ brigadier’s (Watson’s) letter of the 10th Dec.  
 “ with Major Litchfield’s (the commander of the  
 “ regiment) enclosed, and is happy to understand  
 “ from these communications that the men of the  
 “ 6th Light Cavalry have returned to their duty,  
 “ and that they appear to be sensible of their  
 “ late misconduct. But as his lordship cannot  
 “ allow the regiment, under the reproach of such  
 “ unworthy and unsoldierly behaviour, to continue  
 “ at a station, where it might be required for  
 “ employment on actual service, he has ordered it  
 “ to be sent into cantonments at Arcot.”

It was after this letter was written that the  
 sepoys were put upon their trial, and that the result  
 of a temporary ebullition, imputable to the laches of  
 the government itself, was made the basis of a  
 measure which staggered the minds of the oldest  
 soldiers, and called forth the reprobation of all  
 society. Can it surprise any one, if a punishment  
 involving such heavy consequences, the result of  
 the aggression of the government, should be still  
 remembered, and rankle in the minds of the native  
 army? Is the native soldier so ignorant as not  
 to know that the violation of a contract on one  
 side releases the other party? Do the articles  
 of war bind the sepoy as to his service, and lay the  
 Government under no obligation as to his pay?  
 or is it that the weaker party only is bound by his  
 contract?



The Court Martial was illegal, and in contravention of the Articles of War, which forbid the trial of a soldier after he has been permitted to bear arms and perform his ordinary duty, as well as opposed to a recent decision of the Commander-in-Chief of India, to whose authority the Commander-in-Chief of Madras was subject. The order of Lord Gough, dated Umballah, 30th March, 1844, runs as follows:—" The course which it was  
 " intended to adopt in dealing with the corps at  
 " Ferozepoor, would have been pursued with  
 " respect to the ringleaders among the disaffected  
 " in the 7th Light Cavalry, and 34th Regiment of  
 " Native Infantry, had circumstances permitted ;  
 " but in these two regiments, the guilty parties  
 " had in every instance, and for a length of time,  
 " been allowed to retain their arms and perform  
 " their regular routine of duties, without any  
 " steps being taken to mark them as offenders  
 " against discipline, and hence a recourse to trial  
 " by Court Martial would in their case have been  
 " illegal."

The Court Martial on the sepoy of the 6th Light Cavalry revealed to the native army the fact that in practice there is one law for the black soldier and another for the white, the Court was composed of seven officers, the president, a junior major, while the other members were junior captains and subalterns of no standing in the army. The Seventh Article of War declares, that " no

“ sentence of death shall be given against any  
 “ offender by any General Court Martial consisting  
 “ of less than thirteen members, except the same  
 “ shall be holden in a place out of the territories  
 “ of Fort St. George, nor unless nine members  
 “ shall concur therein.” The prisoners were tried  
 at Arcot. Within a month after the trial of the  
 sepoys, Captain Byng, an officer of the 6th Light  
 Cavalry, was tried by Court Martial. The Court in  
 this case was composed of thirteen members, the  
 president, a distinguished Peninsular general who,  
 at the time, commanded a division of the army,—  
 after sentence, copies of the proceedings were  
 demanded, and refused,—had the sepoys been  
 English soldiers, the application must have been  
 complied with. By the Seventeenth Article of the  
 Mutiny Act for the English army,—“ Any party  
 “ tried by a General Court Martial is entitled to a  
 “ copy of the original proceedings, on paying  
 “ reasonably for the same, after certain periods,  
 “ from three to twelve months, according as the  
 “ trial may have taken place at home or distant  
 “ stations.”—*Simmons*, on “ Courts Martial,”  
 page 402.

Since the foregoing was written, the letter of  
 Colonel Tucker, the late Adjutant-General of the  
 Bengal army, has appeared in the *Times* of the  
 24th June,—I commend it to the perusal of my  
 readers. General Grant, the officer referred to in  
 it, is the first officer of the East India Company's

service that has been appointed from Home to the prominent office of Commander-in-Chief at one of the Presidencies of India,—these appointments have been usually confined to the political adherents or relatives of the ministry, or to the personal attachés of *some great man*, and have more frequently been a tribute to birth, poverty, and incompetence, than the reward of distinguished merit.

If it should be asked whether this is a fitting season, when disaffection stalks abroad, to discuss the injuries of the native army of India, I would reply, I have chosen the present juncture as the one in which the claims of justice are most likely to be listened to.

It remains to take a general review of the causes that have combined to loosen the tie that bound the natives of the country to the East India Company. It is manifest that in proportion as the people have become acquainted with us, has our hold on their affections declined; the knowledge they have acquired of our sentiments, and of our institutions, has but informed them of the injustice done to themselves. They naturally ask, why a nation foremost in the world, in its own freedom, should keep them in a state of bondage,—why a nation that refuses to be bound by any law, and to submit to any taxation unsanctioned by its representatives, should reject the theory in India, and impose on them a despotism,—why having lost an

empire by tyranny, and having abandoned it in other colonies, it should continue to inflict on a colony, one that has long been the stay of the British Empire, and to which it is bound by the strongest motives of gratitude, a system so degrading. One of our ablest Indian statesmen observed on a late occasion, that "no intelligent people would submit to our Government;" and a valuable publication now before me says, "I am quite satisfied that my countrymen in their hearts despise the natives of India because they do submit to it." The same author remarks, "as long as the army is faithful submission is a matter of necessity;" "the bravest people in the world may be subjugated by foreigners when the people are divided among themselves." This has been the secret of our rule. That prop we have lost, not more by our annexations, than by the insult and treachery employed in effecting them. We have raised an enemy stronger than the chiefs we have ruined, in our loss of character among the inhabitants of India, we have created an enemy superior to all physical force, we have proclaimed throughout India that we are faithless, that one principle, and one only, actuates us, viz. the desire which actuates the robber, that of seizing every thing of value that falls within his grasp. That we have had any other object in view is contradicted by the present condition of the country. It is every where admitted, whether the question

be one of revenue, whether it concern the administration of justice, or the security of person or of property, that anarchy prevails throughout the country. What must be our police administration, when in default of the officers of the Government performing its duties, we find lutteurs or bludgeon men systematically kept in pay as a means of *justice*?—when the community dread the policeman more than the thief, and the courts of justice more than the invasion of the midnight robber? With all this we claim to ourselves the exclusive right to govern, and tell the native of India that he is unfit for the task.

Our rule in India was once respected. They who would see its moral practice, would do well to examine the circumstances that preceded the annexation of Oude, and the dethronement of the King. Passing by the annexation itself, the numerous breaches of faith in our intercourse with that country,—our extortions,—the attempt to seduce the minister by promises to betray his master,—the threat to deprive the Queen mother of her pension, on failure to induce her son to sign away his kingdom,—the violation of our treaties with the native states of India. All these have proved sufficient to create throughout the country a hatred and disgust, which are nowhere disguised.

The nature of the intercourse which for many years subsisted between the civil service and the

inhabitants of the country, as well as between the sepoy and his officer, have undergone a change which could not fail to tell against our rule.

The civil servant was wont to reside, during a course of years, in one and the same district; he was the friend of the people, watched over their interests, and seldom left the country without a name which reconciled the people to the Government. Of late our arrangements have had for their object, not to keep the governing classes in the country, but by every device of furlough, to assist them in quitting it. The offices in the Mofussil are now seldom in the occupation of the same person for more than a year or two. The *locum tenens* occupies his post too short a time to carry out a system, or to establish a mutual good feeling between himself and the people. (The district of Guntorr had six collectors within an interval of eighteen months.) There was the semblance, if not the reality of the governing classes being identified with the country, there was not that constant change of society, which suggested that India was a mere prey for the occasion and for the next comer. The Government is not known to the people through its representatives in the provinces, every civil servant now sets out on his mission not so much intent on its duties as on the means by which he shall, at the earliest moment, resign them to other hands.

The sepoy no longer sees the Government

through his officer—and no longer recognises in him a protector. The power of promotion, once in the officer, now resides, for the most part, with the office of the Adjutant-General, and the Commander of the Regiment, instead of being regarded by the sepoy as the mediator between himself and the Government, stands in the position of a person without authority; the tie which once held the soldiers to his officer no longer exists. It is needless to attempt to disguise the fact that disorganisation prevails everywhere, and the causes of it are as plain. We may now soothe the people, and apply ourselves to good government; our concessions are but the result of fear, and are seldom unaccompanied by insult. “*Medio de fonte leporum, surgit amari aliquid.*”

Will the people of England continue to Leadenhall Street a government whose duties they have so much neglected—will they permit a rule to endure, which shrouding its proceedings in secrecy, has kept the people in thralldom, and, at the end of two hundred years, exhibits nothing better as a result than anarchy, poverty, and disaffection?

T H O U G H T S  
O N  
I M P R O V I N G  
T H E  
G O V E R N M E N T  
O F T H E  
B R I T I S H T e r r i t o r i a l P o s s e s s i o n s  
I N T H E  
E A S T I N D I E S.

---

Βουλευσομεσθα, και τομεν καλως εχον  
"Οπως χρονιζον ευ μενεα, Βουλευτεον.  
"Οτω δε και δει φαρμακων παιωνιων,  
"Ετι κεντες, η τεμοντες ευφρονως,  
Πειρασομεσθα πηματος τριψαι ροσον.

ÆSCHYL. in Agam.

We will consult, that what is well may keep  
Its goodness permanent, and what requires  
Our healing hand, with mild severity  
May be corrected.

POTTER'S Translation.

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V2, L. L8  
A780

E R R A T A.

Page 55. line 25. *for* apology *read* analogy

Page 73: last line, *for* *trahitur* *read* *trahetur*



## THOUGHTS.

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**T**HE advantages which may arise from a proper administration and solid arrangement of the political government of our territorial possessions in the East Indies, have never yet met with that consideration from the legislature which they deserve. If no other motives can induce us to think of the very great benefits which may in every view be derived from thence, our present exigencies at least may have that beneficial effect.

Three vast provinces, full of industry and wealth, were acquired by Lord Clive's treaty in 1775, yielding 1,650,900*l.* to the East India Company, independent of a sum of 50 lacks, which were allotted to Sujah Dowla, and of Lord Clive's Jaghire. We have, besides this, the settle-

ments upon the coasts of Malabar, and Coromandel. Yet these have produced but a very inadequate benefit to this country, and are in danger of becoming less and less beneficial to us, owing to the want of due attention to the nature of such establishments, both with respect to the power which governs them at home, and the constitution of their government abroad.

The object of these few pages is to point out some of the most material defects in the administration of our affairs in the East, both at home and abroad, and to propose the method of amending them; by which the public will receive much of that advantage which now falls into the hands of individuals, and thereby becomes rather an evil than an advantage.

That all conquests or acquisitions made by subjects, either by means of arms or of negociation, belong to the sovereignty of the state, to the effect of giving the national council a right to regulate the administration of them, and of giving the public a right to participate in the advantages

tages which may be derived from them; is a position denied by no speculative writer, and is directly affirmed by the laws and constitution of Great Britain. Agreeably to this principle, the legislature has often adverted to this subject, but till of late years the extent of its importance seems not to have been understood, nor has it yet been so understood as to suggest the fundamental principles, which can alone secure to us the advantage to be derived by such acquisitions.

The two great foundations of all national wealth, are agriculture, and commerce. In Europe the commercial system has had a decided superiority over the agricultural, ever since the discovery of America, and of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. A strong and immediate attraction of the national capital towards the one, can never operate but at the expence of the other, and to these two events is in a great measure to be ascribed, the advancement and improvement of commerce, while agriculture has been surprizingly neglected, as the face of every country in Europe will testify, England  
itself

itself not excepted. The opening of those vast sources of commercial advantage to the kingdoms of Europe, roused in a moment every avaricious principle, which lurks in the breasts of states, or individuals. Monopolies instantly sprung up in every nation except the Portuguese, and general monopolies begot individual monopolies, by much the most destructive of the two. It may not now be the proper time to agitate the great question, whether the trade from Britain to India ought to be carried on by an exclusive company or not, but it is certainly a fit time to examine the principles on which the government of our dominions in the East ought to be carried on, with as much public advantage as a monopoly can admit of. If the monopoly of this trade shall continue to be thought necessary, yet the delegation of the powers of government needs not for that reason to be placed in the hands of the monopolists, but on the contrary it ought to be taken out of those hands, when the territories which have sprung from our trade become objects of too great magnitude, for the superintendance

dance of any power but that of the legislature.

The monopolies of the European states have been of two sorts. The one, excluding all other nations from any commerce with its foreign dominions, of which the British trade with America may be taken as an example. The other, excluding all their own subjects, except a favourite company, from any share in the trade to distant settlements, as in the case of the East India Company. Both of these monopolies are attended with very pernicious consequences to the state which adopts them. It would be foreign to the present enquiry, to examine the effects of the former, but the latter species may properly be considered as exposed to the following observations. The establishment of an exclusive company puts all the rest of the subjects at the mercy of that company, with respect to the price of every commodity which they import, and limits the extent of the quantity of labour required, from this country, to supply the East, according to the pleasure, or the good or ill conduct of those who conduct the monopoly.

monopoly. It is, in the strictest sense of the word, a monopoly against our fellow-subjects. When any man purchases East India goods, it is obvious that he must pay, not only the original price of the commodity, together with an exorbitant profit to the company, but that he must also pay a share of the waste occasioned by the frauds and abuse necessarily connected with such an institution, and which every man knows have uniformly attended it. The spirit of monopoly, when left entirely uncontrouled, as in the Dutch Spice Islands, in a short space of time produced a compleat desolation and a destruction of the very articles of commerce which those islands produce, in order to perfect the system of monopoly. In the British dominions, the same principles have produced effects similar in their nature, and differing only in degree. An order that rice should be eradicated, to make way for a crop of opium, and *vice versa*, when the mercantile Governor found his interest in that cruel measure, is related in the history of our administration in Bengal; and little doubt can be entertained, but

that we should have followed the Dutch example throughout, had not the legislature at times interposed; which proves to a demonstration the necessity of establishing an overruling authority in India, derived from the legislature itself, and independent of the mercantile company. The English and the Dutch have made considerable conquests in the East, yet the spirit of monopoly has ever crushed the first appearances of established colonies, in those countries. It is very obvious to every attentive mind, that the flourishing condition of foreign possessions, with respect to population, manufacture, and agriculture, must augment the quantity of labour, in that state which has dominion over them; and it follows *à converso*, that a diminution of the prosperity of those possessions, proportionably depresses the quantity of labour which might be produced in return for their commodities, in the governing state. Another proposition is equally clear, namely, that in every country, the revenue of the sovereign, or sovereign state, must be derived from that of the people. The greater the number



of that people, the greater will be the surplus of their labour, beyond what supplies their own exigencies; and consequently the greater will be the portion which may be safely allotted to the sovereign, or sovereign state. If this be a demonstrable, or rather a self-evident truth, and if it be equally demonstrable, though perhaps not equally self-evident, that exclusive companies have a direct tendency to counteract population, commerce, and agriculture, the inference is irresistible, that if an exclusive company be unavoidable, the utmost degree of care is necessary to obviate the ill effects of it as far as possible, with respect to the SOVEREIGNTY. The directors of the East India Company have evidently the same interest in the good government of the East, which the state itself has; but the servants of the company have no interest whatsoever in its permanent prosperity. The directors have therefore in general meant well, in all their regulations, and have been in a continual state of contention with their servants, endeavouring, as far as lay within the compass of their judgment,

judgment, or their powers, to restrain the ill conduct of their agents in India. But all their efforts have been weak and inadequate. No country was ever exposed to such inordinate rapine by the hands of those who had no interest in its existence, beyond the short term of their residence there. The powers of the company have scarce been able to check this rapine, though with the assistance of the legislature they have in a considerable degree accomplished that purpose. But the *origo mali* lies farther back. The Court of Directors, or in other words a committee of merchants, are in the nature of things unfitted for the purpose of governing that country in which their exclusive monopoly is exercised. The first object with a body of professional men, is their profession. Merchandize is the first object with merchants. Government will only be an accessory, a mere secondary consideration, subservient to its principal. To sell very dear, and to purchase cheap by dint of authority and power, will be the natural consequence of this impolitic union of the mercantile and sovereign characters; and

temporary profit will in a great degree take place of lasting policy, even among the Directors. The mercantile character is no way suited to the exercise of authority, nor can they maintain it in any other way than by the assistance of military force. If this reasoning be well founded, the conclusion to be drawn from it will naturally be this; that a complete remedy ought to be found, for the imperfections of the administration of our affairs in India, at home as well as abroad. The Directors of the company are nothing more than a committee of the stockholders, chosen from among themselves by ballot; and when they are thus chosen, almost the whole of the government of the British interest in India, as well as the trading concerns of the company, is committed to their charge, subject to the review of the stockholders at large. The welfare of twelve millions of people, and the extent and duration of the national advantage to be derived from the trade and territorial revenue of India, rest on this foundation. Nothing surely can be more contrary to every principle of government  
 which

which has been known among men, than that such a state should ultimately depend upon the votes of a large number of accidental proprietors of stock, men of all descriptions and of all nations, who purchase a share in its government to-day, and may sell it again to-morrow. It may I believe be safely asserted, that the government of a distant Empire was never before placed in a body of men so fluctuating in their nature, and related to the subject-matter of their government by no other tie, than that of getting a tolerable interest for one or two thousand pounds. That the proprietors of the trading capital should manage the trade carried on with that capital, may be right and beneficial; and the obvious inference is, that the deliberations of those persons, when assembled in their corporate capacity, ought to be confined to that subject only. The East India Company should therefore be restrained in this point, merely to what regards their investments and dividends; and these, it is to be observed, were the only subjects, which originally existed for their determinations. This is fair political

cal ground for restraining them, as it never can be maintained, that their powers are to be commensurate to every possible increase of the British Empire in those parts. This must be the foundation of all good government in India, viz. that the executive officers there, should be appointed by the crown, in the same manner as they are directed by the constitution to be, in our other foreign dominions ; and no good reason has ever been given, why a difference should be made in this essential point, between Asia and America. The argument against this has usually been drawn from an apprehension of the public danger which would arise, from an over great extension of the patronage of the crown. This answer however may be given to it, namely, that as that patronage has nearly set in the West, it may rise again in the East, without any alteration in the former equilibrium ; and this more general answer may also be given, that it is the necessary consequence of the increase of empire. If it is an evil, it is the smaller evil of the two ; and the common adage will here  
 give

give us a right and solid conclusion, that of two evils we must chuse the least. Reason and past experience (which in politics is the surer guide of the two) both concur in settling this point; but as it may be doubted by men of democratic persuasions, some other arguments may have weight in this consideration, derived from the nature of the country itself.

The great Peninsula of India is a conquered country, parcelled out among Mahometan tyrants, and those few native Princes who remain in possession of their original territories. This creates two hereditary parties. The native princes justly abhor the Mahometans. They are of a peaceful, laborious, patient character, and a just and gentle government established there, they are sensible would be a comfort and protection to them. The Mahometan princes are humiliated and galled with the thought of being under the sway of a company of merchants, and have turned their eyes towards the crown of these realms, ever since they acquired a knowledge of the nature of the British government. The caprice of the company's

pany's government, added to all the rapine that has attended it, has made it odious to an extreme. All this paves the way to a change beneficial to the public. I say beneficial, because it would satisfy and reconcile to us the natives of Indostan. The politics of those princes, are exactly of a nature resulting from such a state of government as they have hitherto lived under; they consist of intrigue, artifice, suspicion, and all crafty methods of getting materials to guide their conduct, by means of spies, corruption, &c. and duplicity becomes of course their favourite plan. Fear and jealousy compel the natives, to return to the bowels of the earth the precious metals which were originally extracted from them; yet by a wise conduct these might be turned to a better use, as shall hereafter be shewn.

All this and much more has certainly arisen, from an undignified, unsteady, mercantile government carried on by monopolists; much of it therefore might be done away, by establishing a national government there, to which some late regulations have tended. According to the  
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habitual opinion of Asiatics, it is a matter of importance that they should consider themselves as connected with the Supreme Power in that state to which they are subordinate; the whole current of their ideas having flowed in that course, they will with pleasure bend themselves in subjection to officers appointed by the Sovereign who represents that state; being fully apprised of the comparative dignity of such an appointment, and that of a superior appointed under the seal of the company. It will be shewn too in the sequel, that the number of appointments to be vested in the crown is but small, and such as needs not reasonably to be alarming to those, who have a dread of increasing the power of that member of our constitution. It will suffice, and amply suffice, if a few of the principal officers are appointed by the crown; for the government of any distant country under the ultimate controul of parliament, ought not to be placed in many hands.

Taking it then as clear that the territorial possessions in India should be deemed (to all purposes of civil government) a



part of the British Empire, and as such to be governed with the same view to public benefit that other conquests and acquisitions are ; we are now to consider the objects which most require a legislative correction, and the manner in which the civil government ought to be carried on. It seems to be the opinion of all men, that something extensive, permanent, and radical must now be done, in order to arrange matters in such a manner, as that all possible assistance may be derived from that country to aid us in our present difficulties, and be a fund for enabling us to bear those which may hereafter arise. The expiration of the company's charter, and the decided preponderance of the British influence in India, added to every motive which can arise from a consciousness of past neglect, absolutely require that the conductors of public business, should advert most seriously to this vast object. We who live under governments long established, grounded upon wise principles, and gradually brought to a wonderful degree of perfection, are so much accustomed to contemplate those  
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principles in a familiar manner, that we think it trite or pedantic to repeat them: but when we find that these principles have never yet been applied to the government of the East, it is plain we require to be reminded of them. One of these principles is, that in proportion as a subordinate territory is well or ill governed, in such proportion exactly will it be productive and beneficial to the superior state. If this be a position generally true, with what force does it apply to a country, once crowded with peaceful manufacturers and husbandmen, whose peculiar characteristic was industry? A country which was the cradle of every thing useful or ornamental that is known among men; and which, under the thorough regulation that might be afforded to it by a British legislature, would again be restored to much of its original wealth and felicity. But the neglect of this nation has been such, that the subject has become almost too great for the attention of those, in whose hands the remedy for these evils is lodged. The utmost that can at first be done in this great national work, is to

fix right principles, and to establish the main supports of good government in India; to set wise and able men at the head of our settlements, leaving the operation of those principles to work its effects in the course of time. That period will arrive much sooner than the generality of men expect; for when a gentle, docile, and industrious people cry out for a good government, and Great Britain is disposed to give it, a few years will firmly establish it, if proper persons be employed in that great and merciful task. Palliative and temporary measures will do more harm than good. The people of that country have seen the bad effect of wavering and uncertain schemes, and have not been induced to increase the respect which we should endeavour to acquire from them, by those weak and perplexing measures.

The main objects of our attention in endeavouring to perfect the government of India are the four following:

1st. To secure our influence and the permanency of our establishments there, by placing ourselves in such a light among the princes and powers of that country

as will make it appear beneficial to themselves to be upon good and friendly terms with us, and consequently will induce them to prefer our interests, to those of any other European nation.

2dly, To revive the internal prosperity of the country more immediately belonging to ourselves, by giving to the natives a permanent inducement to industry, in cultivating the rich and fertile soil of the provinces they inhabit, which will necessarily be followed by an increase of manufacture, and that again by an increase of revenue.

3dly, To establish such a consolidated body of civil government, as shall preclude distraction, dissention, and that fluctuation of counsels which has been so pernicious and disgraceful, and by this means to give promptitude and dignity to our proceedings there on all occasions;

4thly, To establish a mode of administering justice, among the Europeans, and such of the natives as may be engaged with Europeans in suits at law, or who may be guilty of crimes, better adapted to that country than has hitherto been done.

I. The security which the princes of India will place in the just and equitable conduct of this nation towards them in time to come, will depend entirely upon the intentions which they shall find expressed in the acts of the British Parliament. The veil is taken from before their eyes; and they who imagine that the Indian princes do not perfectly understand, that the East India Company is the mere creature of a superior authority, are very much mistaken. That matter is perfectly understood, and they are willing to believe that all mismanagement and oppression has arisen from their having only an *indirect* connection with the sovereign power of the state, and a *direct* connection with a corporation of merchants, to whom the government of that country has been delivered over; and they have also been made fully to comprehend that this company is the creature of the King and the national council. Those persons who have the most intimate knowledge of that country will all testify, that nothing could so effectually reconcile to us the hearts of those Asiatic powers with whom

we

we are connected, as a kind of parliamentary faith held out to them for their continuance in their present dominions safe and undisturbed, and the power of transmitting them to their posterity according to the Gentoo or Mahometan practice. This single circumstance would make the English nation take root in those regions, so firmly as not to be plucked up by any strength to be apprehended from Europe. The establishment of a compact British Empire there, with an assurance on the part of this nation that it should protect its neighbours, and maintain each in his just rights, would be a measure which never yet was thought of as a means of acquiring permanency to any nation in those parts, and from every account that can be collected is the great point for which the powers of India most ardently wish. Were this nation to establish such a *league*, and put itself at the head of it, (as it naturally would be) we should soon have reason to be satisfied of having fixed our Empire in the East upon a certain and durable foundation. A time of perfect tranquillity in those parts, is the proper  
time

time to establish this balance of power, and to take that balance into our own hands, to be held for generations to come. An example will illustrate this. Hyder Ali is considered as a formidable enemy. Nothing is better known than that he is such from provocation and distrust; it is also well known that he is not without apprehension from the Marrattoes. His inclination is to be allied to the English, yet that beneficial alliance has never been carried into effect. These two points therefore are essentially necessary to our well-being in India. First, that the natives of our own territories there should feel themselves to live under the authority of the state itself, and not under an authority subordinate to that of the state. Secondly, that the powers of India with whom we have connections by relations more or less near, should feel themselves to be allied to the British nation, and not to the East India Company only. This will give them a perfect assurance of their own permanency, and will accord with all those ideas which prevail in Asiatic minds. It must, I should conceive, be a necessary consequence

consequence of such a conduct as this that the Princes of India would find their own interest in preserving and defending the system here laid down. But in order that the good correspondence between the British and Indian powers should be constantly maintained, it will be of great importance, that the superintending government of our settlements should have proper persons resident as ministers in all the courts of India. The French have constantly observed this rule, and have given us great disturbance by their attention to it. Very able men have been found among the Company's servants, and still abound, equal to this task in point of knowledge, assiduity, and address. This would teach men the art of conducting public business, and would recommend them in time to the most important offices of the government.

II. The next object of our consideration is the prosperity of the natives inhabiting the British settlements, being that upon which our immediate advantage must depend, and which will be most effectually

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secured



secured to us by the measures touched upon above. The British dominion in Bengal is 600 miles in length, and 300 in breadth; the extent of our interests in the Carnatic, and on the coast of Malabar, has of late years been so much the subject of public discussion, that it is known to every reader with sufficient accuracy; and every map will point it out. In Bengal the great source of the Sovereign's revenue is the rent of land; it becomes therefore more peculiarly necessary to attend to the internal wealth of the country. In this territory however our mismanagement has occasioned a very manifest decline in agriculture, in trade with the rest of Asia (from whence specie flows) and in the manufacture of the country. These three great sources of wealth must be restored before the sovereign state can expect to reap any thing like the advantage which such dependencies might from their nature afford. This may be effectuated in a very considerable degree by one simple regulation, namely, by abolishing the destructive practice of letting the lands for short terms of years; a practice introduced by

by the Mahometan conquerors for the purpose of periodical plunder and oppression, and adopted by the British after their example.

Neither agriculture nor manufactures, which have a reciprocal connection and effect on each other, can ever flourish where there is no permanent property; and it has become a maxim even in the Spanish government in their South American dominions, according to a late elegant historian, that in order to obtain an increase of people, a surplus of labour, and of every thing dependant upon that surplus, the land ought to be divided into moderate shares, the dominion over it made compleat, and the alienation extremely easy. It would be an astonishing thing to see desarts in the finest soil under heaven, towns and villages abandoned, and the most wretched poverty prevailing among a people naturally bent to industry, were not a bad system of internal government, and the want of a permanent interest in the land, fully sufficient to account for this melancholy phænomenon. The pernicious practice of letting the lands

for a short space of time, gives birth to a regular gradation of tyranny. The great farmers underletting their lands to smaller tenants, who in the end furnish all the food for rapine. All political writers have observed, that there is no effort of legislation more arduous, no experiment in politics more uncertain, than an attempt to revive the spirit of industry where it has declined. This must be acknowledged to be indisputably true, and the application of it to our own case should be, that every means should be attempted, to cherish what remains of that spirit which in Bengal has advanced very far in its declension. In order to obviate so fatal an evil, the system above-mentioned ought immediately to be abolished, and the lands ought either to be sold in perpetuity, descendible or deviseable according to the Gentoo or Mahometan practice, or let for very long terms: The effect of this would soon be felt, and there is demonstrable evidence of its good consequences; for in those parts of India which are not subject to a foreign power, and where this is the usage, the most flourishing people are found

found. This is a point so clear in its own nature, that reasoning upon it cannot make it clearer. If that country is conceived by any man to be an exception to the general rule in favour of the permanency of property, the public will at least expect to be made acquainted with the grounds, on which that exception is founded. This has never yet been unfolded; nor has the Company ever entertained any ideas of correcting this practice; and unless the legislature shall think fit to interpose, the private interest of particular officers under the Company will render it perpetual. Reason, principle, and the history of every other nation concur, in leading us to conclude that a contrary practice would give new vigour to the agriculture of our territories, and would even induce the subjects of other Mahometan princes to settle within the English pale. This would draw after it its constant attendants; increase of population, of manufacture, and of commerce to the other parts of Asia, which last ought to be encouraged and promoted, by every means that a wise government can devise; for the quantity of  
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manufacture will ever be co-extensive with the market which invites the sale of it; open a free passage to more extensive markets, and every exchangeable commodity will find its way there in abundance. The investments would also be naturally and necessarily increased in quantity, and decreased in price.

The terms upon which the practice alluded to should be abolished, might be made a means of acquiring a great public stock. A permanent interest in the lands of Bengal, &c. would raise, on the most gentle and equitable terms, *ten millions sterling*, and continue subject to a quit-rent nearly if not fully equal to the present reserved rent. Much hidden treasure, as was observed above, would rise again from the bowels of the earth to be given in return for this permanent property, and it would become the interest of the purchasers to concur in preventing any hostile attempts from the European powers, against the British provinces. Moderate and equitable imposts, in the shape perhaps of an equal and small land tax, and of equal and small duties on merchandize, (excepting

ing always gross articles to be wrought up in manufactures) might secure a regular addition of income, exclusive of the quit-rents, which would keep pace with the growing prosperity and wealth of the country. Alterations in the state of any extensive territory, which are of the magnitude and importance of those here proposed, must however be cautiously and gradually introduced. Wherefore it should seem to be adviseable, to try the experiment upon a certain portion of the lands, and to be guided by the success of the experiment in that instance. Should it be attended with the advantages which every principle of sound policy leads us to hope, all the benefits above stated will necessarily follow, and no loss can accrue from having made the attempt. The annual *quit-rent* would be chearfully and punctually paid; and consequently those painful expedients would not be necessary, without which the rents payable for a short and precarious interest cannot now be recovered. A few officers would suffice to collect it, a few boards to receive it, and much litigation and dispute between the council  
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and court of justice would be prevented. Without such an extensive measure as this, it is demonstrable by figures that Bengal cannot support the heavy balance against her. A large and perpetual waste pipe must drain the reservoir, unless the means of influx be opened and kept free.

As these few pages are confined to general principles only, founded upon that which is universally acknowledged by every one acquainted with that country, a proof of the comparative efflux and influx of specie into, and out of Bengal, would be tedious and unnecessary, having already frequently been laid before the public. At a future time, when the principles themselves shall have been in the hands of the public, particular points may with more advantage be enlarged upon.

III. Having endeavoured to set forth in a few words the measures by which our interests in India are to be placed on a secure footing, both with respect to the sovereign powers there, and the native inhabitants of the British provinces; we come now to treat of that form of government  
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abroad, which must establish and preserve this great national work.

Separate and unconnected governments are in their nature liable to every objection; a contradictory system of politics may take place in each of them, and has in fact taken place on many important occasions, and accordingly the late East India act has considered them as pernicious. A general superintending power ought ever to be established in distant subordinate territories, and by parity of reason, it may be concluded, that the executive authority of government, placed in several co-ordinate persons, will be attended with the same kinds of inconvenience. Party, faction, and fluctuation of measures, have been found to be inseparable from such a system, as the late revolution at Madras, and the political history of Bengal during the last five years, have proved beyond all doubt. Could one man be found equal in point of ability to the task of governing alone, and fit in point of integrity for such a trust, it would be the best possible method to adopt; but as many reasons must immediately occur against that mode, independent



dent of the difficulty, or perhaps impossibility of finding such an individual, the nearest practicable plan must be adopted.

The precariousness of life in every part of India, renders it necessary to guard against its fatal effects. For this reason a succession must be provided in every office political and judicial, and the residence of the superintending government may be removed from Calcutta, with great advantage to the provinces, and to the conduct of public business. The consideration also of the great extent of power which must unavoidably be placed in the hands of the executive authority there, makes it absolutely necessary that a strong check should be put upon the Governor General; yet at the same time it is highly impolitic that this check should be of such a nature as may eventually overpower him. The right medium has never yet been adverted to, the consequence of which has been, that dissensions have arisen in the settlement of Madras, highly prejudicial to the interests of this country, and the most disgraceful contests and fluctuation of counsels have taken place in Bengal. It is a humiliating

consideration to think that the form of the government established there should admit of such degrading animosities, and that public measures in those countries should in many instances be decided by the doctrine of three to two, and seven to six, as the chances at a gaming table. The individuals have acted on all sides, as men will ever do in similar situations, namely, according to their private interests, and as the insatiable love of gain shall direct them. The legislature at home is alone to blame, which leaves room for such a childish train of politics. The natives may justly exclaim with the frogs in the fable, "It may be sport to you, but it is death to us;"—and the British nation at large may, in a great degree, join in that exclamation.

The commissions under which the Governors appointed by the Company have acted, leave it doubtful among the best lawyers of the time, what is the precise situation and power of a Governor. Some conceive him to be a necessary party in all deliberations, as the mayor of a corporation; others, that a majority may over-

rule him, exclude him, and even act without him, as the East India Company have determined in their late instructions to the Governor and Council of Madras, contrary to the opinion delivered very lately from the Bench, on the late trial of the information directed by the House of Commons. On the other hand, it has been contended by a late Governor of Madras, that he had a negative voice in all matters of state, under his present commission: Any one, who will give himself the trouble to investigate this question, will see that there is some ground for this variety of opinions, arising from the continuance of that inaccurate form of a commission, which was sufficiently explicit, at a time when the Governor and Council were little more than a committee of merchants superintending the Company's trade. From hence it is plain that the nature of a Governor's office must now be new modelled, and accurately defined by the instrument of his appointment. The ascertaining of a Counsellor's office will then be no difficult task; but we must go much deeper. Nothing is more clear  
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in theory, than that a general superintending government is absolutely necessary in India, and in practice it has been found to answer very salutary purposes, both among ourselves, and among the Dutch. It was a favourite idea of the late Lord Clive, who knew that country well, and whose political sagacity was inferior to no man's, that the residence of the general government ought not to be at Calcutta, but that it would be placed with more advantage at MUXUDABAD. The benefits which would arise from this change of the seat of government, are very considerable: The collectors of the revenue would not then be under the necessity of coming to the extremity of the province, in order to transact their business, and of leaving their respective districts during their absence, in the hands of deputies who fail not to take an advantage of that circumstance, exceedingly injurious and oppressive to their inferiors. The cabals, intrigues and parties prevailing at Calcutta, which is crowded with people of every rank and denomination, would in a great degree be prevented, by placing the general government

ment at some distance, and every man would not then enter into politics and party, as has been too much the case at Calcutta ever since the British nation grew to its present height in that country.—Another consideration too ought to have some effect. The climate of Muxudabad is one of the wholesomest in Indostan; a consideration which from every reason ought to weigh very much, and if no irrefragable argument can be urged against it, ought to be decisive. Much advantage might also arise from placing the great executive authority at a little distance from the familiarity, which in the nature of things must take place between the Governors and their subjects, in the great mercantile town of Calcutta; such familiarities being naturally increased by a certain feeling of banishment, common to all men who find themselves subjected to the same perils, in a country very distant from their native land. The city of Muxudabad is but twenty-four hours journey from Calcutta; so that on pressing occasions, the Governor might soon be present there, and his dispatches would be little retarded by

by a distance so inconsiderable. The Government General has now very little to do with the mercantile concerns of the Company, as a Board of Trade superintends the matter of investment; and this obviates the only objection to Lord Clive's idea, which was, the necessary attendance of the Governor and Council at Calcutta for that particular purpose. All these reasons, therefore, concur in favour of the Governor's residence at Muxudabad, viz. The comparative wholesomeness of the climate, the great convenience to the natives, the absence from dissipation, party, and faction, and I may add too, the coincidence with the prejudices of the country, in seeing the government established in the ancient place of its residence. The Exchequer must of necessity follow the Supreme Power, but the ministers of justice might still remain at Calcutta, together with all other Boards and Officers connected with the merchandize of the Company; and very salutary effects would proceed, in a variety of respects, even from the local separation of traffick from politics.

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The subordinate governments of Madras and Bombay are by the Act 13 Geo. III. c. 63. subjected to the Supreme Power, only *in matters respecting peace and war*. This is undoubtedly a restriction much too narrow; for it becomes a question of nice casuistry, what may, or may not be a matter of peace and war. Thus in the late confusions at Madras, it has been doubted whether the cognisance of that matter did or did not fall within the literal or constructive terms of the act of parliament, giving coercive authority to the Supreme Council: But it is obvious that a Supreme Government ought to be supreme in every point. Nothing that is done in any of our settlements can be indifferent to us, or without some possible consequences which may materially affect the general interest; and as the Supreme Government must be considered as a public deputation, intended to regulate the national interests in the whole of our Eastern dominions, their authority ought to be without specific restraint or description in exercising the legal power delegated by the nation. This consistency in govern-  
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ment has ever yet been wanting, and the want of it has been regretted by every writer upon the subject of our affairs in India, as well as by every individual conversant in them; and having been remedied in a very beneficial degree by the late act of parliament, we have every reason to make that part of the government perfect, by following out the imperfect regulations of that act on this subject, which were wisely intended to be but temporary, and experimental. - The powers therefore vested in the Supreme Council being circumscribed by no bounds but those which the law of the land imposes, and extending to all persons, and all places, it becomes a very important point to settle the constitution of this superintending authority.

It was observed above, that separated and unconnected governments were in their nature an impolitic institution, and that by a similar kind of reasoning, equal or nearly equal authority, vested in several persons, must also be considered as impolitic. Hitherto the authority of the Governor, in his capacity of President of the Council, has been considered by the warm-



est advocates for the extension of his power, as giving him only a casting vote, and a necessary feat in all deliberations. In a variety of instances the Governor of Bengal has been in the minority, and has been wantonly teased and humiliated by the majority: Different parties have by death or other accidents been triumphant in their turns, and government by that means shamefully debased. If it be ever intended that the government of India should be carried on with vigour and uniformity, it will be necessary to invest the Governor with a power of *putting a negative* upon the proceedings of his Council, that Council being always at liberty to minute their proposition when they shall see occasion. The practice of corrupting the Council, which has poisoned the whole system of Indian government, will by this means be done away, and a sufficient controul will still remain upon the Governor; as he will be under the necessity of stating all matters to his council, of hearing every thing stated by them, and of running the hazard of acting against the opinion of a majority. Any man who ventures to make

use of his negative power, must be very well founded in his judgment; nor can it easily be supposed, that he would differ from them, unless his reasons for so doing could well stand the test of examination. The question resolves itself into this. Is it a greater evil, that a Governor should have it in his power to put his negative upon the proceedings of his council, than that the Counsellors should be co-ordinate with the Governor, so as that a faction among themselves, or a system of corruption, should enable them to overpower the Governor, and thereby render themselves objects of bribery, job, and Asiatic intrigue? Experience has shewn that the latter is the least dangerous of the two. The council has ever been the seat of corruption, because they have had a deliberative voice in the administration of government, and could compel the Governor to adopt their measures. If that deliberative voice should be rendered not binding upon the Governor by means of the negative proposed, the best and most disinterested effects of a council will still remain, and the price of a counsellor's vote in the Indian market

will be rendered of little or no value. The nomination to all civil and military offices ought from the same reasons to be placed in the hands of the Governor, subject to a controul from Europe; for all cabal and intrigue in the councils have shewn themselves in these appointments. The dissentions at Madras afford ample evidence of this. Who should, or should not be appointed to fill the highest stations at Tanjore, was the question which brought to light the dissentions in that settlement; and it has been suspected by many (though certainly never judicially proved) that this question, apparently trifling, became important to the parties from an undue influence obtained over the majority of the council: Be that as it may, the fact itself is a powerful reason for diminishing their authority, and giving some preponderance to that of the Governor. Of late years, accident has often determined in Bengal the hands in which the supreme authority should reside; the inferior servants of the Company have therefore been capriciously dismissed from their employments, and their successors

as capriciously dismissed, when chance turned the casting vote the other way. Can such a mode of government be either creditable or beneficial to the public? Experience is the only sure guide in all political regulations, and that experience tells us, that if a Governor be not invested with such a negative authority as is here proposed, a corrupt or caballing council will never be wanting to rule according to their own interests or caprices. Such a power being vested in the Governor, it becomes so much the more important to consider of what description that Governor ought to be. It is with some surprise that we now look back upon the practice which obtained till within these few years, of raising the Governors and Counsellors to those high stations merely by rotation. This might be a just and equitable practice before the acquisition of a great political interest in that country, because the management of mercantile concerns is in a great degree matter of experience only; but when complicated political interests of a vast empire become the subject-matter of their trust, very chosen men must  
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be specially appointed to undertake that charge. Even since the passing of the late act of parliament, the ancient predilection seems to have continued in favour of gentlemen who have passed the former part of their lives, and have received their education and habits in that country; and with respect to Madras, (where this has been the case without exception) a great law officer lately threw out in the court of King's Bench, that some persons of that description were now *bidding* for that very government. It is certainly a very illiberal thing to suppose, that every man who has made his fortune in India is unfit to be trusted with the government. Many able and honest men have returned from that part of the world, after having rendered signal service to their country. Men who by a spirit of adventure and great perseverance advance their private fortunes, beginning in an humble station, and rising to a certain degree of rank in the state, are intitled to every degree of respect. All the distinctions of rank in society have begun in that manner, and the prospect of arriving at wealth and honours is the great stimulus

stimulus to all subjects, born to the necessity of prosecuting some profession in this country. No man of candour therefore will withhold his approbation of the honours which have been bestowed on gentlemen who have made their fortunes in India, and intitled themselves to the notice of their Sovereign. At the same time it must be confessed, that great and liberal ideas of government are not most likely to be acquired, in the progress from poverty and insignificance to wealth and power in India. The generality of men are not so much influenced by the abstract principles of moral rectitude, as by some powerful secondary principles of action. One of the most considerable of those secondary principles, is the preservation of an established character, and the fear of disgracing our acquaintance, our friends, and relations. Men too young to have established a fixed reputation in England, and born in the less conspicuous ranks of life, if they shall chance to return to their native country in affluence acquired in India, have then to begin the work of forming a reputation at home; but during their  
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residence in the East, they have not felt the influence of the motives above-mentioned. They were never deterred from pursuing the favourite object which was early set before them, by the controul which arises from the relation they bear to many respectable connections in England; and the dread of not acting up to the uniform tenor of their lives in their native climate. Having none other than the habits and ideas prevalent in the seat of their early education, they are principally directed by them. When men of a different description have been placed at the head of affairs in India, they have ever been found proof against the contagious avarice and rapacity, which prevail there. The reason is plain; no price can be found adequate to the mortification of returning to England, and finding a character once unexceptionable, perfectly altered, or even rendered disputable. Accordingly, no man has ever ventured to insinuate the smallest degree of reflection, upon the integrity of Sir John Clavering, and Mr. Monson, who felt that it was expected of them, in a conspicuous station abroad,

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to support the honour of their numerous connections at home, and of respectable and noble birth. It ought to be the duty of a minister not to accept of the first and most necessitous volunteer, but to discover with some pains men who are bound by all these considerations, and to secure to them and their families a handsome indemnity for the prospects which they may relinquish in Europe: Nor is it to be imagined that such men are not to be found, unless we adopt the maxim which is industriously propagated from that country, that there is so much intricacy and mystery in the affairs of Asia, that a whole life-time is scarcely adequate to the comprehension of them. This doctrine has been artfully and successfully inculcated; and yet we find that a common share of good understanding, joined to much attention and industry, has enabled secret and select committees of the House of Commons, in no long space of time, to be more masters of the subject, than most men who return from the common routine of business in the East. We find many individuals also who are very considerably versed in Indian



affairs from conversation, correspondence, reading, and reflection : And in truth these matters have of late years become so much the subject of public attention, that almost every one has gained a competent knowledge of the history, manners, and politics of that country. There can be no doubt, therefore, but that a man of education, with an understanding turned to public business, carrying out with him a general knowledge of Eastern politics, would in a short time acquire that degree of local knowledge, which would render him capable of executing, with infinite advantage to the public, every measure which his good intentions, and the powerful obligations imposed by the pride of a clear reputation, together with the dread of disgracing an honourable parentage, could suggest to him. For these reasons, it is manifestly a matter of great public consequence, to place some men of reputation and connection, from this country, at once in the higher stations of the government in India. It is far from being contended, that men of the description which has been given, should entirely exclude all others,  
but

but only to prove that they ought not to be excluded; on the contrary, that without a mixture of such ingredients there can be no good government in that country. It must be owned, that the discovering of the characters here alluded to, is no very easy task, though undoubtedly it may be effected. The nature of our free constitution, together with the manners which follow from it, and the prospects which it affords, makes it a matter of some difficulty to find men of ability willing to adventure in those distant undertakings; at the same time this very constitution and these manners form a greater number of subjects adequate to such employments, than any others in the world. The field which is opened in England to every degree of talents and industry is very large. The profession of arms in the land and sea service, demands a great supply, and the learned professions of divinity and law have their respective allurements. The former offers ample emoluments by means of what is vulgarly called interest, and the latter by means of genius and industry. The number of able subjects seated in either

House of Parliament, and who from that situation are exempted from the necessity of indulging or cherishing the spirit of adventure, or expect so to be, is very large; and these considerations must strongly influence every man so circumstanced, who thinks of abandoning his closest connections for a time, and who runs a risk of falling a sacrifice to the climates of the East.

Difficult however as the task may be, it is certain, that with some degree of pains, and proper encouragement, such men are to be found; or rather it should be said, that men are to be found in the British nation, equal to any possible task where honour is to be acquired, or public service to be done, ready to undertake it. In a case where so deep an interest is at stake, it may reasonably be required of a minister to consider in his own mind, or to be informed from others, of persons adequate to these stations, and to take every means of inducing such persons, when found, to bear that part in the public service: But instead of making such efforts, it has been usual to be satisfied with chusing out of  
two.

two or three volunteers, who having made one fortune in that country and mis-spent it in this, are desirous of returning to make a second as quickly as possible.

Many persons fitted in every view to conduct our distant political interests, either despairing of success in their applications to those in power, or who may not have turned their thoughts to that particular object, would, if it were suggested to them, readily accept that service. The same industry ought therefore to be used by the ministers in this country as in France, to cast their eyes on the most proper persons, and propose such employments to those whom they shall think the most virtuous and most capable. In this respect the French and other nations have some degree of advantage over us: For as the opportunities of obtaining a share in the administration of public affairs, are not so extensive among them by reason of the want of legislative assemblies, they therefore have a great surplus of subjects, able and willing to serve the state in public capacities, in any corner of the globe, and those too men of the best and most honourable

able families. The honour of bearing the King's commission is sufficient to induce any subject in France to forego for the time his comforts and enjoyments; the objects of his ambition at home being very few, and attainable with great difficulty. For this reason, the French ambassadors, governors, and foreign agents of every description, have been found in almost every instance to have been men of very superior capacity and address, and of these there has never been wanting a succession; whereas in England, it has been matter of some difficulty to find a succession of persons fit to conduct the business of the state with ability in the subordinate foreign departments, and who are at the same time desirous of being so employed, or would submit to the disgusts which attend all solicitations addressed to persons in office. The forward applications of indigent or presuming persons, are generally in such cases attended to; and ministers suffer themselves to be overcome by the superior opportunity of some one of many improper candidates, and exert their influence in the India House accordingly. But they should

should recollect that the character which ought to be sent to our foreign dominions, for the purpose of placing them upon a secure foundation, and of introducing just and enlarged principles of government, is exactly opposed to that of an importunate volunteer. A man of knowledge, coolness, and moderation, will not be a likely person to purchase such an appointment at the expence of a solicitation at the Treasury, or the India House: Yet such is the character fit to be appointed, and such alone can save that part of our dominions from becoming detrimental instead of being highly profitable. It were better too that our Governors in India should not be permitted to hold their seats in parliament, as that naturally gives them an additional desire to return from their station; nor ought they in justice to enjoy that privilege, if they are nominated by the Crown, when a Governor in our West-India settlements is deprived of it. An East India Governor so nominated, would indeed by analogy, or even a sound construction of the disqualifying acts, be considered

sidered as incapable of sitting during the continuance of his government.

: Not many years ago the ministers of Spain found it necessary to consider in their own minds, of some fit persons to conduct the government of South America, which had hitherto been very ill administered. One man of abilities and integrity, the Marquis de Croix, was picked out for this purpose, who has rendered more essential service to both Old and New Spain, than perhaps any subject that country ever produced. He returned in the year 1772, with great honour to himself, his friends, and relations whom he had left behind him, and with that unspeakable satisfaction of mind which arises from a consciousness of having wrought the utmost degree of good which his superior knowledge, humanity, and parts eminently qualified him to do; and what is more remarkable, with a very moderate addition to his fortune, if he made any addition to it whatever.

I have dwelt a little the longer upon this particular topic, because it is generally conceived that several new appoint-

ments must soon take place in that line of public employment: and if this plain state of the mischiefs which may arise from continuing the old system of nominating Governors and Counsellors, should accidentally chance to be honoured with the perusal of any among the principal servants of the State, it is possible that it may help to awaken their attention to a matter so extremely important.

The Governor in each of the three presidencies should be assisted by a council, not exceeding four in number; and it is obvious that some of those should be persons the most eminently conversant in the detail of the country business. The commander in chief for the time being should also be of this body, but the chief *Law Officer* need not have a seat at the political Board, but ought however to be considered as bound to give his assistance when required. A council so constituted, and subject to the Governor's *veto*, but at the same time at liberty to record their own propositions if negatived, and the grounds of their dissent from those of the



Governor, seems to comprise in it all the advantages of a controul upon the Governor, and at the same time of extracting that sting with which they have in many recent instances so grievously annoyed him, to the great impediment of our national concerns. The councils upon the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel being in all respects subject to the Supreme Council in Bengal, strength and consistency will thereby be given to the whole British dominion in India; and those destructive scenes which have exposed us to the contemptuous hatred of the natives, and the ridicule of Europe, will probably be prevented, or will at least be less likely to occur than they have been heretofore.

IV. It were to little purpose to establish a well-connected mode of government in any state, or to ascertain by laws the permanency of every man's interest in his lands and goods, unless that government were itself controuled, and that permanency of property secured, by an

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upright

upright administration of justice ; for this it is, which gives real effect to the wisest regulations that human prudence can invent. In this matter the legislature has felt itself under very considerable difficulties : on the one hand, they were sensible of the great wisdom of the municipal law of England in the protection of private property, and they felt that the merciful nature of the English mode of trial in criminal matters makes it applicable to many cases, wheresoever they might happen to arise, being founded in the true and universal principles of abstract justice, and proceeding upon rules of evidence, scrupulous and accurate to an extreme. On the other hand it must be acknowledged, that much of that law, complicated and voluminous as it now is, takes its rise from the peculiar nature of the English government, and the manners and customs of a free people ; so that in many respects no system of municipal law can be more local or more peculiarly adapted to the country where it prevails. To transplant it, therefore, is a work

of great delicacy, and the good or bad effects of that measure must entirely depend on the judicious manner of applying the principles which govern the laws of one country, to another differing entirely in its customs, habits, manners, and subsisting regulations. A vast proportion of the technical system of our law, though highly beneficial to ourselves, would be intolerable to any other people, and even the principles themselves ought to be selected by a very liberal understanding, in order to be made applicable to any other people, even in matters of private property. With respect to crimes, peculiar manners give occasion to a severity in punishing, very different in different societies, according to their destructive tendency in each respective society. A moment's consideration will be sufficient to convince any man, that an act done in *England*, and attended with the forfeiture of life itself, need not perhaps be attended with any punishment at *Constantinople*, approaching to that degree of severity. The crimes which are called *mala in se*,  
must

must it is true be universally considered as the proper objects of vindictive justice; but the inferior classes, even of such crimes, may differ very much as to their pernicious tendency in different states; and the *mala prohibita* are in their nature offences relative to the peculiar society by which they are enacted. The great difficulty therefore consists in the application of such parts only of our law civil and criminal, as may, from its abstract justice, be applied to cases arising in a country differing from our own, and of restraining the ministers of justice from an improvident application of it in other parts. It is impossible to lay down a precise rule to regulate a judge in this nice determination. That the law of England should be administered to parties purely English is liable to no exception, but, on the contrary, it is the right of English subjects in civil cases, and is what they have been taught to expect in criminal prosecutions. The difficulty commences when we suppose one of the natives to be party to a civil suit, or prisoner

soner in a criminal proceeding: The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Justice established at Calcutta by the Act of the 13 G. III. c. 63, is extended, with respect to the natives, "to all persons  
 " who are or have been employed by, or  
 " shall then have been directly or in-  
 " directly employed, in the service of the  
 " said united Company, or any of his  
 " Majesty's subjects." The number of persons who fall within the description of being actually employed, or having been formerly employed, in the service of Europeans, is very considerable, and this description was for some time interpreted by the Judges to comprehend all persons connected with the collection of the rents; and also to such of the natives as were imprisoned by those collectors. Writs of *habeas corpus* were accordingly granted to public debtors so imprisoned: This was found to affect the public revenue of the country most essentially, and has at last been settled by a species of compromise between the Supreme Council and Supreme Court. Some explicit  
 rule

rule however is necessary in this matter, for there are evils to be guarded against on both sides. The most obvious seems to be to withhold the *habeas corpus* in cases of imprisonment for non-payment of rent, leaving the party to his remedy when he shall have paid it; in which case the Judge should think it his duty to carry vindictive justice to an extreme against the oppressor. The collector falls within the description of the act of parliament as a person employed in the service of the Company, and is therefore amenable to the justice of the Supreme Court, in all cases where he shall have abused his authority; and the King's Attorney General in the settlement might, in all such cases, file an information, with leave of the court, against the oppressor. The line of distinction, drawn by the act above-mentioned, namely, that a native must have submitted himself by a contract in writing to the determination of the English Judges, is very just and proper: But even then, if a Judge shall conceive himself bound by his  
oath

oath to administer the English law in its full purity, his decision may not accord with the intention, and habitual meaning of the native party. Much latitude should therefore be allowed to any Judge deciding upon a transaction arising in a country, where the laws, habits, religion, and manners, differ totally from those of England. He ought, in such cases, to frame his decisions *secundum æquum et bonum*, and according to the insight he may acquire into the peculiarities of the national ideas, rather than according to any positive system. In criminal cases, the absurdity or rather cruelty of applying doctrines *positivi juris*, without considering the current ideas of the country in which they are applied, is so glaring that every man must perceive it. The tragedy of Nundocomar must immediately present itself to every one's mind. A native Hindoo, of great rank and opulence, was indicted for a forgery, contrary to a positive statute passed in the year 1728, and was condemned and executed for an offence

against

against that statute, committed nine years before, and which had never been considered in India as deserving of the last degree of human punishment; nor even in England till within forty years preceding, at which time the frequency of the offence, and the peculiar danger of it in this country, made it necessary to rank it among the hundred and eleven capital crimes, which a subject of England may commit, and for which he may suffer in the first or second instance. From what has been said it will readily be acknowledged, that difficulties almost insuperable occur in the dispensation of English law to the natives, when they happen to be one of the parties litigant. The most beneficial institution for them would be, to leave the Supreme Court at liberty to act rather as *Arbitrators* than as Lawyers, in all cases where natives are interested on the one side or the other. The court will naturally have a leaning towards those principles of jurisprudence which are familiar to the Judges; and at the same time it will be enabled to give full

I scope



scope to all local and equitable ideas. In all criminal cases their power of inflicting capital punishments ought to be circumscribed by the ancient simplicity of our own law. Treason, murder, rape, and wilful burning of houses, were in ancient time the only capital offences, and these would still be fully sufficient in India. All subordinate crimes are of a magnitude merely relative to the exigences of the society in which they have been made capital. Were the parliament of Great Britain now for the first time to begin the formation of a criminal code, it is highly probable that they would not very much exceed the limits here prescribed; *a fortiori*, when they are to introduce a system of criminal law into the Asiatic provinces, they should confine the catalogue of capital offences within the narrowest bounds. In all commercial countries, it is true, that the crime of forgery becomes a serious object of coercion; yet a specific punishment, such as one or two years imprisonment, a public disgrace similar to the pillory, a

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very

very heavy fine, or a forfeiture of three times the sum, as in the case of usury in England, might have the same good consequences in India, and would be agreeable to the law of all the world. Were the latitude of determination in all civil cases which is here proposed, left to the English courts of justice in India, and the offences to be capitally punished there, limited to those four which were alone thought worthy of death by the humanity of our own ancestors, and were the crime of forgery subjected to very severe consequences short of death, an English court of justice, governed as far as is possible by English maxims of law, would be an essential blessing to the natives of that country. At the same time that such limitations are imposed upon the court with respect to the natives in criminal cases, and such latitude given in civil cases, it is by no means proposed that the law of England should be administered to parties purely European differently from what it is in England: they are bound to submit to it, they are ac-

acquainted with it, and reverse it, but the case is widely different with respect to the Asiatic subjects. An appeal from the Supreme Court to his Majesty in council is essentially necessary in this case, as in every other of the same nature, in order to preserve the uniformity and integrity of the law, to controul the proceedings of inferior courts, and keep them within the line of their duty. As the latitude which must necessarily be given to the Judge is very extensive, he must be made proportionably responsible in all cases of wilful malversation. The constitution of the Court of Justice in Calcutta has shewn itself liable to some material objections. It consists at present of four Judges, a number objectionable from its liability to equal division, and still more so from its being exposed to altercations and contest, of which the inhabitants of Calcutta have seen the most indecent examples. Much discretion must be assumed (if it be not directly given) by any court established in that country, and this will, of itself beget great variations

tions in their sentiments: but the most material defect has been seen in their tendency to party attachments. This has occasioned a persuasion in most men acquainted with Calcutta, that a single Judge with a deputy to assist him, similar to the Chancellor and Master of the Rolls in England, would answer the purposes of justice in a more effectual manner; and that two persons acting in similar capacities might be afforded to Madras. The Superior Judge might be confined to causes exceeding two hundred pounds in value, except where they were tried by consent before the inferior, from whom an appeal might lie to the Superior Judge in all cases exceeding one hundred pounds. A species of rivalry between the two courts would thus be established, and they would operate in a degree as a kind of controul upon each other. In criminal cases they ought to sit together, and the Superior might at all times call the other to his assistance in civil causes.

The same institution established at Madras would be of infinite service to that settlement,

settlement, as the late disturbances very clearly evince. The interposition of a sensible Judge might possibly have prevented the imprisonment of the Governor, and the consequences which have followed from it to all parties, and would undoubtedly have prevented the illegal and unjust proceedings of the pretended coroner's inquest, which no man can read without horror and astonishment.

Westminster-Hall will not afford four capable men for each of these settlements, who would be disposed to remove into those climates, at the advanced period of life which is requisite for the exercise of these solemn functions. The candidates for the honours and emoluments of that profession being in general not men of desperate circumstances, are not much tempted to seek their fortunes in India; and such of them as would naturally attract the attention of those to whom it belongs to recommend them, have from that very reason, well-grounded hopes of acquiring a competent share  
of

of employment in their own country. There will always therefore be a scarcity of Indian Judges; and it is reported that upon the first establishment of the Supreme Court of Justice only five candidates presented themselves, to fill the four seats; and as the novelty of that institution produced so small a number, it is not to be supposed that many persons will offer themselves on future vacancies. If the English Bar will barely supply four Judges, and it be thought proper to establish a Court of Justice at Madras; it will be necessary to divide them in the manner above-mentioned, with a direct appeal from Madras to the Privy Council. The sum at present allotted to the Supreme Court is 26,000*l.* a year. This sum might be distributed between the two settlements, so as to afford a very handsome emolument to the chief and second Judge of each, by allotting 9000*l.* to the chief Justice of Bengal, 5000*l.* to his deputy, 7000*l.* to the Chief Justice of Madras, and 4000*l.* to the inferior Judge, leaving 1000*l.* to the officers of the New Court at Madras.

The

The settlement of Bombay is so narrow, that no necessity has yet appeared of giving them an expensive Court of Judicature. By these means, all dissention, altercation, and tendency to party, would cease; and if an expectation of succession were held out to the deputies, it would be an inducement to younger men of merit at the Bar to present themselves for those two subordinate stations. Both Calcutta and Madras would by this regulation be well supplied; by the same number of Judges, and at the same expence that one court only is now filled. It may be thought that subordinate Judges will not so easily be found, when their salary is 5000l. and 4000l. as they will be on the present establishment of 6000l. but the great inducement arising from the hopes of succeeding immediately to the very high station of a Superior Judge, will stimulate more powerfully, than the difference of salary proposed would discourage.

We have now touched upon the several heads proposed, and have endeavoured to attract

attract the reader's attention towards the fundamental points which ought to be settled, when the new arrangement of the affairs of the East Indies comes under the consideration of the legislature. The author's object has been to impress the reader, whether he be a plain citizen of the State, a Member of Parliament, or Minister, with a just sense of the vast extent and importance of the subject. It has been attempted also to shew, that nothing short of a sound and enlarged political system, founded and carried on by some considerable men, can save our territory in the East from being gradually depopulated and exhausted; and that by the establishment of such a system, well carried on, the advantage to this kingdom would be both great and lasting. It is very much feared by the public, that no such extended measures will find their way into the closets of those who are to determine whether the old system is in substance to continue, with slight and partial amendments, or whether

*Immedicabile vulnus*

*Ense recidendū est ne pars sincera trahitur.*

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This apprehension arises from an opinion, that the consideration of these affairs requires time and leisure, and that few ministers are actuated by abstract principles of policy in the government of subordinate states, but rather by the necessities of the present hour.

In the midst of a dangerous and complicated war, and much distracted by the activity of a warm opposition in Parliament, it is feared that our Ministers will scarcely be able to afford to this subject the attention which it deserves, or that they can avoid conceding many points to the Company, very pernicious to India, for the sake of some temporary profit. Every ground, however, for suspecting their zeal for the prosperity of subordinate kingdoms, seems now to be ungenerous and unjust, when we turn our eyes towards the kingdom of Ireland. The servants of the State will turn their attention with the same humanity, assiduity, and true political principles, towards the Eastern dominions. They will recollect that so favourable an opportunity as the present never can arise, to

lay the foundation of a lucrative, prosperous, and permanent interest in that part of the world; that the true interest of this kingdom requires our Asiatic territories should be rendered as productive to the superior State as possible, consistently with a view to futurity, which can only be done by consulting the true *internal* interests of these provinces themselves. By these means the revenue to be derived from their prosperity, and their prosperity only, must be greatly augmented, perhaps beyond our most sanguine expectations; and might be divided between the purse of the Company, and that of the Nation, as far as respects the territorial revenue, and the stock to arise from the sale of a long or perpetual interest in the lands, as Parliament, upon a full examination, shall think just and reasonable.

F I N I S.

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# DEBATE ON INDIA

IN THE

English Parliament.

BY M. LE COMTE DE

MONTALEMBERT.

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## NOTICE.

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THE article by M. de Montalembert, a translation of which is given in the following pages, appeared, on the 29th of October, 1858, in the *Correspondant*, a monthly organ of the Liberal Catholic party in France.

Since its appearance it has been made the ground of a prosecution by the Government against M. de Montalembert and the manager of the *Correspondant*.

The offences imputed to the author, and to the manager of the periodical, in the publication of this article, are, according to the laws relating to the Press in France, arranged under four heads. In order that the reader may understand what are the points on which the prosecution is rested, we proceed to state what these heads are, and to place under them references to the passages which are set down in the *assignation* (indictment), as falling within the scope of these several heads of accusation.

I. Exciting to the hatred and contempt of the Emperor's Government.

- ∨ 1. Page 1.—“I honestly confess . . . . free England.”
- 2. Page 5.—“In Canada . . . . American federation.”
- ∨ 3. Page 11.—“We possess not only the habits . . . . of the mob.”
- ∨ 4. Page 52.—“Whilst these reflections . . . . . generous minds.”

II.—Attack on the respect due to the laws.

- 1. Page 11.—“We possess not only the habits . . . . of the mob.”
- ∨ 2. Page 45.—“I for my part . . . . awaits them.”
- ∨ 3. Page 53.—“This is but the application . . . . results of 1789.”

III.—Attack on the rights which the Emperor derives from the Constitution, and on the principle of Universal Suffrage.

1. Page 2.—“Besides, I readily grant . . . madmen, perhaps, like myself.”
2. Page 52.—“In a word, moral force . . . intelligent energy.”
3. Page 57.—“I have in these pages . . . spontaneous sacrifice.”

IV.—Exciting to the hatred and contempt of the citizens one against another.

1. Page 2.—“Besides, I readily grant . . . madmen, perhaps, like myself.”
2. Page 12.—“But if by chance . . . reflections and facts.”
3. Page 52.—“Whilst these reflections . . . . . generous minds.”

A condemnation renders the periodical liable to be entirely suppressed, and subjects the author to a penalty of fine and imprisonment. He may also be at any time afterwards forced to remain (*interné*) in the provinces of France or in the colonies, or may be expelled from the French territory altogether.

# A DEBATE ON INDIA

IN THE

## ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.

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### I.

THERE are some unhappily constituted minds for which repose and silence are not the supreme good. There are persons who feel, from time to time, a longing to depart from the tranquil uniformity of their ordinary life. There are soldiers who, conquered, wounded, in chains, condemned to deadly inaction, gain consolation and a new life from seeing the struggles and dangers of others. That which attracts them is not the sad and paltry feeling of secure selfishness which Lucretius has depicted in his famous lines—

*“ Suave, mari magno, turbantibus æquora ventis,  
E terrâ magnum alterius spectare laborem.  
Suave etiam belli certamina magna tueri  
Per campos instructa, tuâ sine parte pericli.”*

No, it is a purer and a higher motive. It is the effort of the disarmed gladiator, who, looking with emotion on the arena whither he will no more descend, claps his hands at the exploits of his more fortunate rivals, and sends forth to the combatants a cry of sympathy, which is drowned, though not wholly extinguished, in the midst of the generous shouts of the attentive crowd.

I honestly confess that I am one of those persons; and I add that for this evil—from which it is so little the fashion to suffer now-a-days—I have found a remedy. When I feel that the stifling malady is gaining on me, when my ears ring, now with the buzz of the gossips of the antechamber, now with the din of the fanatics who think themselves our masters, and of the hypocrites who think us their dupes; when I choke with the weight of an atmosphere charged with the pestilential vapours of servility and corruption, I hurry to breathe a purer air, and take a bath of life in free England.



The last time that I gave myself this relief chance served me well. I came exactly in the midst of one of those great and glorious struggles where play is given to all the resources of the intelligence, and all the movements of the conscience, of a great people; where there are started, to find solution in the open day and by the intervention of noble minds, the greatest problems that can agitate a nation whose days of tutelage are past; where men and things, parties and individuals, orators and writers, the depositaries of power and the organs of opinion, are called to reproduce in the heart of a new Rome the picture painted long ago by a Roman fresh from the emotions of the forum :—

“ Certare ingenio, contendere nobilitate,  
Noctes atque dies niti præstante labore,  
Ad summas emergere opes, rerumque potiri.”

At these words I see some brows grow dark, and express the repugnance inspired in the followers of the fashions of the day by all that seems a remembrance of, or a regret for, political life. If among those who have opened these pages there are any who are governed by these fashions, I say to them plainly,—“Pause, and go no further. There is nothing in what I am going to write which can possibly please or interest you. Go and ruminate peacefully in the fat pasturages of your happy tranquillity, and do not grudge to those, who do not grudge you anything, the right to remain faithful to their past, to the disquiets of mental life, and to the aspirations of liberty.” Every one takes his pleasure where he finds it; and we are in a fair way, not, indeed, to understand one another, but to come to an end of dispute, when we have no ambition or affection in common, and when our notions of happiness and honour are perfectly different.

Besides, I readily grant that nothing, absolutely nothing, in the institutions or the political personages of France in the present day has any resemblance to the things of which, and the men of whom, I wish here to give a rapid sketch. Certainly I make no pretension to convert those disciples of progress, who regard Parliamentary Government as advantageously replaced by Universal Suffrage, or those political optimists who maintain that the final triumph of democracy consists in abdicating into the hands of a Sovereign the exclusive direction of the external and internal affairs of a country. I write for my own satisfaction, and that of a small number of invalids, of triflers, of madmen, perhaps, like myself. I study contemporary institutions which are no longer ours, but which have been ours, and which seem still to a person so behindhand as I am, to be worthy of admiration and envy. The eager sympathy which men of high ability have awakened for the fair ladies of the Fronde, for the equivocal personages of the great English Rebellion, or for the obscure and barren struggles

of our old Communes,—may we not ask that it shall once in a way be bestowed on the acts and deeds of a nation which is living and moving in its strength and its greatness at seven leagues' distance from our northern shores? I think we may; and moreover, I fancy that this study of foreign statistics, or rather, of contemporary archæology, may beguile our idle hours as well as a commentary on the Comedies of Plautus, or a narrative of an exploring expedition to the sources of the Nile.

## II.

At the end of last spring the state of Hindostan and the issue of the revolt, which during a whole year had been raging in the northern provinces of that immense region, were still the topics that most preoccupied the attention of England. How could it be otherwise? I, myself, was astonished and alarmed at seeing the English people, after the consternation and anger of the first few months, so soon abandon itself, not, certainly, to a criminal indifference, but to a premature security as to the issue of the struggle. I wished to learn from really competent judges what were the true causes of the insurrection, and at the same time what were the means, on the employment of which reliance was placed, in order to triumph definitively over a danger so formidable, so little foreseen, and so aggravated by the threatening complication which from day to day might rise from the politics of Europe. I carried with me into this inquiry a deep sympathy for the great nation, at once Christian and free, on which God had imposed this terrible trial; and I felt this sympathy redoubled in presence of the inhuman animosity of so many organs of the continental press, and, alas! of the press that calls itself conservative and religious, against the victims of the Bengal massacres. I should have liked to tell every Englishman I met that I did not belong in any way to the parties whose organs had applauded and justified the cut-throats, and who daily pour forth solemn vows for the triumph of Mussulman and Pagan hordes over the heroic soldiers of a Christian people, and a people allied to France.\*

I felt, also, what every intelligent liberal feels and knows, that from the attitude of the continental press there results one more proof of a great fact, which is the immortal honour of England in the present day. All the apologists of absolutism, ancient or modern, monarchical or democratic, are against England; for her, on the other

\* I am aware that praise has little worth or dignity when free criticism is not permitted. But I feel protected from every suspicion of servility when I pay a just homage to the courageous perseverance with which the Government of the Emperor maintains an alliance, the rupture of which would certainly increase his popularity, but would carry with it a fatal blow to the independence of Europe, and the true interests of France.

hand, are all those who still remain faithful to that tempered liberty of which she has been the cradle, and of which she remains to this day the invincible bulwark. That is natural and just. It is sufficient to make us forget certain sympathies shown in the present policy of England, sympathies more easy to explain than justify, and to make us pardon her for wrongs which, in a different state of the world, would deserve the severest reprobation.

I venture to say that no one knows better, and no one has pointed out more plainly than I, the many instances in which, in the course of the last few years, the policy of England has been thoroughly wrong and mistaken. I think I was the first to denounce, even before 1848, the policy of Lord Palmerston, too often overbearing to the weak and truckling to the strong, and signally imprudent, inconsistent, and faithless to all the great traditions of his country. But, in truth, when one reads the pitiable invectives of the Anglophobes of our days, when one compares with their complaints against England the ideas they trumpet forth, and the systems which they praise, one feels involuntarily led to an indulgence for all against which they fight—even for Lord Palmerston. It would be, besides, the height of unreasonableness and of unfairness to look on England as alone guilty, or as the most guilty, among the nations of the earth. Her policy is neither more selfish nor more immoral than that of the other great States of ancient or modern history. I even think that it would be quite possible to prove that a judgment exactly opposite to this was the true one. It is not charity, but strict justice that begins at home, and in speaking of national shortcomings, no French writer has a right to denounce the policy of England before he has passed judgment on the crimes of the policy of France during the Revolution and the Empire, looking at this policy, not as it is represented by its adversaries, but as it is revealed by its apologists, for example, by M. Thiers. It is in vain to search the darkest corners of English diplomacy to find even a distant parallel to the destruction of the Venetian Republic, or the treacherous plot of Bayonne.

Besides, we are not now speaking of the general policy of England, but of her Colonial policy. And it is precisely here that all the brightness of the English genius shines forth. Not certainly that the English have been always and everywhere irreproachable; but everywhere and always they have equalled, if not surpassed, in wisdom, justice, and humanity, the other European races who have engaged in similar undertakings. It is not, we must own, a very noble page of history that records the relations of Christian Europe with the rest of the world since the crusades. It is not, unfortunately, Christian virtue or Christian truth that has presided over the successive conquests of the powerful nations of the West in Asia and in America. After the first burst, so full of nobleness and piety, in the fifteenth century—which gave

birth to the great, the saintly Christopher Columbus, and all the heroes of the maritime and colonial history of Portugal, who were worthy to rank in the ungrateful memory of mankind with the heroes of ancient Greece—we see all the vices of modern civilization take the place of the spirit of faith and self-sacrifice, here exterminating the native races, there yielding to the enervating influence of the corrupting civilization of the East, instead of regenerating and replacing it. It is impossible not to own that England, especially since she has gloriously expiated her participation in the negro slave-trade and in colonial slavery, may pride herself on having for the most part escaped those lamentable errors. To the historian, who asks her to give account of all her commercial and maritime efforts for the last two centuries, she may justly answer, "*Si quæris monumentum, circumspice.*" Are there in history many spectacles greater, more wonderful, more honourable to modern civilization than that of this company of English merchants, which has lasted two centuries and a half, and which but yesterday governed, at a distance of 2000 leagues from home, nearly 200,000,000 souls by means of 800 civil officers and of 15,000 to 20,000 soldiers? But England has done something better even than this. She has formed not only colonies but peoples. She has created the United States. She has made them one of the great Powers of the world, by endowing them with those provincial and personal liberties which have enabled them to free themselves triumphantly from the yoke itself, always so light and easy, of the mother country. "Our free institutions," it was said, in 1852, in the annual Message of the President of this great Republic, "are not the fruit of the Revolution; they existed before; they had their roots in the free charters under which the English colonies had grown up."

In the present day England is in process of creating in Australia new United States, which will soon detach themselves from the parent stem to become a great nation, imbued from the cradle with the manly virtues and the glorious liberties which are everywhere the heritage of the Anglo-Celtic race, and which, let me once more assert, are more favourable to the propagation of Catholic truth, and to the dignity of the priesthood than any other political system under the sun.\*

In Canada a noble race of French Catholics, torn unhappily from our own country, but still French in feelings and manners, owes to England the preservation or acquisition, not only of religious liberty, but of all the political and municipal liberties which France has rejected. Canada has seen her population increased ten-

\* See in No. 179 of the "*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*," (July, 1858) the interesting letter of the Rev. Father Poupinel to Cardinal de Bonald on the progress of the Church and the freedom it enjoys in these vast countries.

fold\* in less than a century, and will serve as the basis of the new federation which from the mouths of the Oregon to those of the St. Lawrence, will be one day the rival or the companion of the great American federation.

All this is forgotten, misunderstood, or evil spoken of by certain royalist and Catholic writers, who pour daily the flood of their venom on the greatness and freedom of England. They must be strange royalists, and very ungrateful, who forget that England is the only country in Europe where the *prestige* of royalty has remained unimpaired for nearly two centuries, that it is also the only country that has given an inviolable shelter to the august exiles of France, and has lavished with unheard-of munificence its succour on the French nobility of the Emigration, and on the French clergy prosecuted for not having been willing to make a bargain with schism.† Still more strange are the Catholics who do not fear to compromise not only all the rights of justice and truth, but even the interests of the Church, by obstinately insisting on establishing a radical hostility between Catholicism and the free prosperity of the vastest empire now existing in the world, whose every victory over barbarism opens an immense field for the preaching of the gospel and the extension of the Roman hierarchy. One of the darkest pages of the history, already so little edifying, of our religious press, will be the cruel joy with which the disasters, true or false, of the English in India have been hailed, those strange sympathies for the butchers of Delhi and Cawnpore, those daily invectives against a handful of brave men battling against innumerable enemies and a murderous climaté, in order to avenge their brothers, their wives, and their infants, and to re-establish the legitimate and necessary ascendancy of the Christian West over the Indian peninsula. One is revolted by such sanguinary declamations, accompanied by constant attempts to provoke to war two nations bound together by a happy and glorious alliance, while the pious promoters of this war know that they would be the last to undergo its dangers and sustain its sacrifices. And when these declamations inundate the columns of certain journals specially devoted to the clergy and encouraged by it; when they show themselves between the narrative of an apparition of the Holy Virgin, and the picture of the consecration of a church to the God of pity and love, the result is that every Christian soul, untainted by the passions and hatreds

\* It was less than 65,000 at the date of the treaty of Paris in 1761: it was 695,945 in 1851. CHARLES DUPIN. *Force Productive des Nations.*

† Eight thousand priests, two thousand laymen, and six hundred French nuns sought in 1793 a refuge in England. In 1806, they had received from the English by private subscriptions, and Parliamentary grants, the sum of *forty-six million* francs. A Catholic Journal of London, the *Rambler* of August, 1858, borrows these figures from the book of the Abbé Margotti, called *Rome and London*, of which it publishes in the same number an amusing and complete refutation.

of a retrograde fanaticism, feels a painful repugnance which may be reckoned among the rudest trials of the life of an honest man. It is as if one heard in an Eastern night the cry of the jackal between the cooing of doves and the freshening murmurs of running water.

Besides, this evil breath is familiar to me. I have breathed and detested it in the days of my childhood, when a considerable portion of those who styled themselves the defenders of the altar and the throne were loud in their disapproval of the generous sons of Greece in arms against the Ottoman rule, and triumphed over the disasters of Ipsara and Missolonghi as at so many blows inflicted on schismatics and revolutionists. Happily, nobler inspirations carried the day in the counsels of the Restoration, as in the naturally generous hearts of the Royalists. The genius of M. de Chateaubriand ground to dust the unfortunate preferences of his old party for the butchers of the Peloponnese. And now there is no Legitimist who does not consider it as a title to glory for Charles X. to have taken a principal part in the enfranchisement of Greece, and who does not repudiate with horror the opinions professed five-and-thirty years ago by the chief members of the Royalist party. Let us hope that a day will come when there will be no Catholic who does not repudiate with equal horror the hateful tokens of encouragement lavished at the present time by the religious press on the cut-throats of India. Happily no voice that is authorized to speak in the company of the faithful, no pontiff, no prince of the Church, has joined in this cry. On the contrary, it is pleasant to see that throughout the numerous pastoral letters published on the subject by the Catholic bishops of the British Islands there is shown a patriotic sympathy for the affliction of their countrymen. The letter of M. Gillies, vicar apostolic at Edinburgh, deserves to be quoted as the most eloquent lamentation inspired by this national catastrophe. And it is especially delightful here to recall the liberal and paternal subscription of Pius IX. on behalf of the English sufferers in India. It was at once a touching gage of the unconquerable gentleness of his pontifical soul, and the most conclusive refutation of those prophets of hate, who preach an irreconcilable enmity between the Church and the greatness of Britain.

For my part, I say plainly, I feel a horror for the orthodoxy which takes no count of justice and truth, of humanity and honour, and I never weary of repeating the forcible words lately uttered by the Bishop of Rochelle; "Would it not be well to give instruction to many Catholics on the virtues of natural law, on the respect due to a neighbour, on loyalty due even towards adversaries, on the spirit of equity and charity? The virtues of natural law are essential, and the Church herself does not dispense with them,"\*

\* Letter to the Editor of the *Univers*, 10th August, 1858.

How, again, can any one fail to understand that by these blind denunciations against a nation which is reproached at once with the crime of its fathers and the virtue of its children, with the protestantism of the sixteenth century, and the liberty of the nineteenth, we expose ourselves to a most cruel and dangerous retort? Ah! if it had been given to France to accomplish the great colonial destinies which were opening before her in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we should have doubtless a great and consolatory example for all Catholic nations to be proud of. If we had remained with our missionaries and our bold but humane adventurers on the banks of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, where the genius of France would have found such a vast career to unfold itself in at ease; if we had but been able to keep the empire of the East Indies, which seemed at one time assured to us, and had caused to reign there the social and Christian virtues which are the heritage of our race, we could brave all criticism and all comparison. But we have lost all these noble possessions, and lost them in the good time to which people wish to bring us back, when the monarchy was subject to no parliamentary control, and when error had not the same privilege as truth. This being so, ought we not, when brought face to face with history, to own that all the Catholic nations except France have miserably failed in the great task imposed on them by Providence on behalf of the races they have conquered? Does not history with appealing voice cry out to Spain, "Cain, what hast thou done to thy brother?" What has Spain done with the millions of Indians that peopled the isles and the continent of the New World? How many years did it take the unworthy successors of Columbus and Cortes to annihilate them, in spite of the official protection of the Spanish crown, and in spite of the heroic efforts, the fervent and indefatigable charity of the religious orders.\* Have the Spaniards shown themselves less pitiless than the Anglo-Americans of the North? Can it be that the lamentable pages, written by Bartholomew de Las Cases, are effaced from the memory of men? The English clergy are reproached with not having protested against the exactions of Clive and of Warren Hastings. We admit it is not given to Protestantism to give birth to such men as Las Cases and Peter Claver; that is the exclusive and immortal privilege of the Catholic Church. But what are we to think, when those orthodox nations, with the advantages of such apostles and of such teaching, have depopulated

\* It is said of a Governor of Mexico, that he caused the destruction of two million Indians during the seventeen years of his administration. If there yet remain some relics of the aborigines of Mexico, and if a sort of fusion has been effected between them and their conquerors, this is due to the Dominicans and Franciscans, whose marvellous exploits should be read in the new *History of the Spanish Conquest in America*, by Mr. ARTHUR HELPS, (London, 1856-7,) a book in which an impartial Protestant renders the most striking justice to the devotion and the intelligence of the Catholic clergy.

half the globe? And what was the society which the Spanish conquest substituted for the races which had been exterminated instead of having been civilized? Must we not turn away our eyes in sadness, so entirely are the first elements of order, energy, discipline, and legality wanting everywhere, except, perhaps, in Chili, to Spanish enterprise; so wholly has it been stript of the strong virtues of the ancient Castilian society, without having been able to acquire any of the qualities which characterize modern progress? In Hindostan itself what remains of Portuguese conquest? What remains of the numberless conversions achieved by St. Francis Xavier? What remains of the vast organization of that Church which was placed under the protection of the Crown of Portugal? Go, ask that question at Goa; measure there the depths of the moral and material decrepitude into which has fallen an empire immortalized by Albuquerque, by John de Castro, and by so many others worthy to be reckoned among the most valiant Christians who have ever existed. You will there see to what the mortal influence of absolute power can bring Catholic colonies as well as their mother countries.

What must be concluded from this? That Catholicism renders a people incapable of colonizing? God forbid! Canada, the example which we have quoted above, is there to give the lie to any such blasphemous assertion. But we are bound to conclude this much—that it is well, when people constitute themselves the champions of Catholic interests, to look behind and around before heaping up invective on invective, calumny on calumny, in order to throw discredit on those nations which are unfortunately foreign or hostile to the Church. When people have for ever in their mouths the dictum of M. de Maistre, “History has been for three centuries a great conspiracy against truth,” they should not begin afresh, when history is written for the use of Catholics, a great conspiracy against truth as well as against justice and liberty. On the contrary, there is another dictum of M. de Maistre which should be called to mind, “The Church is in need of truth, and is in need but of that.” Falsehood, under either of the two forms which law and theology recognise—namely, the *suggestio falsi* and the *suppressio veri*, is the saddest homage which can be rendered to the Church. She cannot be served well by borrowing the method and adopting the proceedings of her worst enemies. No, to renew for her profit the tricks and the violences of error is not to defend the truth. The spirit of modern times has begun to perceive that a great deal of falsehood has been in circulation during three centuries against God and His Church; it has begun to shake off the yoke of that falsehood. Do people, then, wish to plunge it back again into the hatred of good? Do they wish to repel it towards the intellectual excesses of the eighteenth century? For that end one infallible means is at hand—to practise or



pardon falsehood, even involuntary falsehood, for the greater glory of God.

### III.

But has England herself been irreproachable in the foundation and administration of the immense empire which she possesses in the East Indies? Certainly not; and, if we were tempted to attribute to her a degree of innocence or of virtue to which she has never pretended, we might be easily undeceived by looking through the numberless works which have appeared on the Government of British India, not only since the breaking out of the insurrection, but previously to that event. In all this mountain of publications, panegyric and apology are exceedingly rare; the most vehement philippics and accusations abound; but what is of far more consequence than systematic praise or blame, is the profound and supremely sincere investigation of the faults, dangers, difficulties, and infirmities of British rule in India.

I shall not cease to repeat that it is in this extensive, and, indeed, unlimited publicity, that the principal strength of English society consists—that this is the essential condition of its vitality and the sovereign guarantee of its liberty. The English press, at first sight, seems to be nothing but a universal and permanent indictment against every person and every thing; but, upon a closer inspection, we perceive that discussion, rectification, or reparation, follow closely on denunciation and abuse.

Mistakes and injustice are, no doubt, frequent and flagrant; but they are almost always amended immediately, or excused in consideration of the salutary truths or indispensable lights which reach the public mind by the same road. Not a general, an admiral, a diplomatist, a statesman is spared. They are all treated in the same manner as the Duke of Wellington, when, at the outset of his victories in the Peninsula, he was preparing the emancipation of Europe and the preponderance of his country, in the midst of the clamours of the Opposition, both in the press and in Parliament. And all, like him, resign themselves to this, confiding in the final justice of the country and of opinion, which has hardly ever disappointed them. The public, accustomed to the din and to the apparent confusion which arises from this permanent conflict of contradictory opinions and testimonies, ends, after the lapse of a certain time, by coming to recognise the truth. It possesses, above all, a wonderful tact for unravelling the true nature of certain purely individual manifestations, however noisy they may be, and for attributing to them that degree of importance which they really merit, while respecting and maintaining the right which every Englishman asserts for himself to judge and criticise everything, and even to deceive himself at his own proper risk.

Those who feel themselves offended—not without reason—by the coarse form, or by the evident falsity of certain opinions expressed by some English orators or writers with respect to foreign affairs, should never forget two things—first, that this species of cutting and unbridled criticism is poured forth more coarsely, more freely, and more habitually on English men and things; secondly, that it is always the act, as well as the opinion, of an individual member of a society, in which the progress of civilization has consisted up to the present hour in the unrestrained development of individual power and liberty. This is what is continually forgotten; and the result is that so many opinions, either absurdly false or exaggerated, appear in the continental press respecting the true bearing of certain speeches or writings, which are quoted and commented on as possessing a *quasi*-official value. Notwithstanding our numerous and long-continued relations with that country—notwithstanding the slight distance which separates France from England, and the brief interval that separates us from our own part, we have lost the art of understanding the position of a great free nation, where each individual is free, and gives free scope to all his fancies. We possess not only the habits but even the instincts of those sober and orderly peoples, doomed to an eternal minority, who sometimes indulge in frightful outbreaks, but who speedily fall back into that state of civil impotence, where no one dares to speak except by order, or by permission, with the salutary terror of a warning from authority hanging over his head, if he should be so rash as to oppose ever so little the ideas of Government or the ideas of the mob.

In England, and throughout its vast colonial Empire,\* it is quite the reverse; every one in the world of politics says what he thinks, and does what may please him, without permission from any one, and without subjecting himself to any other repression than that imposed by general opinion and by the public conscience, when these may have been braved with too great a degree of boldness. Under the impulse of the moment, in a fit of spite, ill-humour, or vanity, any English subject, any isolated individual, without a mission from others, without authority, influence, or responsibility to any one, but seldom without sympathy, expresses, by word of mouth or in writing, whatever may pass through his mind. Sometimes it is the triumphant accent of justice and truth which thus makes itself heard, universally understood, speedily accepted, and everywhere repeated by the thousand echoes of an unrestrained

\* The press is absolutely free in all the English colonies, even in Hindostan; and this liberty is perhaps one of the most serious embarrassments of the English Government in India. Nevertheless, the measure adopted in the first moments of the insurrection, by which a partial censure was established for *one year*, has not been renewed after the expiration of this first year; and it is in the journals which appear in Calcutta and Bombay that are found the most hostile criticisms on the conduct of the civil and military affairs of the English.

publicity ; and it is in order not to destroy this chance, which may be the only one in favour of right and of national interest, that the English are unanimous in resigning themselves to the serious inconveniences attaching to liberty of speech.

At other times we encounter ridiculous or offensive exaggerations, gratuitous insults to foreigners, or, again, in a contrary direction, a direct appeal to their interference in the internal affairs of the United Kingdom.\* Oftener still, there is a pleasantry, a sally, a puerile boast, a platitude ; and on the morrow it is contradicted, refuted, abused, and forgotten. But if by chance it has been taken hold of by one of those translators, authorized by the censorship, who feed in so strange a manner the continental press, instantly all the privileged detractors of liberty transcribe it, take note of it, get furious over it, and cry aloud, " See how England thinks, and what she says ;" and they proceed to deduce consequences of an absurdly alarming cast, now for the peace of the world, now for the security of British institutions, although they are sure to be promptly and shamefully exposed in their falsehood by reflection and facts.

Let us hazard the passing remark that the great evil of absolute Governments is, that their faults are kept secret. Like a sore that is never opened, never dressed, never reduced, these faults spread, and little by little corrupt the entire body of society. On the contrary, as has been observed with reason, an evil is never irreparable in a country where people know how to preach themselves a stern lesson without fearing to wound national pride or to humiliate the Government. Publicity in England, rash, imprudent, coarse, often apparently compromising the dignity of the country, and sometimes capable of endangering international relations, constitutes at once the daily bread of the majority, the last refuge of the minority, the pivot of universal existence.

Publicity is the remedy for all the evils inseparable from a civilization so far advanced, a remedy hard to bear, but salutary and infallible, and which, above all, proves better than any other argument the strong constitution of the patient. This remedy has never yet failed ; witness what came to pass during the Russian war, and the comparative state of the two allied armies in the course of their second winter in the Crimea. Happy the nations who can so undergo the fire and the sword. They may be truly called manly, for they find nothing to envy in any one, and have to fear only an excess of confidence in their own strength.

The preceding observations serve to explain the fact that there exists no kind of reproach or of abuse which the English and the Anglo-Indians have not addressed to their Government, to their generals, above all, to the East India Company, that great corporation, which, after a hundred years of success and of increasing

\* See concluding note, p. 63.

prosperity, beholds itself attacked at the close of its glorious career by that cowardly complicity of human nature all the world over with fortune, when she abandons those whom she has long loaded with her favours. But if we duly weigh the worth of all these accusations, if we hear the evidence on the other side, if we consult the past state of things as compared with existing facts, we cannot feel inclined to ratify in every point the sentence pronounced against the Company. The future will tell whether it was right to profit by the present crisis to suppress the "Double Government," and to displace the multitude of wheels which ever since Pitt's famous Bill of 1784 have never ceased to render more complicated the action in India of the home Government, by restraining more and more the independence of the Company. Meanwhile, it would be the height of injustice to pass a condemnation on its whole history.

Certainly, it has committed more than one fault, perhaps more than one crime. It has not done all the good it might have done. But I assert, without hesitation, that the East India Company, now defunct by virtue of the Act of the 2nd of August, 1858, is, of all powers known in the colonial history of the ancient or modern world, that which has done the greatest things with the humblest means, and that which, in any equal space of time, has conferred the greatest amount of good, and inflicted the least of evil on the peoples subject to its rule. I assert that it delivered the different populations of India from a yoke, which, in general, was atrocious, in order to subject them to a regime incomparably milder and more equitable, although still imperfect. It employed for the improvement of the conquered race, not certainly all the efforts which it ought and might have made, and which the English themselves unceasingly called for, but a hundredfold more solicitude and devotion than any of the native Powers whose place it took upon itself to fill, or than any of the European nations invested by conquest with a similar mission.

Admitting, even, that the immoral selfishness of a corporation of merchants has but too often signalized its *débuts* in the Peninsula of Hindostan, still, for more than fifty years its generals and principal agents, the Wellesleys, the Malcolms, the Munros, the Bentincks, fully displayed all the zeal and all the activity becoming their high functions, to expiate the evil deeds of their predecessors, and to lead every impartial observer to avow that, in the present state of things, British domination is at once a benefit and a necessity for the inhabitants of India.

The Company has not known how to correct or repress everywhere the *hauteur*, the reserve, the insolence which is natural to Englishmen, but it has constantly fought against the lamentable results of that mixture of selfishness and energy which, in the Anglo-Saxon race, degenerates too often into ferocity,

and of which one sees in the United States too numerous examples.

In the countries where it has been invested with territorial sovereignty, it has everywhere done away with slavery and forced labour: in most cases it has respected all vested rights, and even too often the abuses established before its advent. It is thus that the European agents, incessantly deceived by the native *employés* who necessarily act for them as subordinate agents with the people, have been regarded as accomplices in the cruelties and tortures made use of by the collectors of taxes; but this is to ignore the fact that it is the Indians who were the torturers, whilst it is the English who have discovered, denounced, and punished the native oppressors.\*

With regard to the question so much discussed, and yet understood so imperfectly, of the territorial constitution of Hindostan, the Company has always prevented the dispossession of the landed proprietors by English colonists or speculators—either confirming, according to the policy of Lord Cornwallis, the feudal tenure of the great Mussulman and Hindoo proprietors in Bengal, or recognising and regulating the vested rights of the peasantry, as in the presidencies of Bombay and Madras, or those of the rural communities, as in the provinces of the North-West.

Especial fault has been found with the Company for the haste with which it annexed to its immediate sway States, the suzerainty of which it had accepted or conquered, according as these States were its allies or vassals.† But we do not sufficiently inquire whether it was not led necessarily and against its will, in most cases, to absorb these independent States. Judging from what we ourselves have experienced in Algeria, and from what has occurred in China up to the present time, it is clear that nothing is more difficult than to hold relations with Eastern races, either as allies or auxiliaries; and that their good faith, and even their understanding, apprehends no other condition than either war or complete subjection. Every one seems to agree to regard the recent annexation of Oude, under the government of Lord Dalhousie, as an unjustifiable act, which has furnished a legitimate pretext for the revolt of the Sepoys. One might still more justly blame the English Government for having too long thrown the shadow of its protection over the crimes and excesses of the court of Lucknow, and of the great feudal aristocracy which crushed the country to pieces with its civil wars and its exactions. One ought to read in the work entitled *Private Life of an Eastern King*, published in 1855, the picture of

\* See the Parliamentary Inquiry in 1855 and 1856 on the Employment of Torture in India. One plainly sees from it that not one Englishman has been shown to have had any share whatever in these atrocities.

† This grievance was set forth with great clearness and power in a speech made in Parliament, on the 18th of April, 1856, by Sir Erskine Perry, one year previous to the outbreak which has verified his predictions.

the conduct of one of these monsters who reigned at Lucknow before the annexation, and one ought to read in Colonel Sleeman's book, who was himself a resident at this Court, the account of the outrages and daily spoliations which the population of the open country had to submit to in consequence of the feuds carried on between one stronghold and another. The English have not sufficiently taken to heart the responsibility which their protectoral authority has imposed on them, the nature of the suzerainty which they have exercised since 1801, the date of their military occupation of this state, but likewise the date of their committing the mistake of re-establishing the native dynasty under the patronage of an English resident. They ought either not to have meddled at all with the affairs of these too-near neighbours, or else not to have allowed the excesses and abuses of former times to be continued under the English rule. What appears certain is, that the population is really less ill-treated in the countries completely united to the English empire than in those where there still exists the nominal authority of rajahs and nabobs tributary to England. Nevertheless, the efforts of the Company to introduce the regularity and completeness of European systems, so little in accordance with the habits of the East, as regards the administration of justice and the assessment and levying of taxes, have led to the breaking up of a multitude of private interests, and have created a feeling of hostility amongst the masses. Although far less burdened than under the native princes, the people are none the less led to fear lest the interest of proprietorship, as they understand and practise it, may be sacrificed and made subordinate to the interest of the revenue. Furthermore, the Governor-Generals, sometimes in spite of the Company itself, appear to have deeply wounded the national feeling of the Indian races, by disowning, in the order of succession to the thrones of the rajahs and nabobs, the titles of adopted heirs to whom the laws and immemorial customs assign the same rights as to heirs by blood.

It is especially on the head of religion that the accusations made against the Company seem unjust and contradictory. One party bitterly reproaches it with having done nothing to propagate Christianity in India; others attribute, on the contrary, the recent outburst to the system of proselytism which it had encouraged or tolerated amongst the missionaries and certain officers of too evangelical a zeal. These accusations fall equally to the ground. Originated for a purpose exclusively commercial, the East India Company has never pretended, as the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors did, to labour for the increase of the glory of God; but, on the other hand, it has never attempted to force the truth upon nations fanatically attached to their errors, and it has not seen any of the races in subjection to its laws disappear or become extinct. It has made war slowly and prudently against certain social crimes which are identified with the Hindoo religion,

such as the sacrifice of widows, infanticide, and thuggism; but, in the main, it has scrupulously respected the religion of its subjects. By its example, still more than by its direct measures, it has repressed the spirit of blind and rash proselytism, which would only have served to increase the natural antipathy between the two races, and which might have led to the horrors too justly imputed to the Spaniards of Mexico and Peru. But, far from presenting any obstacle to the preaching of the Gospel, it has, from the very first, organized the national system of religion for the English *employés*; and, moreover, in opening the gates of the immense regions of India on both sides of the Ganges to Christians of all creeds, it has guaranteed to all efforts of individual zeal that liberty, which is the first and only need of true missionaries. Those who, amongst ourselves, make a periodical apology for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and who praise Charlemagne for having condemned to death the Saxons who were audacious enough to steal away in flight in order to avoid baptism, would find, without doubt, that it would be the better plan to slaughter people whilst baptizing them, as the Spaniards did in America. But the immense majority of the Christians of our day will be of another opinion, and no man of sense will attribute it as a crime to the East India Company, that it has followed in Hindostan the same system which we ourselves pursue in Algeria, and the introduction of which into the Ottoman Empire and into China we claim as our own work.

Those who reproach England with not having been able to make Protestants in Hindostan, had perhaps better get some information as to the number of Catholics that we make in Algeria. I go too far in instancing Algeria, for, if I am well informed, the preaching of the Catholic religion to the natives and the efforts made to convert them meet there with very serious impediments on the part of the civil and military authorities. We have never yet heard, as far as I know, of Catholic missions being encouraged, or even tolerated, by the French Government, amongst the Arabian, Moorish, and Kabylie subjects of France. People have imputed it as a crime to the English magistrates, that they have preserved the properties which were set apart to maintain the absurd and often obscene rites of Brahminical idolatry, and that they have sent guards of police to preserve order during the celebration of these ceremonies. This has not taken place in India since the Act of 1840; but it is precisely what the French Administration believes itself bound to do in Africa; and, in truth, one would not find in the works of any English functionary so complete a declaration of sympathy and protection on behalf of Mahommedan worship, as the speech of M. Lautour Mézeray, Prefect of Algiers, in 1857, to the Muftis and Ulemas, where he quotes the Koran profusely, in order to exalt the imperial munificence towards

Islamism. I do not remember having read a single word of criticism on this speech in the French papers, which are most profuse in invectives against the pretended complicity of the English in India with the worship of Juggernaut.\*

The new Secretary of State for India, Lord Stanley, son of the Prime Minister, has solemnly declared that the Home Government, just now invested, under the control of Parliament, with all the powers of the old Company, would persist in the errors of the Company upon the question of religion. In the official interview which he had with the delegates of the Protestant missions on the 7th August, 1858, he declared that, whilst allowing every liberty to missionaries, the authorities would maintain the most faithful and complete neutrality in religious matters, by preserving equality in the eyes of the law between persons of every faith.

What could there be more favourable to the progress of Catholicism in India than this system? What competition has it to fear, since it appears an unvarying fact that the distribution of Bibles, to which the missionary efforts of Protestantism are confined, has as yet produced only illusory results? Is it not evident that, if the Government were to interfere in a more direct manner, it could not do so except for the benefit of Anglicanism? All that is to be demanded is, that it carry into effect this programme with sincerity, and that it put an end to the flagrant injustice which has for a long time prevailed with regard to the respective allowance to Catholic and Protestant attached to the different regiments, and with respect to the facilities accorded to the religious services of the prisons and regimental schools. But here, again, when you compare the pecuniary favours conferred upon the schools and churches of the English Church, with the manner in which Catholic undertakings are entirely left to themselves, you forget that the English establishments in India were founded at a time when, in the mother country, all Catholics were groaning

\* A very curious proclamation, published at Bareilly on the 17th of February, 1858, by one of the principal insurgent chiefs, gives, in order to encourage the natives to resistance, a detailed enumeration of all that the English should have done, had they wished to prevent any possibility of revolt. They should, according to this document, have annihilated the races of the ancient kings and nobles, burnt all religious books, robbed the ancient princes of the last *diva* of land, not have allowed arms to the Indians, not have taught them the use of cannon, *should have thrown down all the mosques and Hindoo temples, have forbidden the Brahmins, the Mussulmans, and the Hindoo fakirs to preach, should have compelled the natives to be married by English clergymen, to be treated by English doctors, and, lastly, allowed no midwives but Englishwomen.* If the English had taken these steps, said the proclamation, the natives would have remained subject for ten thousand years. But it goes on to say this is what they reckon on doing for the future, and this is why we must extirpate them for ever from our land.

In the *Times*, of the 17th of May, may be seen this code of persecution—a unique manifesto of its kind, which only enumerates against foreign tyrants the grievances they have never committed.



under odious penal laws just as all Protestants were in France. Both of them owe their emancipation to the entirely modern principle of liberty of conscience.

The East India Company has had the honour of recognising this principle in Hindostan, even before it had triumphed in England. Although composed of Protestants exclusively, it has never opposed Catholic preaching. Now-a-days one demands of it, and with reason, not only liberty, but also equality for the different modes of worship, and the point is being gradually attained. The English Government has already entered into the same equitable policy; since 1857, the Company has doubled the salary of the Catholic army chaplains, and, by an order of the 24th June, 1858, emanating from the Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief of the English army, nineteen new posts of Catholic chaplains to the army were created, with precisely the same pay as that which Protestant chaplains receive. A general order from General Peel, Secretary of State for the War Department, dated 23rd June, 1858, introduces into the system of military schools some admirable reforms, and such as would serve for a model in Prussia and in other countries of mixed faith. But, besides these favours, which are only acts of justice, the progress of the Catholic religion in India has been for a long time back identified with the maintenance and existence of the British rule, solely by reason of the liberty which it guarantees to the preaching of the Gospel, and of the ascendancy which it exercises for the benefit of Europeans and their ideas, even in the countries which are not in subjection to it. Just suppose that the English were driven out of India, and the country again placed under the yoke of restored Mussulman and Hindoo princes, is it not evident that it would be necessary to go there soon to support our missionaries by force of arms, as has been the case in China and in Cochin China? "Our hope of success lies in the prestige which the power of the English maintains throughout the countries which we are about to cross," writes a French missionary just starting for Thibet, on the 16th July, 1857.\* The numerous Catholic bishoprics established in the peninsula of Hindostan since the English conquest testify more strongly than all other arguments to the importance of the services rendered by this conquest to the true faith.† Were you to consult the Congregation of the Propaganda at Rome, you would learn from it how delighted the priests and missionaries were with the absolute liberty which they enjoyed in the dominions of the Company, whilst at the same time they did not meet with those difficulties which resulted from the former patronage of the Portuguese Crown, and from the too

\* *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, November, 1857.

† The last report gives, in the English possessions in India, a total of 19 bishops, 780 priests, and 764,349 Catholics.—*Tablet*, 25th of September, 1858.

generous concessions made not long ago by the Holy See to a State, whose spirit of chicanery and usurpation dates from neither to-day nor yesterday, but goes back to the time of their first settlements, and forms a sad contrast to the title of *Most Faithful* accorded by the Popes to the Portuguese Kings. The sworn calumniators of modern liberty, the retrospective admirers of orthodox and absolute monarchies, will find nothing in the annals of the Anglo-Indian Government which calls to mind, even in the remotest degree, the ten years of imprisonment inflicted at Goa upon the *apostolic vicars* sent by Urban VIII. to Japan, nor the *penalty of death*, which was still in force in 1687, against all those who should attempt to penetrate into China without being previously authorized by the Governor of Macao.\*

And, furthermore, the Indian rebels, less enlightened, no doubt, than their advocates in Paris and Turin, made no distinction between Catholics and Protestants at Delhi, at Agra, at Cawnpore; they sacked our convents and slaughtered our missionaries just as if they were Anglicans; † and these Martyrs had earned their glorious fate by the indefatigable devotion and the generous charity which they had lavished on the sick and wounded of both creeds. ‡

One thing is certain, namely, that in all this flood of accusations brought against the British administration by the home and foreign press, and especially by that of India, which spares nobody, and holds its tongue on no subject whatever, no one has yet brought to light, with regard to the time immediately preceding the outburst of the revolt, one single act of cruelty, corruption, or perfidy, which can be imputed individually to an English functionary, either civil or military. This is the explanation of a fact of great importance, and one which of itself acquits the English rule of the charges brought against it. During the period of nearly eighteen months which the revolt has lasted, it has been a pure military rebellion; *the civil population has taken no serious part in it.* Except in

\* See F. DE CHAMPAGNY, in the *Correspondant*, vol. 19, July, 1847. LE P. BERTRAND, *Mission du Maduré*, p. 321. MGR. LUQUET, *Letters on the State of the Missions*, in the *Université Catholique*, vol. 31, p. 240. LÉON PAGES, *A Catholic Question in India and China*, in the *Ami de la Religion*, July, 1858.

† Mgr. Persico, apostolic vicar of Agra, related to the Assembly General of the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul, held at Paris on the 19th of July, 1858, that, in his vicariat alone, the insurgents had destroyed a magnificent cathedral, twenty-five churches, two colleges, two asylums for orphans, five nunneries, besides schools, day-schools, houses of refuge, &c. One can see by this list alone, whether English rule has been prejudicial to the propagation of Catholicism or not; for not one of these establishments dates from before the British conquest.

‡ See the touching testimony rendered by the chaplain of the Protestant garrison at Delhi to Father Bertrand: "The services and sacrifices of Father Bertrand will live in the memory of the English army till the last day of the last survivor of this army."—*The Chaplain's Narrative of the Siege of Delhi*, by JOHN ROTTON, M.A. Numbers of correspondents from Cawnpore and other places, in the *Times*, pay the same homage to the Catholic chaplains attached to the English troops.

some few localities, it has refused all co-operation with the insurgents,\* in spite of the opportunities, and the numerous temptations which the partial defeats of the English, and the very limited number of their troops, offered it. Far from that, we know that it is owing to the assistance of the Indian princes and mercenaries from races different from those composing the Bengal army, that England has been able to contend successfully against the rebels. The revolt has been exclusively the work of the Sepoys enrolled by the Company; and again, in this case, one cannot instance the smallest act of severity or violence on the part of the English officers in authority, which could have provoked the revolt. In order to induce them to revolt, it was necessary to have recourse to fictions, none of which attributed severity or injustice to the English officers, but which turned wholly upon the pretended dangers which the religious faith and traditional customs of the Sepoys were incurring. Their credulity on this point is all the more inexplicable, as the most competent observers are agreed in acknowledging that the English had extended to the utmost limit their consideration for the prejudices of caste, and for the haughty assumption of the Brahmins, who formed the majority in the Bengal regiments. Indulgence and partiality for the Indians have been carried so far as to cause the suppression, in all the native army, of the corporal punishments which are still in force for the English troops, and of which so revolting a use was made in Europe, at the time of the insurrection in the Ionian Isles, in 1849, at the very time when the workmen of London were pursuing with their insults the Austrian General Haynau, whom they reproached with having caused some women in Hungary to be flogged.†

Having devoted this large space to the defence of a people unjustly decried, because it has the honour to be almost the sole representative of liberty in modern Europe, it is necessary to bear witness to the just indignation which ought to be excited by the excessive severity of the punishments inflicted by the English upon

\* This is what the *Tablet*, an Irish paper, very hostile to England, frankly acknowledges; and while reproaching the Company with frauds, with excesses and innumerable abuses, it adds, "Posterity will not believe that a revolt of soldiers in the pay of the Company, who had sworn fidelity to it, and who commenced by cutting the throats of their officers, and by slaughtering the women and children, and who had for their avowed end the extirpation of Christianity in India, could have been spoken of by certain newspapers in terms of sympathy and admiration."—31st July, 1853.

† As to the motives that led to the revolt of the Mussulmans embodied at the same time as the Brahmins in the English army, it is difficult to find any, except in the universal revival of Mahometan fanaticism that has everywhere shaken the Ottoman empire, and which has produced the massacres of Djeddah, of Candia, and of Gaza, and that breaks forth even at the very gates of the most civilized countries of Christendom, in Bosnia, and in Herzégovina, only two steps off Venice and Vienna.

the vanquished rebels and the prisoners. I know all that can be said in excuse of reprisals only too legitimate against savages guilty of the most monstrous excesses against so many officers taken by surprise and unarmed, and, above all, against so many noble women, pure young girls, and poor little infants slaughtered by hundreds, without there being any provocation to such horrors. I can understand the rallying cry of the Scotch Highlanders, at the storming of Delhi, "*Remember the ladies—remember the babies.*" Again, I admit that severities exercised in the case of soldiers taken with arms in their hands, whose enlistment was voluntary, and who were bound by a spontaneous oath to respect the chiefs whom they had massacred, cannot be compared with the cruelties inflicted on innocent and hospitable races by the conquerors of the New World, nor even with the severities decreed by our French generals of the Empire against the natives of Spain and the Tyrol,\* who were engaged in the most legitimate of all revolts; and much less still with the atrocities practised in La Vendée by the butchers of the Convention. But I am not, for all that, the less convinced that the just measure of suppression has been overstepped, and that these executions of conquered Sepoys *en masse*, continued systematically after the first outburst of grief and indignation caused by unheard-of atrocities, will imprint an indelible stain upon the history of the English Empire in India. This is no longer justice—it is vengeance. A people truly free ought to leave the sad privilege of cruelty to revolted slaves. A Christian people ought to know that it is at once forbidden and impossible to contend by means of retribution with unbelieving races. It behoves the English *gentlemen* who direct the military and political operations between the Indus and the Ganges to resist the hateful promptings of the Anglo-Indian press. They have before them the example of the noble Havelock, who, in the proclamation which he addressed to the soldiers whom he was leading against the murderers of Cawnpore, declares, that it becomes not Christian soldiers to take heathen butchers for their pattern.

This name of Havelock recalls and sums up all the virtues which the English have exercised in this gigantic strife, and on which there would be cast a stigma for ever by an obstinate perseverance in too cruel a measure of chastisement. Havelock, a personage of an antique grandeur, resembling in their most beautiful and irreproachable aspects the great Puritans of the seventeenth

\* Take, for example, the order of the day, dated 15th May, 1809, published by Marshal the Duke of Dantzic against the insurgents in Tyrol. This decrees in the name of the Emperor Napoleon, *Protector of Religion*, that every Tyrolese taken with arms in his hand should be shot or hanged; and that in every public place or canton where they should find a soldier dead, all the houses should be burned, and the principal inhabitants hung on a neighbouring tree.

This passage is to be found in *Mayer, Der Mann von Rinn*. Innsbruck, 1851, p. 84.

century, who had arrived at the portals of old age before he shone out to view, and was thrown suddenly into a struggle with a great peril before him and insignificant means wherewith to overcome it, surmounted everything by his religious courage, and attained by a single stroke to glory and that immense popularity which resounds everywhere where the English tongue is spoken ; then died before he had enjoyed it, occupied, especially in his last moments, as he had been all his life, with the interests of his soul and the propagation of Christianity in India, and saying to his son, who ran to receive his last sigh, "I have been forty years preparing for this day. Death is to me a gain." He figures worthily at the head of a group of heroes who have shown themselves equal to all difficulties, all dangers, and all sacrifices. Amongst them, grateful England loves especially to mention the names of Nicholson, Barnard, and Neil, likewise taken away in the midst of their victories of vengeance ; of Sir Henry Lawrence, the first of the heroes of Lucknow, and the man whose energy has preserved the recent conquests of the North-West ; finally, to confine myself to speaking of the dead, of Captain Peel, that young and noble son of the great Sir Robert, equally valiant on land as on sea, whose premature loss has been a sort of national calamity. Victims of a strife waged between civilization and barbarism, they are not foreigners to any Christian people : all can admire them without restriction and without reserve. They do honour to the human race.

And it is not only these extraordinary names which we must admire ; it is the whole conduct of this handful of Englishmen, surprised in the midst of peace and prosperity by the most frightful and unforeseen of catastrophes. Not one was prostrated or trembled before the butchers ; all, civilians as well as military, young and old, chiefs and soldiers, resisted, fought, and perished, with a coolness and intrepidity which never failed. It is there that the immense value of a public education shines forth, such as we have represented it in the pages of our Review, which calls the young Englishman from his youth to make use of his strength and his liberty, to form associations, to make resistance, to fear nothing, to be astonished at nothing, and to extricate himself by his own efforts from all the misadventures of life. But above all, the English women, condemned to share the sufferings, the anguish, and, so many of them, the cruel death of their fathers and their husbands, have shown the same Christian heroism. The massacre of Cawnpore, where, before being slaughtered, men and women bound with cords, obtained as a solitary favour permission to hear on their knees the prayers of their Liturgy read by the chaplain who was about to perish with them, seems like a page torn from the acts of the first martyrs. One loves to place this scene beside the day of *fast and national humiliation* appointed by the Queen, and everywhere observed on the 7th October, 1857, when was presented

the noble spectacle of a whole people prostrate before God, to ask of Him pardon and mercy. It is from such examples and from such memories, and not from the revolting and puerile excesses of a bloody system of repression, that England ought to derive the strength to resist its enemies, and the certainty of conquering them.

#### IV.

In what I have already said, I have not pretended to explain everything, or to justify everything in the recent events in India ; I have not wished to pass judgment on the past, still less to inspire in regard to the future of that empire a sense of security which I am far from sharing. I have wished solely to express my own impressions upon a class of events and ideas to which it is impossible not to pay attention when one feels some interest in the future of liberty and justice here below. All this will serve, besides, to explain the spirit with which I took part in the principal parliamentary debate on the subject of India during the last session.

It was in the first days of May. Two months had scarcely rolled by since the accession of the new Ministry presided over by Lord Derby, and the unforeseen fall of Lord Palmerston. The causes of the change are well known. To the universal horror excited in England, as elsewhere, by the execrable attempt at assassination of the 14th of January, had succeeded a lively irritation produced by the steps of the French Government, and by sundry documents inserted in the *Moniteur*, which seemed to regard English society, where there is no State police, as responsible for the preparations for a crime, which all the power and vigilance of the French police had not been able to prevent. The Government of King Louis Philippe might just as well have held England responsible, in 1840, for the Boulogne expedition. We believe we can speak on this incident so much the more freely, as our Government, with a wisdom that does it credit, has since spontaneously given up all idea of insisting upon the points which were then occupying it.\* The right of asylum is regarded by the English people as one of their national glories ; and this people is the one of all others which is the least inclined to sacrifice a right to the abuse which can be made of it. Besides, this right has been of service to Frenchmen of all opinions and all parties throughout the numerous revolutions which have torn modern France ; it has been of especial use to the different dynasties which have ruled France, and the present Sovereign has used it with more freedom than anybody. There existed, therefore, a feeling of resentment against Lord Palmerston and his colleagues on account of the kind of subservience

\* See for information on this delicate subject, M. de Persigny's speech to the General Council of the Loire, inserted in the *Moniteur* of the 29th of August, 1858.

with which they had replied to the Imperial demands. There resounded throughout the country the old rallying cry of the wars of the English crown against the Papacy of the Middle Age: "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*" The House of Commons had read for the first time a Bill, otherwise perfectly reasonable and legitimate, designed to facilitate the application of legal penalties against the authors and accomplices of crimes committed against a foreigner. But this assembly could not resist the current of public opinion; and on the 19th of February, it adopted a vote of censure directed against the conduct of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Under the weight of this solemn censure Lord Palmerston retired with all his colleagues.

But it would be strangely to deceive oneself if one were to seek in this ephemeral difference between France and England the true causes of the fall of a Minister who had enjoyed till then so long-continued and powerful a popularity. These causes go deeper, and are at once more honourable and more natural. With an old and established popularity, after a great war speedily and happily terminated under his auspices, after a quite recent dissolution of the House of Commons, which had supported him on the Chinese question against the formidable league of his adversaries, and had placed him at the head of a larger majority than ever, one would have believed him quite certain of power for many years to come. But the high position in which he found himself seems to have made him giddy. For a long time a shrewd courtier of public opinion and its caprices, one would have said that he believed himself thenceforth free to despise it and even to brave it. Although he had always succeeded in obtaining the support of the majority in the Commons on the question of his foreign policy, he had not the less excited amongst a multitude of liberal and sensible minds a lively and increasing antipathy to this quarrelsome and blustering policy, without dignity and without logical consistency—now affecting a zeal for liberty which did not recoil before any revolutionary sympathy, now adoring and flattering absolute monarchy; a policy which certainly has done more harm to the good name of England than all the abuse of her calumniators. To these discontents so justly provoked by his foreign policy were added those produced by his disdainful indifference to the majority of the reforms at home which were occupying the attention of the new parties. As too often happens with statesmen grown old in the exercise of power, he had accustomed himself to overlook all superiority but his own, to surround himself with mere honest tractable mediocrities, and to imagine that the quantity of his adherents would always sufficiently compensate for their quality. He only summoned to public office the members of a family coterie, and of a party of which the public had long shown itself weary, and one which the Prime Minister seemed to take pleasure in narrowing

day by day. In short, that constant good-humour, that cordial joviality, that gaiety of high and refined society, by which he shines and fascinates in his private life, and which have rendered him so much service in the most thorny public debates, appeared now to forsake him. One would have said that he took pleasure in enraging his adversaries and in annoying his friends, by the arrogant and sarcastic tone of his answers to questions in the House. It is stated that nothing contributed more to increase the majority that was formed suddenly against him than the contemptuous irony with which he met, some days before the vote of censure, the question of Mr. Stirling\* respecting the famous bequest of the Emperor Napoleon I. to the soldier Cantillon, who is accused of having attempted to assassinate the Duke of Wellington. All these causes, great and small, when put together, resulted in the lessening and overthrow of the ascendancy which Lord Palmerston had acquired by his rare capacity, his indefatigable ardour, his eternal youthfulness, his incontestible patriotism. All seemed solid and intact outside in this great position ; it was nevertheless really regarded by many minds as undermined, and an unforeseen and momentary shock sufficed to crumble it. The facts which I am about to recount have made this ruin much more complete and lasting than it at first appeared to be.

In fact, neither Lord Palmerston nor the public believed the defeat was final. Lord Derby had received commands to form a new Ministry in his capacity of chief of that ancient Conservative party which has never recovered from the blow which it inflicted on itself by refusing to follow Sir Robert Peel in his course of legitimate progress, and which has never regained a majority either in the country or in the House. Lord Derby had a staff, which had already been in office, with more or less success, for some months in 1852, and it was necessary to recruit it with younger, more active, and more intelligent elements, so as to present a much more interesting and imposing front of battle than the somewhat used-up colleagues of Lord Palmerston. By the side of powerful orators, such as Mr. Disraeli and Lord Ellenborough, and hard-working and popular administrators, such as Sir John Pakington and Mr. Walpole, one saw shine out above all the young son of Lord Derby, Lord Stauley, whom all parties seemed agreed to salute as the future popular chief of a great new party, and of a great ministry of conciliation and action. Nevertheless, in spite even of the happy *début* of the new Ministry, its existence could not be looked upon as secure. Only two-thirds of the majority which had overthrown Lord Palmerston consisted of the partisans of Lord Derby ; the other third contained, besides the brilliant but numerically insignificant personages who bear the name of Peelites,

\* Mr. William Stirling, M.P., is honourably known in the literary world by his work on the *Cloister Life of Charles V.*, which was published before M. Mignet's, M. Gachard's, and M. Pichot's works on this interesting subject.



all the *Independent Liberals*, and especially the Radicals, much more advanced in politics than the ordinary Whigs of Lord Palmerston's army, and of course still more so than the Tories ranged behind Lord Derby. This majority might well support for some time a Government which owed its birth to the vote which it had given; but it had not promised it any permanent support. Lord Palmerston and his friends were reckoning on the speedy disagreements and weariness which such a situation could not fail to engender. They only waited for a favourable opportunity to put themselves in battle array, and regain a position temporarily compromised by faults which it was easy to mend, and one which they knew how to make strong in profiting by the lesson they had received. This occasion was not long in presenting itself, under as important and as favourable circumstances as possible.

Lucknow, the capital of the kingdom of Oude, had at length yielded to the British arms. The attention of England had been for a long time fixed on this great town, where six hundred Englishmen, and two hundred Englishwomen, besieged in a palace, scarcely fortified at all, by sixty thousand murderers and a hostile population of a hundred and fifty thousand souls, had shown during four months an example of courage as heroic, and more triumphant than, that of the defenders of Saragossa. Delivered by Havelock, they had not been able to keep the fortress immortalized by their valour, and it had been necessary for a new army, under Sir Colin Campbell, to march to wrest from the rebels this city, which was at once the citadel and the capital of the revolt.\* The taking of Lucknow seemed as if it would ensure the entire submission of the kingdom of Oude, the annexation of which to the States under the immediate government of the country, has been regarded as the principal cause of the revolt, owing to the discontent which this measure had inspired in a great number of Sepoys, who had originally come from this country, and enlisted voluntarily in the Bengal army. In order to ensure this submission, Viscount Canning, Governor-General of India, thought fit to publish a proclamation, dated 14th March, 1858, which declared, under the title of annexation to the British territory, the penalty of absolute confiscation of all right of property belonging to the Talookdars, † to the chiefs and to the landed proprietors of the kingdom of Oude, with the exception of six of them, mentioned by name, who had aided the English authorities during the rebellion. He reserved to himself the power of restoring the whole or part of the property

\* We refer the reader for details of the siege of Lucknow to the excellent description that M. Forgues has given in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1st and 15th of July, 1858.

† These are the great feudatories of the country; they appear to have been originally the keepers of the public treasury, who made themselves hereditary, and owners of the soil, as the *judices* and the *comites* of the Lower Empire, and the times previous to Western feudalism.

thus confiscated to those who should show a prompt submission, or an anxious desire to aid the efforts of the Government for the restoration of order and peace.

Such an act was of a nature to wound deeply, not only the dearest interests of an indigenous population of five millions of souls, but also the public conscience of England, tardily, but profoundly convinced that respect for the right of property is the base of every social right. Above all, astonishment was felt at seeing this proclamation come from Lord Canning—Lord Canning, who, surprised in the second year of his administration by the explosion of a revolt the most unforeseen and the most formidable which had ever broken out against a foreign domination, had shown himself until then superior to the terrible difficulties of his situation, and had resisted with a constancy the most noble and the most Christian, the sanguinary incitements of the English in Calcutta against the rebels and against Hindoos in general. The Anglo-Indian press, exasperated by the inflexible moderation of the Governor-General, had fixed upon him, by way of injurious soubriquet, the surname of “Clemency,” and called him nothing else but “Clemency Canning.” And it was this man who now decreed, against a people *en masse*, a chastisement as impolitic as it was excessive, as iniquitous by its universal application as by its falling so cruelly on the posterity alike of the guilty and the innocent.

Thus, scarcely had the proclamation become known in London ere it excited a general emotion, which found vent on the very day of the publication—the 6th of May—in an interrogatory put by Mr. Bright to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Disraeli replied that the Government had already expressed to Lord Canning a formal and complete disapprobation of the measure in question. But two days later the attention of the public was again absorbed by the appearance, in a London journal, of a document still more strange and surprising. This was a dispatch, in which the Earl of Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control—that is to say, the Minister of the Department of India—had, on the 19th of April, signified to the Governor-General the solemn censure of the Home Government.\*

Lord Ellenborough, himself an ex-Governor-General of India, who had been distinguished by the conquest of the vast provinces of Scinde and Gwalior, had been removed by the Directors of the Company, whom the ardour of his ambition and the imprudence of his official language had disquieted. It was the sole instance, I believe, in which the East India Company had actually used the

\* This dispatch emanated nominally from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company; but the Committee acted only under the orders and on the responsibility of the Minister. All these complications of authority have disappeared, as a consequence of the recent suppression of the East India Company in its governmental capacity.

supreme veto reserved to it with regard to the Viceroy of India, the nomination of whom had belonged, since 1784, to the Crown. A rival of Lord Derby in his oratorical talent, and one of the most considerable personages of that statesman's Ministry, Lord Ellenborough had always preserved an independence of manner and a *brusquerie* of speech which had made him distrusted by his allies as much as by his adversaries. Those who have had the good fortune to meet him in society at the same time with Lord Canning, can judge whether a more complete contrast was ever offered than that between the character and attitude of these two viceroys. They belong both to history, which has rarely registered a document more significant than the letter of the one to the other :—

“ 5. We cannot but express to you our apprehension that this decree, pronouncing the disinheritance of a people, will throw difficulties almost insurmountable in the way of the re-establishment of peace.

“ 7. The landholders of India are as much attached to the soil occupied by their ancestors, and are as sensitive with respect to the rights in the soil they deem themselves to possess, as the occupiers of land in any country of which we have a knowledge.

“ 8. Whatever may be your ultimate and undisclosed intentions, your proclamation will appear to deprive the great body of the people of all hope upon the subject most dear to them as individuals, while the substitution of our rule for that of their native sovereign has naturally excited against us whatever they may have of national feeling.”

Then, in a series of paragraphs which do not appear to have been intended for immediate publicity, the Minister, without any circumlocution, censures the annexation of Oude effected by the English Government under Lord Dalhousie, as well as the fiscal measures which followed that annexation. He draws the conclusion that the war made in Oude had rather the character of a legitimate and regular war than of a rebellion, and that consequently the inhabitants of that country should rather be treated with indulgence than subjected to the most rigorous penalty which can be inflicted on a conquered people.

The dispatch ends thus :—

“ 15. Other conquerors, when they have succeeded in overcoming resistance, have excepted a few persons as still deserving of punishment, but have, with a generous policy, extended their clemency to the great body of the people.

“ 16. You have acted upon a different principle. You have reserved a few as deserving of special favour, and you have struck with what they will feel as the severest of punishment the mass of the inhabitants of the country.

“ 17. We cannot but think that the precedents from which you have departed will appear to have been conceived in a spirit of wisdom superior to that which appears in the precedent you have made.

“ 18. We desire that you will mitigate in practice the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation you have issued against the landholders of Oude.

“ 19. We desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people ; there cannot be contentment where there is a general confiscation.

“ 20. Government cannot long be maintained by any force in a country where the whole people is rendered hostile by a sense of wrong ; and if it were possible so to maintain it, it would not be a consummation to be desired.”

History, I am convinced, will corroborate these noble words ; but history will also say that he to whom they were addressed was worthy to comprehend and to apply them. Policy, however, is not always of accord with history, and justice itself demanded that this solemn act and memorable reprimand should not be sent to its destination, nor given to publicity, before the high functionary who was incriminated had the opportunity of justifying or explaining his conduct. Consequently there was a sudden explosion of surprise and of discontent. All the world at once perceived that, at the least, an excessive imprudence had been committed, in thus disavowing, while the war was still going on in Oude, all the antecedent policy relative to that country, and in paralysing by a public reprobation the authority of the man who represented the supreme British power in India. The public was, moreover, ruffled by the haughty and somewhat emphatic form in which Lord Ellenborough conveyed his censure ; a kind of writing which is the very antipodes of the simple and dry style which the English affect in their official documents. It contributed much to rouse the minds of men against the author of the dispatch.

Lord Palmerston and his friends perceived that the opportune moment had arrived for taking the offensive and commencing against the new Ministry a pitched battle, of which the only issue must be to place in less imprudent and firmer hands, a power so strangely compromised. The natural resentment at their defeat, and the natural ambition of old statesmen supported by a great party, suffice, if need were, to explain their ardour. But we have no right to doubt that they were also guided by a sentiment more exalted and more disinterested, and that the desire of preserving British India from a twofold degree of dangers and of mischiefs, inspired the greater number of the chiefs, and, above all, of the private soldiers in the army of the opposition. However that may be, the signal of a decisive campaign in the two Houses was given. On Sunday, the 19th of May, Lord Palmerston convoked all his supporters to a private meeting at his residence at Cambridge House. His predecessor and rival, the ever-respected chief of the old Reform party, Lord John Russell, who had broken with him since the negotiations of Vienna, in 1855, and who shielded Lord Derby's Ministry by his neutrality, now promised his concurrence. The day of attack was fixed, and officially announced in Parliament ; the parts of the principal assailants were carefully distributed and studied ; the chances of victory and its probable consequences, were turned to good account. All announced a certain defeat for the Government, when a new episode changed the whole face of affairs.

Lord Ellenborough, apprised by the growing storm of public opinion as to the mistake which he had committed in publishing his

dispatch, conceived the generous idea of taking upon himself alone the responsibility and the punishment of that mistake. Without apprising his colleagues, he sent to the Queen his resignation ; and, on the 11th of May, he announced in the House of Lords the part which he had taken, in language too noble not to be quoted :—

“ I wished, he said, that my dispatch should be published at the same time as Lord Canning’s proclamation, because I thought it was the only fit answer to be made to the act of the Indian Government, and to the commentaries sure to be passed on it in England and in India, the only means of proving that the Home Government was determined to follow a policy of mercy. My dispatch is a message of peace to the people of India ; it will be a source of consolation to all who are now trembling ; it will force all officials to act in the spirit of the Government. It is from a love of public peace that I have written this letter, and that I have published it. I ought, perhaps, to have taken the advice of my colleagues on the question of publication. I have not done so, and I alone am responsible. I felt bound to think of my duty not only to the Ministry, of which I form a part, but to the people of India. I have devoted thirty years of my life to promote the real interests of this people, and I did not wish to close my career by sacrificing them. This question will be looked at in a different manner in India from that in which it is regarded here ; here it is a party question between Lord Derby and Lord Palmerston, there it is a question of principle between confiscation and mercy. The choice which Parliament shall make between these two principles will sow in India the seeds of an endless war or the hope of a necessary peace. But as I know that even in the most important cases it is impossible to hinder personal questions from playing an excessive part, I have determined, so far as I am concerned, to get rid of every private consideration, that the real point at issue may alone form the subject of discussion. I have tendered my resignation to her Majesty, and it has been accepted.”

A sacrifice made so spontaneously and so nobly, should naturally have disarmed opinion ; but the Whigs—thus we designate for brevity the different elements which group themselves around Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell—had too well contrived their plan of attack to renounce it so easily. The opportunity seemed to them too good, too unlikely to recur, not to make the most of it in an attempt to take the direction of public affairs from a Cabinet already discredited, and only able to exist by the tolerance of a majority, of which it was not the natural representative. Two hundred members of the House of Commons reassembled anew at Lord Palmerston’s and pledged themselves to support the motion of a vote of censure against the Minister. The combat which had been announced, therefore took place in the two Houses on the 14th of May.

## V.

In the House of Lords the vote of censure was moved by the Earl of Shaftesbury, son-in-law of Lord Palmerston, so long known for his zeal for the religious interests and the charitable associations of the Anglican Church. Never had that illustrious assembly been more full or animated ; never had a greater concourse of strangers crowded that imposing and magnificent interior ; never had a more brilliant galaxy of peeresses occupied the upper gallery which

surrounds the hall, and from which rise the statues of the barons who signed the Great Charter. The terms of the censure proposed by Lord Shaftesbury had been composed with prudent reserve. It in no degree implied approval of the confiscation decreed by Lord Canning, and it reserved the judgment of the House until it should be informed on the motives of that act; but it formally reprobated the premature publication of Lord Ellenborough's dispatch, as tending to enfeeble the authority of the Governor-General and to encourage the rebels. The author of the proposition developed it with moderation; he was supported, among other orators, by the Dukes of Somerset, Argyle, and Newcastle. One loves to see these great names, which fill the feudal, political, and military history of England, recover and maintain their place at the head of a people completely free, and of a community so profoundly changed. After them, and according to the English usage, which reserves to the heads of the great parties or of the administration the last word in debate, the case of the Opposition was summed up by Lord Granville, President of the Privy Council, and leader\* of the Upper House under Lord Palmerston's Ministry, so well adapted to fill that part by the graces of his language and the conciliatory cordiality of his character. All these speakers, inwardly aware of the injury done to their case by the resignation of Lord Ellenborough, invidiously insisted on the collective and absolute solidarity of a Cabinet, and pretended to deny a Ministry the power of freeing itself, by the sacrifice of one or more of its members, from the responsibility of a fault committed and acknowledged.

The Government, said they, must be one, homogeneous and indivisible, and it cannot be allowed the power of appointing within itself a scape-goat. I was struck, in attending the House, with the danger of these abstract theories, so absolute and extravagant, which are, through the interests of party or through circumstances, imported into the discussions of free Governments, and which, by little and little, become erected into inviolable dogmas. Nothing, in my view, could more seriously contribute to enfeeble and discredit the representative system, already sufficiently complicated and difficult to maintain in equilibrium; as are, indeed, all systems adapted to communities which are determined to sustain the rights of intelligence. It is to the adversaries, and not to the partisans and workers of free institutions, that the task belongs of deducing from a false

\* This name of "leader" is given either to the conductor of the debates, or to the Minister who is more specially charged with representing the Government in either of the two Houses. The first Minister is naturally the leader of the House to which he belongs; in the other, the function is delegated to the best speaker amongst the Ministers who sit there. Under Lord Palmerston, who is not a peer of England, Earl Granville was the leader of the Upper House; under Lord Derby, it is Mr. Disraeli who is the leader of the House of Commons,

logic those chimerical embarrassments. I comprehended and liked far better those testimonies of lively and affectionate solicitude which all lavishly expressed for the honour and good name of Lord Canning. There was something touching and peculiarly equitable in this devotion to the absent, especially as he was charged, at a distance of 3000 leagues from his country, with the care of governing millions of souls; a man whose courage, wisdom, and humanity had done honour to the office which he fills, and which is assuredly the most imposing that in our days a free people can confide to mortal hands. Son of the great orator who was the first Minister of George IV.,—the contemporary and rival of our Chateaubriand,—Lord Canning has shown himself worthy to bear the name of his father; and every one instinctively shared the feeling which animated his friends, when they said to the Government: “You have the right, it is your duty, to recal him if he has done ill; but you have no right to strike him through his honour and his dignity before he has been able to explain himself, in presence of a country still moved by gratitude for his services.”

None amongst the ministerial speakers made any show of contesting the services rendered by Lord Canning; but Lord Ellenborough, disengaged from all fear of compromising his colleagues, replaced the question, with all his energy and his habitual eloquence, on its true basis. If the publication of the dispatch was wrong, he said, he alone must be responsible for it, since his colleagues knew nothing of it, and as he was no longer Minister, there was nothing more to say or to do on that point; but the dispatch in itself was useful and necessary:—

“The confiscation pronounced against the proprietors of Oude is not a simple menace; it is a retro-active act, striking at a whole people. Nothing like it has been seen in England for 800 years, nothing since the time of William the Conqueror. But, it is said, we have had confiscation in Ireland. Certainly there are portions of that island that have been three times confiscated. And what has been the result? Is it peace? Is it prosperity? Is it not precisely to confiscation that all the disasters of Ireland have been attributed by all reflecting minds? In Hindostan, which has been the scene of so many conquests and so many changes of dynasty, private property has always been respected. I have been reproached with having myself confiscated the territory of the Ameers of Scinde. My Lords, I struck a blow at the princes of that country because they were guilty of treason to the English Crown, because they had attacked the British Resident immediately after the conclusion of a treaty. Not an arm was raised against us after the battle, when the last of the Ameers succumbed to us. Two months sufficed to bring the country into subjection; and at the present moment there is no country in Hindostan which acknowledges our Empire more peaceably, or which furnishes us with more faithful allies. Why? Because property has been respected. . . . I have acted in accordance with the example and the advice of my great and noble friend the late Duke of Wellington. His son has lately communicated to me an unpublished letter of the late Duke's written by him when he commanded in India, in which I find the following words:—‘I am for an amnesty as regards all inferior agents. We shall never succeed in this country if we persevere in a perpetual hostility towards all the small agents compromised in the struggle carried on against us

and our allies.' It is said that we ought to wait for the explanation of Lord Canning. I answer that Lord Canning, who was perfectly aware that Lucknow would be taken, ought to have given his explanation before taking this step. But, my Lords, there are things that admit of no explanation; and confiscation is one of them. You have confiscation before you in its naked hideousness, which nothing can cover over or excuse. It is the most cruel punishment that can be inflicted on a country. I am told that my dispatch tends to weaken the authority of the Governor-General. Certainly it takes from it a great power for evil, but it gives it a greater still for good. When Lord Canning receives my dispatch, I hope he will change his advisers. I do not believe that this proclamation is the work of Lord Canning; it is too contrary to all that I know of him. He must have been led away by those who have learned nothing and forgotten nothing, and who think that after this terrible convulsion no change is to be made in the abuses of the civil power in India. I have wished once for all to teach these persons that justice and a respect for popular rights are the chief principles which our Government will insist on all its agents in India observing. It is said that I shall encourage the rebels in their resistance. It is exactly the opposite of this that I have intended, and that will really happen. The one-and-twenty regiments of Sepoys recruited in Oude, who are at present scattered over the country, and all the other rebels, will fight desperately to the last man, and like persons who have a rope on their neck, when they hear this proclamation, robbing them of their homes. I have wished to take the rope from off their neck. I have wished to make them once more hope. I have wished to offer them the chance of returning into their villages and finding there their homes untouched. It is a message of peace and mercy that I have thrown into this sea of fire. . . . It remains to be seen whether you wish that the war in India should never have an end. If Parliament, by the vote proposed to it, allows the people of India to suppose that you approve the principles of the proclamation, and that you disavow the principles of my dispatch, you will have in India a social war. You have succeeded in all your wars that have been merely political, but I do not hesitate to declare, that in a social war we shall end by being conquered."

The Earl of Derby, the Prime Minister, while paying his homage to the character and to the services of Lord Canning, and while insisting on the fact that the Government had been no party to the publicity prematurely given to Lord Ellenborough's dispatch, was not the less explicit in his adhesion to the doctrines laid down by Lord Ellenborough on the subject of the confiscation, and on the system which ought to be pursued with regard to the native populations. "The question is raised," he said, "between pardon and confiscation, with regard to a country where every landed proprietor is a soldier, and every soldier is a proprietor. We are for pardon. If you condemn us, England will not have enough troops to assure the safety of English rule in India." In the discourse of the noble lord, who loves, as all know, to employ against his antagonists personal argument and sarcasm, one remarks a trait of manners thoroughly English. He thought to make it a reproach against the *religious* Lord Shaftesbury, that he became the organ of a Parliamentary meeting held at the house of his father-in-law on the preceding Sunday,—a day which had not been, according to Lord Derby, exclusively consecrated to religious occupations. Lord Shaftesbury felt so compromised by this reproach, that he thought himself obliged to insert in the journals an exact *compte rendu* of the manner in which he



had employed the whole day of Sunday, during which the frequency of his liturgical occupations left him not the least place for a recreation so profane as that of which he had been believed guilty.

At two o'clock in the morning the House divided. Until the last moment the result of the debate appeared doubtful; but after the votes had been taken of those Peers who were present, and of those who were absent and voted by proxy,\* it was ascertained that the censure moved against the Ministry had been rejected by a majority of 167 against 158. This feeble majority of nine votes, in an assembly where the Conservative party, of which Lord Derby is the acknowledged leader, has always been in the ascendant, sufficiently indicated the extreme danger to which his administration was exposed. A victory obtained with such difficulty in a House where he believed himself sure of a majority, promised an almost certain defeat in the one where two-fifths at the most acknowledged him for their leader. Far from being discouraged by the issue of their first encounter, the followers of Lord Palmerston only saw in it the forerunner of the success, on the results of which they already counted. The most carefully prepared calculations as to the issue of the debate, showed the number of the probable majority to vary from fifty to eighty; and this, according to the antecedents or known predilections of various members of the House of Commons, ought at once to restore the compromised authority of Lord Canning, and to avenge the recent defeat of Lord Palmerston; by renewing against his successors the vote of censure under which he had succumbed three months previously. Within a week, whispered the newspapers of the late Ministry—energetically seconded by the passionate attacks of the *Times*—within a week, the Ministry of Lord Derby will have ceased to exist. Nevertheless, in these hypothetical calculations they lost sight of the eventual disposition of the new party, which, under the name of the Independent Liberal party, was gradually separating itself from the old party of Whig and Reformers, too easily bound in vassalage to the ascendancy of Lord Palmerston. A tendency to join this party had been displayed more and more every day, not only by those uncertain and fastidious spirits who are to be found in the bosom of every assembly, but also by a leading portion of the followers and colleagues of the late Sir Robert Peel, and by more than half of the Irish Catholic members, who were justly irritated by the indifference and enmity of the great Whig leaders to the interests of their country and their religion. These outsiders moved and combined, on their side, in expectation of the decisive conflict; and the journals signified pretty clearly that their support had not been promised without reserve to the plans of the Opposition.

However, in these preliminary agitations, as in the official

\* This proxy can only be entrusted to a Peer present at the discussion, who employs it at his pleasure.

deliberations, everything is done with an openness and freedom that nothing alters, and it is obviously not a question of plots and intrigues, but of loyal and legitimate struggles, in which the whole public is bound to aid and to participate. It is not alone a knot of politicians, it is the nation whom these struggles divide and arouse. Parliament and the press, the aristocracy and the public—the spectators and the actors, are equally interested and led away. Political vitality circulates in every part; in every part glows the feeling of a great community of free and enlightened men, who deliberate directly or indirectly upon interests the most worthy to occupy them, who do not imagine that any one can regulate their affairs better than they can themselves, and who do not in any way understand how any one could charge himself to govern for them, amidst them, and without them. But if these questions passionately animate everybody, they embitter no one. In this case, as in others, I found it proved even to satiety, how the reciprocal courtesy of parties and individuals overcomes and outlives the asperity of politics. In the first place, intentions and plans of attack are frankly communicated, down to the documents which are to form the basis or the pretext of the discussion. All tactics which turn upon a stealthy *coup-de-main*, or upon masked batteries, would be defeated by the universal rising of public opinion. Moreover, the most openly-declared adversaries, the most exasperated rivals, make it a point of honour not to prolong and to carry into private and social life the hostilities of public life. Things the most disagreeable and the most personal are exchanged across the floor of the House of Lords or Commons—exaggerated accusations, banterings *à outrance*—but in the evening the combatants dine with each other and meet in the same drawing-room. Above all things, they hold to being gentlemen and men of the world, and of the same world, and to the principle of not envenoming the whole of existence with the animosity of an unpleasant conflict. It was not so in France, as we may remember, when a public life existed and agitated our minds. From what does this difference arise? Without doubt from this, that the whole world of England is of one mind, not only upon fundamental questions of the constitution and social organization, but also upon the condition and the result of the contest of the day. People combat with ardour and passion; but the prize and the issue of the combat never change the ground on which they combat, nor affect the conquests happily and definitively achieved for all. Politicians dispute the temporary possession of power, and they hotly pursue the triumph of a debate or of an opinion; but no one thinks of imposing his opinion upon his opponents, or even on his neighbours, whether they will or not, on pain of exiling them from public life, and driving them back into nothingness if they have the temerity to be neither convinced nor cowed.

The motion of censure presented in the House of Commons was drawn up with the same prudence as that in the House of Peers. It was not an express approval of the proclamation of Lord Canning, but a direct and formal disapproval of the judgment pronounced by the Government on that act. Its author was Mr. Cardwell, one of the most distinguished members of the Peelite party; a faithful and devoted friend of Lord Canning, and a man so universally esteemed that no one could suspect him of being unduly influenced by Lord Palmerston, or capable of sacrificing moral and national interests to the spirit of party.

The first day of the discussion—the 14th of May—offered nothing remarkable save the brilliant *début* of a Government speaker—Sir Hugh Cairns, the Solicitor-General, one of those rising men of liberal stamp with whom Lord Derby had the tact to reinforce his Government. He occupied himself in showing that the discussion having once been opened, it was impossible to abstain, as the Opposition wished, from passing judgment on the measure taken by Lord Canning. If that measure was wise and just, how was it that the Opposition refused to approve of it? If it was not so, how make it a crime in the Government to have blamed it? But those who have not the courage to approve of the confiscation should at least abstain from blaming those who condemn it. The Government, at least, has a firm conviction, and expresses itself openly; its adversaries have not any conviction, and they dare not put their opinion in a clear shape. Becoming the aggressor in his turn, Sir Hugh Cairns keenly reproached Mr. Vernon Smith, the Indian minister under Lord Palmerston, and the predecessor of Lord Ellenborough, for not having communicated the private letter which Lord Canning had addressed to the statesman whom he believed to be still Minister, announcing his intention of publishing the famous proclamation. A standing and a natural usage demands that the outgoing ministers shall, without reserve, communicate to their successors all documents relative to their functions which may come into their hands after their resignation. Lord Clarendon had quite recently done this with regard to Lord Malmesbury. In violating this custom Mr. Vernon Smith had severely wounded public feeling, and had provoked many recriminations within the House and out of doors; and although the letter itself contained nothing really important, the somewhat malignant and derisive receptions given to the explanations which Mr. Vernon Smith repeated, must have presented to attentive observers the first symptom of the confusion amongst the majority, the first sign of the uncertainty of the result so confidently announced. It was, however, in this first sitting that Lord John Russell stood forward to reinforce the Opposition with his important suffrage in supporting the motion of censure. He insisted that the Ministers could not separate themselves from the conduct of Lord Ellen-

borough, he dwelt on the danger to which this conduct would expose the security of the British possessions in India, and, finally, on the moral strength which our adversaries must derive from the blame poured upon the annexation of the kingdom of Oude. Fortified by an adhesion so desirable within the House, and assured of a still more efficacious support out of doors through the immense circulation of the *Times*, the double cause of Lord Canning and of Lord Palmerston still had every chance of a speedy and complete success.

Nevertheless, at the next sitting—the 17th of May—a member who sits on the same side with Lord John Russell rose to resist him. In his person the fraction of independent Liberals made its appearance in the debate. This was Mr. Roebuck, one of the most daring, the most listened to, and the most popularly eloquent of English speakers. It was he who had inflicted the rudest blows on the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston in the hour of his triumph, and he now stood forward in the attempt to defeat his tactics and to thwart his plans. Mr. Roebuck too often makes the mistake of compromising the success of his ideas, and the authority of his voice, by enunciating opinions in themselves excessive, and what is more, expressed with a stiffness and exaggeration that add to the repulsion which they inspire. He took no pains to avoid this unlucky habit in this memorable discussion. In making allusion to a Bill already before the House, which had for its object to remove from the East India Company the Government of Hindostan and transfer it to the Crown, he thought fit to say that “the Crown” was no more than a chimera, and in reality meant the House of Commons, since the power attributed to the Crown was virtually exercised by the House.

This doctrine was at once imprudent and inexact; for it is dangerous thus to condense under the form of abstract maxims the gradual and qualified consequences of the development of liberty; and if the preponderance for centuries past of the House of Commons is incontestible, it is not the less untrue to say that the power of resistance in the Peers has been annihilated, and that the Crown does not preserve an immense *prestige* and an authority the stronger since it is reserved for great occasions and solemn decisions. In this discourse, however, Mr. Roebuck lifted himself far above the vulgar pre-occupations of personal or national politics. No one had as yet entered upon the question with so much frankness; no one had as yet marked so clearly the importance of this question, the sacred character of the principles which it involved, and the danger of subordinating those principles to the interests of party.

“We remember,” he said, “that magnificent sketch, in the History of Gibbon, where he traces the picture of Roman greatness, and where he shows that the hundred and twenty millions of Italians and provincials conquered by Rome, formed the vastest union of men who have ever obeyed one and the same rule. Our Indian Empire is still more vast, it counts nearly two hundred millions of subjects; and it is for us now to decide whether this immense empire shall be

governed according to the principles of honour and virtue, or with the sole end of increasing the power of England. *I am an Englishman, but there are things which to me are more sacred and greater than the greatness of England, and among these things I reckon the progress of mankind in instruction and in the practice of virtue and honour. . . . .* We are asked to make the happiness of two hundred millions of men subordinate to a party manœuvre. I will not lend myself to this. I wish to look at the interests of all these millions of my fellow-men without regard to the ministerial question. We entered India as simple merchants; little by little we have conquered all this vast region; but we have not been able to do this without sacrificing too often the principles of justice. We have been rapacious, we have been cruel, we have been unjust. . . . . Those are truths disagreeable to say, but they are truths. We have a great interest in ruling over India, we have a still greater interest in the rule of justice and of truth; there is a way of making our Empire lawful, and there is only one: it is to labour for the happiness of the people whom we govern, and the first condition of this happiness is to be indulgent and merciful.<sup>3</sup>

Let us say to the honour of the assembly which listened to these words, pronounced with emotion and effort by a speaker visibly suffering from illness, that each phrase which we have just quoted was interrupted by energetic cheers, and that not a murmur rose to betray the susceptibilities of an unquiet or wounded patriotism. After having established and confirmed the distinction already enunciated by Lord Ellenborough, between the rebellion of the Sepoys and the war made upon the inhabitants of Oude, Mr. Roebuck enlarged upon the folly and crime of the confiscation, and thus summed up his opinion:—

“ Lord Ellenborough has been reproached, first, for having made an answer at all to Lord Canning’s proclamation; then, for having made an answer which ought not to have been made; and lastly, for having published this answer. I maintain that he was bound to send an answer, that his answer was a good one, and that it is on us and not on him that falls the responsibility of publication. It was in this House that the question regarding this proclamation was put to the Government, and when once the question was asked, it was right that the answer should be known; and it was very proper to wish to know it. It is a duty of our Government to let the public know all that happens, and as yet this is not sufficiently done. It would be better that the public knew day by day what the Government is doing; for want of that we are led blindfold into all sorts of mistakes. War takes us by surprise, and we are told that we must not compromise the country by our curiosity. Then comes peace, and we are told that we take up the point too late; when it is really important that we should know everything, we are stopped short in the name of the public interest; and we are not told all until it is useless to know it. You wish to pacify India. You will not succeed, excepting by the system indicated in Lord Ellenborough’s dispatch. This dispatch ought to be printed in letters of gold, for it is the act, and expresses the thought, of an honest man. I know England very little, if one day or other she does not think so. As to the party question, why should we call to power a minister whom we have very lately ejected from office because the honour of England had been in danger in his hands? The people of England has nothing good to expect from that quarter. The progress and the liberal reforms which we desire for the welfare of the masses, will be much more easily obtained from the weak and dependent Government which now sits on the ministerial benches, than from powerful and arrogant men who sit here.”<sup>4</sup>

And with his finger he pointed out, in the midst of cheers,

the bench on which sat, impassible and serene, Lord Palmerston, surrounded by his old colleagues in office.

Many of these, and especially the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Cornwall Lewis, and the late First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Charles Wood, exerted themselves, not without talent, to replace the question on the more restricted ground from which the rough frankness of Mr. Roebuck had removed it. But with the best desire to be impartial, I find nothing to cite in their speeches. Like all the advocates of the vote of censure, they dwell on the position in which Lord Canning had been placed, and on the ingratitude displayed towards a man who had saved and done honour to the English rule in India. Less reserved than the terms of the motion itself, they allowed themselves to defend the proclamation, inasmuch as, according to them, the confiscation which it pronounced did not apply to the mass of the rural population, but to those rebel lords whose violence and usurpation alone had put them in possession of their estates.\* The Ministerial speakers, on the contrary, maintained that, besides the great talookdars and zemindars, who represented a territorial aristocracy, there were in Oude a host of small landed proprietors handling alternately the plough and the sword, who would evidently be injured at the same time with the great feudatories by the absorption of all right of property in the State.

It must be admitted that these observations, so contradictory, but so important, were less attended to than the eccentricities of the young Sir Robert Peel, who, since he has entered into public life, has used the great name which he bears to arrogate to himself the privilege of saying disagreeable truths to everybody, with an unceremonious liveliness, against which defence is difficult. This time, nevertheless, the violent invective which he addressed to Lord Palmerston, to whom he had been so long a subordinate in diplomacy and in the Government, injured his illustrious adversary less than himself. But he had more success when without circumlocution he pointed out to the opponents of the Ministry the danger that began to show itself in the horizon. This danger was the dissolution of the House of Commons; an extreme measure, no doubt, after a dissolution still so recent, but one which the Earl of Derby had the right of proposing to the

\* A return, cited in the course of the discussion, shows that in the kingdom of Oude there existed two hundred and forty-six feudal fortresses, armed with four hundred and seventy-six pieces of cannon, and belonging to the talookdars threatened with confiscation. It will be perceived that feudality as an institution, proper and natural to the Indo-Germanic races, exists in the nineteenth century on the borders of the Ganges under the same form which it still assumed in the sixteenth century on the borders of the Rhine. Nothing indeed surprised me more, during the whole of this debate, than to find among all the speakers a total absence of notions precise and universally accepted on the nature of real property in Hindostan.

Queen, in order to make the country itself judge between his policy and the hostile majority in Parliament.\* In this Sir Robert Peel gave expression to an apprehension which gained ground more and more ; and he pronounced distinctly, in the name of the advanced liberalism which he professes, the hope and the certainty of seeing the Liberal electors sustain the great principles of justice and humanity proclaimed in the dispatch of Lord Ellenborough, rather than the manœuvres of a party which sacrificed those principles to the feverish impatience for a new tenure of office.

## VI.

Nevertheless, in the midst of these debates, which in so great a degree absorbed the attention of all England, which called for the intervention of all the eminent statesmen of the day, and which revealed a situation becoming more and more uncertain for the parties, old and new, that divide the Government of the country, there occurred an interlude, which too well paints the British character not to find a place in this narrative.

At the opening of the sitting, on the 18th of May, a partisan of Lord Palmerston, Captain Vivian, makes a proposal that the House shall not meet on the following day. He counts upon the whole Ministerial and Conservative party for the support of his motion, and he presumes that Mr. Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and leader of the House of Commons, who had so often drawn from his quiver the barbed shafts of his eloquence against his political adversaries, will readily assist in the exploits of another *archer* on another arena.

What can be the meaning of this strange interruption ? It is, that the following day Epsom races take place ; that these races have for their principal object the grand annual prize called (it is not very well known why) the *Derby* ; that Lord Derby, who is at once the Prime Minister, the first orator, and the first *sportsman* in England, is one of the competitors for this prize ; and that the horse upon which he relies to win is called *Toxophilite* (signifying in Anglo-Greek, *archer*), and that, lastly, this race is the object of popular, and it may be said national, interest, in which all classes, high and low, political and industrial, take part with that universal and passionate anxiety, which the ancient Greeks, the Romans, and the Spaniards at the present day, have shown for spectacles of a similar nature but less innocent. "These are the Olympic games of England," Lord Palmerston once said ; and no more exact definition can be given.

The House adopts unanimously the motion of Captain Vivian,

\* It will be remembered that the House had been dissolved by Lord Palmerston, in 1857, after the vote of a majority adverse to the China war. The new elections had produced a large majority altogether favourable to the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston.

and it adjourns for the sake of repairing *en masse* to Epsom Downs. Members put their well-conned speeches in their pockets, and hang up their eloquence on a peg by the side of party spirit. Everybody is agreed for one day to forget India and England. It is no longer a question if India shall be governed by confiscation or by conciliation, if England shall or shall not retain Lord Derby as Prime Minister, but only if the horse of Lord Derby is to win the race which bears his name, and in which the whole country is interested.

Since the Sovereign House bids adieu for one day to serious affairs, let us do the same; let us follow it to Epsom, and attach ourselves to a group of members of Parliament quite resolved to vote one against another to-morrow, but still more resolved to amuse themselves together on this joyous eve of a decisive battle.

It is well said that he who has not witnessed a *Derby day* has not seen England; and it is the *Derby day* that leaves little reason for incessantly repeating that the English know not how to amuse themselves, and amuse themselves with spirit, and at the same time with order and decency. Whoever has seen the two or three hundred thousand inhabitants of London and its environs assembled on a sunshiny day of spring upon the green slopes of Epsom Downs, whoever has wandered among those equipages of every possible description, among those booths, those open-air orchestras and theatres, those tents bedecked with flags, in that ocean of bipeds and quadrupeds, will return fully convinced of two things not generally admitted; first of the honest and expansive gaiety of the great majority of that immense crowd; then of the great equality which draws together, on that day at least, the most different conditions of society. Princes of the Blood, Peers of the oldest lineage, are cheek by jowl with donkey-drivers and gipsies, and mix even in the popular games which fill the weary intervals between the races. Nowhere, not even amongst us, is there seen a confusion of ranks so decided. Nowhere, again, is there a gaiety, a good humour, a decency more like that which so honourably distinguishes our working classes, when engaged in their periodical and official entertainments. In the midst of this joyous and animated crowd we might imagine ourselves in France. But this illusion disappears the moment one recollects the absence of any official programme and of all intervention of the authorities. It is private enterprise which has done all, announced all, foreseen and arranged all; it is private subscription that has provided for all expenses. Barely a handful of policemen, unarmed, and; as it were, lost in the midst of the crowd; remind us of the slight precautions taken against possible disorder. By these characteristics we instantly recognise England.

On the journey to Epsom, as during the few previous-days, all



conversation turned on the strange coincidence between the political destiny of Lord Derby and his chances on the turf. As on the evening before in Parliament, his name is in every mouth; and in the issue of the race about to come off, people take pleasure in seeking a presage of his victory or defeat in the vote of the succeeding day. An opinion, rather generally credited, ascribed to the noble Earl a more anxious solicitude for the success of his horse than for that of his party. He is not supposed to have much taste for the cares and fatigues of the premiership, an office he had already held, and which seemed to inspire him with little regret. It could scarcely add a new charm or additional brilliancy to his lofty and unassailable position as a great Peer and a great orator. Chief of one of the very few families among the English aristocracy that date from the time of the Plantagenets, fourteenth Earl and Peer of his name, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, placed by the happy union of rank and talent amongst that handful of men who are beyond rivalry, of whose names no one is ignorant, and whose merit no one contests, there remains to him no social distinction to acquire—not even the blue ribbon of the Garter. But the blue ribbon of the turf (for so the prize at Epsom which bears his name is called), this is what appears to all, and to him particularly, the legitimate and natural object of ambition. Will he win—yes or no? Such is the question the solution of which occupies every mind, and draws into the thick of the crowd all the political and diplomatic notabilities—amongst others, Marshal Pélissier, who so nobly represents our country and army, and enjoys with our neighbours so great and so just a popularity.

Let us follow them into the paddock; that is to say, the reserved enclosure, where, before the start, they exhibit the horses that are entered. Attention is allowed for a moment to wander on this or that horse; but it is above all on Lord Derby and the horse which carries his fortune that all eyes are bent. There he is! Which? the man or the horse? They are both there; but scarcely has the horse appeared when the man is forgotten. The famous animal is paraded at a slow pace, as if to expose in detail all the advantages which must assure the victory to him and his master, and to the innumerable army of betters, who have risked their money on his head. A numerous group of political men, mingled with connoisseurs of another description, follow with a gravity quite comical, and an attention almost religious, every movement of the animal. I had the satisfaction of recognising there one of the most ardent defenders of Church and State, an Anglican of the old school, the same who was some time afterwards to do me the honour of pointing me out to the House of Commons, as pleading the cause of civil and religious liberty, with no other object than that of reducing England and France under the dominion of the Jesuits.\*

\* Speech of Mr. Newdegate, in the House of Commons, 21st July, 1858.

He seemed completely to have forgotten the dangers of the Established Church, and the formidable progress of popery, so absorbed was he in the contemplation of the points of *Towophilite*.

After some insignificant preliminaries, the decisive race is to be run—twenty-four horses start at once. How is it possible to describe the devouring anxiety, the swaying to and fro of this mass of people, the poising on tip-toe, the rustle and murmuring of a crowd of a hundred thousand individuals with eyes and heart concentrated on one single object. The comparatively indifferent foreigner is reminded involuntarily of his Virgil, and the immortal lines of the fifth book of the *Aeneid*, which have familiarized every well-educated person and every cultivated mind with so many insignificant details for ever ennobled by the epic Muse. The race, which is run over three-quarters of a league, lasts less than three minutes. At one moment, owing to a slope in the ground, all the horses disappear from the eyes of the spectators; when they reappear, the various chances of the competitors begin to discover themselves. Still an instant of devouring anxiety; one hundred thousand heads are turned towards the winning-post. The lot is decided. It is not Lord Derby who has won. The blue ribbon has escaped him; the prize falls to the horse of an unknown baronet, who clears by this single chance something like 40,000*l*.

In this unforeseen check experienced by the Premier, all the world sees a prognostic of the political fall which awaited him at Westminster. But friends and adversaries seemed to forget this sad presage in the feverish excitement which prevailed on the return of the crowd towards London. Every one wants to come and go at the same moment. Every horseman, every vehicle, great or small, public or private, starts off at full gallop along two or three lanes which lead to the one high road; every one makes a rush towards the metropolis. It is impossible to conceive how frightful disorder and numberless accidents do not entail some catastrophe on this motley and unbridled mob, and so much the more that there are seen only at a distance a few policemen, always unarmed, who, by a motion of the hand, re-establish order in the line, until again and again it is thrown into confusion. I smiled when contrasting these modest, but sufficient precautions, with the furious charges of our municipal guards, helmet on head and sword in hand, upon the three or four hackney-coaches adventurous enough to break the line at a ministerial reception, in those fabulous times when parliamentary people went on foot to see the ministers whom we approved or opposed. However, no catastrophe occurs; no one knows how, but all arrive safe and sound. The three hundred thousand spectators disperse, and return to their homes without any one hearing of a scuffle or an accident. Hardly are we out of the varied and picturesque country around Epsom, than

we traverse an interminable series of suburban villages, all verdant and smiling, that form the faubourgs of the metropolis, and where is more evident than anywhere else the material prosperity of the country, where houses, less sombre-looking and monotonous than those in town, rise out festooned with flowers from gardens and shrubberies, where the windows, the balconies, the parapets, are filled with an innumerable and joyous crowd, remarkable for the very general beauty of the women and children, and for the air of sympathy and contentment visible in every face. It is a spectacle unique in the world, this living river, of which we cleave at full gallop the hurrying and roaring waves. It changes its nature a little as we approach London, and a population more dense, but also of an aspect more sad and more wan, reveals the presence of the labouring classes; but it leaves in the mind the ineffaceable remembrance of a true popular *fête*, springing from the spontaneous impulse of its actors, and ennobled by the masculine intelligence of a people who know not only how to govern themselves, but also how to amuse themselves unaided. Every one knows the bad pun Louis XIV. indulged in to one of his courtiers—“*Duc de Lauraguais, qu'avez vous donc été faire en Angleterre! Apprendre à penser, sire! Quoi? penser les chevaux? L'un et l'autre, sire.*” Lord Derby might have made the same reply; if indeed one could imagine a Lord Derby in France, and at the court of an absolute monarch.

## VII.

On the day after the races all the world returned to the question of the previous evening, and again plunged into the great contest, the issue of which was to exercised so vital an influence on the destinies of England and of India, and on the future of those two hundred million souls of whom Mr. Roebuck had so nobly spoken. It was not only in Parliament, or in the upper circles, or in the circles exclusively political, that an ardent curiosity existed to guess the results of the discussion. The whole country, represented by all it contained of intelligence and knowledge, followed with a feverish anxiety the different phases of the conflict, and identified itself with the slightest incident, thanks to the powerful and useful aid of the press, which caused to penetrate into the lowliest cottage the detailed and perfectly faithful report of the debates, and added arguments often more conclusive and more original than those of the orators themselves. It is thus that the press awakens the conscience of the country; that it provokes and exercises the intervention of all in the affairs of all, and establishes, whilst it regulates, the direct action of the country on its leaders and representatives. What wit and science, what irony and passion, what life and talent, have been expended during the last fifteen

days in the immense columns of the English journals! I, for my part was altogether amazed, so much had I lost familiarity with this rolling and alternate fire of daily discussion, to which we ourselves were once accustomed, and which we carried on, perhaps in excess, but which is become impossible between organs, a few of which only have the right to say everything, and are always led, more or less involuntarily, to lure their adversaries upon the ground where the official gag awaits them. Whilst the *Daily News*, the *Star*, and other Independent or Radical journals manifested a sympathy more and more lively for the maintenance of the new policy, the formidable artillery of the *Times* continued to thunder against the Ministry, and against the famous dispatch. At its flanks the little journals especially devoted to the cause of Lord Palmerston strove with redoubled zeal and vigour to sustain the ardour of his adherents in and out of Parliament. They always announced, with the same confidence, the certain defeat of the Government, and predicted a majority so considerable, and so significant, that it would render useless and insensate any project of dissolution. Nevertheless, some symptoms of disruption manifested themselves already in the bosom of this majority upon which they so confidently counted. Its chief, in running over the ranks of his phalanx, could already remark the expressive silence of some, the increasing hesitation of several. The debate had evidently shaken, if it had not changed, many preconceived opinions. All its brilliancy, all its force, had been on the side of the adversaries of the motion of censure. The supporters of the motion had risen little above the combinations and recriminations of party spirit. The result was still more apparent in the sitting of the 20th of May. Mr. Bright, who disputes with Mr. Gladstone the palm of eloquence and the attention of the House, brought to the good cause upon that day the powerful aid of his voice, and of his increasing authority. Mr. Bright is a dissenter of the sect of Quakers; he is the brother-in-law of Frederick Lucas, who, born a member of the same sect, became a Catholic, and was a most energetic defender of his new faith. Immediately after his entrance into the House of Commons, Lucas acquired there a marked position; everything announced in him an orator and a party chief who would have equalled and perhaps surpassed O'Connell; a premature death has left of him nothing but the remembrance, still most fresh, of his melodious voice and of the ardent uprightness of his convictions. Mr. Bright, placing himself, as did his brother-in-law, without the ranks of the old parties, and at the side of the road leading to power, has not ceased to grow in public estimation, in spite of the temporary unpopularity he suffered on account of his opposition to the Crimean war. All the world blames and regrets his exaggerated attacks against British manners and institutions, attacks of which he himself is a living and brilliant con-

futation ; but each Session has seen his ascendancy increase, and this Quaker is become now one of the three or four personages the most interesting and the most listened to in England. It was he who had put the question which had provoked the publication of the famous dispatch. It was right that he should appear to-day in its defence. He did so with an energy, a clearness, a simplicity of argument and of proof sufficient to carry rapid and triumphant conviction to impartial minds. He also knew very cleverly how to find the weak point that the Whig resolution presented by abstaining from all comments on the proclamation of Lord Canning.

The native Princes and peoples of India do not understand your Parliamentary tactics and political cabals. When they shall hear that the English Parliament has deliberated on the act of the Governor-General, they will want to know whether Parliament approves it or not ; and if you adopt Mr. Cardwell's resolution, they will naturally conclude that you approve confiscation. This is the whole question. . . . People recoil before this necessary conclusion ; they urge that the confiscation is not applicable to the masses of the population, but only to certain unpleasant individuals called Talookdars, who are mere feudal barons, robber chiefs, and oppressors of the people. It is not the first time that after the consummation of a great iniquity the authors of the wrong have tried to calumniate the victims. Lord Shaftesbury, one of the authors of this great Parliamentary attack, has said that the confiscation would only apply to 600 persons in the kingdom of Oude. Well, that country is less peopled by four-fifths than the United Kingdom ; let us apply the same calculation to our own country ; let us suppose that it were intended to confiscate the property of 3600 principal proprietors of the three kingdoms, and amongst them of the 700 great proprietors who sit in the two Houses ; would you not call that a revolution, and not only a political but a social revolution ! Let us take care ; for we live in a country filled with great Talookdars, a country where there is a whole county in Scotland belonging to a member of the House of Lords ;\* a country where there are other persons possessing territories of sixty to eighty miles square ; where there are Dukes of Bedford and Dukes of Devonshire.† We must take care what measures we propose against the Talookdars and the great proprietors of India. But, besides, the figures quoted are wrong ; the best authorities prove that there are at least 40,000 landed proprietors in Oude. Now there is a detestable system which Lord Canning has permitted himself to encourage, and which already triumphs in the Presidency of Madras. It consists in suppressing all intermediate persons between the Supreme Government and the poor labourer that cultivates the soil. And what is the object of this system ? It is to merge all classes of the population in one, and to admit to a share of all the fruits of the earth only two parties—the State and the peasant,—the State, directly and perpetually occupied in extorting the greatest possible revenue ; and the peasant, having thrown to him, day by day, a handful of rice to make him able to draw from the soil what the State is to swallow up. After replacing the Royal Government of Oude by your own, you are not content with seizing on the public land and on the revenue of all the taxes, but you proceed to say to all the lords and proprietors of the soil, to all except the humble and obscure cultivators of this soil, “Come down from the independence and dignity that you have hitherto enjoyed ; submit to the lot of all whom we conquer ; two-fifths of you have taken no part in the revolt, but in a general confiscation the innocent must suffer with the guilty—it is the fortune of war, and

\* The Duke of Sutherland.

† Both traditionally identified with the Whig party.

that fortune shall be yours." There are journals in India which applaud the proclamation because they say it will do with a single blow that which it would have taken twenty years to do otherwise. It will at once overthrow all the sources of individual strength that might create centres of resistance to the British rule. There are others, more honest and better advised, who declare that this proclamation will require a new army to enforce its application. . . . . I call the House to witness, when I and my friends, members of the Opposition, learnt that the Government disapproved of this proclamation, we applauded the Minister who expressed himself to that effect. Had we not applauded him, we should be unworthy to be men, unworthy to be Englishmen, unworthy to be legislators of England. We should be strangers and indifferent to the distinction between good and bad, between justice and injustice. Such was the first feeling of all the world before Lord Ellenborough's dispatch was known, but afterwards rose up the fatal influence of party-spirit, which has worked this dispatch to its own purposes, with all the art which party-spirit teaches.

Here, turning against the most redoubtable adversary of the dispatch, against Lord John Russell, he justly and happily invoked against him the remembrance of his own misdoings and the imprudence that he committed in criticising any one in bitter and severe language. He reminded him how, on the occasion of the re-establishment of the Roman hierarchy, and the appearance of Cardinal Wiseman in England, he, Lord John Russell, had written to the Anglican Bishop of Durham a public letter which had given the signal of a serious agitation, and sown the seeds of a division that still exists. "The noble Lord," says our intrepid Quaker (in whom the Dissenter at this point appeared under the political orator), "has found fault with Lord Ellenborough's despatch for its tone of invective and sarcasm, but the noble Lord ought to be very reserved on this head, for he lives in a house of glass more fragile than any of ours. When he takes his pen in hand, no one can foresee what he is going to give to the public. I recall a very extraordinary letter of his, which he doubtless intended to clothe in an irreproachable phraseology, as he addressed it to a Bishop. I do not wish to be too severe on the noble Lord, but when so grave a statesman writes to a reverend Bishop, one may hope that he will at least avoid sarcasm and invective. And yet in this very letter he did not fear to pour forth floods of sarcasm and invective on six millions of his fellow-countrymen, and thus to seriously disturb the peace of the United Kingdom."

The House received with a marked sympathy and prolonged applause these passages, and many others besides, which we must omit\* in order to come to the conclusion of the speech, where this honest and eloquent man, to whom we listened with so much emotion, raised his voice at the same time against the tactics employed by the former Ministry to regain power by aid of this

\* We must at the same time be permitted to deplore in this admirable speech the presence of a tirade in bad taste against the private receptions where Lord Palmerston was in the habit of welcoming and entertaining his friends and adversaries with a courtesy in striking contrast to the recent arrogance of his manner in the House.

complication in Foreign Affairs, and against the inhumanity with which the Anglo-Indian press urged fresh measures of punishment.

All India trembles with the movement of volcanic fires. We should be guilty of an extreme rashness, of an unpardonable crime against the English monarchy, were we to give even the most indirect approval to the proclamation of Lord Canning. I am asked to help in upsetting the present Ministers of the Queen. When I take part in a struggle having as its object to replace this Ministry by another, it will only be for an object which I shall understand and approve myself, and which shall be understood and approved by the country. It shall only be for a cause which shall bring a benefit to some portion of the great British Empire. It shall only be with the chance of advancing the great principles which the Liberal party—so far as we are a party—has undertaken to defend. But in the present question the policy of the Government is a policy of mercy and conciliation, and that policy is mine. Certain faithless, or at least ill-advised, leaders of the Liberal party would wish to engage us in a different policy—a policy contrary to all our antecedents and to all our doctrines. For my part, I remain faithful to the policy of justice and conciliation. Justice and mercy are the supreme attributes of Divine perfection, but all men have everywhere the right to invoke them and the faculty to understand them. Their voice makes itself heard in every climate and in every language. And, amongst the millions of docile and intelligent souls that people India, there is not one that remains deaf to them. You have chosen another course, you have preferred to conquer and reign by the sword. The sword is broken; the shattered stump alone remains in your hands; you are humiliated and confounded.

Here, contrary to the ordinary custom of the House, murmurs were heard, and cries of "No! No!" were raised from the benches of the Opposition.

"Yes!" the speaker immediately replied, "you are humiliated and confounded in the eyes of civilized Europe. (Marks of dissent, and, at the same time, cheers.) But you can regain what you have lost; there are other chances for you to try; you have still the means to govern India, and to save it. I conjure you to make use of those means, and not to suffer yourselves to be led astray by a policy which would, perhaps, lead that great country to its ruin, and which, even if you succeeded in it, would cover our name with eternal disgrace."

After a speech so forcible, and so prodigiously applauded, one naturally expected to see appear at last on the opposite side an orator capable of vindicating the motion of censure from the attacks by which it had been shivered. But the expectation was vain. There presented themselves only second and third rate combatants, whose inferiority became more and more evident when Sir James Graham rose to defend the same thesis as Mr. Bright. For a long time exercising the highest functions in Ministries presided over by Lord Grey, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Aberdeen, and lastly by Lord Palmerston, he occupies with Mr. Gladstone the first rank in the Peelite party. He commenced by declaring in the name of the venerable Lord Aberdeen, the particular and bosom friend of Lord Canning, that Lord Canning—whose good reputation might appear compromised by the premature publication of Lord Ellenborough's dispatch—had received in the voluntary resignation of this

Minister a reparation amply sufficient, and that the Government had acted towards him with great moderation in not recalling him. He then dwelt upon a fact, the news of which had arrived that very day, that a strong disapproval by Sir James Outram had been passed on the decree of confiscation ; that is, by the very English general who had effected under Lord Dalhousie the annexation of Oude ; who was in command there still ; and who in the last campaign had attracted universal admiration by consenting, like our own Boufflers at Malplaquet, and Lord Hardinge in Affghanistan, to remain as a volunteer under the orders of his subordinate, because this subordinate was Havelock, and he was unwilling to rob him of the glory of a victory half accomplished. To such imposing testimony Sir James Graham added all the weight of his own authority in protesting against the theory and practice of political confiscation. He recalled the warnings of the great teacher in matters of national crimes, Machiavelli, who had taught that nations and individuals pardon more willingly the murder of their ancestors than the despoiling them of their patrimony ; and he also quoted the Duke of Wellington, who, in addressing himself to one of his successors in India, had especially recommended a respect for private rights and the property of individuals. Then contrasting the example of Napoleon I. with that of his conqueror, he recalled to mind, on the authority of a recent publication by M. Villemain, the energetic resistance that the Emperor had encountered among his most faithful adherents, when, during the hundred days, he desired to date from Lyons a decree of confiscation against thirteen of his principal adversaries. "The most honest, the most faithful of his friends, the companion of his latest perils, and of his latest misfortunes, Grand Marshal Bertrand, refused, in spite of the orders and solicitations of his master, to countersign the fatal decree, and said to him, 'Those who counsel you to recommence a system of proscription and confiscation are your most cruel enemies, and I will not be their accomplice !' And Labédoyère added : 'If the system of proscription and confiscation recommences, all this will not continue long.'" Sir James recapitulated his opinions and, it may be said, the whole discussion in these terms :—"The dispatch of Lord Ellenborough may be found fault with as to its form ; the proclamation of Lord Canning deserved, and deserves to be found fault with in its substance. The substance of the dispatch is good, but the substance of the proclamation is bad. Those who ask us to censure the present Government in order to put them in its place, ought to state openly and at once whether they are for the proclamation or the dispatch ; whether for confiscation or an amnesty. I am removed by every memory and every party tie from the present Government, but arrived as I am at the term of my career, and no longer aspiring to power, I am in a position to express an impartial opinion. And I reject every proposal to pass a censure



on a Government which has only said the truth when it has said that the principle of confiscation is incompatible with the maintenance of the British Empire in India."

After these two speeches the cause of justice and of truth was morally gained. The issue, however, of the deliberation was still uncertain; there yet remained some powerful voices to be heard; on the one side Mr. Disraeli, the leader of the House, and Mr. Gladstone, the most eloquent of its orators; on the other Lord Palmerston, with the inexhaustible resources of his brilliant ease. Public anxiety was at its height, and next day (May 21st), the last day of this great contest, the concourse of members and spectators crowded into the limited space of the House surpassed anything that had hitherto been seen. - From the gallery reserved for peers and foreigners of distinction, Lord Derby and Lord Granville, side by side, seemed to pass in review their two armies, awaiting the final engagement which was to decide their common fate, and cause them to change places in the other House. An electric agitation reigned in the ranks of the assembly. But behold, at the commencement of the proceedings an unlooked-for spectacle presented itself. A member rises from the benches of the Opposition majority itself to request the author of the vote of censure against the Government to withdraw his motion. Mr. Cardwell, astounded at this *brusque* interpellation, refuses point-blank. Immediately, five or six other members on the same side renew successively the same invitation. This was the signal of the internal division that had been in operation from the commencement of the discussion, and of a defection that was about to become more and more perilous. The army that imagined itself so sure of victory began to waver. Mr. Cardwell still hesitates. Then General De Lacy Evans, one of the oldest partisans of Lord Palmerston, announces that he will propose on his side a motion tending to blame directly the proclamation of Lord Canning, and to denounce a policy of confiscation. Another member of the Opposition declares that, if a division is persisted in he will take no other part than that of wishing the author of the motion good night, and will go away. Another member, with simpler frankness, refers to the possibility of a dissolution, which will probably cost many partisans of the vote of censure their seats. An hour passes in this strange and increasing confusion, and every minute the certainty of humiliating defeat to the Opposition becomes more apparent. To avoid this disaster, Lord Palmerston takes his measures and decides on a retreat; to cover which, he gives as a pretext the effect produced by the protest of General Outram, quoted in the discussion of the previous night, and officially published that very day, and then in his turn requests Mr. Cardwell to withdraw his vote of censure. Mr. Cardwell at last consents, amidst the derisive cheers of the Conservative party. The day was decided and the campaign terminated without bring-

ing up the reserves. The Ministers were victorious without one of them having risen to speak.

Nothing remained to the Cabinet but to register their victory and determine beforehand its moral effect. This is what was done by Mr. Disraeli with infinite address and a triumphant modesty. He first showed that it was not the Ministry that had either declined the combat or had any fears of the result ; but also it was not the Ministry that had defeated its adversaries. He was pleased to acknowledge that the battle had been gained by men who neither belonged to the Government nor were among its adherents, but by Mr. Roebuck, by Mr. Bright, by Sir James Graham, whose independence, talent, and authority had carried into the debate an invincible light, and modified the preconceived opinions of a part of the House. Resolved, moreover, not to abuse his success or to press too hard his adversaries, he declared that so far as Lord Canning would conform to the policy of prudence and conciliation that had been recommended to him, and of which he had so long been the generous representative, the Government would continue to him their confidence and support ; that moreover, without waiting for the result of the discussion, a telegraphic dispatch had already carried to him this assurance.

Mr. Gladstone, Lord John Russell, and Mr. Bright rose in turn to congratulate the House, according to their different points of view, on this unexpected conclusion, and to place on record both the justice rendered to Lord Canning, and the universal recognition of the principle of clemency and moderation in India. After which the House adjourned until after the Whitsuntide recess.

It is very rare in established political assemblies thus to see, with regard to any important measure, the previously fixed opinions of the majority changed by the sole and immediate influence of a debate. I would even add that it ought seldom to be so ; and yet this should not be taken as any proof against the sincerity or morality of representative Government. In questions relatively insignificant or suddenly arisen, public and improvised discussion will naturally determine the decision. But it is otherwise in party contests, in questions of a higher importance already abundantly debated by a free press and by common opinion. Parliamentary discussion is thus more a result than a preamble. All legislative deliberation is a judgment ; the discussion which precedes, establishes and produces the victorious argument ; it gives to the case of the adverse parties the most complete and incontestible publicity ; but it serves, above all, to declare, for the benefit of contemporaries and of posterity, the grounds of the decree. I have seen often a majority increase or diminish under the instantaneous effects of the words of certain orators ; but I have never seen it yield in such a degree to the gradually prevailing ascendancy of eloquent truth.

It was not wrongly, then, that so many different orators con-

gratulated the House on the issue of the debate; for what had come to pass was the triumph of reason and justice—a triumph consolidated by the moderation and prudence of all parties—a triumph obtained by the weapons only of discussion and eloquence. Party spirit had been beaten down and defeated. All legitimate interests had been nobly acknowledged and defended; the honour of a great functionary, absent and accused, had found faithful and zealous champions; his character had been sheltered from all reproach with an honourable solicitude by those even who had most severely condemned his conduct. The authority of Government had been maintained by men as completely strangers to its responsibilities as independent of its influence. The eloquent but imprudent Minister who had inflicted on himself his own punishment for the exaggeration of his language, must have felt more than consoled in hearing his doctrines victoriously sustained by the most powerful voices, and implicitly approved by the legislative majority. Humanity, justice, the rights of the conquered and the feeble, found for their champions the most reputed and intrepid orators of an assembly whose echoes resound throughout the whole world; and their voices would penetrate even to the Ganges, to establish there the laws of fair warfare and the conditions of a civilizing conquest.

*Ille super Gangem, super exauditus et Indos,  
Implebit terras voce; et furialia bella  
Fulmine comescet linguæ.*

In a word, moral force had been openly and nobly preferred to material force by the organs of a great nation, which is able and desirous of conducting its own affairs—a nation that nothing dejects or alarms; that is mistaken at times, but which urges to extremes neither men nor things; that, lastly, knows how to arrange everything, to repair everything without need of tutelage, or of seeking safety in anything but her own masculine and intelligent energy.

Whilst these reflections were made around me, I left this grand spectacle with feelings of emotion and satisfaction, such as any man would experience who sees in a Government something besides an antechamber, and in a civilized people something else than an indolent and docile flock to be clipped and pastured under the silent shades of an enervating security. I felt myself more than ever attached to the liberal hopes and convictions which have always animated, during the most painful periods of our history, that chosen band of honest men whom errors and defeats have never dejected, and who even in exile, even on the scaffold, have preserved sufficient patriotism to believe that France, even as England, could bear a rule of justice, light, and liberty—a noble faith, worthy of inspiring the most painful sacrifices, and which betrayed as it has been by fortune, deserted by the crowd, and insulted by cowards, does not the less hold its unconquerable empire over proud souls and generous minds.

## VIII.

Since my return to France, I have read in the principal organ of the clergy and of the new alliance between the throne and the altar, that all I had just seen and heard was "*une farce jouée à grand appareil*,"\* such as is frequently seen in the history of deliberative assemblies." Happy country, thought I, and above all, happy clergy, to whom is presented such excellent teaching, and in language so admirable.

In the meantime the debates of the month of May last have exercised a benign influence on the conduct of affairs in India. Lord Canning has returned without trouble into his former ways, from which for a moment he had been lured by evil counsels. Whilst making an apology for confiscation in that dispatch of the 7th of June which the journals have recently published, he has not the less returned to an indulgent and moderate policy. If the latest accounts are to be believed, the submission of Oude is gradually being effected. The *talookdars*, gained over by the conciliatory conduct of Commissioner Montgomery, submit, one after the other, and return to their properties at the same time that they return to their duty. In the other provinces of India the insurrection, though still formidable, and more formidable than it is thought in England, appears nevertheless to be narrowing and expiring. None of the sanguinary hopes which at the same epoch last year were heard in the ranks of England's enemies have yet been answered; none of their sinister predictions have been as yet fulfilled.

The law which has put an end to the political existence of the East India Company confides the government of the immense peninsula to a Secretary of State, assisted by a permanent Council, of which half the members are nominated by the Crown and half are elected. An article of this law establishes that when a private person has any complaint to make against the Indian Administration, he must proceed against the Secretary of State. This is but the application of that grand principle of common law in England by which every citizen can have recourse to a court of justice against a public officer—an immense, but insufficiently known, guarantee of British freedom, presenting a striking contrast to the inviolability of the smallest of our functionaries ordained by the constitution of the year VIII., which people have had the simplicity, even under the constitutional system, to number among the happy results of 1789.

This Secretary of State is Lord Stanley, whose vigorous youth and solidity of understanding promise to the affairs of India a prudent and energetic guide, and inspire universal confidence. He has nobly stated the programme of the new organization of the Government of India, in his speech of 20th September to one of the municipal corporations of London:—"We have to

\* *Univers*, 23rd May, 1858.

preserve India from the fluctuations of Parliamentary politics, and to defend England against a danger more distant, but not less real, the contact of our Executive with the administration of a country that cannot be governed except by means of absolute power." The Ministry of his father owes to the debate on the motion of Mr. Cardwell the consolidation of its existence, previously uncertain and wavering. Liberals of opinions the most advanced are easily resigned to the temporary duration of a Cabinet which gives to the great reforming and independent party time to seek leaders younger and safer than Lord Palmerston; whilst, in the meantime, it enters itself into the path of useful reforms and legitimate progress. The leaders of the Conservative Administration suffer in this moment the chastisement inflicted by Providence on statesmen whom political passions—I say passions, not a servile and factious lust of power—have led into injustice and exaggeration. The power they have so coveted is granted to them, but on the condition of following precisely the same conduct as their predecessors. Since their second advent to power, Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli are engaged in doing all they stigmatized as criminal in Sir Robert Peel: they accept, or they propose themselves, liberal reforms which they have, or certainly would have, combated, had they remained in opposition; reforms which occasioned the rupture with their illustrious chief, from whom they separated themselves when he recognised the necessity of abandoning the old Tory dogmas and of advancing with the age. The admission of Jews into Parliament, the abolition of a property qualification for members, the promise of a parliamentary reform more thorough than any that has recently been proposed, indicate the steps they have taken in this new path, and have naturally gained for them the support of liberal sympathies; whilst by measures sincerely favourable to religious liberty in schools, in prisons, and in the army they have secured a certain degree of adhesion from the most militant section of the Catholic episcopacy and press of Ireland.

But if for a time it has consolidated this Conservative Ministry, the great debate on India has rendered a still more considerable service to England and to Europe in confirming the defeat of Lord Palmerston. In spite of the tardy skill he exhibited in retreat at the close of the combat, this defeat was not less evident and complete, and during the rest of the session the House seemed to take pleasure in showing him that it had finally thrown off the yoke. He may again, perhaps, arrive at power, so abundant are the resources of his mind on the one hand, while on the other the returns of popularity in a free country are so unforeseen and natural; but he will return warned if not chastened, and convinced of the necessity of being more careful in his treatment both of his friends and of his adversaries.

Another power still more formidable than that of Lord Pal-

merston came out vanquished from the contest, the power of the *Times*. For two years the vassal of the noble Lord, this journal had devoted all its resources to the success of the plan of attack devised by the ex-Minister. It is impossible not to see in the fact of its defeat a conclusive proof of the national good sense of England. The incontestable utility of this immense machine of publicity as the potent organ of individual griefs and the bold stimulator of public sentiment would be more than counterbalanced by its omnipotence, were this omnipotence unchecked or did it not now and then receive a lesson. The balance of constitutional powers would be seriously compromised by the exclusive preponderance of a single journal, whose writers, without mission or responsibility, speak every day as preceptors to a public the most numerous on earth; but, as I think I have elsewhere proved, freedom of parliamentary discussion and its universal publicity are the necessary and efficacious counterpoise to the dangerous omnipotence of the press. Of this the debate on India has furnished a new and conclusive proof.

Let it be well remarked that, in all these vicissitudes of English politics in the present day, there is nothing of that pretended contest between aristocracy and democracy, in which superficial observers fancy they have the key to the movements of opinion amongst our neighbours. It is the middle class which in reality governs England, but a middle class far wider in its basis, and containing in itself more gradations of rank than that which has governed in France at certain epochs of our ancient monarchy, and during the continuance of the parliamentary rule. This middle class never displays either the puerile infatuations, or the peevish and envious pretensions, or the cowardly abdications, the inexcusable panics, which disfigure the history of our *bourgeoisie*. Intelligence it esteems highly, but still more does it value moral strength. It seeks and respects wealth, but only as the test of force and social activity. It has a horror of indolence and weakness, and, consequently of arbitrary authority imposed or acquiesced in. It desires to exist for itself, and by itself; hence its instinctive and traditional repugnance to centralization and bureaucracy. On the other hand, it does not aspire to invade all political functions, and to close at once from on high and from below every access to power against all not of its own class. It opens its ranks to every aspirant, without disputing any superiority anterior to or independent of itself. It willingly consents also that an aristocracy of birth, which has been recruited for ages from its own bosom, should represent at home and abroad the public authority and national grandeur—as a great sovereign enthroned in the tranquil and simple majesty of his power leaves willingly to his great lords the care of being the showmen of the State in distant embassies, and of intriguing for the honour of burdensome offices.

But it takes good care that its will is done, and that with its interest none other enters into competition, that no conviction over-

rules its own. And it is not from to-day that is dated this hidden but real sovereignty. Those who know English history well, are aware that for two centuries it has always existed and always increased. Throughout all superficial party divisions it is the mind of the middle classes which has always directed those great currents of opinion, of which dynastic and ministerial revolutions are but the official interpretation. Never has the patrician body in England been aught else than the active and devoted agent, the mouthpiece and instrument, of that intelligent and resolute class in which is compressed the national will and power. It is this class that Cromwell and Milton personified when by the sword of the one and the pen of the other the Republic was seated for a season on the shattered throne of Charles I. It was for it and with it that Monk recalled the Stuarts, and that, thirty years later, Parliament replaced them by a fresh dynasty. It was it that with the two Pitts raised in the eighteenth century the edifice of British preponderance, and that with Burke prevented England from being infected and ruined by the contagion of revolutionary ideas. It is it, finally, that with Peel has in our day inaugurated the policy of a new era, that of the amelioration of the condition and the extension of the rights of the labouring classes.

Hence the imperious necessity of this transformation of ancient parties which discovers itself in every incident of contemporary politics, and which hovered over the great debate I have attempted to describe. I hear great minds that I venerate groan over this inevitable transformation; I see them endeavouring to retard it. Vain efforts and unfounded fears! This dispersion of old Parliamentary parties is legitimate, natural, and desirable. Ancient parties are extinct, and the necessity for them is gone. The Whig party is buried in its own triumph: to it be the immortal honour of having installed by its initiative and perseverance those noble and salutary reforms which have cost not one drop of blood, and have caused liberal ideas to triumph by the only means that liberty will assert—Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, the Suppression of Slavery, Abolition of the Corn Laws. Its former adversaries have now become its rivals, and they may outrun it in the path of substantial and popular reforms destined to replace the ancient routine by the blessings of rational and moral progress. At the present time every one in England is desirous of progress, and every one also desires it without betraying the memory of past glories, and without disturbing the foundations of society. Of all the questions which at present interest the safety and honour of the country, there is not a single one which is connected with the old divisions of Whigs and Tories. What is there in common with them in the French alliance, the Indian revolt, the Russian or Chinese war, the political and industrial emancipation of the Colonies? Nothing, absolutely nothing. To govern the country well, to draw from its colossal resources all that is possible for its honour

and prosperity, that is the only problem which remains to be solved. There is enough here to give a lawful field to all honest ambition, and to call into play all men of established or rising reputation. There is enough also to introduce from time to time into the regions of power those periodical modifications, those salutary crises indispensable in a free government, because they preserve majorities from rusting, and statesmen from monopolizing the sweets of power.

The true wants, the real dangers of the country, are no longer where we have been accustomed to seek them. Fifteen years ago it was predicted that the abolition of the Corn Laws and Free Trade would create an irreconcilable antagonism between the agricultural and manufacturing interests. Quite the contrary of this has happened.\* The gains of the agriculturists have exactly followed those of manufactures, and have often surpassed them. It was feared that the population of the country districts would be sacrificed to that of the towns. On the contrary, it is always the latter, which, by constantly increasing, inspires a solicitude as serious as legitimate, and constitutes the real social infirmity of England.† To provide a remedy is not the aim of the Government only; it is the whole country which strives to discover the remedy. Its generous efforts will be recompensed by success if, as there is every prospect, while avoiding the scourge of pauperism, it knows how to check those of bureaucracy and centralization which have everywhere on the Continent destroyed or enchained liberty without either destroying or enchaining pauperism.

I have in these pages already indicated, and I again refer to it with pleasure, the most significant and the most consoling symptom in the actual state of England; it is the persevering ardour which induces the *élite* of the English nation to prosecute social and administrative reforms, to improve the state of prisons, of unhealthy abodes, to propagate popular, professional, agricultural, and domestic instruction, to increase the resources of religious ministry, to simplify criminal and civil procedure, to labour in everything for the moral and material welfare of the lower classes, not by the humiliating tutelage of a power without control, but by the generous coalition of every independent force and every spontaneous sacrifice.

The danger of England is not, then, from within. People would wish, indeed, to believe her to be the prey, like ourselves, of the

\* *The Workmen of the Two Worlds*. A publication of the Society of Social Economy, 1858, vol. i. p. 396.

† I recommend to all who wish to probe this sore, a work entitled: *Dives and Lazarus*, London, 1858. Amongst a number of facts, interesting as they are painful, there will be found in this book three things peculiarly significant: 1st, The relative morality and charity that exists in the relations of the poor one with another. 2ndly, The moral superiority recognised by an English Protestant in the Irish Catholic poor. 3rdly, The noble and salutary boldness of a publicity which descends torch in hand into the abyss of misery to reveal the evil and invoke the remedy.



menaces of Socialism, and obliged to take refuge in autocracy. Ingenious panegyrists of absolute power have lately expended their discernment in seeking, in unknown pamphlets and obscure meetings, the proofs of the progress of revolutionary ideas on the other side of the Channel: These learned people have forgotten, or probably they have never known, all that was said and published of this kind from 1790 to 1810, not by any means in a few obscure dens, but in open day, with the tacit consent of a great parliamentary party, and under the patronage of several of the most celebrated men in the country, at a time when the nation was suffering from the severest financial embarrassments, from frequent mutinies in her navy, and from a dread of the formidable enterprises of the greatest Captain of modern times. Every man who has the slightest acquaintance with England must smile at these interested apprehensions. One might refer these authors to that honest shopkeeper of London, who appeared the other day at the police courts to demand of the magistrate how he was to repay himself the postage of a Socialist pamphlet which had been sent to his address. Not only does the nation itself ask for no organic change, but no real political party, old or new, thinks of it. Never was the Constitution more universally respected, more faithfully practised, more affectionately invoked. After seventy years have passed it is still true what Mirabeau replied in 1790 to the ill-omened birds who prophesied the imminent ruin of the liberal nation *par excellence*—"England lost! In what latitude, I pray you, has she been shipwrecked? I see her, on the contrary, active, powerful, coming forth strong from out of a periodical agitation, and about to fill a gap in her Constitution with all the energy of a great people."

No, the danger of England is not there; it exists, but elsewhere. It is from without that the true perils of England threaten her—perils to which she may succumb, and respecting which she indulges in terrible illusions. I speak not only of the Indian revolt, though I am far from being so satisfied as to its ultimate issue as people appear to be in England; but, to my mind, it is Europe she has to fear more than Asia. At the end of the first Empire, Europe, with the exception of France, was intimately allied with England, and, moreover, filled with respect for the recent exploits of her army in Spain and Belgium. It is no longer so at the present day. The English armies have unjustly but incontestably, lost their prestige. And besides, the gradual progress of liberal ideas in England, and the retrograde march of the great Continental States for some years past towards absolute power, have placed the two policies on two roads altogether different, but parallel and sufficiently near to each other to make it possible that a conflict may any day burst forth.

There is also in many minds a moral repulsion against England, which is of itself a serious danger. The English consider as an honour and as a compliment the invectives of a press that

preaches fanaticism and despotism; but they would do very wrong to believe that there are not entertained against them in Europe other hostile feelings than those of which they have reason to be proud. The Comte de Maistre, one whom they ought to reproach themselves for not knowing more of, who had never seen England, but who had divined what it was by the instinct of genius, and admired it with the frankness of a great soul, has written thus:—"Believe not that I fail to render full justice to the English. I admire their Government (without thinking I do not say that it ought, but even that it could be, transplanted elsewhere); I bow down before their criminal laws, their arts, their science, their public spirit, &c.; but all this is marred in their external political life by intolerable national prejudices, and a pride without measure, without prudence, which is revolting to other nations, and hinders them from uniting for the good cause. Do you know the grand difficulty of the extraordinary epoch in which we are now living (1803)? *It is that the cause we love is defended by the nation we do not love.*"

As to myself, loving the nation almost as much as the cause she defends, I regret that M. le Maistre is no more there to castigate, with that *anger of love* which rendered him so eloquent, the awkward effrontery which British selfishness displayed in the affair of the Isthmus of Suez, the gate of which England would close to all, though she possesses beforehand the key at Perim. He would have been equally well worth hearing on the ridiculous susceptibility of a part of the English press on the subject of the Russian coal depôt at Villafranca; as if a nation that is every day extending her maritime dominion in all quarters of the world, and occupies in the Mediterranean positions such as Malta, Gibraltar, and Corfu, could complain with a good grace that other nations should strive to extend their commerce and navigation.

On one hand, then, the legitimate resentment excited by the imprudent and inconsistent policy of England in her relations with foreign States; on the other, the horror and spite inspired in servile minds by the spectacle of her durable and prosperous liberty, have created against her in Europe a common fund of animosity. It would be easy for any one who was willing to take advantage of this animosity to profit by it to engage England in some conflict from which she would run a great risk of coming out vanquished, or at least with diminished power. It would be then that the popular masses, wounded in their national self-love by unforeseen checks, might raise a tempest of which nothing in her history hitherto has given an idea. To prevent this catastrophe, it behoves her no longer to be blind as to the nature and extent of her resources. Her military forces, and particularly the military knowledge of her officers and generals, are evidently unworthy of her mission. Her naval forces may be, if not surpassed, at least equalled, as they have already been by our own under Louis-XIV.

and under Louis XVI. ; as they will be again when our honour and our interest demand it. She trusts too much to her past glories, and to the national bravery of her sons. Because she is essentially warlike, she wrongly believes herself to be keeping pace with modern progress in the art of war, and to be in a condition to resist the superiority of numbers, of discipline, and the experience of camps. Because in 1848 the bravest and best disciplined armies failed to preserve the great Continental monarchies from a sudden and disgraceful fall before an internal enemy, she continues to doubt if an efficient and numerous army be the first condition of safety against a foreign enemy. Because she is free, she wrongly thinks she has nothing to fear from freedom's enemies. Not her institutions are not an impregnable bulwark, as was rashly said by Mr. Roebuck, on his return from Cherbourg. Alas! the experience of ancient and modern times has proved that free nations can succumb like the rest, and even more quickly than others. Liberty is the most precious of treasures; but, like all treasures, it excites the envy, the covetousness, the hatred of those above all who do not like that others should possess what they themselves have neither known nor have wished to possess. Like all treasures, like beauty, truth, like virtue itself, it must be watched and protected with a tender solicitude and indefatigable vigilance. All the inventions of which modern science is so proud, profit despotism as much, or more than liberty. Steam and electricity will lend always more force to heavy battalions than to sound reasoning. By more frequently substituting mechanism for the moral spring of man's individual energy, they induce and second the empire of force over right. This is what the friends of England and of liberty should never lose sight of.

This is the only point upon which we do not feel reassured by the prodigies of that individual enterprise, and of those spontaneous associations whose intrepid and inexhaustible energy creates the force and supreme glory of England. In all other matters it is evident that the whole power and fortune of autocracy must confess itself vanquished and eclipsed by this incomparable fertility of private industry which, in our own day, without either the initiation or aid of the State, has constructed in the port of Liverpool floating basins six times more vast than those of Cherbourg, raised on the ground of the Crystal Palace the marvel of contemporary architecture, sounded the depths of the ocean to deposit there the electric cable, and thus united the two great free nations of the globe by this voice of lightning the first words of which have carried in an instant across the abyss, and from one world to another, the song of joy of the angels at the birth of the Saviour: *Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will towards men.*

But it is not only in the regions of vast industry, where they arrest every eye, and extract testimonies of admiration from the most adverse, that are produced these marvels of free and personal enterprise; for my part, I feel much more emotion and still more

reassured when I contemplate this spirit at work in the very bowels of society, in the obscure depths of daily life; and it is there we must see it spreading far its roots and developing its vigorous growth, to estimate all the value to the body and soul of a nation that lies in the noble habit of providing for itself against its wants and its perils.

I will adduce, and with them I must conclude this already over-lengthy article, two characteristic instances worthy of awakening, in my opinion, the envy of honest men in all countries, but which have passed almost unperceived in England itself, so much do they resemble what is seen there every day, and what will be sought for in vain elsewhere.

I open by chance an obscure provincial journal, the *Manchester Examiner*, of the month of July last, and I find the history of four or five young people of the middle class, who, in 1833, undertook to found at their own expense a free school in Angel Meadow, one of the wildest quarters of the immense manufacturing city of Manchester. They wished, according to their own expression, to get at the paganism of the working classes. But, like all paganisms, that of the Angel Meadow showed itself to be little accessible and little grateful. Our young apostles were installed in a small unoccupied house, and they attracted there a few children out of the streets. By way of recompence, the people indulged them with a noise and clatter every evening, broke their windows every day, and flung dead cats and dogs through the apertures into the school-room. They took care not to be angry, not to complain, and to persevere in visiting, one by one, all the fathers of families in the neighbourhood, to enlighten and reassure them. At the end of five years they had conquered. They now receive the sympathy of the population, as also the support of the clergy, and they possess four hundred pupils, of whom they are the voluntary teachers; and this does not prevent them from giving a course of lessons to adults, in conformity with the programme of the great Working Class Associations of the town. They have also become the emulators of that admirable institution called the "Ragged School Union," because it has for its exclusive object to instruct children of the meanest condition, and which counts already in London alone 166 schools, 41,802 pupils, 350 paid masters, and, what is still more praiseworthy, 2139 gratuitous members, who impose on themselves the duty of going several times a week to teach the children of the poor.\* I shall be told that this is what is done in France by all our clergy and all our sisters devoted to the instruction of the people, as well as by many of the pious amongst the laity. Without doubt; and I will add that this is what they do in England wherever they are found. But there are not enough of them, even in France, much less in England. Let us honour a sincere devotion to doing good in whatever

\* DAVIÈRES DE PONTÈS. *Les Reformes Sociales en Angleterre. Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1st September, 1853.

form it is manifested ; if it can ever prove formidable to any person or any thing, it will certainly not be to the Catholic clergy, or to Truth. Moreover, until it be affirmed and also demonstrated by the new oracles of the Church that the state of the Indians of Paraguay is the only ideal suited to European nations of the nineteenth century, it must be admitted that the civil and civic virtues have their importance, and that religion, which is everywhere so shorn of its strength in presence of poverty and materialism, has at least the same interest as society in the spontaneous development of the moral and intellectual force with which it has pleased the Almighty to endow his favoured creatures.

My other example of this fortunate and consoling activity of individual effort is drawn from a different sphere ; and it strikingly displays the faculty of self-government, and the happy relations of the upper and lower classes of the English population. Not far from Birmingham, another manufacturing metropolis of England, there rises an old feudal manor-house, surrounded by a fine park, and called Aston Hall. Charles I. had lodged there in 1642, and the people of Birmingham, who took part with the Parliament, came there to besiege it. In course of time the great town as it grew had finally reached it, and had enclosed in its successive ramifications the old domain, with its noble trees and verdant slopes. The ancient and impoverished family who were the proprietors found themselves obliged to sell it, and it seemed that soon this fresh and healthy verdure would have to be converted into new streets full of factories and forges. Then the idea occurred to some persons of purchasing it, and transforming it into a *People's Park*, in conformity with the example already given in other towns. We are all of us acquainted with very enlightened countries where such an enterprise has been regarded as impossible, except at least after knocking at the doors of the public treasury, or getting at the privy purse of the Sovereign by cleverly alternating the importunities of entreaty with the sweets of adulation. At Birmingham, things are managed differently. A committee is formed ; it is principally composed of workmen, with a certain number of patrons and master manufacturers. The whole town joins in the undertaking. A company is established, in which the workmen are shareholders ; and it is supported by a subscription to which every one contributes. The little charity-girl deposits her halfpenny besides the bank notes of the wealthy manufacturer. The sum required is soon found ; the estate is bought in the name of the association ; the old manor-house, carefully restored, is destined to receive a permanent exhibition of the arts and manufactures of the district ; and the large park, with its aged trees, is transformed into a promenade and place of recreation for the families of the working-classes. Then, and then only, when nothing has to be done but to inaugurate this happy conquest of intelligent and courageous enterprise, they send to seek the Queen ; for all these little municipal

republics are anxious to show that royalty is their keystone. This great segment of society, so proud and secure in itself, knows well that it has nothing to fear from the sovereign power, at once its graceful ornament and its faithful agent, which has also on its part nothing to fear from the active spontaneity of its subjects; which does not pretend to thwart any emancipation, any development of individual independence; which imposes neither submission on any source of activity, nor silence on any contradiction; which is, in truth, nothing but liberty crowned. On the 15th of June, 1858, the Queen obeyed this touching invitation: she came, and six hundred thousand artisans thronged to meet her, issuing by myriads from all the industrial hives of the districts of the *black land*, that is to say, the counties of Stafford and Warwick, the collieries of which supply the vast iron-works with fuel. They brought to her the affectionate homage of their happy countenances, of their free souls, and their manly efforts to prosper and be free. The Queen passed through this throng of enthusiastic people, and inaugurated the new Museum; she knighted the Mayor of Birmingham, by touching his shoulder, according to the ancient ceremonial, with a sword handed to her for this purpose by the Lord-Lieutenant of the county; then she caused to approach the eight artisans whom their comrades had marked out as the most usefully zealous in the common work. She said to them, "I thank you personally for what you have done to preserve this old manor, and I trust that the *People's Park* will for ever be a benefit to the working classes of your town." As she went away, forty thousand children of the free and national schools of different sects, ranged in rows along the passage reserved for the Queen, under the huge trees which had perhaps seen Charles I. pass under them, sing in chorus, with an accent at once innocent and full of feeling, that drew tears from more than one present, a hymn in somewhat doggerel verse, but the refrain of which is—

Now pray we for our country,  
That England long may be  
The holy and the happy,  
And the gloriously free.

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#### NOTE TO PAGE 12.

READERS may refer to the speech of the Rev. Mr. Fitzgerald, a Catholic Archdeacon in Ireland, in the *Univers* of the 25th of August. He there proposes to his countrymen to have recourse to the Emperor of the French, in order to obtain from the English Government the reform of the laws relative to the reciprocal rights of farmers and landlords. Let us fancy what would happen in France, in Austria, or in Naples if a Catholic priest were to speak publicly in this fashion, and were to suggest to the faithful to address themselves to a foreign prince in order to force the Government of their nation to do them justice.

Some days later, at a meeting of ten thousand persons, held in the open air on the 28th August, at Nenagh, for the purpose of addressing a petition to Parliament, praying for the revision of the trial of two peasants, condemned to death for having assassinated a proprietor, the Rev. John Kenyon, a Catholic priest, addressing the people assembled, spoke as follows:—"I am indignant with myself when I think that I lower myself to such a point as to propose to you a petition to a Saxon Parliament, to those English who have their foot upon our necks, and their hand in our pockets. People speak of our progress—of our new prosperity. No, we are not prosperous, we cannot be; and even if we could, we would not; for what is prosperity without liberty? Let us retain our grievances as a treasure, and let no one deprive us of them until God has granted us the power, and pointed out to us the means, of avenging them. If we should once more lower ourselves so far as to petition, the only proper petition is to ask Parliament to hang Judge Keogh, that vile and iniquitous judge (who had presided at the assizes at which the sentence in question was pronounced). *If the justice of the country was anything but a farce*, Judge Keogh would before now have been hung on a gibbet fifty feet high." The hearers loudly applauded this language, which was published in all the journals, and which no one thought of repressing. It must be added that it alarmed no one, and it is that fact which at the same time shows the strength of the English Government, and the liberty enjoyed by Ireland. Let it be recollected what happened some time ago to an advocate of Toulouse, who published a pamphlet on the condemnation of Brother L  otade, and it will be understood what weight ought to be attached to the pretended oppression which at the present day presses upon the Catholics of Ireland, according to the ignorant declaimers who, at their pleasure, confound the past and the present.

Besides this, it would be very false and very unjust to attribute to the whole of the Irish or English clergy the ideas or the language of Father Kenyon. The most illustrious and most elevated member of the Catholic hierarchy in the United Kingdom, Cardinal Wiseman, expressed himself as follows at a public dinner given at Waterford, on the 14th September, 1858:—"Everything seems to announce a future more prosperous than the past of Ireland has been for several centuries. All the material conditions of the people are improved. They have habituated themselves to find in an industrious activity and in the cultivation of the national soil the resources which they sought in other countries and from mere chance. Everything about them shows a more developed degree of intelligence, and a more ardent desire for progress, without the slightest diminution of their moral or religious sentiments. On the contrary, all that they have done for their religion in the midst of difficulties and famine has filled me with admiration. . . . The past will soon belong to history; and even in the present generation there are few men who can figure to themselves what they were for so long a time when under the empire of a policy which I shall call erroneous, in order not to style it in the terms I have the right to use."

From all this we are permitted to conclude, without by any means wishing to pardon the persecutions and spoliations of which England has rendered herself guilty towards the Irish, that nowhere in the world does the Catholic Church at the present day enjoy, in fact, such complete and such absolute liberty as in England and Ireland. Let us add that, *cum hoc, si non propter hoc*, no nation in the world is more insulted at the present day than Great Britain by the greater number of the Catholic journals of France, Belgium, and Italy, and especially by those which in former times affirmed that the liberty of the Church was inseparable if their programme from general liberty. It will be objected to me, perhaps, that liberty is not sufficient to obtain justice. So be it. But it is sufficient at all events for the purpose of demanding it and of meriting it. Success is sometimes long waited for, but it almost always comes sometime or other, and it lasts. None of the conquests gained since 1780 in favour of the liberty of the Catholics of England and Ireland have yet been disturbed or even threatened.

INTERESTING  
HISTORICAL EVENTS,  
Relative to the  
PROVINCES OF BENGAL,  
AND THE  
EMPIRE OF INDOSTAN.

WITH  
A Seasonable HINT and PERSWASIVE  
To the Honourable  
The COURT of DIRECTORS of the  
EAST INDIA COMPANY.

AS ALSO  
The MYTHOLOGY and COSMOGONY, FASTS  
and FESTIVALS of the GENTOO'S,  
followers of the SHASTAH.

AND  
A DISSERTATION on the METEMPSYCHOSIS,  
commonly, though erroneously, called the  
PYTHAGOREAN Doctrine.

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By J. Z. HOLWELL, Esq;

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PART I.

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L O N D O N :

Printed for T. BECKET and P. A. DE HONDT, near  
Surry Street, in the Strand. MDCCLXV.

1765



V2. L5  
A765

**PART** the **SECOND** and **Last** will be  
speedily published.

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To the Right Honourable

CHARLES TOWNSEND, Esq;

S I R,

LAST year you indulged me with an opportunity of communicating to you, some anecdotes (little known) relative to the Mogul Empire, and the state of our *East India* trade;—in the course of that conference, you manifested to me such profound penetration, and such a ready comprehension of these subjects, that I could not resist cherishing a desire, to submit to the public my future labors on these interesting matters, under the auspices of  
5 your

## DEDICATION.

your name. I lately intimated that with wish and intention, when you most obligingly and politely favored me, with your permission to dedicate to you *this First Part* of the Work, which at present employs my leisure hours: I now avail myself of the licence you have honoured me with, and beg leave to subscribe myself, with true respect

S I R,

Your most obliged

and most obedient

humble servant,

Mount Felix in Surry,  
August 21st, 1755.

J. Z. HOLWELL.

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T O T H E  
P U B L I C.

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P R E L I M I N A R Y D I S C O U R S E.

**W**HEN a man excited by an irresistible and laudable impulse for the good of his country, *first speaks* before an August Assembly; he feels a certain kind of dread, awe, and trepidation, which he finds himself unable immediately to conquer; especially if he has not been much used to speak in public, or perchance possesses some share of modesty in his composition.—Thus, I conceive, it fares with every considerate author, on his first appearance before that *August Assembly*. THE PUBLIC.

In this plight I felt myself in the year 1758; when I exhibited to you a scene of

unparalleled horror and distress, which I judged not unworthy a place in our annals; —justice and the necessity of the times lately urged my second appearance, and obliged me to draw my pen in defence of injured worth and character; but now, by use and indulgence grown bolder, (a very common case) I present myself before you of my own voluntary choice.

Independency, and a pleasing retirement, however *delectable* in themselves, have yet their seasons of *vacancy* and *leisure*, that may want filling up.—And happy! ought that man to esteem himself, who can employ those *voids* and *blanks* in time to the emolument, or even literary amusement of mankind.

Such is my situation, and such are my motives, for taking up the pen again; motives, so laudable in themselves, will, I trust, engage the candor and indulgence of my readers for any defects in the following performance.

The *East-Indies*, and particularly *Bengall*, are now become so important an object and concern to *Great-Britain*, that every elucidation thereof, must I think be acceptable, that

that is founded on facts, just observations, and faithful recitals.

Through a course of thirty years residence in *Bengall*, my leisure hours were employed in collecting materials relative to the transactions, revolutions and occurrences of that invaluable country, and the religious tenets of its inhabitants, natives of *Indoſtan*; which I flattered myself, when reduced to form and order, might prove worthy your attention.

It is well known, that at the capture of *Calcutta*, A. D. 1756, I lost many curious *Gentoo* manuscripts, and among them two very correct and valuable copies of the *Gentoo Sbaſtab*. They were procured by me with ſo much trouble and expence; that even the commiſſioners of reſtitution, though not at all diſpoſed to favor me, allowed me two thouſand *Madras* rupees in recompence for this particular loſs; but the moſt irreparable damage I ſuffered under this head of grievances, was a tranſlation I made of a conſiderable part of the *Sbaſtab*, which had coſt me eighteen months hard labor: as that work opened upon me, I diſtinctly ſaw, that the *Mythology*, as well as the *Cosmogony* of the *Egyptians*, *Greeks* and *Romans*, were borrowed from

the doctrines of the *Bramins*, contained in this book, even to the copying their exteriors of worship, and the distribution of their idols, though grossly mutilated and adulterated. But more of this in the course of my present work.

I should in the compass of one year more, with the close application, I intended bestowing on it, have accomplished a complete translation of the whole *Sbafab*; that would I flattered myself have been a valuable acquisition to the learned world, had not the fatal catastrophe of fifty-six put it totally out of my power ever to attempt it again.

From that change in our affairs abroad, a new chain of pursuits engrossed my time and attention, so that I could no longer devote either, to the studies I had before so much at heart—however, during the last eight months of my residence in *Bengall*, being freed from the plagues of government, (thanks to my *very honourable masters* for it) I reassumed my researches with tolerable success, which joined to some manuscripts recovered by an unforeseen and extraordinary event (that possibly I may hereafter recite) enables me to undertake the task I now assign myself.

It

It is true I intended a much nobler entertainment for my readers; but as that is now irrecoverably beyond my reach, without once more doubling the *Cape of Good Hope*, (to which I feel not the least inclination) we must content ourselves with the homely fare we have before us, ranged in the best manner our straitened circumstances will admit of—as it is essentially necessary at this interesting period, that we should be able to form some clearer ideas of a people, with whom we have had such important transactions, and of whom so little is truly known\*.

Having studiously perused all that has been written of the empire of *Indostan*, both as to its ancient, as well as more modern state; as also the various accounts transmitted to us, by authors in almost all ages (from *Arrian*, down to the *Abbé de Guyon*) concerning the *Hindoos*, and the religious tenets of the *Bramins*, I venture to pronounce them all very defective, fallacious, and unsatisfactory to an inquisitive searcher after truth, and only tend to convey a very imperfect and unjust sem-

\* Here I would be understood to mean the *Gentoos* only, now laboring under *Mahometan* tyranny, but fated, I hope, soon to feel the blessings of a mild *British* government.



blance of a people, who from the earliest times have been an ornament to the creation—if so much can with propriety be said of any known people upon earth.

All the modern writers represent the *Hindoos* as a race of stupid and gross *Idolators*: from the ancients indeed these people met with better treatment; although they too as well as the others were equally ignorant in the subjects they treated of.

The modern authors who have wrote on the principles and worship of the *Hindoos*, are chiefly of the *Romish* communion, therefore we need wonder the less that they (from a superstitious zeal inseparable from that communion) should depreciate and traduce the mythology of the venerable ancient *Bramins*, on so slender a foundation as a few insignificant literal translations of the *Viedam*, and these not made from the book itself, but from unconnected scraps and bits, picked up here and there by hearsay from *Hindoos*, probably as ignorant as themselves.

From such weak grounds and evidence as this, and by the help of a few exhibitions of the *Hindoos*, *seemingly* monstrous idols, the *Popish* authors hesitate not to stigmatize

stigmatize those most venerable sages the *Bramins*, as having instituted doctrines and worship, which if believed, would reduce them below the level of the brute creation, as every reader must have observed, who has misspent his time in the perusal of them; in the way of their proper calling and function, they were however right; as having been appointed to propagate their own system of theology abroad; though strictly speaking, their own tenets were more idolatrous than the system they travelled so far to arraign. On this mistaken method and false zeal of propagating *any faith at any rate*, I beg to be indulged in making the following general reflections, which naturally arise from the subject before us.

That ignorance, superstition and partiality to ourselves, are too commonly the cause of presumption and contempt of others—those whose knowledge of states and kingdoms extends no further than the limits of their native land, often imagine all beyond it scarce worth their thoughts, or at least greatly inferior in comparison with their own; a conclusion natural, though unjust—If from clime and country we proceed to individuals, we shall see the same unwarrantable prepossession and preference to self

take place; and proceeding still further in our reflections, we may observe the same confined way of thinking and judging, leads the multitude (and I wish I could say the multitude only) of every nation and sect, to arraign and have in utter detestation and contempt, the religious principles and worship of all that happen to be out of the pale of their own church or mode of faith,

That every nation and *sect* should have a high and even superior opinion of the religious principles, under which they were born and educated, is extremely natural and just, provided they do not from an intemperate zeal or religious vanity (now so much the fashion) presume to condemn, depreciate or invade the religious principles of others — this condemning spirit can proceed only from one of the three following causes; a defect in understanding, a want of knowledge of the world (in men and things) or a bad (and restless) heart. The salvation of mankind, so much pretended, has no place in the hearts or labors of these zealots, or they would not go about seeking whom they can confound in spirit, destroying the peace and tranquillity of their *poor* fellow christians,

Men

Men who have been conversant with foreign countries, and made proper and benevolent remarks on the manners and principles of their inhabitants, will not despise or condemn the different ways by which they approach the *Deity*, but revere it still as a divine worship, though they may piously lament it deviates so much from their own.

To rescue distant nations from the gross conceptions entertained of them by the multitude, of all other persuasions, is the true business and indispensable duty of a *Traveller*; or else his travels and remarks, can only amuse his readers, without conveying to them any useful instruction or solid satisfaction.

A meer description of the exterior manners and religion of a people, will no more give us a true idea of them, than a geographical description of a country, can convey a just conception of their laws and government; the traveller must sink deeper in his researches, would he feast the mind of an understanding reader.—His telling us such and such a people, in the *East* or *West-Indies*, worship this stock, or that stone, or monstrous idol; only serves to reduce in  
our

our esteem, our fellow creatures, to the most abject and despicable point of light. Whereas, was he skilled in the language of the people he describes, sufficiently to trace the etymology of their words and phrases, and capable of diving into the mysteries of their theology; he would probably be able to evince us, that such seemingly preposterous worship, had the most sublime rational source and foundation.

The traveller, who without these essential requisites, (as well as industry and a clear understanding) pretends to describe and fix the religious tenets of any nation whatever, dishonestly imposes his own reveries on the world, and does the greatest injury and violence to letters, and the cause of humanity—How far the productions of most travellers may justly fall under this censure, I submit to the public.

To the want of this attention and capacity in the traveller, we may ascribe in a great measure, the despicable, and I dare say unworthy notions, we too aptly entertain of most nations very remote from us; whereas were we better informed, we should find our minds opened, our understandings enlarged, and ourselves in-  
spired

spired with that benevolence for our species, without which the human form becomes rather a disgrace than ornament.

I am sorry to say, that in general the accounts published of the manners and religious principles of *the East and West-Indies*, have been in the light and superficial way before objected to: but as my knowledge extends only to the former, I shall confine my remarks to them; and endeavor to extricate them in some degree from the gross absurdities we have conceived of them: confessing myself amazed that we should so readily believe the people of *Indostan* a race of stupid *Idolators*, when to our costs, in a political and commercial view, we have found them superior to us.

Having transiently mentioned the *Viedam* and *Sbastab*, (the *Gentoos scriptures*) it is necessary I should inform you—The book first named, is followed by the *Gentoos* of the *Mallabar* and *Cormandel* coasts, and also of the Island of *Ceylon*.—The *Sbastab* is followed by the *Gentoos* of the provinces of *Bengall*, and by all the *Gentoos* of the rest of *India*, commonly called *India proper*; that is to say—the greatest part

part of *Oriffa*, *Bengall proper*, *Babar*, *Bannaras*, *Oud*, *Eleabas*, *Agra*, *Delby*, &c. all along the course of the rivers *Ganges* and *Jumna* to the *Indus*.

Both these books contain the institutes of their respective religions and worships, as well as the history of their ancient *Rajahs* and princes; often couched under allegory and fable; their antiquity is contended for by the partisans of each—but the similitude of their *names*, *idols*, and great part of their worship, leaves little room to doubt, nay plainly evinces, that both these scriptures were originally *one*.—And if we compare the great purity and chaste manners of the *Shastab*, with the great absurdities and impurities of the *Viedam*; we need not hesitate to pronounce, the *latter* a *corruption* of the former.—All that I need add here, is, that my remarks follow the *Shastab* only.

Taste in reading differs as much as in the choice of viands; what proves a delicious morsel to one, is disgustful to another. I was never invited to a feast in my life, that I did not regret the absence of a bill of fare:—Therefore to save you from this difficulty, I here present you a list of what  
is.

is provided for your entertainment in the following sheets, in eight courses; so that if your stomach does not stimulate you to taste the whole, you will be enabled to fall to, on that dish which may best suit your appetite.

I. General head.—A short history of the succession to the empire of *Indostan*, from *Aurenge Zebe* to *Mahomet Shaw*.—This subject has been already touched upon by my ingenious friend Mr. *James Fraser*, but being foreign to his more immediate concern (*the invasion of Nadir Shaw*) he has touched it so slightly, as to convey a very imperfect idea of the *circumstances* attending the many astonishing changes that happened in this short and memorable period. These particulars I was favored with at *Patna*, A. D. 1733, by a sensible *Armenian*, who resided alternately at *Agra* and *Delby*, in a civil post of some trust, under the emperors during the course of these transactions.

II. Transactions in the subahdaary of *Bengall*, from the period that *Jaffier Khan* ruled these provinces, to the usurpation of the government by *Aliverdi Khan*, with the extraordinary circumstances attending the



the rise of this last mentioned *Soubab*, and his brother *Hodjee Hamet* \*

III. A summary account of the provinces of *Bengall*, (properly so called) it's principal towns, their bearings and distance from each other, and from *Calcutta*, with an estimate of their revenues, and a seasonable

\* The world has been already treated with this part of my subject, by a gentleman in his lucubrations, printed in *Edinburgh* 1761, under the title of, *Reflections on the government of Indostan, and a short sketch of the history of Bengall, from the year 1739, to 1756*. This little piece fell into my hands, about a year and a half after it was printed.—On perusing it, I could not avoid being surprized at finding *The author's* “Short sketch, &c.” was taken from part of the *manuscripts* herein before-mentioned, and makes from page 33 to 50, of his second epistle.—These manuscripts were penned by me in the year 1750, in my passage to *Europe*, from materials collected abroad. I communicated them during my short stay in *England*, to my friends, *Sir William Baker*, *Mr. Mabbot*, *Mr. R. Drake*, *Mr. Davis* and *Doctor Campbell*.—The original was lost at the capture of *Calcutta*, but after my second return in 1757, I learnt a copy had been taken of it without my knowledge, by a gentleman to whom I lent it abroad.—from this copy I was permitted to take another. How *the author* of the *Reflections* came by it, he best knows.—He honors me in transcribing from it, but he would have honored himself more, had he acknowledged from whence he took it, and had not taken such fruitless pains to disguise his (yet obvious) plagiarism, by mangling, maiming and curtailling my subjects in the manner I conceive he has done.

and

and persuasive hint to the gentlemen in the *East-India* direction.

IV. A summary view of the *fundamental* religious tenets of the *Gentoo's* followers of the *Sbaftab*.

V. A short account from the *Sbaftab* of the creation of the *worlds*, or universe.

VI. The *Gentoo* manner of computing time, and their conceptions touching the *age of the worlds*, and the period of their dissolution.

VII. An account and explanation of the *Gentoo* fasts and festivals, with a representation of their grand feast of the *Dru-gab*, comprising a view of their principal idols, and the genealogy of their *subordinate deities*.—If the fasts and festivals of any nation are clearly understood, there wants little more to convey to us a distinct idea of their religious principles; the *one*, being the only true criterion of the *other*.

VIII. A dissertation on the *Gentoo* doctrine of the *metempsychosis*; improperly called *Pythagorean*, by all who have wrote on this subject, hitherto so little understood.

Having

Having thus set forth my real motives for taking up the pen again, and opened the plan of my intended work; I shall here close this preliminary discourse: the favorable acceptance of my labors, by the candid public, is all the recompence hoped, or wished for, by their

Obedient humble servant,

J. Z. HOLWELL.

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 C H A P. I.

*The succession of the Mogull Emperors from  
Auring Zebe.*

WHOEVER has attentively perused the histories of the rise of states and kingdoms, must have made this melancholy observation ; that the approaches to usurped royalty, dominion and power, are generally founded, in the first instance, on the subduction of every virtue from the human breast : as, the sacred ties of justice, affinity, gratitude and true benevolence. A few exceptions may possibly subsist in the course of many thousand years, against our conclusion ; but they are so *very few*, that we think they cannot in the least invalidate our general assertion,

The glittering prospects of a crown, so dazzle and dim the *eye* of cool reflection and reason, that it becomes *blind* to every other consideration of humanity.

Ambition, or a restless thirst after power and dominion, has ever been the *bane* of the civil rights and liberties of mankind; and seems to be a passion implanted in the original nature and construction of man:—if otherwise, his conduct is wholly unaccountable; for we see that every individual of the species, in every rank and degree, is grasping and labouring to possess that which every individual is so materially concerned to prevent; *neither* of them adverting to this invariable truth: That *he* who invades the liberty, rights and property of *another*, gives, at the same time, a lesson and just cause for dispossessing *himself*.—Why this eternal warfare and contention for dominion between man and man, collectively or separately, (from his creation to this hour) was originally implanted in him, we may, in a future dissertation, attempt to solve; here we will only lament, that so it undeniably is.

The miserable effects of this fatal passion, for *rule* is no where more strongly exemplify'd, than in the short recital we are going to make of the successors of *Auring Zebe* to the throne of *Indostan*; to which he himself did not arrive without wading through a sea of blood; and a continued chain of almost unparallel'd religious fraud,  
per-

perfidy and cruelty; leaving on record a flagrant proof, That no ties, however sacred, can resist; or come in competition with, the charms of royalty. His bloody example was very exactly copied by his descendants.

*Auring Zebe* deceasing the 21st of *February* 1707, was succeeded in the throne by his second son *Mabommed Mauzm*; for, notwithstanding the positive injunction in *Auring Zebe's* last Will, in favour of his son *Mabommed Azem Shaw*, *Mabommed Mauzm* adopting the successful example of his father, disputed the crown with his elder brother, who, in battle near *Agra*, was defeated and killed. *Mabommed Mauzm* was immediately proclaimed Emperor, and assumed (amongst other titles mentioned by *Mr. Fraser*) the title of *Shaw Allum, King of the World*. I have, in my collection, two gold Mohurs struck in this Emperor's Reign, *Anno* 1709, and 1711; on the first was impressed *Shaw Allum*; on the other, *Babadr Shaw, The Valiant King*; which title he was latterly fondest of.

His reign, though extended to the term of six years, was unhappy and turbulent. The fortune of war gave him the succession to his father's dominions, but he succeeded

not to his capacity and fame; perplexed  
*Shaw Al-* with the restless ambition of his *four sons*,  
*lum.* who in his life time shewed themselves  
 competitors for his crown, he died of dis-  
 content and grief, *Anno 1713.*

His four sons were, *Mauz O'din*, *Mahomed Azim*, *Raffecil al Kaddr*, and *Kbojista Akbter*; they had been some years Govern-  
*Anno*  
*1713.* nors of distinct provinces, and were each,  
 at the death of their father, at the head of  
 a puissant army to support their several pre-  
 tensions to the throne.

*Mahommed Azim*, being superior in force,  
 wealth, and reputation, to the other three  
 brothers, they joined in league against him,  
 taking the most solemn oath on *Khoran*, to  
 be faithful to each other, and to submit to  
 an equal partition of the Empire in thirds,  
 as soon as they should defeat and succeed  
 against their brother.

In consequence of this compact, the three  
 brothers united their respective armies, a  
 general battle ensued; in the first heat of  
 which, *Mahommed Azim* was killed by the  
 shot of an arrow, as he was gallantly charg-  
*Anno*  
*1714.* ing on his elephant the center of his bro-  
 thers army, which he was informed was  
 com-

commanded in person by his eldest brother *Mauz O'din*.

The treasures of *Mabommed Azim*, by the dexterity of *Zulfecar Khan*, an Omrah in the interest of *Mauz O'din*, fell into the hands of the latter, with which having privately bought over most of the troops of his two remaining brothers, he attacked them on the field of battle, in violation of his solemn oath.

The brothers being no ways prepared for this sudden, unsuspected and perfidious stroke, were capable of making but small resistance; the elder of the two *Raffecil al Kaddr*, was presently killed, and what is worthy remark, fell upon the body of his brother *Mabommed Azim*; *Kbojista Akbter*, the youngest of the four, collecting some few of his own and *Raffecil al Kaddr's* troops, fled towards the province of *Deccan* his government, but being pursued and attacked by *Mauz O'din*, shared the same fate with his brothers.

Thus *Mauz O'din* became, like his father and grandfather, possessed of the throne of *Indostan*; by the perfidious destruction of his brothers; one circumstance however might be pleaded in behalf of *Mauz O'din*,



which neither of the other two could lay any claim to,—for he was the legal heir to the crown; but it may also justly be said, that he had waved and given up his legal right, when he entered into the voluntary compact with his brethren. He was proclaimed Emperor by the stile and title of *Mauz O'din Jehandar Shaw, The King who possesses the World*; and appointed *Zulfecar Khan* his Vizir.

*Shaw Je-*  
*bandar.*  
*Anna*  
1715.

*Jehandar* was a weak Prince, and very soon after he thought himself in secure possession of the throne, sunk and lost himself in the luxuries and debaucheries of the *Seraglio*; so wholly devoting his hours to a famed courtesan called *Lol Koar*, (better known in *Indostan* by the name of *Loll Kooree*) that he neglected every duty which ought to distinguish the Man and the King.

This courtesan was of exquisite beauty, and highly excelled as a dancer and singer, in which profession she was originally bred; besides these qualifications, it is said, her conversation was engaging and bewitching. The Monarch, intoxicated with her allurements, had no will but hers; by her influence she filled all places of the highest trust and honour with her base relations; this infatuated conduct, brought the Em-  
I
peror

peror and Empire into the lowest contempt, and gave universal disgust to all the Omrahs and great officers of the kingdom, who one by one, under various pretexts, withdrew themselves from court, and meditated a favourable conjuncture to depose this soveraign.

Amongst the disaffected were two Generals and Omrahs of the court, of distinguished character and authority, named *Hossan Aly Khan*, and *Abdallah Khan*, brothers of the tribe of the *Seyds*, for whom *Mahometans* bear a religious veneration. These in concert with others of the Omrahs determined to raise *Mahommed Furrukhsir* to the throne; and suddenly, at the head of a choice body of troops, retired towards *Bengal*, where *Furrukhsir* then resided.

This young Prince was the son of *Mahommed Azim*, already mentioned, and nephew to the Emperor; he had resided some years at *Dacca*, (then the metropolis of *Bengal*) by the appointment of his grandfather *Shaw Allum*, where he was so much beloved, that the inhabitants of that city to this day, in their common songs lament his fate in tears to his memory.

Anno  
1715.

When *Furrukhsir* first received advice of *Shaw Allum's* death, and the fatal catastrophe of his father and uncles, he withdrew from *Dacca*, knowing his uncle, *Jebandar*, would never think himself secure on the throne, whilst so near a pretender to it was in being. Much perplexed, and irresolute what course to take, as he was at the head of an inconsiderate, but faithful body of horse, retiring out of the province, he was met by express messengers from the revolters, urging his immediate advance to *Patna* in the province of *Babaar*, where on his arrival he was received by *Seyd Hoffman Aly Khan*, *Seyd Abdallah Khan*, and other principal Omrahs and officers, who instantly proclaimed him Emperor of *Indostan*.

On the first news of this revolt and competitor, the court was struck with a panick; but the Emperor, buried in the embraces of his beloved *Loll Kooree*, treated it as an impotent attempt hardly worth his notice, contenting himself with sending his son *Eas O'din*, at the head of 15000 horse, to suppress him, with orders to bring the traitor's head.

Express after express arriving with intelligence that *Furrukhsir's* party gained strength

strength every hour, and that he was in full march towards *Agra*, the Emperor re-inforced his son with a large body of troops, under the joint command of his Vizir *Zulfecar Khan*, and his favourite *Gokuldas Khan*, between whom there subsisted much private jealousy and enmity.

*Furrukhsir* had by this time drawn together a respectable army, and thought himself strong enough to quit *Patna*, which he accordingly did, and by forced marches advanced as far as *Cbivalram* in the province of *Eleabas*, where he was met by *Eas O'din*, at the head of his 15000 horse. This young Prince after a short contest, perceiving the superiority of the enemy's forces, thought it adviseable to retreat towards *Agra*, which he did in good order; and in a few days was joined near *Agra* by the troops, sent by the Emperor under the command of the Vizir and *Gokuldas Khan*, to reinforce them: here it was resolved to wait the approach of the enemy; for which they did not wait long, and a general battle quickly ensued.

Anno  
1715.

The Emperor's forces, by the advice of *Zulfecar Khan*, was formed into three divisions: The center was commanded by  
*Eas*

*Eas O'din*; the right by *Gokuldas Khan*, and the left by *Zulfecar Khan*.

*Furrukhsir* observed the like division of his forces: He gave the command of his center division to *Seyd Hoffman Aly Khan*; the right to *Seyd Abdallah Khan*; and led on the left himself; preferring this as the post of the greatest honor, because it was the post of greatest danger, as being opposed to *Gokuldas Khan*, who commanded the right division of the Emperor's forces, and was justly esteemed the most consummate general and intrepid foldier in the Empire.

Mr. *Frazer* in his short narrative intimates, that the Emperor was in person in this engagement, but herein his intelligence deceived him; for it is a known fact, that he was never roused so far from the lethargic pleasures he was immersed in, as once to quit the Seraglio; and indeed the flattering false informations that were hourly conveyed to him of the defeat of the rebels, by *Loll Kooree* (who dreaded his absence) prevented his ever bestowing a thought that way, until it was too late to think of it to any purpose. But to resume our subject.

The

The battle was fought with great obstinacy and gallantry on both sides.—Wonders are recorded of the spirited actions and personal bravery of *Eas O'din* and *Gokuldas Khan*, and not less reported of the valour of *Furrukhsir* and *Seyd Hossan Aly Khan*; but the decisive stroke of victory was given by *Seyd Abdallan Khan*; this General, observing the Vizir draw off and retire with his division, wheeled and vigorously attacked *Eas O'din* in flank, whilst he was hard pressed in front, by *Seyd Hossan Aly Khan*, *Eas O'din* at the same time learning that the brave *Gokuldas Khan* was killed, and his right wing defeated by *Furrukhsir*, a general rout soon followed.—*Eas O'din* escaped with difficulty from the battle, and by a change of swift horses reached *Delby*, where in the presence of his father, he in an hour died of his wounds.

*Furrukhsir* prudently ordered the troops to be spared in the pursuit. This clemency, and the addresses of some emissaries sent amongst them, operated so strongly on them, that to a man they revolted from the Emperor, and joined *Furrukhsir*; whose triumph, on this happy success, was greatly abated by the absence and supposed death of *Seyd Hossan Aly Khan*. Short sighted mortal! little didst thou at that time know,  
that

that thou wert regretting the loss and life of the man, who in a very short period would deprive thee of thy own!—a large reward being promised by the Prince, and search being made, *Seyd Hoffman Aly Khan* was found amongst the slain with signs of life, and his recovery effected.

The treacherous conduct of the Vizir *Zulfecar Khan*, it was said, proceeded from cowardice, and resentment at *Gokuldas Khan* being joined in the command with him (a source from which the greatest designs have often proved abortive.) When he retired with his division he made the best of his way to *Delby*, where soon after, the arrival of the unfortunate *Eas O'din*, too plainly spoke the destiny of the Emperor his Father.

Some feeble attempts were made to raise fresh troops, and put the city in a posture of defence; but the sudden approach of *Furrukhsir* put a period to every hope: The Emperor, his uncle, fell into his hands without resistance. His head was immediately cut off, and his trunk being fixed upon an elephant, was exposed round the city. His Vizir, *Zulfecar Khan*, was tied by the feet to the tail of the same elephant, and dragged until he expired: a death cruel,  
and

and esteemed the most dishonorable that can be inflicted upon a criminal; but hardly adequate for that minister who sacrifices the interest and cause of his King to his own private resentments. He was little lamented; for by his mal-administration whilst Vizir, he had acquired the universal hatred of the people.

*Mauz O'din Jebander Shaw*, thus falling a sacrifice to love and indolence, *Mabom-<sup>1715.</sup>*  
*med Furruksir* was proclaimed Emperor of *Indostan* without opposition. The first acts *Mabom-<sup>med Furo</sup>*  
*raksir.* of his government consisted in rewarding those who had raised him to the throne: He appointed *Seyd Abdallab Khan* his *Vizir*, and *Seyd Hossan Aly Khan* his *Buksbi*, or Pay-Master General, with the title of *Emir al Omrah*; (*The Prince of Princes*) and bestowed upon him the government of *Deccan* suitably rewarding the other *Omirahs* that had rendered him service.

But before we enter on the reign of *Furruksir*, we beg to be indulged a few words on the late murdered Emperor *Jebander*; whose character very minutely resembled that of the unfortunate and licentious Roman, *Marcus Antonius*.

He



He was thought by his father, *Shaw-Atum*, the only General capable of repulsing the dangerous annual invasions of the *Bojucçais*, which threatned the Empire on the side of *Persia*. Prince *Mauz O'din* was sent against these warlike people, at the head of the choicest troops in the Empire, and in a continued campaign of five years; he had many and signal battles with the invaders that gave him vast renown. In one of these, when the enemy was intrenched behind a strong and thick wood, on which side they could only be attacked, he cut a passage through the wood, forced their intrenchments sword in hand, and hardly any of the enemy escaped the slaughter. On the particulars of this action arriving at court, the Emperor his father, gave him the title of *Prince of the Hatchets*, one of the *honorary titles* ever since given to the first Prince of the blood.

His disposition before he came to the throne was so engaging and amiable, that he became the idol of the whole Empire; this drew on him the jealousy of his father, who, to counterbalance his growing influence, heaped that partial power and favor on his second son *Mahommed Azem* (the father of *Furrukhsir*) which enabled him to make the stand he did against his brother's legal

legal

legal right of succession, at the demise of *Shaw Allam*, as before recited. In short, if he could be defended from that perfidious stroke against his other two brothers, and had escaped the bewitching snares of that eastern *Cleopatra*, *Lol Kooree*, he most probably would have left a more shining character, (and a much more honorable one) on the records of fame, than that of his grandfather *Auring Zebe*.

*Lol Koar* had the honor of being condemned for life a prisoner in the royal prison, or castle of *Selimgur*. Some of her base relations who had been raised to places of high trust were cut off by the conqueror, and others degraded.

*Furrahbin* having obtained the diadem, as before related, peace seemed to be settled in the Empire; but the evil destiny of that Prince forbade its long continuance. During this period, the power of the *Seyds* grew enormous, and left the Emperor the name and trappings of royalty only; they disposed of all important posts by their sole authority, amassed immense wealth, and sequestered the public revenues to their own private entolument, securing thereby the attachment of the principal officers of the crown,

crowns, who (with a very few exceptions) were intirely devoted to their interest.

*Furrukhsir* very soon saw and felt his despicable state of dependance, but could not easily forget how much he owed to the spirited conduct and friendship of these ambitious brothers; he patiently submitted to the many indignities he labored under, without meditating any thing against them, the life and crown they had given him he knew still depended too much on their will and disposal; he dreaded their power, which indeed was greater than any subjects in this despotic government can possess, with safety to their Prince, or indeed than can be consistent with his honor.

Wearied at length, at finding himself this cypher of a King, he nobly determined to free himself from the shackles with which he had been bound so long, by having both the brothers assassinated at the same time; *Abdallah Khan* at *Delby*, and *Hoffan Aly Khan* as he was upon his march to his government at *Deccan*, where he was going to dispossess *Nizam al Muluck*.

A design so complicated in its nature, could not be carried on without being communicated

municated to many, amongst these the Emperor chiefly intrusted and depended on the two Omrahs, *Kbondoran Khan*, and *Mbír Jumla*, for the execution of it; almost the only two officers about the court, who had been neglected by the powerful *Seyds*. *Kbondoran* was suspected of betraying the whole to *Abdallah Khan*: whether this was the fact, is uncertain; but it is very certain both the brothers had early intelligence of the design against them, and determined to have the start, by deposing the Emperor.

The Vizir immediately withdrew from court, sent express upon express to recal his brother, and put himself at the head of a body of troops, whose commander he was by virtue of his post.

*Furrukbsír* finding his intentions against the *Seyds* discovered, had recourse to dissimulation; he sent his mother to the Vizir, charged with his solemn protestations of the falshood of the information the Vizir had received, and with professions of inviolable friendship and affection, intreating that he would return to court and contradict any advices he might have dispatched to his brother.

D

The

The Vizir having no room to doubt of his intelligence of the Emperor's projected assassination, returned for answer, That, as a mark of the sincerity of his professions, he should discharge his guards and servants, and submit to receive such as he, the Vizir, should think proper to place about him. This hard condition the Emperor abjectly and unadvisedly consented to, and the Vizir, contented with this security, waited the arrival of his brother, without proceeding further. These events fell out about the beginning of the year 1719.

*Seyd Hoffman Ali Khan* returned at the head of a strong body of horse, immediately on the receipt of his brother's letters, and arrived at *Delby* the 14th of *February* 1719, where after a short conference with the Vizir, and *Ajeet Singh* (*Mahab. Rajah*, and father-in-law to the Emperor) and with several principal Omrahs, they all proceeded to the apartment of *Auring Zeb's* daughter in the castle of *Selimgur*, and demanded the delivery of *Raffeeil al Dirjaat*, (son of *Raffeeil al Kaddr*, third son of *Bahadr. Sharee*) a youth about 17 years of age, proclaimed him Emperor of *Indostan*, and swore allegiance to him.

Pro-

Proceeding thence to the palace with their new King, as soon as they came into the presence of *Furrukhsir*, the *Seyds* upbraided him with perfidy and ingratitude, and *Ajeet Singh* with the breach of his coronation oath, in imposing the *Jeserah* (or poll tax) upon the *Hindoos*; they then divested him of his sword, and ensigns of royalty, and with little ceremony informed him they had raised *Raffeeil Dirjaat* to the throne, to whom they forced him to pay obeisance; and then imprisoned him in a tower over the principal gate of the citadel.

The day after his imprisonment he was miserably deprived of his sight; on the second day, he attempted to finish his torments by a dose of poison, but it proved ineffectual; on the third day, the Vizir sent executioners to strangle him; but soon as he felt the cord about his neck (still wretchedly desirous of life) he interposed his hands and forcibly broke it, dragging on thus a miserable being until the next day, the 24th of *February* 1719, when he was at last strangled, after a reign of little more than four years; Mr. *Frazer* says seven, but this cannot be; for, by his own shewing, *Auring Zebe* deceased in the beginning of the year 1707, his son, *Shaw Allum*, reigned six years, that is, to the beginning of the year 1713; *Furrukhsir* was murdered in

the beginning of the year 1719, so that if his succession had been uninterrupted, it could have been no more than six years; but the intervening reign of his uncle, *Mauz O'din Jehandar Shaw*, who sat on the throne 18 months, reduces the reign of *Furrukhsir* to four years and six months.

The *Seyds* finding they had mistaken the genius of the young Emperor *Dirjaat*, (whom they had raised to the throne in preference to his elder brother *Raffeeil al Dowlat*, as judging his youth would be more subservient to their views) took him off by poison, when he had reigned about three months, and raised to the throne his eldest brother, just abovementioned, who assumed the stile and title of *Shaw Jehan*, (*King of the World*.)

Anno  
1719.  
*Raffeeil al*  
*Dowlat.*  
*Shaw Je-*  
*han.*

The brothers, intoxicated with their excess of power, began by various acts of oppression to create themselves enemies from all quarters, the universal hatred of the people for their repeated murders, cooperating with the envy of the principal *Rajabs* and *Omrabs*, (who could endure no longer to see the *Seyds* engross wholly a power and authority in the Empire, which they themselves wanted a share in) a powerful party was now formed against them.

At

At the head of this confederacy were *Sa-vejee Feet Singh*, (more commonly known by the name of *Rajah Faj Singh*) *Gopaul Singh Bowderée*, and *Chivalram Roy*, all puissant Rajahs; the first named being hereditary governor of the fortress of *Agra*.—Here it is in point that we recite an anecdote of this empire, which is not generally known.

When the *Hindoo* Rajahs or Princes of *Indostan* submitted to *Tamerlane*, it was on these capital stipulations: That the Emperors should marry a daughter of *Rajah Feet Singh's* house; that the head of this house should be, in perpetuity, governors of the citadel of *Agra*, and anoint the King at his coronation; and, that the Emperors should never impose the *jefferah* (or poll tax) upon the *Hindos*. We beg leave to apologize for this (as we thought) necessary digression, and proceed.

These three powerful *Rhaasepoot Rajahs*, with some discontented *Omrabs*, withdrew themselves, and assembled together in the neighbourhood of *Agra*; and on the first intelligence of the murder of *Raffeeil Dirjaat*, released (from a forty years imprisonment in the castle of *Agra*) *Nicosir*, a son of the great *Ekkbar*, and proclaimed him

Anno  
1719.



Emperor ; and raised a respectable army to support their election against that of the *Seyds* in favor of *Shaw Jehan*.

On the first notice of this formidable competitor, *Seyd Hossan Ali Khan* was dispatched at the head of forty thousand horse towards *Agra*, and was met within four miles of that city by *Nicasir's* forces, under the command of *Jeet Singh* ; who putting himself at the head of his *Rhaasepoots*, intrepidly charged *Seyd Hossan Aly Khan's* army : a long and bloody conflict ensued, wherein at last *Nicasir's* forces began to give way, when the *Rhaasepoots*, by the example of their Rajah *Jeet Singh*, displaying the *yellow scarf*, (the *Rhaasepoots* signal for conquest or death) the battle had a sudden turn ; *Hossan Aly Khan's* troops, struck with terror at seeing that dreaded signal, and the fury with which the *Rhaasepoots* returned to the charge, soon turned their backs and fled, disregarding as well the heroic example, as menaces of their General, who finding all endeavours to rally them fruitless, made the best retreat he could with them.

*Shaw Jehan* wisely profiting by the error, which had proved fatal to *Mauz O'din*, in a situation similar to his own, immediately took the field with the *Vizir Seyd Abdallah Khan*,

*Khan*, and with a large and choice army marched to support and re-inforce *Seyd Hossan Ali Khan*.

This General in his retreat, or rather flight, had been vigorously pursued by *Rajah Jeet Singh*, and his nominal Emperor *Nicosir*, solicitous, if possible, to prevent his union with *Sbaro Jehan* and his brother, who were (they had learned) on their march to his succour.—In this judicious intention they failed, for *Hossan Ali Khan* with his beaten troops joined the Emperor before the *Rajah* could overtake him: both armies being greatly harrassed with their severe marches, the decisive battle, which was to determine the possession of this mighty Empire, was delayed until the next day.

*Hossan Ali Khan*, it was said, selected the evening before the battle, a body of 2000 horse, composed all of subaltern officers; to whom he gave strict command, that they should pay regard to nothing else in the approaching engagement; but the cutting off, or taking prisoner *Nicosir*, or *Jeet Singh*.

The battle began soon after sun-rise the next morning, and was fought with incredible fury and obstinacy, for the space

of three hours; but at length the party abovementioned so well executed what they had in charge, that they took *Nicosir* prisoner, which being immediately known to his party, they were soon after defeated, or rather retreated; for in these eastern battles, if the principal on either side is killed or taken prisoner, there is an end generally to the contest.—The issue of this battle, which was fought about the middle of *June 1719*, on the plains of *Fattehabad*, put *Shaw Jehan* in tranquil possession of the Empire.

The Emperor gave *Nicosir* the choice of death, or loss of sight; he preferred the latter, which was executed on him in the field of battle, and then was conducted back to his prison at *Agra*; a melancholy victim to the ambition of others.

*Savagee Jeet Singh*, with a select body of *Rhaasepoots*, by a well conducted retreat recovered *Agra*, and was soon after reconciled to the King and admitted to favour, conformable to the steady policy of this government, in keeping a good understanding with the principal Rajahs, and more especially with the *head* of this house, who is ever capable of raising and fomenting a very formidable party, upon any intended revolution

lation in this despotic and precarious monarchy.

*Shaw Jehan* lived not long to enjoy his high dignity, for he deceased by a natural death, soon after his return to *Delby*, towards the latter end of the year 1719, Happy! we may say, in having made this quiet and easy exit; for had he discovered a wish to make himself a *King indeed*, it is more than probable he would have shared the same fate with his three predecessors.

His death for some days was concealed by the singular address of the *Seyds*; and *Hoffan Ali Khan*, on the night of the day that *Shaw Jehan* deceased, privately set out with a small but select party of horse for *Agra*, where he published his death; and with the participation of the *Mbaabab Rajah*, *Savajee Jeet Singh* immediately proclaimed *Mahommed Shaw*, Emperor of *Indostan*; who was by the Rajah anointed accordingly. *Mahommed Shaw* was the only son of *Khojstab Akhter* before mentioned, the youngest son of *Shaw Allum*. Soon after, the Vizir and the other great officers of the crown arrived at *Agra* to pay their submission to the new Emperor, and were all confirmed in their posts.

Ma-

*Mahommed Shaw* was soon convinced, by the first movements of the *Seyds*, that though he was raised to the possession of the ensigns and exteriors of royalty, he was in effect little better than a prisoner of state, whilst the two brothers exercised the uncontrouled authority they had so long and successfully usurped. He did not want courage, but plainly saw their power was too great to be attacked by open force; he therefore wisely, for some time, dissembled his sentiments and resentments, until he could form a proper judgment who amongst the Omrahs and officers were trust worthy, and in whom he could with safety to himself put a perfect confidence.

It was not long before his penetration pointed out the persons he sought for; *Mahommed Amin Khan*, *Heydr Kuli Khan*, and *Kondoran*, all Omrahs of the first rank, he was well assured, were inveterate though concealed enemies to the *Seyds*; to these Omrahs therefore he ventured to open himself, about the middle of *September 1720*, and most pathetically lamented his abject dependant state, under *the tyranny of the Seyds*, imploring their assistance to extricate and free him, themselves, and his people, from their usurped power.

This

This overture from the Emperor met with a warm reception from the Omrahs; they swore fidelity to him, and he, on his part, swore that *Mahommed Amin Khan* should succeed to the Vizirut; *Kbondoran* to the *Mbir Bukhsfi*, and be created *Embir al Omrah*; and that *Heydr Kuli Khan*, (who was at this time General of the Ordnance) should obtain the Soubahdary of *Abmedabad*.

These preliminaries settled, and the fidelity of these Omrahs secured more by making it their own interested cause, than from any attachment to the royal family, a favourable occasion was only wanting; and the *Seyds* themselves contributed in some degree to their own downfall,—for now the measure of their iniquity was full,—too long had they reigned the oppressors of their Kings, and of the people.

The first act of the *Seyds* power after the accession of *Mahommed Sharw*, was to oblige him to declare *Nizam al Muluck* a traitor, and demand his appearance at court.

*Nizam* had been long obnoxious to the *Seyds*: the insurrection raised by *Rajah Jeet Singh* in favour of *Nicosir*, had prevented their

their looking towards him sooner; but now, having fixed *Mahomed Shaw* on the throne, they determined to suppress him.

*Nizam*, well knowing there was no medium between death and the jealousy of the *Seyds*, in place of paying obedience to the royal mandate, killed the gursburdars (messengers) that brought it; advanced from his government of *Malwa* to *Eugon*, where he seized the royal treasure; from thence he penetrated into *Deccan*; the government of *Seyd Hossan Ali Khan*, attacked the capital of the province and took it, assumed the Soubaship, and sending his *Niahs*; or deputy governors to every part, displaced those of *Hossan Ali Khan*, and treated even his women with great indignities. After these exploits (to which it was said he was privately instigated by the Emperor, purposely to exasperate the *Seyds*), he wrote the most submissive letter to the Emperor, extenuating and palliating the necessity of a conduct, to which the tyranny and injustice of the *Seyds* had drove him.

On news of the outrages committed by *Nizam* in the *Deccan*, the Emperor put on a well dissembled rage; and swore by *Mahomet* he would take the field against the rebel himself. This resolution was the result  
of

of a private conference with his associated Omrahs, it being judged the first necessary step for the reduction of these *dangerous brothers*, was to separate them; accordingly the Emperor ordered the Vizir *Seyd Abdal-lab Khan* to return to *Delby*, to superintend the civil administration, and preserve the peace of that city during his absence; and himself, with *Seyd Hoffan Ali Khan*, and the rest of the Omrahs, took the field on the 28th of *September 1720*, with a royal and puissant army, for the pretended reduction of the rebel *Nizam al Muluk*.

The Emperor made a long march that day towards *Deccan*, and encamped late in the evening; here the means for assassinating *Seyd Hoffan Ali Khan* were adjusted by the three Omrahs, to whom the King left the execution of this important event: they found it necessary now to discover their design to several other Omrahs, who they knew had been deeply injured by the *Seyds*, and were as inveterate as themselves. Amongst these, one *Hyddr Khan*, a small Munsubdar of distinguished courage, was pitched upon to perpetrate the deed, and as the attempt must be attended with apparent hazard to *Hyddr Khan*, *Mahommed Amin Khan*, and *Heydr Kuli Khan*, to encourage him, solemnly engaged to be at hand  
with



with a select party to rescue him from the rage of *Hoffan Ali Khan's* followers.

Early the next morning the signal was made for decamping; and *Seyd Hoffan* went into the Emperor's tent to pay his obeisance and receive his orders; all the Omrahs and officers, as customary, were round his tent; *Hyddr Khan* placed himself at the door with a petition in his hand: as soon as *Seyd Hoffan* came out of his tent, and had seated himself in his pallenkeen, *Hyddr Khan* presented his petition, and whilst *Seyd Hoffan* was attentively perusing it, the assassin stabbed him with his kunjaar (dagger) between the neck and collar bone, of which wound he instantly expired.

Notwithstanding the solemn engagement to rescue *Hyddr Khan*, it was judged expedient to sacrifice this daring man; that his death might blunt and satiate in some measure the wrath of those guards who were in immediate attendance on the General's person, by whom *Hyddr Khan* was assaulted with the utmost fury, and though, drawing his scymiter, he defended himself with astonishing bravery for some time, yet overpowered by numbers he was cut to pieces; yet the tumult raised about the body did not cease, until *Mabommed Amin Khan*,  
 6 *Kon-*

*Kondoran, Hyadr Kuli Khan*, and their troops came up to quell it; the Emperor mounting his elephant and causing proclamation to be made to the army, that the *Embir al Omrah* was killed by his order, the confusion subsided; except in one quarter, where five thousand troops, commanded by *Jieratt Khan*, nephew to the deceased General, breathed nothing but revenge: between these and the royal troops a sharp conflict ensued, in which many were killed (on both sides) amongst whom was a son of *Mahommed Amin Khan*; but *Jieratt Khan* falling by an arrow discharged by the King, (who it was said emptied three quivers in the engagement) the rest called for quarter.

The Emperor proceeding to the tent of *Seyd Hoffman Ali Khan*, sat upon his elephant and saw the soldiers, by his permission, plunder it of a khorore of Rupees; the jewels found there to an equal amount were appropriated to his own use.

*Mahommed Shaw*, sensible that but half the work was done, whilst *Seyd Abdallah Khan* survived, immediately directed his march towards *Delby*, declaring *Mahommed Amin Khan* Vizir, and *Kbondoran, Embir al Omrah*.

*Ab-*

*Abdallah Khan* was not far from *Delby*, when an exprefs from *Jieratt Khan* overtook him, advising him of the tragical death of his brother; he saw his own danger, and instantly difpatched a trusty officer with a party of horfe to that city, with orders to return immediately with *Sultan Ibrahim*, younger brother of the Emperor's, *Raffeeil al Dirjaat*, and *Raffeeil al Dowlat*. The officer executed his commiffion with great celerity, and being returned with *Sultan Ibrahim*, *Abdallah* proclaimed that young Prince Emperor of *Indoftan*; then putting himfelf at the head of a numerous army, he marched back to meet *Mahommed Shaw*.

The two armies met the latter end of *October*, *Anno 1720*, and a bloody battle enfued: *Victory* ftood doubtful a long time to which fhe fhould give the day; but when *Abdallah* was on the verge of fnatching a certain conquest, a feafonable re-inforcement turned the iffue in favor of the Emperor; for during the heat of the engagement *Diababadr* (nephew of *Chivalram* Governor of *Eleabas*) arrived with a fresh body of troops; thefe affaulting the rear and flank of *Abdallah's* army with the greateft intrepidity, a total defeat and rout foon followed. *Seyd Abdallah Khan* was taken prifoner; the Emperor fpared his life, in confideration

consideration of his owing him the crown he wore, but condemned him to perpetual imprisonment (as recited more minutely by Mr. *Frazer*) sequestering his vast possessions and wealth to his own use.

Thus fell the *Seyds Hossan Ali Khan*, and *Adallah Khan*, by a reverse of fortune too common to be very remarkable; the wonder is! that they should have maintained themselves so long (in this despotic and violent government) in a degree of absolute power and authority, hardly equalled in story, and that during the reigns of five successive Emperors, four of whom they *themselves* had placed upon the throne.

The last decisive stroke put *Mahommed Shaw* into the quiet possession of the Empire of *Indostan*. A long peace ensued; and the Emperor gave a loose to the indulgence of his natural propensities, which centered only in the excessive use of wine, women, and hunting; to every thing else he became regardless; the reins of government in time slackened, confusion in the Empire followed; every *Omrab* was planning for himself, and none thought of the *public*. These universal *disorders* endangered, in consequence, the *health* and well  
E
being

being of the state; and paved the way for the invasion of the Empire by *Nadir Shaw* in the year 1738 (so accurately investigated by *Mr. Fraser*) brought about by the intrigues of *Nizam al Mulluck*. This minister after the reduction of the *Seyds* was soon taken into favor, and confirmed in the government of *Deccan*, or rather maintained himself there by his own strength, as an independant sovereign.

My readers will easily perceive, that in the foregoing recital I have followed the thread of *Mr. Fraser's* concise narrative; and have only deviated from him in those parts, where my materials afforded me fuller intelligence, and in variety of transactions which he (obviously) thought lay out of the way of his *main-object*; his intention being very evidently no more, than to give a connected catalogue of the Mogulls from *Timur Lung*, (*Tamarlam*) and at the same time convey a slight view of the progressive state and condition of the Empire of *Indostan*, as necessarily preparative to the period of *Nadir Shaw's* invasion of it, without embarrassing himself with any more of the particular circumstances attending the successions, than were consistent with, and immediately in point to

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his

his design. All that I wish or hope for from *this* production is, that it may be esteemed an illustration only of that ingenious and learned gentleman's work, comprised within the space, from *Auring Zebe's* demise to the reduction of the *Seyds*.

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## C H A P. II.

*Transactions in the Subahdary of Bengal,  
from the year 1717 to the year 1750,  
inclusive.*

OUR present subject calls us back to the reign of *Furrukhsir*, when *Jaffir Khan*, an *Omrab* of great consideration and interest at court, ruled these provinces with a rod of iron. His name to this day is remembered with detestation; to fill his coffers, he inflicted the most cruel punishments on the *Rajabs* and *Zimindars*, by ways and means unheard of, and unknown, but in this Eastern government: he also highly oppressed the *Europeans* settled in these parts; yet, notwithstanding his very mal-administration, he had the address to obtain the governments of *Babar* and *Orissa*, united with that of *Bengal* in his person, which ever before had been distinct and separate Nabobships.

With

With this new acquisition of power, he removed from *Dacca*, which, until that time, had been the chief residence of the Soubahs, to *Morshadabad*, which city now became the *capital* of the provinces.

*Jaffir Khan* had a favourite daughter, whom he married to *Soujab Khan*, a native of *Delby* of some distinction; this person was appointed *Niab*, or deputy governor of *Orissa*, when *Jaffir Khan* changed the seat of his chief residence, and quitted *Dacca*.

*Soujab Khan*, by his marriage with the Soubah's daughter, had two sons born to him, the eldest named *Mahommed Tukbee Khan*, the younger *Suffraaz Khan*. The first had constantly resided with his father at *Cuttack* the capital of *Orissa*, and the other with his grandfather at *Morshadabad*.

*Jaffir Khan's* fondness for *Suffraaz Khan* was so prevalent, that when he obtained an order from court for *Soujab Khan's* succeeding him in the Soubahship; he procured at the same time *Suffraaz Khan* to be appointed King's *Dewan* of the provinces, in prejudice to the just pretensions of his elder brother *Mahommed Tukbee Khan*.



This ill-judged mark of affection and preference in the old *Soujab*, was the cause of declared and unabating enmity between the two brothers; though *this effect*, probably without *that cause*, would have naturally resulted from the difference of their genius and dispositions, actuated by the different examples they had long before them, in the father, and grandfather.—*Soujab Khan* was bold, rigid in government, but withal complaisant and affectionate.—*Mahommed Tukbee Khan* was brave and generous, delighting in the exercises of a soldier and the art of war.—*Jaffir Khan* was inveterate, avaritious, and a monster of cruelty.—*Suffraas Khan* was impetuous, overbearing and vindictive; and as he had been a stranger to contradiction from his infancy, so in his more advanced age, he could not bear it in the least degree, even from the mouth of wisdom.

Anno  
1725.

In the year 1725 *Jaffir Khan* deceased, to the general joy of the provinces, and *Soujab Khan*, hastening to the capital, took upon him the government; in the journey he was accompanied by *Mahommed Tukbee Khan*,

When the brothers met, the embers of disgust and hatred, which had been only smothered by absence, now burst into a flame,

flame, that had well nigh consumed them both, had not the prudence and authority of the Soubah interposed, who finding it impossible to accomplish a reconciliation between them, resolved to part them; and immediately appointed *Mabommed Tukbee Khan*, his Niab of *Orissa*, with orders to set out the next day for his government. There in a few months he died universally lamented. His death gave his father the deepest sorrow, for he loved him with a just and truly paternal tenderness.

On *Soujab Khan's* succession to the government, he released all the *Rajabs* and *Zemindars* that had been imprisoned by his father-in-law; and eased them of sundry heavy taxes and impositions, that they had been loaded with: calling them all before him; he enjoined them to attend carefully to the cultivation of their lands, and the improvement of the manufactures: assuring them that in future they should be exempt from the severities they had suffered under his predecessors; reminding them, that as they themselves had long felt the hand of oppression; he depended it would be a lesson to them, not to oppress the *tenants* dependant on them: then with a peremptory tone telling them, that if any were found deficient in their annual payments, their

lands should be taken from them, and given to others; he graciously dismissed them to their respective districts.

*Soujab Khan* taking into consideration the small standing force of the provinces, that until his time never exceeded the number of five or six hundred horse, determined to enlarge it to as many thousands, which he soon accomplished. He then made sundry regulations respecting the trade of the provinces, both inland and foreign; casting his eyes particularly on the *Europeans*; and attentive that they should not clandestinely partake of greater immunities and advantages, than the terms of their *Fbírmaunds*, or grants, gave them a title to.

To this end, he increased the number of *Chowkee's* (or places for the receipts of customs) to twenty, upon the several rivers, whereas before his government there were only *two*, *Buxsh Bundar*, and *Azimgunge*.

This wise and solid conduct, had it's natural and proper effects, the provinces soon wore a different face, commerce and manufactures flourished, and in a very few years he was enabled greatly to increase the royal revenue, and stipulate to pay into the royal treasury annually, one *Khorore*, one *Lac*, one thousand

send one hundred and one *ficca Rupees*, over and above forty *Lacs of Rupees*, annually remitted to court, to different *Omrabs* residing there, on account of their *Jagbir* lands; in consequence, his interest at court was strengthened, himself established in his government, and the succession by *grant* secured in his family.

Anno  
1730.

Having brought the Soubah *Soujab Khan* to this happy and honourable period, and given a general view of the state of these opulent provinces; we next propose to trace the causes, circumstances, and progress of an extraordinary usurpation of this government, in the beginning of the year 1742.

Though the ambition, avarice, ingratitude, treachery and violence of two artful *adventurers*, were the *seemingly* apparent causes of this usurpation; yet without other *co-operating incidents*, those (too common successful auxiliaries in the invasion of *right*) would have proved ineffectual.

The secret springs of the just mentioned co-operating incidents, were known but to few; and we venture to aver, were never put together before the penning of the manu-

manuscripts, A. D. 1750, alluded to in the preliminary discourse to this work, from which manuscript the author of the Reflections, as before remarked, disingenuously took as his own, what he calls his " Short sketch of the history of *Bengal*, from the year 1739 to the year 1750 \*."

*Aliverdi Khan* and *Hodjee Hamet*, were brothers, natives of *Tartary*, and followers of fortune: In this pursuit they arrived at the court of *Delby*, about the year 1721, and put themselves under the protection of the then *Vizir Kbondoran*. In their genius and qualifications they differed extremely; the elder, *Hodjee Hamet*, was of a cowardly, but deeply intriguing disposition, well skilled in political learning, and a profound judge of the nature of mankind; with *these talents*, he possessed not a single moral principle capable of impeding *them* in their full career, and therefore became every way qualified for the transactions of *this Eastern* (or indeed any, other) court.

\* Reciting the same chain of facts as they stand in the manuscript, with little variation, except the poor disguise of here and there a different mode of expression; interspersed with a few *trite reflections*, which are *purely* his own. We thought this note highly necessary, lest we should incur the undeserved censure of retailing at second hand the labors of another.

*Aliverdi*

*Aliverdi Khan* was bold and daring, bred to arms, and skilled in all the duties of a foldier, enterprising, of ready understanding, and naturally virtuous and honorable, until these amiable qualities were perverted and subdued, by the instigations and evil counsels of his brother, and his other talents made subservient to *Hamet's* ambitious views of aggrandising their obscure family.

*Hodjee* acquired this title from his having in his early years made a pilgrimage to *Hodge*, (or the tomb of *Mahommed* at *Mecca*) a duty which the *Kboran* imposes on every *Musselman* once in his life, either in person or by proxy; and he who performs it in person, thereby obtains for life the honorary appellation of *Hodjee*, and is much revered by the true believers in their prophet.

It has been confidently asserted, and as currently believed in *Bengal*, that *Hodjee Hamet* had been preferred at *Delby*, to the post of master, or keeper of the crown jewels; with the most valuable of which it was said he eloped, and afterwards sanctified this theft by a pilgrimage to *Mecca*; but upon the strictest enquiry we pronounce this report an aspersion of his enemies, having the best authority for saying neither  
of

of the brothers appeared at court before the year 1721 :—but the improbability of the fact speaks it a calumny—their original obscurity is allowed on all hands ; can it then possibly gain credit, that either of them should be preferred to a post, which is usually bestowed on one of the first Omrahs of the Empire?

But if we should admit (what also has been asserted) that *Hodjee* was for a short space in the service of the keeper of the crown jewels, and might have it in his power to commit the theft alledged against him ; yet the fact remains equally improbable ; for can it be believed that after so atrocious a crime, both the brothers should obtain the patronage and recommendation of *Khondoran*?—Which they certainly brought with them to *Cuttac* (the residence of the Nabob *Soujah Khan*) Anno 1722.

Anno  
1722. On their arrival, they were taken into the service of *Soujah Dowla*, as immediate attendants on his person ; *Hodjee* in capacity of his first *Kistmutgar* (or valet) and *Ali-verdi*, his *Chilum Purdaar* (dresser or rather keeper of his smoaking pipe) with the additional pay and denomination of a sepoy or foot soldier.

Their

Their rise from these menial stations was rapid, but not astonishing in a country where superior talents ever make their way to speedy promotion.—The Nabob very soon discovered in *Hodjee* an extensive genius and understanding in men and things; and *Hodjee* as soon found out the great, and almost only foible of his master; which was an ungovernable appetite for *variety* of women.

*Hodjee* benefited himself of this ruling passion, and by indefatigable attention and industry out-ran even the Nabob's desires—the compiler of *the Reflections* says, *Hodjee* prostituted, “and made a sacrifice “of his own daughter to his master's “lust:” we confess we never heard of it before; be this as it may, it is most certain that *Hodjee* by indulging and feeding this passion, quickly gained an ascendant over his master, and had the disposal of all places of small importance; and as he was observed to be the growing favourite, all suits and petitions were preferred through his mediation.

*Aliverdi Khan's* extraordinary military genius did not escape his master's notice; he was soon promoted to be *Jemmautdar* of the Nabob's foot guards, and not long after



after preferred to a command of horse at the intercession of his brother—The ruling passion of *Hodjée*, was an unbounded thirst of riches ; but whilst he labored to extend his influence over his master, as conducive to the satisfying this vice, he was ever watchful and attentive, that his brother's interest went hand in hand with his own.

To these ends he daily made himself more and more useful to *Soujab Khan*, and being well versed in the arts of financing, and the invention of *ways and means*, his importance was confirmed : (this being the most useful and essential duty of a minister in the *East*, as well as in the *West*.) He was also an exquisite and penetrating *spy* upon the actions of all the *Niabs* and other officers employed under the Nabob, with whom he secretly planted his own emissaries, so that nothing was transacted in any part of the province of *Orissa*; that his master had not the most early intelligence of.——

The government of *Indostan* is perhaps the only government in the world, where the character of a *spy* is not attended with reproach and infamy ; here it is dignified and honourable. The Emperor and all the *Soubahs* of the provinces entertain an officer

cer with this title, who is always a person of consideration; but like *Satan* he is more generally feared than loved. *Hodjee* possessed not the title of the Nabob's *Hircarab*, (spy) but he virtually was so, and by this practice, did not a little gain upon his master's confidence, and thereby smoothed the way to designs, which about this time, *Anno* 1724, began to open upon him; though he yet concealed them even from his brother.

The influence and power of the two brothers acquired new strength every day, in such sort, that at the close of this year they had gained a full dominion over the actions and inclinations of the Nabob; who at this period succeeded to the government of the three provinces by the demise of the Soubah *Jaffir Khan*, as before related in the former part of this chapter: the brothers attended him to the capital, where the scene of action became enlarged and more adequate to their different, though equally enterprizing spirits. *Hodjee Hamet* was soon declared prime minister, and *Aliverdi* promoted to a command of horse of the first distinction.

*Anno*  
1724.

*Anno*  
1725.

The first judicious movements made by *Soujab Khan* on his coming to the Soubahship,

bahship, (already recorded) were it was said the result of the salutary councils of *Hodjee Hamet*.—But if we admit the fact, let us not too hastily conclude that this advice flowed from any principle of affection to his master, or regard to his honor, or from a commiseration of the suffering *Rajabs*; no, these worthy considerations were foreign to his heart, as appeared from the whole tenor of his future conduct: the moderate councils and measures adopted by the *Soubah*, raised the credit of the *minister* only, who (by reports of his emissaries dispersed about the city and country) had the sole honor of a clemency strictly due to the *Soubah's* goodness of heart, and aversion to the practices of his predecessor.

The minister by this artful procedure gained many friends, and by secret stipulations with the enlarged *Rajabs*, he filled his own coffers, to the injury of the public revenue. In the degree that the minister gained credit and influence in the provinces—the *Soubah* sunk in the opinion of the people (a very natural consequence) and resting secure in the supposed integrity and extensive abilities of *Hodjee Hamet*, he abandoned *himself* to the full enjoyment of his *ruling passion*, and the *government* to the absolute disposal of the minister, who with-

out controul, put in, put out, removed, displaced and preferred to every post of profit, whomsoever he pleased, and by this traffic soon acquired immense wealth: taking care to keep his master buried in sensuality, still supplying the flame that had possession of him with fresh fuel; ransacking the provinces, and obtaining (no matter at what price) the most beautiful women that could be procured to answer his purposes; and it was confidently (and we believe truly) said, that he carried his panderism so far, as never to appear at the Soubah's nocturnal levee, without something of this kind in his hand, formed to attract and engage his attention.

Whilst *Hodjee Hamet* was thus employed in establishing his own power and fortune, and blinding the Soubah during the first three or four years of his government; his brother *Aliverdi Khan* began to think himself neglected; but *Hodjee* soon convinced him of his mistake.

Hitherto *Aliverdi* had not in his own person acquired any considerable lustre, except from the light thrown upon it by reflection, from his brother being the minister; in his military capacity he had a few opportunities given him of shining  
 F alone,

alone, both at *Orissa* and *Bengal*, just sufficient to gain the belief of his being an intrepid officer: but now the time was come to bring his talents upon the stage in a more conspicuous view, an occasion offering for which his brother had with impatience long waited.

Anno  
1729.

Having for some time lost sight of the Soubah's only surviving son *Suffraaz Khan*, we here think it necessary to bring him to the remembrance of the reader, by a slight mention of him; his character has been already delineated, he possessed the post of King's *Dewan*, by appointment from court, and was successor apparent to the Soubahship; he had long looked with an evil eye on the growing power and influence of *Hodjee Hamet*, which he thought became pregnant with danger, both to his father and himself—but he had not the means of reducing it; the impetuosity of his temper burst forth sometimes in abuses, in insults to the minister, who bore them with patient submission, but heavy resentment from the Soubah against his son always followed such abuse. The crafty *Hodjee* treasured them up in his memory, for a future reckoning; he daily instilled into the ears of the Soubah the many extravagancies his son was guilty of, which had too much truth

truth for their foundation ; but if that had not been the case, the Soubah was too ready to listen to any thing to his prejudice ; for he loved him not—ever saying that his unbridled insolence occasioned the loss of his favorite and beloved son *Mahammed Tuklee Khan*.

*Anno* 1729, the Nabobship of *Patna* becoming vacant, *Hodjee*, without appearing in it himself, influenced the then reigning favourite mistress of the Soubah (who was deeply in his interest) to solicit it for his brother ; who was accordingly the next day nominated to that government. *Suffraaz Khan* upon this appointment, had the courage to tell his father in public *Durbar*, “ he was warming and cherishing “ two snakes, that would sting him and “ his family to death.” The Soubah ordered him immediately to be taken into custody ; but by *Hodjee*’s artful interposition he was appeased.

The following night the brothers held a long and private conference, to which several Rajahs and officers in their confidence were admitted.—Here the wicked plan of *Aliverdi Khan*’s government was settled, and he departed the next day for *Patna*, where in a few days he arrived, and put in

execution the political maxims and instructions he had received from his brother.

*Anno* 1729 to 1735. The exploits of the first six years of his government—that is from the year 1729 to the year 1735, inclusive, were these following; by force, treachery, craft and policy, he subdued most of the *Rajahs* of the province of *Babar*, some, by the basest dissimulation and professions of friendship, he drew to *Patna*, where he murdered them and seized their possessions, as the brave *Sonder Shaw*, &c.——He then carried his arms against the *Chukwaars*, a brave and warlike *Gentoo* race, who possessed a tract of country opposite *Mongbeer*, up the river *Sambo*; the prince or *Rajah* of this country had never paid tribute, or acknowledged any subjection to the *Soubahs* of *Bengal*, or indeed to the *Mogul* himself. He laid every thing that passed on the river by *Mongbeer* under contribution, and put the *European* settlements to an annual heavy expence of a large armament to escort their trade to and from *Patna*.

The old brave *Rajah* of these people (who had many times fought hand to hand, with the intrepid commander of our troops, Major *Hunt*) deceased, in the year 1730, and was succeeded by his son, a youth of seven-

seventeen; this young prince, intimidated by the examples made of several of the *Babar* Rajahs, after a short resistance submitted; acknowledged allegiance to the Emperor, and subjection to the Soubah. An annual tribute was stipulated, and regularly paid for four years — a spot was fixed on, five miles from the mouth of *Samboo*, and thirty from the capital of the *Cbuk-waars*, where the prince every year met the Nabob's officer on a certain day, the one to pay, the other to receive the tribute, and it was agreed that they should have only thirty attendants on each side.

The twentieth of *October* (*Anno 1735*) was the day of payment, at which time the *English* army, under the command of commandant *Holcombe*, lay encamped in *Mongbeer* grove, with the company's trade for the *Patna* factory.—At eleven in the forenoon, we observed a boat, which had come out of *Samboo* river, making for *Patna*; the commandant dispatched two light pulwaars after her, with orders to bring her to — imagining she had a cargo of fish — the boat being brought to, and laid alongside the commandant's budgerow — Guess reader our astonishment! when in place of a cargoe of fish, it contained a



cargoe of human *heads*! five baskets full, and a single head in the sixth.

On enquiry we learnt that before day break, the officer who was deputed to receive the annual tribute from the Rajah of the *Chukwaars*, had by orders from the Nabob *Aliverdi*, placed four hundred men in ambush, under the high banks of the river, near the place of meeting—that the prince and the Nabob's officer (Fowzdar of *Babar*, whose name we have forgot) with their usual attendants, met at nine of the clock, and after the common ceremonies, and the tribute received, when they were just upon parting, the signal being given, the troops in ambush rushed out, and surrounding the Rajah and his few followers, cut them off, one only excepted, who upon a fleet horse escaped, and gave the alarm to the city—among those killed were his principal general officers—We further were informed by the officer who had charge of the boat, that his orders were to make the best of his way to *Patna*, and lay his freight at the *Nabob's feet*; and that the head in the basket by itself, was the Rajah's — he added that the Fowzdar with his troops were in full march to the city *Sambo*.—This was soon after verified, for we observed about four in the afternoon a  
cloud

cloud of smoke over the city, and the same evening we received these other particulars; that on the first alarm and known fate of the Rajah, his wife, the young *Begum*, shut herself up with her son (about a year old) and her attendants, and set fire to her apartments—that the Nabob's troops meeting with no resistance, entered the city, plundered it, and then set fire to it.

A body of the Rajah's troops retired, and for some time disputed the possession of the country with the Nabob's, but the Fowzdar being re-inforced from his camp, which then lay at *Durriapoor*, a short march from *Mongbeer*, the whole country was soon reduced, and these brave people subdued.

These were the *exploits* that rendered the name of *Aliverdi Khan* a terror to the neighbouring districts; and by *these*, he amassed immense riches; part of which he regularly remitted to *Morshadabad*, to preserve his own and brother's credit with the Soubah, but the much greater part he reserved, for a purpose he now had in agitation by the pernicious advice of his brother.

Whilst *Aliverdi Khan* was carrying on these operations to establish his power,

*Hodjee Hamet* remained unrivalled in the administration of the Soubahship; but a transaction which now manifested itself, opened the Soubah's eyes.

*Anno*  
1736. *Aliverdî Khan*, forgetful of the duty and obligations he owed to his master, and urged by the continued persuasions of his brother, began about the beginning of the year 1736, privately to solicit at court for the government of *Patna*, and the province of *Babar*, independant of the Soubah of *Bengal*. This negotiation, however cautiously conducted, came to the knowledge of *Soujah Khan*. Rage on the instant took possession of him. *Hodjee* was disgraced, and for some time imprisoned—but by the most submissive and deceitful letters from *Aliverdî*, and the powerful intercession of the *Seraglio*, (*Hodjee's* never failing resource) the minister was enlarged, and seemingly again taken into favor.

*Anno*  
1737. *Aliverdî* did not slacken his negotiations on this discovery of his treachery; but availing himself of the favor of his patron *Kbondoran*, and by well placed considerable bribes, he obtained, the latter end of the year 1737, a phirmaund and proper sunods from court, constituting him independant governor of the province of *Babar*.

This

This confirmation of the ingratitude and treachery of the two brothers struck deeply to the heart of *Soujab Khan*. He had however the resolution and prudence to disguise his sentiments, knowing their power was too great to be attacked openly, or capable of being reduced by any weapons, but those of dissimulation and craft; by the assistance of these, he planned, and was just on the point of executing, a safe and certain revenge on both the brothers, when death put a period to his intentions.—It is more than probable, that *Hodjee*, who still preserved his influence in the *Seraglio*, received intimation by this channel of the *Soubah's* designs; for his death was sudden, and judged to be by poison,

Anno  
1738.

His son *Suffraaz Khan* immediately succeeded his father in the government of *Bengal* and *Orissa*, as well as in his resentment to the brothers.

Independant power only increased the bad qualities, which had already taken too deep possession of *Suffraaz Khan*; his excesses in spirituous liquors and women, were beyond controul and example; his insolence and impetuosity of temper became intolerable to all about him, his principal officers were treated with insults  
and

and indignities; most of these had been disgusted with the family for the preference given to *Aliverdi Khan*, in the government of *Patna*; though justice could not lay this charge against *Suffraaz Khan*.

There then resided at his court a *Gentoo* named *Allum Chund*, who had been many years *Dewan* to *Soujab Khan*, by whom he was much venerated for his great age, wisdom and faithful services. This minister was the only man who had courage and honesty enough to attempt restraining the extravagances of *Suffraaz Khan*, a duty he thought owing to the memory of his late master; he accordingly, with the greatest circumspection and humility, and with tears in his eyes, represented to him the fatal tendency of his conduct, which if not changed, must inevitably estrange the hearts of the few remaining friends to his house, and at the same time favor and promote the evil designs of his enemies.

*Suffraaz Khan*, in place of profiting by this wholesome remonstrance and admonition, highly resented his presumption, and ever after treated him with great indignities and contempt, and thereby lost the heart of the only man in the provinces, who by his sincerity, capacity and authority, was

capable of counteracting and frustrating the pernicious machinations of *Hodjee* and his brother.

Though *Suffraaz Khan* did not immediately degrade *Hodjee Hamet* from the post of prime minister, yet he took every opportunity of showing an inveterate hatred to him; in public *Durbar* he commonly called him by the appellation of, “ His father’s pander,” and treated him with such insults and indignities, that he seldom frequented the *Durbar*, being ill able to brook such treatment in a place where he had for so many years been accustomed to a degree of deference and respect, equal to his master; nor is it much to be wondered at, that he should meditate vengeance, when a fair occasion offered; this he was not long without; *Suffraaz Khan*’s own folly and rashness supplied him with the means, and gave him a nearer, and more encouraging prospect, of an *event* which he for some time past had in view.

A few months after *Suffraaz Khan* came to the government, he threw a disgrace on *Futtuab Cbund*’s house, which laid the foundation of his precipitate fall. The fact, though well known to a few, was only whispered, out of respect to the power and credit

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credit of that family, which had maintained even from the reign of *Auring Zebe*, a character of distinguished consideration; from *Furruksbír*, *Futtuab Chund* received the title of *Jaggaut Seet*; and might be justly esteemed the greatest banker, and most opulent subject in the world.

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1739. He had about this time married his youngest grandson, named *Seet Mortab Roy*, to a young creature of exquisite beauty, aged about eleven years. The fame of her beauty coming to the ears of the Soubah, he burned with curiosity and lust for the possession of her; and sending for *Jaggaut Seet*, demanded a sight of her—The old man (then compleat fourscore) begged and intreated, that the Soubah would not stain the honor and credit of his house, nor load his last days with shame, by persisting in a demand which he knew the principles of *bis cast*, forbid a compliance with.

Neither the tears nor remonstrances of the old man had any weight on the Soubah, who growing outrageous at his refusal, ordered in his presence his house to be immediately surrounded with a body of horse, and swore on the *Kboran*, that if he complied in sending his grand-daughter,  
that

that he might only *see her*, he would instantly return her without any injury.

The *Seet* reduced to this extremity, and judging from the Soubah's known impetuosity, that his persisting longer in a denial, would only make his disgrace *more public*, at last consented; and the young creature was carried with the greatest secrecy in the night to visit him. She was returned the same night, we will suppose (for the honor of that house) uninjured; be this as it may, the violence was of too delicate a nature, to permit any future commerce between her and her husband.

The indignity was never forgiven by *Jaggaut Seet*, and that whole powerful family, consequently became inveterate, tho' concealed enemies to the Soubah.

*Hodjee Hamet* soon came to the knowledge of this rash step and violence committed against the *Seets*; he was also well apprized, of *Allum Chund's* disgust, and, as he was upon a friendly footing with them both, he determined to avail himself of their resentment, and make it subservient to his own intended vengeance for the repeated insults he had received from the Soubah. Revenge however was not his sole motive; he



he was actuated by another, yet more prevalent, the further aggrandising his family; the hopes of which he had hitherto only seen at a distance, but now thought the conjuncture favorable for carrying his long projected plan into execution; which was to cut off the son of his late *master, friend and benefactor*, and place his brother *Ali-verdi Khan* in his stead.

*Hodjee* lost no time in procuring a private conference with the dis-affected *Seets* and *Allum Chund*; in the course of which he represented in the most lively manner, the  
“oppression and extravagant government of  
“*Suffraaz Khan*, and that nothing but the  
“most deplorable consequences to the  
“provinces could be expected from such  
“an unbridled and tyrannic disposition—  
“that if he already treated with such in-  
“sults and contempt, those for whom his  
“father had the highest veneration and  
“friendship—what might not others dread  
“from his future violences?”—He then expatiated on, and with bitter exaggeration painted their own particular injuries, which had all the effect upon them that he might naturally expect or could wish.

He suffered not their resentment to cool, but supported this conference with many others;

others; and the unanimous conclusion of the triumvirate was; “ That none could  
 “ be secure in their lives, honor or pro-  
 “ perty, whilst *Saffraaz Khan* remained  
 “ invested with the Soubahship.”—*Hodjee*  
 managed the passions of these men with  
 such art and address in the promotion of  
 his own views—that they themselves  
 first proposed, “ his brother *Aliverdi Khan*,  
 “ as the only one capable of rescuing the  
 “ provinces from apparent and inevitable  
 “ ruin — That he should be immediately  
 “ advised of their sentiments, and intreated  
 “ to concur with their hopes by preparing  
 “ for a speedy march into *Bengal*, to take  
 “ upon him the government.”

*Hodjee*, with expressions of gratitude for their favorable opinion of his brother, consented to their proposal with a well dissembled reluctance; declaring, “ nothing but  
 “ the necessity of the time, and the peril  
 “ of the country could have influenced  
 “ him to meditate aught against the son  
 “ of his late master.”

It being objected by *Jaggaut Seet*, that an intercourse by letter with *Aliverdi* was liable to accident and discovery, it was on further deliberation resolved, that *Hodjee* should repair to *Patna*, where he could better  
 inform

inform his brother of the state of things, and benefit him by his council at this critical period; but as his sudden and private retreat from court would raise a suspicion in the Soubah, that something was in agitation against him, *Allum Chund* and *Jaggant Seet* engaged to make his departure an act of the Soubah's own weakness.

The plan of operations being thus agreed on, their next step was to engage in the conspiracy the Soubah's *Tope Khonnab Derogher* (or master of his ordnance) with several other disaffected officers, which was very soon accomplished.—It was a saying of a great and brave king, “ that one drop  
“ of honey caught and engaged more  
“ flies, than a ton of vinegar.” *Suffraaz Khan* in place of sweetness of disposition and affability, unhappily substituted a morose, severe and insolent carriage to all around him, which (at this most important juncture) left him not more than two or three officers of any consideration, who bore the least attachment to his person, family or government.

Matters becoming thus ripe for execution, *Hodjee* began to grow impatient for an interview with his brother, and urged the  
4 promise

promise made to him by *Allum Cbund* and *Jaggaut Seet*, of procuring his dismissal from the capital.

These embraced the first opportunity, when the Soubah was according to custom reviling *Hodjee* (then absent) in public *Durbar*, to represent to him, that it was a disgrace to his court the suffering *Hodjee* to appear there, considering the infamous employ he bore under his father.—“ Drive him (continued they) from your presence, court and city; and let him go to his ungrateful brother.” This council being echoed and applauded by the *Tope Khonnab Derogber*, and others in the confederacy, the unwary Soubah instantly sent an order to *Hodjee Hamet* to quit the provinces, who not thinking it prudent to wait for a second order, departed without delay, and made the best of his way to *Patna*, where in a few days he arrived with some of his faithful attendants.

*Suffraaz Khan*, by this false step, relinquished and deprived himself of the great security he had in his hands, for the good behaviour of *Aliverdi Khan*, whose ambition he had cause enough to think, would not stop with the Nabobship of *Patna*,

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and

and he ought to have seen that the surest means of checking its career, was the detention of *Hodjee*.

On *Hodjee's* arrival at *Patna*, he painted the whole conduct of the Soubah in the most hideous colours; he employed his whole art and eloquence in the exaggeration of the indignities himself had endured; he told his brother that he might rest assured “ *Suffraaz Khan* could never forget, nor forgive his obtaining the government of *Babar*, independant of the Soubahship, whereby so large a portion of the revenues was lopt from himself and family; that he was from good authority convinced, the Soubah only waited a favorable occasion to cut him off, and seize and reunite his government to the Soubahship, to which purpose he knew he had forwarded dispatches to court;—that he had gone too far to stop, that *Suffraaz Khan* was universally detested in the provinces, and finally that no security for himself and family remained, but in assuming the whole Soubahdary, which he might do with very little difficulty.”

*Hodjee*

*Hodjee* then opened to his brother, the progress he had made in this necessary step below, recited the several conferences he had with the *Seets* and *Allum Chund*, and the result of their deliberations, recounting at the same time the names of the Soubah's officers, who had declared themselves wholly devoted to his promotion to the *Muztnud*.

It was said, *Aliverdi* expressed much compunction on this overture being first made to him, to dispossess the son of his master and benefactor; but if we form our conclusion from his *Actions*, both antecedent and subsequent to this period, we shall have no foundation to encourage our belief in that report; for if he really had at first any scruples to combat with, it is certain he very soon subdued them; and determined to march into *Bengal*; of which full advice was immediately dispatched to their confederate friends there.

It was however thought eligible, that *Suffraaz Khan* should be lulled into security; to which end, *Aliverdi* (at the time he was levying additional troops) wrote the most submissive letter to him,—“ assuring  
 “ him he was as much the slave of his  
 “ house, as he was in the time of his  
 G 2 “ father;

“ father; humbly intreating his permission  
 “ to throw himself at his feet, and plead  
 “ the cause of his unfortunate brother,  
 “ who, he had with grief learned, had in-  
 “ curred his displeasure, hoping by his  
 “ personal supplications, his unhappy bro-  
 “ ther would be restored to the Soubah’s  
 “ favor \*.”

He departed from *Patna* the latter end  
 of the year 1741, at the head of about  
 30,000 horse and foot; leaving his brother  
*Hodjee Hamet*, his Niab, or deputy gover-  
 nor of *Babar*. We will leave *Aliverdi* on  
 his march, and return to the court of the  
 Soubah.

*Suffraaz Khan* had yet about his person  
 three officers of distinction, that remained  
 faithful to his interest——though from dif-  
 ferent motives; their names were *Mussat*  
*Kbooli Khan*, *Goas Khan*, and *Banteer Ali*  
*Khan*; (more commonly known by the  
 name of *Bäaker Ali Khan*) the first, was  
 married to a sister of the Soubah, and ap-  
 pointed Nabob of *Orissa*, for which govern-

\* This was the specious pretext publicly avowed  
 for *Aliverdi*’s march into *Bengal*, which he began soon  
 after the dispatch of the above letter, and before he  
 could possibly receive any reply to it.

ment

ment he was in a few days to set out, with a small body of troops.—His interest connected him firmly to the Soubah, on whose well being his own fortunes depended.

The other two had been proved faithful servants to *Soujab Khan*, and were attached to the present Soubah, more from principles of gratitude, honor, and affection to the memory of their old master, than to any love they could possibly bear to himself—they supported the character of brave officers, were in considerable commands under the Vice-roy, and in truth were the only persons in his court, for whom he observed the least respect or regard.

These officers, after the departure of *Hodjee*, had received imperfect intelligence of the frequent meetings of *Hodjee*, *Jaggaut Seet*, and *Allum Chund*, which they ventured to communicate to the Vice-roy, intimating at the same time their suspicions, that such meetings, composed of persons, which they feared were disaffected to his government, called for his attention; and advised the immediate seizure of the *Seets*, *Allum Chund*, and the commanding officer of the artillery; but *Suffraaz Khan*, doomed to destruction, hearkened not to these faithful



admonitions, which he treated as idle apprehensions without any real foundation, thinking them friendly endeavours only to draw him from his pleasures, which they had before attempted, but in vain.

By this fatal delusion, the Soubah lost the only opportunity of exerting that power which might have saved him from approaching ruin: the bold step advised by *Goas* and *Baaker Khans*, of seizing those heads of the conspiracy, would have struck terror into the whole party, and effectually put a stop to *Aliverdi's* intended invasion, and probably a period also to his hopes.

*Aliverdi Khan* followed the letter he wrote the Soubah, with such expedition that he gained the pass of *Sichygully*, and entered *Bengal* before the least intimation of his departure from *Patna* reached the court of the Soubah.

The pass of *Sichygully* divides the provinces of *Bengal* and *Babar*, is of considerable length, and only about ten to twelve feet wide, situate on the top of a mountain, with a steep ascent both ways; the course of the pass is *North* and *South*, flanked to the *Westward* by an impenetrable wood,

wood, and to the *Eastward* by the principal branch of the river *Ganges*: thus circumstanced it was capable of being defended by a small number of men, but it was left unguarded by the infatuated *Suffraaz Khan*, and without any defence at all.

*Aliverdi* knew the importance of this pass, and therefore determined by forced marches to gain the possession of it, before it could possibly be put in a state of defence sufficient to oppose his entrance into *Bengal*; this he accomplished as above, and found it necessary to halt for some days to refresh his fatigued troops.

On the first advice that the Nabob of *Patna* had passed *Sichygly*, the court of the Soubah was struck with the deepest consternation, every one seeing further into the consequences of his approach, than the unhappy and short sighted *Suffraaz Khan*; who having at first no conception, that *Aliverdi* was at the head of an army, expressed only high rage and resentment at his daring to enter the province without his permission.—But when soon after *Goas* and *Baaker Khans* informed him of the number of troops he had with him—and that they were convinced (by intelligence from spies they had

placed near his person) the design of *Aliverdî* was to depose him, it is impossible to paint his fury.—He immediately sent for *Jaggaut Seet*, and *Allum Chund*, and demanded of them how they dared suffer such a body of troops to enter the province, without giving early notice of it, urging that he knew such a step was not taken without their privacy and counsel.

The accused, who expected this attack, came prepared, having previously concerted their replies, lest they should have been separately examined.—They suffered the Soubah's rage to expend itself in words, and then submissively assured him “ That  
 “ had there been the smallest foundation  
 “ for the belief of the reports falsely spread  
 “ of *Aliverdî Khan*, they would have been  
 “ the first of his slaves to advise him of  
 “ his danger.—That the forces of *Aliverdî*  
 “ were greatly exaggerated by some evil  
 “ minded people near the Soubah's person,  
 “ who were declared enemies to *Hodjee's*  
 “ house. — That *their* intelligence (on  
 “ which they could depend) said, he was  
 “ only accompanied by his common at-  
 “ tendants, and a small guard to defend  
 “ him against the petty Rajahs, and free-  
 “ booters of the mountains. — That they  
 “ were

“ were themselves perfectly satisfied, the  
 “ conduct of *Aliverdi* was greatly misre-  
 “ presented; and that his only design was  
 “ to throw himself at the Soubah’s feet,  
 “ and plead the cause of his unhappy dis-  
 “ graced brother *Hodjee Hamet*.”

To corroborate this specious and deceitful harangue, they each produced letters from *Aliverdi*, and from other seemingly indifferent persons in his train, calculated purposely to support the deceptions, which being compared with others, wrote to the Soubah from *Sichygully*, he was thereby again lulled into a stupid security, and was influenced so far by the combined traitors, as to censure *Goas Khan*, and *Baaker Ali Khan*, as aiming to stir up troubles and a war in the province, that they might benefit themselves in the confusion.

We left *Aliverdi Khan* to the Southward of *Sichygully* pass, halting to refresh his troops after their fatiguing march.—Here he met with an impediment, that was well nigh making his whole scheme prove abortive.

His principal *Jemmautdaars*, officers and foldiers, had been promised four months advanced pay, (besides their old arrears) and

a gratuity of three Lacs of Rupees as soon as they entered the province of *Bengal*.—The *Jemautdaars* in a body presented themselves before the Nabob, and demanded the promised pay and gratuity for themselves and their people, declaring if it was withheld from them, they would not march a foot further.

This demand threw *Aliverdi* into the utmost perplexity, knowing his inability to comply with it; for what with the large bribes remitted to *Delby*, for the purchase of his independant government of *Babar*, and other considerable sums just disbursed, to corrupt and keep firm the principal officers in the service of the *Soubah*; his coffers were drained, and at a very low ebb.

However, without discovering the difficulty he was under, he with his usual dignity, and a voice of authority, “ ordered them to withdraw, and wait without, “ and they should be satisfied.”—Then calling a private *Durbar*, consisting of his Dewan *Chinkumunny*, and a few of his chief confidants, he “ informed them of the “ demand of his *Jemautdaars*,” and represented in lively colours, “ the risque  
“ himself

“ himself and they ran, of being deliver-  
 “ ed up to *Suffraaz Khan*, unless some  
 “ expedient was devised to raise to the  
 “ amount of three Lacs, with which he  
 “ doubted not to quiet them for the pre-  
 “ sent.” To this the Dewan replied, the  
 whole sum in his hands did not exceed  
 45000 Rupees, and that he knew of no  
 means of raising more.—

This unfavourable report of the Dewan,  
 proved a severe shock to *Aliverdi* and his  
 adherents.—Various alternatives were (as  
 usual in these cases) proposed, without any  
 having the appearance of succeeding :  
 amongst the rest, it was strenuously urged  
 by the Dewan, that an express should be  
 sent to *Jaggaut Seet* ; but this was opposed  
 by the Nabob,—who asserted, “ such a de-  
 “ lay would prove fatal to the whole en-  
 “ terprize.”—And he was just on the point  
 of resolving to retreat with those troops he  
 could depend on ; when the *evil genius* of  
*Suffraaz Khan*, in the person of one of  
*Aliverdi*'s followers, conciliated all matters  
 by a device, which merits being particu-  
 larly recited.

There were two brothers, merchants of  
*Patna*, well known by the names of *Omy*  
*Gbund*,

*Chund*, and *Diep Chund*: the former of these now attended the camp, and was generally of *Aliverdi's* private councils, and much in his confidence.

One of the occupations of this *Omy Chund*, was to advance occasionally ready money to the officers and soldiers at a very high premium; this is an allowed practice in all Eastern camps, and possibly, at least for aught we know, it may be the practice in the Western also—however, the greatness of the risque certainly justifies the largeness of the premium, for the repayment not only depends upon the lives of the borrowers, but also upon their success.

*Omy Chund* had brought with him only 20,000 rupees, for this game at hazard: he desired the Nabob would order his Dewan to pay him immediately the 45,000 rupees, which were in his hands; which being complied with, he instructed the Nabob,  
 “ To call in the Jemmautdaars — and  
 “ order them to bring in an account of  
 “ their respective claims, and to tell them  
 “ that he would give them draughts on  
 “ *Omy Chund*, taking care to give billets  
 “ first to those who had the smallest sums to  
 “ receive, and that in the close of the  
 “ evening

“ evening he should (on pretence of fresh  
 “ intelligence by his spies that *Suffraaz*  
 “ *Khan* was in full march towards him)  
 “ cause the *Nobut* to be beat, and issue his  
 “ orders for engaging the enemy early in  
 “ the morning, and leave the rest to him.”

The *Jemmutdaars* were called and ordered to bring in their claims, which they did in less than an hour, for they generally have them ready made up on a scrap of paper, which they deposit either in their girdle or turband. When all the claims were laid before the Nabob—he ordered his *Dewan* to give them billets upon *Omy Chund*; the *Dewan*, according to private instructions, made what delay he could, not to occasion suspicion, and gave those first who had the least to receive.

When the *Jemmutdaars* tendered their billets to *Omy Chund*, he paid several of the least considerable sums readily, and without any deductions; then, as he had accounts to settle with most of them, he prolonged the time by many artful blunders and designed errors, until the day was far spent, and not more than one eighth part of their accounts adjusted, then excusing himself on account of the great fatigue



tigue he had undergone, deferred the further payments until the next morning.

As soon as the day closed, *Aliverdi* ordered the *Nobut* to be beat, and issued out his commands to his *Jemautdaars* to hold themselves in readiness for engaging the next day, telling them that *Suffraaz Khan's* army was not far distant.

This unexpected alarm had the effect, which *Omy Chund* had foreseen; those who had received the amount of their billets, in all haste returned it into his custody, and the others deposited their billets in his hands; in the morning the Nabob resumed his march, taking the rout to *Morshadabad*, keeping up the alarm and expectation of a battle, until he in reality encountered the Soubah, to whom we once again return.

*Baaker Ali Khan* and *Goas Khan*, receiving hourly fresh intelligence from their spies of *Aliverdi's* motions, and the number of his forces, had still the courage to represent to the Soubah, the danger his person and government were in—and humbly besought him, “to provide for safety whilst in his power;” urging “that if the designs of *Aliverdi* were  
“ honour-

“ honourable, the most eligible way to  
 “ preserve him in those sentiments, was  
 “ to let him see he was in a condition and  
 “ posture to oppose and crush him. That  
 “ if on the contrary the designs of *Aliverdi*  
 “ were aimed against the government,  
 “ his supine conduct must inevitably se-  
 “ cure his success. That from the face  
 “ of *their* intelligence, and the whole  
 “ procedure of *Aliverdi*, they had no room  
 “ to doubt the wickedness of his inten-  
 “ tions.”

These remonstrances joined to advices  
 the Soubah had himself received of the  
*real* number of *Aliverdi's* troops, at last  
 roused him from his stupor, and he directly  
 ordered his Jemmautdaars and forces to  
 take the field, and rendezvous in the plains  
 of *Gyria*, about three miles to the North  
 of *Morshadabad*, himself following the next  
 morning. He had hardly time to marshal  
 his troops in order of battle, when *Aliver-*  
*di's* army appeared.

Their force was nearly equal, each about  
 30,000 men, 20,000 foot, and 10,000  
 horse; *Suffraaz Khan* had twenty pieces  
 of artillery from twelve to six and four  
 pounders; *Aliverdi* had none.

*Suffraaz*

*Suffraaz Khan* planted his cannon in his front, with strict orders not to fire, until the enemy advanced within half musket shot, for on his artillery he rested secure of victory—*Aliverdi* ordered his troops to receive the discharge of the cannon, and then to rush in upon the Soubah's army sword in hand; he issued these orders with great security, for he and his troops knew that by the treachery of the *Tope Khonnab Droger*, the cannon were loaded with powder only. He also issued his instructions to his officers, to regard nothing but attacking those posts, which were commanded by *Mussat Khooli Khan*, *Baaker Ali Khan*, and *Goas Khan*, well knowing that none of the Soubah's troops or officers would engage, but those which were immediately under their command.

When the engagement began, all but five or six thousand of the Soubah's troops stood idle spectators of the battle; *Aliverdi's* best troops advanced without the least apprehension, stood the discharge of artillery, and vigorously attacked the division of *Baaker Ali Khan*, (behind which the Soubah was stationed) they were twice repulsed with much slaughter; but *Baaker Ali's* troops being over-powered by fresh numbers,

bers, this brave man was killed, and most of his party cut to pieces.

*Goas Khan* penetrating to the center of the enemy, with a few brave followers, was near killing *Aliverdi* with his own hand, when *Sedun Hazzaary* commander of his *Burkundasses*, interposed and saved him; obliging *Goas Khan* to retire with his command, who soon after, surrounded by *Aliverdi*'s troops, and disdaining to receive quarter, were to a man killed,

*Muffat Kbooli Khan*, and the troops under his command, for some time exerted themselves with great courage and fidelity in defence of the Soubah's person, who being now for the first time informed of the treachery of the *Tope Kbonnab Droger*, and the defection and perfidy of most of his officers and troops, and that he was betrayed on all hands, and learning also the fates of his two faithful generals—he ordered “ *Muffat Kbooli Khan* to retire from the battle, to make the best retreat he could to *Cuttack*, and save if possible the province of *Orissa* from the traitor and usurper *Aliverdi* ;” telling him “ he saw it was vain for him alone to attempt stemming the current of his adverse for-  
H “ tune,”

“ tune.” *Mussat Kbooli Khan* obeyed, and with a small faithful party retired, and eluded the pursuit of the enemy.

The Soubah, thus abandoned, determined, it should seem, to efface by a glorious death the remembrance of his inglorious life— At this juncture it was, that the leader of his elephant proposed to him to return to the capital, “ telling him that he would “ engage on the forfeiture of his head, to “ convey him safe there, where he had “ still some friends that would be able to “ make a stand for him;” but he nobly replied, “ it never should be said that “ *Suffraaz Khan* fled from rebels and tray- “ tors.” And ordered him to plunge into the thickest of the enemy, where with a few of his guards, that yet remained steady to him, he for some time maintained an obstinate engagement—like an enraged lion he fought to a degree of desperation; it was said he emptied a whole quiver of arrows, and discharged more than a dozen javelins, besides the execution he did with the fire arms he had with him, on the elephant; but at last being weary with slaughter, and not able any longer to lift an arm, a period was put to his life and fortune, by a musket ball from a distance, said to be discharged

discharged by one of his own people ; with this wound he fell dead from his elephant, and with his death the contest ceased.—

Thus fell the son of *Soujab Khan*, testifying by his exit from life, that he possessed a soul capable of producing great actions, had the soil been early and properly cultivated.

*Aliverdi Khan* possessed himself of the late Soubah's tent and baggage, the plunder of which, amounting to between nine and ten lacs of rupees, he bestowed upon his principal officers and soldiers—he received *Suffraaz Khan's* perfidious officers and soldiers into his service, and marching to the capital, entered it without resistance through the acclamations of the people ; proceeding to the palace, he seated himself upon the *Muztnud*, and received the submission of the Rajahs, Jemmautdaars, and other great officers, who acknowledged and saluted him Soubah of the *Three provinces*.

Anno  
1742.

The fate of one of the three principal conspirators, having something remarkable in it, calls for our particular mention.—

*Allum Chund* returned from the investing *Aliverdi* to his own house, and being bit-

terly reproached by his wife, for his perfidy and treason to the son of his prince and master, and predicting “ that he would shortly receive from the *usurper* the reward due to every *traytor*,” was thereby so much affected, that he swallowed diamond powder, and in a few hours expired.

*Aliverdi Khan* entertaining no favourable opinion of the military prowess and capacity of the *Bengal* soldiery, and having so very lately seen a glaring proof of their natural perfidy, as well as cowardice, in the unhappy fall of his predecessor, determined to put no trust or confidence in them, and to guard against their treachery, which he knew might be easily purchased against him, as it had been for him; entertained immediately in his service a select body of three thousand *Patans*, with their commander *Mustapha Khan*; a soldier of fortune, who about this time arrived in *Bengal* with commendatory letters from court: he bore the character of a consummate general, and his subsequent actions verified the report.— These new troops the Soubah kept always on duty near his person; and their chief was admitted to his councils and favor.

His next step was to displace all officers throughout the provinces that he had reason to think retained any affection to the late Soubah's house, and when he thought himself secure against all attempts that might endanger his newly acquired government, he appointed a Niab *pro tempore*, for the government of *Babar* and its capital, and recalled his brother *Hodjee Hamet*, that he might benefit himself of his counsel and assistance in his arduous situation.

*Hodjee* being arrived, all matters were debated and concerted relative to the government of the provinces; *Hodjee* was invested with the government of *Morshadabad* in the absence of his brother, who without delay took the field, and directed his rout towards *Orissa*, on the thirtieth of *March*, 1742\*.—We will leave the Soubah on his march, and for a few minutes attend on the Nabob of *Orissa*.

This fugitive and unfortunate brother in law to the late Soubah, (with whom I was

\* *Suffraaz Khan's* defeat and death was on the twenty-eighth of *January*, 1741-2, and not on the thirtieth of *March*, 1742, as the author of the *Reflections* erroneously says, confounding the date of one event with another.



intimately acquainted) escaped from the battle with a few followers, as before recited; he in a few days reached the capital of *Orissa*, where many of the friends of *Suffraaz Khan's* house resorted to him, he made some attempts to fortify, and enlist troops for the defence of the place; but being ill supplied with cannon and ammunition, and receiving certain intelligence of the usurper's approach, with a very superiour force to his own, he thought it prudent to provide for his own safety, by retreating out of the province with his family, departing from *Kuttack* four days before the Soubah's van-guard reached it, and found an asylum in the *Deccan*, under *Nizzam Al Mulk*.

*Kuttack* opened its gates to the Usurper, but he had scarcely settled the government of *Orissa*, when he was alarmed with the news, that an army of 80,000 *Mabarattor* horse had entered the province of *Bengal*, by a passage over the *Bierbobeen* hills, and had already penetrated into the *Burdomaan* country.

The Usurper received this unexpected shock with manifest astonishment; he immediately saw not only his retreat, but every communication with his brother and  
his

his capital cut off. In this dilemma we will leave him for a while, and investigate as well the causes of this invasion, as convey some idea of the people called *Mabarattors*, who for a few years last past, have been as much the dread and terror of the East, as the *Goths* and *Vandals* of old were of the West; with this essential difference in their characters, that whereas *these* were the barbarous invaders of the rights and property of others; *those* are making justifiable efforts to recover *that*, which their ancestors had been for ages in peaceable and just possession of.

When the Empire of *Indostan* was invaded, and in part conquered by the *Mogul Tartars*, about the beginning of the fifteenth century; many of the *Rajahs*, or *Hindoo* princes of the country, submitted with little opposition to the invaders, on condition of holding their lands and principalities, paying a stipulated annual tribute: But others of them, disdaining this tributary state of slavery, retired to the southward, and possessing themselves of the most southern parts of *Deccan*, they remained unmolested until about the year 1654, the latter end of the reign of the Emperor *Shaw Jehawn*.

His third son *Auring-Zebe*, being at that period Soubah of the *Deccan*, (or south) made a fruitless attempt on *Golconda*, instigated thereto by *Mbir Jemla*, who revolted to him from the then reigning Rajah of that famous city, and the adjoining country.

*Auring Zebe*, succeeding to the throne of *Indostan*, in the year 1659, pursued by his Generals his former designs against the independant Rajahs on the coast of *Cormandel*, guided chiefly by the counsel and instructions of *Mbir Jemla*; by whose valour *Golconda* was reduced, and the whole coast subdued, - from *Ganjam* to *Coleroon* river, that is, from the latitude of  $11^{\circ}.40'$ . to  $19^{\circ}.30'$ . north.

The other promontory of *India*, called the coast of *Mallabar*, from the borders of the province of *Guzerat* to cape *Comorin*, was never conquered by the Mogul Emperors; but the independant possession of it, was maintained by various Rajahs, the chief of whom was the Rajah of *Sittarab*.

To *these* independant princes, the distressed and dispossessed Rajahs of *Cormandel* applied for succour: *They*, alarmed at  
the

the rapid progress of the Mogul arms, immediately united themselves under the banners of the Rajah of *Sittarah*.

These united princes and people, are those which are known by the general name of *Mabarattors*, a word compounded of *Rattor* and *Maabah*; the first being the name of a particular *Raazpoot* (or *Rojpoot*) tribe, and the latter, signifying *great* or *mighty*, (as explained by Mr. *Frazer*) a term we have had occasion to make use of before, and frequently shall again.

The acquisitions thus gained to the Empire by the Generals of *Auring Zebe*, cost so much blood and treasure, that the diamond mines of *Golconda* hardly proved an equivalent; for the confederate princes made such vigorous efforts to regain what they had lost, that *Auring Zebe* was obliged to keep up so large an armament, that the expence of preserving his new conquest exceeded the whole revenues acquired by it; the glorious vanity, however, of having carried his conquests of this Empire further than any of his predecessors, determined him not to abandon them, until finding at last, he should risque the loss of the whole, he began to meditate coming  
to

to a treaty with them, which resolution was hastened by several bold attacks, made on different parts of his dominions by the *Mabarattors* at the same time.—On the side of his new southern acquisitions, they carried fire and sword sometimes into the province of *Dowlatabad*, and attacked the capital *Auringabad*, and from *Sitturah* they penetrated through the province of *Guzerat*, and sometimes alarmed even the court of *Delby*, striking a panick wherever they came.

*Auring Zebe*, seeing at length, no prospect of extending his conquests farther over these intrepid natives; thought it a wise measure to secure, and keep if possible, what he had got.—To this end, he entered into a treaty with the confederate Rajahs, and by a secret valuable consideration given to the *Seboæ* Rajah, King of *Sitturah*, a peace was concluded between them on the following terms. “ That  
 “ *Auring Zebe* should remain in quiet  
 “ possession of his southern conquests as  
 “ far as the river *Coleroon*, before mention-  
 “ ed, and the port of *Surat*; and that in  
 “ lieu thereof, the *Mabarattors* should re-  
 “ ceive, and be intitled to, for ever, a  
 “ *Gbout* (that is, the fourth part) of the  
 “ reve-

“revenues of *Deccan*,” to which *Soubabship*, these new southern conquests were annexed by the Emperor.

Thus a period was put to a war, that had chiefly employed the attention of near two thirds of *Auring Zebe*'s long and fortunate reign, by which, so important an addition of territory and revenue was obtained, that had it been duly and honestly governed and administered, and the treaty kept inviolate on both sides, would have yielded a perpetual source of riches to all succeeding Emperors, on every emergency of the state.

As long as *Auring Zebe* lived, the *Chout* was duly paid to the *Maharattors*, but on his decease the treaty began to be infringed, though it suffered no open rupture until the death of *Shaw Allum*, when the Empire falling into a state of universal confusion, (by the contentions that arose between his sons for the succession to the throne, and by the subsequent distractions during the despotic tyranny of the *Seyds*) little regard was paid to it on the part of the government.

Things

Things being in this situation, the *Ma-  
barattors* determined to pay themselves, by  
making incursions on different sides of the  
Empire, and laying the city of *Surat* un-  
der contribution; in which warfare they  
met with such success from the continued  
pusillanimity and distraction of the govern-  
ment, that at length, they extended their  
claim and demand from the stipulated  
*Choût* of the revenues of the *Deccan*, to a  
*Choût* of the whole revenues of the Empire.

However, when *Mabommed Shaw*, by the  
overthrow of the *Seyds*, arrived to the se-  
cure possession of the throne, *Anno 1719*,  
some check was put to their invasions;  
and terms of accommodation being made  
to them, they for some years acquiesced to  
the terms of *Auring Zebe's* treaty, and an-  
nually received the *Choût* of the revenues  
of the *Deccan*, by their agents out of the  
royal treasury at *Delby*, long after these  
revenues had lost their way to court by the  
usurpation and independance of the traitor  
*Nizam Al Mulk*.

In the year 1740, the deputies of the  
King of *Sittarab*, arrived as usual at *Delby* to  
receive the *Choût*, when they were given  
to understand, " That *Nadir Shaw* had  
" lately

“ lately so exhausted the treasury, that the  
 “ Emperor was rendered utterly incapable  
 “ of satisfying their demands; the more  
 “ especially, as the revenues of the *Ben-*  
 “ *gal* provinces had been withheld from  
 “ the year 1738, by the rebellion of  
 “ *Aliverdî Khan*, who, in conjunction with  
 “ his brother *Hodjee Hamet*, had usurped  
 “ the government of that Soubahdary; re-  
 “ questing that the deputies would intreat  
 “ their master in the Emperor’s name, to  
 “ send an army of sufficient force to exact  
 “ the amount of the *Chout*, that was due  
 “ to them; and also to take the heads of  
 “ *Aliverdî* and his brother, and restore the  
 “ family of *Soujah Khan* to the Soubahship,  
 “ as the then distracted state of the Empire  
 “ put it out of his power to send a force  
 “ strong enough to reduce the two rebels.”

With this answer, and *actual powers*  
 from the *Emperor*, the deputies departed  
 for *Sittarab*. — A fact that fully confutes  
 the assertion of *Aliverdî*’s having received  
 a *Pbirmaund*, confirming him in the go-  
 vernment; as was published by beat of  
 drum, and industriously circulated by the  
*Seets* the latter end of the year 1739 \*.

The

\* *Aliverdî* sitting in state a whole day to receive the  
*Shah Pbirmaund*, with the usual ceremonials on such

oc-



The *Mabarattor* deputies arriving at *Sittarah*, reported the result of their deputation, and the Emperor's request. The King of *Sittarah* did not ruminatè long what resolution to take; he now had obtained a justifiable plea to attack the Mogul's dominions with his own participation; therefore, without loss of time, ordered an army of 80000 horse to take the field, and march into *Bengal*, under the command of *Boschar Pundit*, a general of some reputation, and favorite of the *Seboo* Rajah King of *Sittarah*. This general and army we left in the *Burdomaan* country between the usurper and his capital; to whom we

occasions; but this is a farce that has been *since* played in *some parts* of the province of *Bengal*, and laughed at, as much as it was then.—For the *Seets* could always *cook up* a *Phirmaund* from court when ever it was *wanted*. That *Aliverdi* was never confirmed in the government by a *real Phirmaund*, is a fact that admits of no doubt; and it is well known, that so late as *June, Anno 1750*, the *Vizir Monsoor Ali Khan*, (father of *Soujah Dewlat*, the present Soubah of *Oude*) was advanced at the head of 100,000 horse, within eight days march of *Patna*, purposely to restore these so long dismembered provinces to the Empire, and punish the usurper;—but differences arising between the young Emperor *Amet Shaw*, (son and successor to *Mahommed Shaw*) and Rajah *Jeet Sing*, the *Vizir* was recalled from this service, or as others more probably said, his retreat was bought off by *Aliverdi*, at the price of fifty Lac of Rupees.

must

must again return, and point out the errors that drew him into the perilous situation and dilemma we left him in, before we shew how bravely he extricated himself from it.

Some short time before he departed from *Morshadabad*, a slight rumour prevailed of the intended invasion of the *Mabarattors*, to which no credit was given either by the usurper or his brother; but slight as the report was, it ought to have merited their attention at a juncture when he was departing with all the strength of the provinces to the most extream part of his government; and as he must have known, no enemy could enter the province of *Bengal*, so as to cut off his communication with his capital, but by the western hills of *Bierboheen*, prudence dictated that he should have secured the fidelity of the Rajahs of *Bierboheen* and *Bisnapore*, who were alone capable of harrassing and retarding, if not of preventing the *Mabarattor* army entering from that quarter.

But (as if Fortune had purposed, that the neglect of this wise precaution should be conducive to the higher exaltation of the character of this her favorite son) so far

far were the brothers from adverting to the necessity of such a security in his rear, that both these Rajahs had been highly incensed by some acts of oppression exercised towards them soon after *Aliverdi's* usurpation of the government, and were readily disposed, in placè of obstructing the enemy, to give them a free entrance into the heart of *Bengal*, which they did without the least opposition; though in pursuing their resentment, they entailed a long series of heavy calamities on their unhappy country.

We left *Aliverdi Khan* at *Cuttack*, in deep astonishment at the news of this dangerous invasion. Without discovering the least apprehension or alarm, he withdrew for the space of half an hour, in consultation only with *Mustapha Khan*, then ordered his people to prepare for marching; he quitted *Cuttack* the same day, and by forced marches reached near *Burdwan*, the principal town of *Burdomaan*, (within five days' march of the capital) two days after the *Maharattors* took possession of it; Here he intrenched himself, and was soon surrounded by the enemy, and though they had at least the superiority of eight to one, they had not the courage to attack him.

*Boschar*

*Boschar Pundit*, however, sent *Aliverdî* a letter, explaining the nature of the powers he was invested with, demanding “ three years arrears of the *Chôût*, the “ treasures of the two late *Soubabs*, and “ that in future, an officer of their own, “ should have a seat in every Cutcherry “ throughout the provinces, to collect the “ fourth part of the customs on their behalf.”

The usurper received these *terms* with the highest indignation and impatience; instantly commanding the messenger to leave his camp, without deigning to send any reply to *them*; and finding by the propositions made to him, that there remained small hope of effecting any accommodation with the *Mabarattor* General; he determined to make one vigorous effort, to break through the enemy, and regain a communication with his brother; to this resolution he was stimulated, by observing a universal panic amongst his *Bengal* troops, many of whom deserted him by favour of the night,

In pursuance of this resolve, he issued the necessary orders, omitting nothing that could speak the consummate General, promising

misgiving most liberal rewards to those who maintained in this exigency the character of a soldier; and well judging that his principal dependance rested upon the *Patans*, he bestowed the highest encomiums and promises on that body, by whom he began to be loved and revered, being themselves brave, they admired those intrepid qualities in *Aliverdi*, which so nearly resembled their own.

All things being prepared, the usurper directed that part of the trench to be levelled with the utmost silence, which looked towards *Cutwab*. Then putting himself with *Mustapha Khan* at the head of the *Patans* half an hour before day break, marched out, and with amazing courage charged that part of the enemy that intercepted his rout, towards the last mentioned town.

His rear being composed intirely of his *Bengal* troops, (then esteemed the worst soldiers of the Empire) were soon surrounded and put to flight; but the *Patans* exhibited a glorious effort; these led on (as before observed) by the *Soubab*, and their gallant chief *Mustapha*, their rear commanded by the brave *Zeyndi Amet Khan*,

*Khan*, (*Hodjee's* second son) with much slaughter cut themselves a passage through the enemy, and gained the *Cutwab* road; In the course of which, they maintained a most memorable retreat for near three days and nights; being often surrounded and attacked on all sides, by the whole *Mabarattor* army, and as often repulsing and forcing their passage until they arrived at *Cutwab*.

At this place the usurper mustered his troops, and found that of 25000 fighting men, with which he departed from his capital, he had only remaining 2500 *Patans*, and about 1500 of his *Bengal* soldiers, including their officers; these last named troops, stimulated by the example of the *Patans*, and the intrepid behaviour of their *Jemautdaar Jaffier Khan\**, were kept firm to their duty.

At *Cutwab*, *Alverdi*, found it necessary to halt for a short space to refresh his harassed troops, who during the term of this astonishing retreat, had in a manner been strangers to food, rest, or sleep. — Here

May  
Anno  
1742.

\* Since better known by the name of *Mbir Jaffier Ali Khan* Soubah of *Bengal*.

they were again surrounded on all sides, except on that of the river, which *Alverdi* was informed was in one place fordable, a circumstance unsuspected by the enemy.

It was now universally believed that the usurper must surrender himself, or be cut to pieces with the few that remained with him, and indeed a report ran through the province that he was actually taken prisoner; but the actions of this handful of men in their retreat from *Burdwan*, had struck such terror and amazement into the whole *Mabarattor* army, that they gazed upon them as so many enraged tigers in a net, without daring to approach the toils that enclosed them; contenting themselves with the dependance of starving them to a surrender: Little dreaming that *Alverdi* would attempt fording the river, with people near exhausted by continued labour and watching.

The usurper taking advantage of this visible panic in the enemy, and unwilling to let the triumphant ardour of his own soldiers cool, resolved to attempt the river without further delay, and knowing there was a defile leading from the village to the river, through which the enemy might intercept

tercept his passage, he judged it necessary to secure the *Defile*, thereby also to prevent his rear being attacked before they could gain the river.

The defence of this dangerous post was given to *Mustapha Khan*, supported by *Jeyndi Amet Khan*, and *Jaffier Khan*, with eighty *select Patans*, who immediately departed to take possession of the *Defile*—As soon as they were posted, *Mustapha Khan* dispatched a messenger to the Soubah to advise him he might attempt the river whenever he pleased.

*Aliverdi* having previously made the necessary dispositions, put himself at the head of the *Patans*, and gave the signal for marching to the river, which they entered without molestation preceded by well instructed guides.

As soon as the enemy perceived him in motion, they instantly attacked the *Defile* with great violence, hoping yet to circumvent him.—They at first seemed to deride and despise the small number left for the defence of it, but soon found their error in repeated repulses with heavy slaughter, from this determined, though small body of men ;



each of their leaders on this momentous occasion giving proofs of valour worthy the greatest heroes of antiquity.

They maintained their post for a full hour against reiterated attacks of fresh troops, without giving the least way, and until they judged the Soubah had safely past the river; they then began to retreat by slow degrees through the *Defilé*, without turning their backs, and having gained about the middle part of it \*, advice was brought to *Mustapha Khan*, that his rear was attacked by the enemy †.—This general without hesitating a moment committed the charge of his front to *Jeyndee Amet Khan*, and *Jaffier Khan*, and ordering the forty men that composed his rear to face about, he put himself at their head, forming two fronts to oppose the enemy, and sending orders to *Jeyndee Amet* to continue his retreat, he bravely charged his new antagonists, and forced them to retire with much loss; when the whole party

\* The *Defilé* was about eighty yards in length and ten wide.

† This event happened thus—a body of the *Maharattors*, about one thousand men, forced an entrance into the town, and had made a fruitless attack upon *Alivardi's* rear, as they passed the river, from which they were now returned.

had

had cleared the *Defile*, he commanded his men to form in one line on the shore, with their backs to the river, and making a feint to give a general assault, the enemy as he expected was struck with terror, and retired many paces, *Mustapha* taking advantage of their distance, instantly commanded his troops to face about and take the river, into which they plunged and gained the opposite shore, with the loss on the whole of, only fifteen men.

If we consider the retreat of these Veterans (from *Burdwan* to the opposite shore of *Cutwab* river) in all its circumstances, it will appear as amazing an effort of human bravery, as the history of any age or people have chronicled, and we think it merits as much being recorded and transmitted to posterity, as *that* of the celebrated *Athenian* general and historian.

*Mustapha Khan*, *Jeyndce Amet Khan*, and *Jaffier Khan* were received by the Soubah, with all the marks of the highest affection and esteem; he bestowed great encomiums on the valour of *Jaffier Khan*, who was ever after distinguished by his favor; he saluted and thanked by name, every one of the *Patans*, who fought under

these commanders at the memorable defence of the *Defile*; and having refreshed his troops, proceeded on his march to the capital, where he was received with astonishment and reverence. His first acts, were to present *Mustapha Khan* with ten lac of rupees, and proportionably to reward the rest of his brave defenders.

Whilst the usurper was gaining everlasting renown as a soldier, his brother *Hodjee Hamet* was employed in putting the city of *Morshadabad* in a posture of defence, with extraordinary expedition he sunk a ditch round it, formed a rampart and parapet, and planted cannon in those parts where the city was most open to the enemies attacks.—*Aliverdi* reproaching him, “ with having abandoned him to the enemy, and with being solicitous only for his own safety, by neglecting to send a body of troops to favor his retreat.” *Hodjee* replied, “ that concluding (from the number of the enemy, his forlorn situation, and the repeated reports of his being taken prisoner and killed) he was no more, he thought it more advisable to strengthen the city, than to weaken the defence of it, by parting with any of the few forces he had been able to

“ to raise for its preservation.” And in truth, *Aliverdi* found it in a much better state of resistance than he expected.

Before the usurper had set out on his expedition for the reduction of *Orissa*, he had sent orders to his deputy governor of *Patna* to levy troops in the province of *Babar*, but these forces being not yet arrived in *Bengal*, he was to the great mortification of his enterprising and military genius, reduced to the necessity of shutting himself up in his capital, and was employed in providing further for its security.

The *Mabarattors* recovering from their consternation and panic, and acquiring a better knowledge of the river, passed it with their whole force, advanced to *Morshadabad*, and surrounded it without attempting to assault it; they detached parties into the environs, plundering and destroying wherever they came; they sent some bodies of horse into the island of *Cossimbuzar*, committing there the most horrid devastation and cruelties; they fed their horses and cattle with mulberry plantations, and thereby irreparably injured the silk manufacture: in short, after committing every  
hostile

hostile act, which plenitude of power licensed without molestation, they thought it at length prudent to retire with their plunder, lest the approaching rainy season (which sets in annually about the middle of *June*) should intercept their retreat.

*June*  
*Anno*  
1742.

With this necessary precaution they quitted the blockade of the city, and repassed at *Cutwah* early in *June*, 1742, with all their immense plunder.

From *Cutwah* they penetrated through the *Burdomaan* country, detaching their parties into every district, still amassing greater booty, and striking universal terror round them, sometimes alarming even the *European* settlements: The rains at length setting in, the middle of *June*, gave a flattering hope that the land would soon be delivered from these devouring locusts; but alas! this pleasing prospect had but a short duration; they retired it is true, and bent their rout towards the *Bierboheen* hills, irresolute whether they should quit the provinces entirely, or only lodge themselves in convenient quarters in that high country, where they would be ready to commence a new scene of destruction as soon as the rains broke

broke up (which they generally do about the latter end of *September* or the middle of *October*.)

It was by most believed that the enemy had taken their departure for their own country, and it is certain they had formed that resolution; when on a sudden, to the utter amazement of all, *Boschar Pundit* issued orders to march into *Bengal*; so his ill destiny prompted, that he might by his fall pay a sacrifice for the cruel enormities committed on all ranks, by those under his command.

*July*  
*Anno*  
*1743.*

They returned about the latter end of *July*, and pitched their tents on the highest parts of the *Burdomaan* country, and settled themselves there for the remainder of the rainy season.

On this event a general face of ruin succeeded. Many of the inhabitants, weavers, and husbandmen fled, the *Arungs* were in a great degree deserted, the lands untilled, and the wretched fugitives who had escaped with nothing but their wives and children, and whatever they could carry in their hands, thought there was no safety for them, until they arrived on the *Eastern* shore

shore of the *Ganges* ; to which they flocked in shoals, without intermission for many days together.

The manufactures of the *Arungs* received so injurious a blow at this period, that they have ever since lost their original purity and estimation, and probably will never recover them again ; but it is necessary we explain what influenced *Boschar Pundit*, to take the extraordinary and unexpected step above-mentioned.

There was an officer employed in the receipts of the revenues at *Dacca*, named *Mbír Hubbeeb* who had embezzled a considerable sum, and had otherways been guilty of mal-administration in the execution of his trust ; this man had been ordered soon after *Aliverdi's* seizing the government, to repair to the capital, and render an account of the branch committed to him ;—he was bold and enterprising, of solid judgment, minutely acquainted with the state of the provinces and course and nature of the revenues ; to draw his character, in short we need only say, he was in *political virtue* the very counterpart of *Hodjee Hamet*.

CON-

Conscious that his conduct at *Dacca* would not bear the test of examination, he availed himself of the present juncture of confusion, and in place of repairing to the capital, he fled to *Boschar Pundit*, and arrived in his camp, at the very period, that general resolved to quit the provinces and return to *Sittarab*.

His known character and abilities procured him a ready and welcome reception, and his mischievous talents made him a dangerous instrument in the hands of these invaders, to accomplish in a manner the utter destruction of the country; he represented to *Boschar Pundit*, "That in the  
 " present state of the provinces, he might  
 " with facility and security assume the go-  
 " vernment of the Soubahdaary himself;  
 " that it would be inglorious for him *to re-*  
 " *treat with the calf, when he could take the*  
 " *cow also*, that the rains would soon break  
 " up, and set his calvalry at liberty, and that  
 " he had no cause to apprehend the usurper  
 " would ever have any power or force capable  
 " of opposing him." *Boschar Pundit* greedily  
 hearkened to this pernicious advice, immedi-  
 ately changed his rout, and returned from *Bi-*  
*erboheen* to *Burdomaan*, as before remarked;  
 and having fixed his head quarters at *Burd-*  
*wan,*



war, he sent proper officers at the head of small parties to collect the revenues at every seat of custom, and this they did for some time with as much tranquillity, as if they had been the natural sovereigns of the country.

During these transactions the usurper was not idle, as soon as he had certain intelligence that the enemy had repassed the *Cutwah* river, he quitted the city, and being soon after re-inforced by the *Patna* levies, and the number of his *Patans* increased from the Northward, he formed his camp in the neighbourhood of *Morschadabad*,—the *Englishs*, *French* and *Dutch*, thought it necessary during the rains, by various means to fortify also, and add to the strength of their several settlements, at *Fort William*, *Gbundernagore*, *Houghly* and *Cossimbuzar*, though hitherto unmolested in their persons or property by the enemy.

Early in *October* the enemy, by the advice of *Mbr Hubbeeb*, threw a strong bridge of boats over the *Cutwah* river, the defence of which was given to him; by his assistance also the enemy was now supplied with some small cannon, fire arms and ammunition; he constructed for the defence  
of

of his bridge two large boats, the one contiguous above, the other below the bridge on the *Plassey* side; on these he threw platforms on which he planted a few carriage pieces, forming effectual barricadoes with loop holes, for the security of his own people, as well as for the annoyance of the usurpers troops, in case they should prove hardy enough to attack the bridge, for the defence of which he embarked with him the best marksmen he could select.—

This disposition being compleated, the whole of the *Mabarattar* army crossed over, and began their incursions to different parts of the island; where ever the waters would admit their marching; sometimes showing themselves in strong bodies round the usurper's camp, insulting him with opprobrious language and insults, tho' not daring to attack him.

The latter end of *October* the rains broke up, the waters decreased hourly, and the roads soon became passable every where; it was now the enemy thought it advisable to recall their detached parties, and unite their whole force, which they drew up between the usurper's camp and *Plassey* grove; secure of a retreat to their bridge; here they

they halted three days, and reported they would wait there and give the usurper battle.

*Aliverdi*, elated at this report, took the field, and advanced towards the enemy, not doubting but that if he could once bring them to a general engagement, it would prove decisive in his favor.—His whole force amounted to about forty-eight thousand men, of whom barely twenty thousand were horse, whereas the enemy's was wholly composed of cavalry, an advantage they had the wisdom fully to avail themselves of, by the sagacious counsel of *Mbir Hubbeeb*, through the course of this destructive and long contest.

As the usurper advanced, they retreated towards the bridge, which they now resolved to repass; this they could not effect without their rear being warmly attacked and harrassed by *Aliverdi*, who for this purpose advanced with a chosen body of horse, some hours before the main body of his army.

The enemy had gained the bridge, and passed over three fourths of their army, when *Aliverdi* made a furious assault upon the remainder,

remainder, and threw them into confusion ; but notwithstanding a heavy slaughter made amongst them, the greatest part of them recovered the bridge, and *Aliverdî* was obliged to draw off his people (who began to be severely galled by the fire from *Mbîr Hubbeeb's* floating machine, and retired out of the reach of the shot, where he stayed until his heavy cannon was brought up to him.

Had *Mbîr Hubbeeb*, in obedience to *Boschar Pundit's* orders, drawn off his party, and destroyed the bridge, as soon as the rear of the *Mabarattor* army past it, and *Aliverdî* retired, he would have gained great reputation in the action ; but not suspecting the usurper's cannon could possibly be so near, as they really were, he was so rash as to remain on his post, until *Aliverdî* had with astonishing expedition opened a battery of three six pounders upon it.—*Mbîr Hubbeeb*, stood one discharge from the battery, and now perceiving his error, attempted to escape with his party ; but *Aliverdî* had posted a body of horse so advantageously, that immediately upon the discharge from his battery, they fell in pell mell with the enemy on the bridge, and a furious engagement ensued, in which *Mbîr*  
K
*Hubbeeb's*

*Hubbeeb's* party, three excepted, were cut to pieces. Himself and those three gained the *Cutwab* shore, and by the advantage of a fleet horse that waited for him, he escaped to the *Mabarattor* army. A melancholy event closed the action; *Aliverdi's* troops crowding in too great numbers upon the bridge, it failed under them, and a thousand brave fellows perished in the river.

The usurper repaired the bridge with all possible diligence, and crossed over his troops and artillery in pursuit of the enemy, who artfully eluded every attempt he made to bring them to a general action; thus by continual marches and counter-marches, his troops, particularly his foot, were almost exhausted by fatigue; whilst the *Mabarattors* in detached parties ranged the provinces at large, collecting the revenues without the least interruption, the usurper not daring to divide his army further than reinforcing the garrison of *Bukchs Bunder* on the *Ganges* with 500 horse and 1000 gun men, under the command of *Serasdi Mahomet*,

*Aliverdi*, touched with deep chagrin at seeing his so lately usurped dominions a prey to his enemies, without being able to protect

protect them, or bring the *Mabaratters* to any decisive action; at last resolved to treat with *Boschar Pundit*; but that General was so elated with success, that he now added, at the instigation of *Mbir Hubbeeb* a new article to those already offered at *Burdwan*, viz. “ that the usurper should also restore  
 “ the Soubahship to *Soujab Khan*’s family,  
 “ and resign the government he had so  
 “ wickedly usurped to *Suffraaz Khan*’s eldest son.” *Mbir Hubbeeb*, who knew any treaty of peace would be fatal to himself, artfully threw this stumbling block in the way, which he foresaw would render the treaty of none effect; and to carry this point, he insinuated to *Boschar Pundit*,  
 “ that unless this article was insisted on,  
 “ the most essential and positive part of the  
 “ Emperor’s orders would appear totally  
 “ neglected, and willed him with great  
 “ humility to reflect how he would answer  
 “ this neglect to his master, the King of  
 “ *Sittarab*.”

This additional article produced the effect that *Mbir Hubbeeb* expected; for it was refused by the brothers with marks of resentment and disdain, and hostilities were immediately commenced again on both sides.

— Several skirmishes happened between

them, in which the usurper's horse always gained some advantage; but these produced nothing decisive.

*Hodjee Hamet*, who never suffered any scruples of conscience to oppose the foulest means to accomplish his views; in a private letter sent to his brother, urged the necessity in their present situation, of attempting that by treachery, which they had failed in obtaining by every other means. *Aliverdi*, who saw the hazardous and necessitous posture of their affairs, as well as his brother, did not long oppose the motion. *Hodjee* formed the plan, and it was executed in manner following.

A treaty was set on foot by *Aliverdi*, who, under pretence of making it more conclusive and less liable to interruptions, proposed a conference with *Boschar Pundit*, the overture was accepted by that General, contrary to the opinion of *Mbir Hubbeeb* and the rest of his principal officers.

It was agreed that a spacious tent should be prepared and erected by the usurper, midway between the two armies, where the chiefs were to meet on a certain day and hour, attended each with eighty followers

lowers only, and that in the mean time hostilities on both sides should cease.

The appointed time being come, and all things prepared for the reception of the chiefs, they advanced with the stipulated number of followers, consisting on both sides of principal officers. When they approached near the tent, *Aliverdi* entered first, and was followed by *Boschar Pundit* without the least suspicion of treachery.

The usual salutes and ceremonials being over, and both parties seated, on a signal given, two hundred select men who had been concealed by *Aliverdi* between a double lining of the tent, suddenly rushed out, and cut the *Maharattor* General and his party to pieces, before they were able to draw their scymitars, two or three only escaping in the confusion.

At the same instant a signal was displayed from the tent (before agreed on) for the speedy advance of the usurper's army; this being observed by the *Maharattor* army, they also began to be in motion, not knowing as yet what had happened; but being not long after joined by those who had escaped the slaughter, and informed of the fate of



their general and officers, they breathed nothing but fury and revenge.

In the first transports of their rage they advanced, and seemed resolved to avenge the treachery, by given immediate battle to the usurper; but here, the wisdom and address of *Mbír Hubbeeh* interposed; he represented to them, “ that the only means to frustrate the great object the usurper had in view by this treacherous assassination, was, to avoid coming to a general action with him.” His arguments gained force and influence from the distracted state of the army, being now under no head, or any regular command; and observing the usurper advancing towards them in full march, they suddenly retired, to his great mortification and disappointment.

As soon as the disorder in the *Mabarattor* army subsided, they elected unanimously *Allee Bey* for their General, an officer that held the next rank to *Boschar Pundit*, and who bore a considerable degree of reputation amongst them; and now their conduct seemed to shew that they had resolved to execute that vengeance on the distressed country and inhabitants, which they could not execute on the usurper himself: To this

this end, they planted small parties of observation about the skirts of his army to report his motions, and appointing *Nagur*, the capital of *Bierboheen* for their general rendezvous; they divided their army and carried fire and sword in all their different routs; — they detached a strong body to *Bukchs Bunder*, which they attacked, took, and plundered; perpetrating every where the most execrable cruelties that revenge and inhumanity could dictate, cutting off the ears, noses, and hands, of any of the inhabitants whom they suspected of concealing their wealth, or valuable moveables, sometimes carrying their barbarity so far as cutting off the breasts of women on the same pretence, neither sex or age proving any security against these enraged barbarians.

During these horrid scenes of desolation, the usurper left no stratagems untried to bring the enemy to a battle, but all his endeavours proved ineffectual: He was in continual chase of them from the beginning of *December 1742*, to the end of *February 1742-3*, and at length, with astonishing bravery and perseverance obliged them to repair to their general rendezvous, and to retire out of the provinces over the *Bierboheen*

been hills, from whence they soon took their departure for *Sittarab*, to render an account of their expedition—leaving many of their brethren behind them in the hands of *Aliverdi*, who had been taken prisoners in different actions; amongst the prisoners, was an officer of distinction, character, and authority, named *Sessarow*, of whom we shall again have occasion to make mention.

The usurper had hardly time to breathe and form some hopes of recess and ease to himself, and tranquillity to his harrassed and desolate country; when he was again alarmed by advices from *Orissa*, that another army of *Mabarattors* had entered the provinces by the way of *Cuttack*, commanded by *Ragojee*; and to compleat his distress, and put his fortitude to the utmost proof, he shortly after received intelligence by express from *Hodjee*, that a third army of *Mabarattors* had entered by the side of *Patna* commanded by *Ballerow*, and had already penetrated within a day or two's march of *Sichygully*. These Generals led each an army of 60,000 horse; the first had been dispatched from *Sittarab*, to enforce the orders before given to *Boschar Pundit*, and to support him in the execution of them; the latter, set out later from  
the

March  
Anno  
1742-3.

the same city with instructions to join *Ragojee*, and avenge the murder of *Boschar Pundit*, of which advice had been received at *Sittarab*, by expresses sent from *Bierbo-been* immediately after that event.

The usurper thus beset, and apprehensive of being hemmed in by the two armies, and again cut off from his capital; directed his march with the utmost celerity to *Cutwab* bridge, which he gained, passed over his whole army, destroyed the bridge, and proceeded to his capital, with a mind greatly agitated and oppressed by the reflection of being again forced to abandon his country to merciless enemies, whom he was not able to oppose with troops enfeebled by continual labour and hardships.

The reader may remember of how great importance *the pass of Siclygully* might have been to the unfortunate *Suffraaz Khan*, had it been properly put in a state of defence; The usurper well knew it's consequence, and therefore soon after his possessing himself of the Soubahship, he stationed there a trusty officer with proved troops, and three pieces of cannon—depending that a vigorous stand would there be made against the invaders on the side of *Patna*, and their  
en-

entrance into *Bengal* at least retarded, if the *pass* was as well defended as it was capable of; not suspecting that there was a possibility of their obtaining an inlet by any other passage, unless they marched far to the Westward by the *Pachet* road, and entered by *Bierboheen*, as *Boschar Pundit* had done the preceeding year, flattering himself that by so long a march they would not be able to reach the province before the annual rains set in; but herein his foresight failed him.

*Ballajee Row*, more commonly (though improperly) known by the name of *Ballerow*, on his arrival in the neighbourhood of *Boglypore*, received intelligence from those who had joined him, and were declared enemies of the usurper's house, that by his attempting to force the pass of *Siclygully* he would hazard the loss of a multitude of his men, and probably in the end be obliged to relinquish the design with disgrace to his arms.—The *Pachet road* was proposed, but he declined hearkening to it, urging “ that thereby he should lose his  
 “ harvest of plunder for that year, all  
 “ which would be appropriated by his  
 “ friend *Ragojee* to *fatten* himself and fol-  
 “ lowers; whilst *he* and *his* people would  
 “ be

“ be left to *starve* on the *Padjee* (paltry)  
 “ contributions, he had been able to raise  
 “ in *Babar*.”

Whilst he was under this difficulty, the evil genius of the usurper (and of unhappy *Bengal*) dictated a measure, that extricated him without danger to himself or followers. He sent for some of the petty Rajahs from the neighbouring *Colgong* hills, and questioning them concerning a passage through the hills to *Bengal*, he offered them a large reward if any of them would supply him with guides to answer that purpose. The Rajahs to a man, were well enough disposed to comply with his wishes; for the usurper's treacherous conduct during the first six years of his government of *Babar*, had rendered his name as hateful as dreadful to them all; yet none of them had knowledge enough of the three ranges of mountains that separated *Babar* from *Bengal*, to engage in so hazardous an undertaking.

The enquiry and reward being however bruited abroad, it came to the ears of an old peasant an inhabitant of *Colgong* hills; this man came to the *Mabarattor* camp, and desired to be introduced to the presence  
 of

of the General; which having obtained, he boldly undertook, on the forfeiture of his head, to guide his army through secret passes into *Bengal*, for a reward of one Lac of Rupees paid down to his family.

The General taking two of the Rajahs aside to whom the peasant was known, and inquiring of them touching the character of the man, and what degree of credit might be given to his veracity and knowledge, received such encouragement that he no longer doubted, and accordingly paid down the money, and issued his orders for marching the next day.

The guide with faithfulness and dexterity led the whole *Mabarattor* army, at first Westward, a point or two Southerly, until he found a *pass*, which he sought for about the center of the range of the *Colgong* hills: This pass found, was his mark for the remainder of the expedition; he carried them through this pass by very practicable roads with much facility, until the mouth of it opened upon the level country between the *Colgong* and *Telliagurry* hills, from hence his course was due South, which led to the second pass through the last-mentioned hills; this pass he accomplished with equal ease,

ease; from hence for two days he crossed the level country, that lies between the *Telliagurry* and *Rajambol* mountains, shaping his course about South East; at night he told the General he must halt until the morning sun appeared.—In the morning he led them due South, and in the evening of the same day entered a pass which guided them through the *Rajambol* mountains, and landed (if we may be allowed the expression) the whole army, without the loss either of man or horse in *Bengal*, on the plains West of the city of *Rajambol* at a little town called *Banian Gang*. Having performed his obligation in six days from leaving *Bogulpore* (more commonly by the English called *Boglypore*) through ways until this period deemed totally impassible, he was farther rewarded with handsome presents by *Ballajee Row*, and departed to his home: his name was *Sittaram Roy*, a *Gentoo* of the *Raazpoot* tribe.—*Ballajee Row* reached *Banian Gang* the 13th of *March, Anno 1742-3*.

The usurper, who had received express intelligence of *Ballajee Row's* departure from *Bogulpore*, and of the march of his army Westward; did not entertain the least doubt, but he was gone round the mountains



tains to enter *Bengal* by the *Pachet* or *Bier-bebeen*, and was so much convinced of it, that he began to prepare again for taking the field, projecting that he might be able to bring the other army under *Rogojee* to an engagement, and defeat him before he could possibly be joined by *Ballajee Row*; but he had hardly formed this resolution, when he was advised by a courier from his Governor of *Rajahmbol*, “ That *Ballajee Row* had entered *Bengal* by passes through the mountains, and was by that time, he believed “ joined with *Rogojee*.”

This intelligence shocked the usurper's present hopes, but not his courage and constancy; he laid aside the project of re-passing the *Cutwab* river—but determined, not to coop himself up again in his capital, for the defence of which having made every necessary provision, he formed a strong camp not far from the city, preserving a ready communication with it.

The two *Mabarattor* Generals met in the *Burdomaan* country, the 17th March, 1742-3; and after a private conference the following agreement was published, “ that “ an equal partition of the revenues and “ plunder should be made between the two “ armies;

“ armies, who nevertheless were to act  
 “ distinctly under their respective Generals  
 “ and officers.” They then settled the dif-  
 ferent routs of their detached small parties,  
 and took intire possession of the country.  
 Then uniting the main bodies of their ar-  
 mies, they marched to *Cutwab*, construct-  
 ed a new bridge, and passed over with their  
 whole force. Here they again separated,  
 and renewed the depra-dations every where  
 that *Boschar Pundit* had began the preced-  
 ing year.

During these transactions the usurper  
 kept himself within his intrenchments, yet  
 he was not idle; convinced he could not  
 oppose them by force, he had nothing left  
 but to combat them with fraud and strata-  
 gem, weapons that he was as great a mas-  
 ter of as of arms. His first movement, was  
 to acquire a minute knowledge of the tem-  
 per, genius, capacity, and characters of the  
 two leaders of the enemy, and how they  
 affected each other; in all these particulars  
 he obtained perfect satisfaction, by the  
 means of his prisoner *Sessarow* before men-  
 tioned, whom he had distinguished by every  
 mark of favor and respect from the time he  
 first fell into his hands, foreseeing he might  
 be of future use to him; from the arrival  
 of

of the two armies he had redoubled his cares, and of an enemy, had made him a fast friend.

*Divide and conquer*, was one of the usurper's favorite maxims in politics, as well as war; by the lights he had received from *Sessarow*, he rightly judged the minds of the enemies Generals were fitly disposed to take the impression he intended to stamp on them—he learnt that *Ballajee Row*, was hot, insolent, and withal avaritious to an extreme degree; that *Ragojee* was the bravest soldier, but irritated and jealous at *Ballajee Row's* being sent equal in command with him, as he bore a superior rank to the other; and more to favor the usurper's artful views, he was informed that already there subsisted some misunderstandings between them and their respective troops, touching suspicions of an unjust division of their plunder on both sides.

With these materials he began to work, laboring to enlarge a breach that was not yet wide enough for an attack; his plan was, by every means to promote the growth of those seeds of division and jealousy which had already taken root amongst them; to this end, he directed some capable emissaries

faries (fully instructed) to desert to both armies, these executed his purposes so well that they produced the effect he wished; they prepossessed the enemy against themselves, and they accused each other of illicit practices in the division both of the revenues and plunder, and the spies were so well armed, that they produced proofs and vouchers of many instances (on both sides) that would not admit of contradiction. This occasioned mutual heats and animosities between the two armies, and an open rupture soon followed, each resolving to act in future on a separate and independant footing; the usurper seized this favorable occasion, and knowing *Sessarow* had an influence over *Ballajee Row*, (to whom he was related) he employed him to negotiate in the most secret manner, a separate treaty of peace with that General.

*Sessarow* exerted his power with such success, that he soon disposed his relation to receive favorable impressions of the usurper, and readily to hearken to a peace with him; to this he was the more easily induced, as thereby he indulged his ruling passion, by hopes of making his own market of the Usurper, without the participation of his rival *Ragojee*.

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The preliminaries of this treaty were soon adjusted, “ the usurper was to cede  
 “ to *Ballajee Row* alone, the *Chout* of two  
 “ years revenues ; and *Ballajee Row* engaged  
 “ on his part, to join the Usurper with his  
 “ force, and assist him in driving *Ragojee*  
 “ and his army out of the provinces.” It  
 was further agreed, that to keep up the ap-  
 pearance of enmity and deceive *Ragojee* ;  
*Ballajee Row*’s army should advance nearer  
 to the Usurper’s camp,—and make a shew  
 of attacking it; this movement was not  
 only made to amuse *Ragojee*, but also to fa-  
 cilitate a personal conference between the  
 Usurper and the General, which was to  
 take place on the thirtieth of *March* 1743,  
 near *Plassey*.

On the twenty-ninth, the usurper quitted  
 his camp, and directed his march towards  
*Plassey* ; he was not far advanced, before  
 his spies brought him intelligence, that  
*Ragojee*’s army was in motion, as well as  
*Ballajee Row*’s, this raised a suspicion in *Ali-*  
*verdi*, that the treaty was only assented to,  
 to amuse him, and draw him out of this  
 camp; therefore he immediately retired to  
 it again; and the treaty was retarded until  
 the motions of the two armies were ex-  
 plained to him,

*Sessarow*

*Sessarow*, deeply chagrined at suspicions which reflected on his own *sincerity*, engaged on the forfeiture of his head for *that* of his cousin, which being supported by a solemn oath (by the *Ganges*) on the part of *Ballajee Row*, *Aliverdi's* doubts subsided, the treaty was resumed, and the conference appointed on the third of *April*, but the place of meeting was changed to *Midway*, between *Plassy* and *Burwah*, a few miles nearer his camp and capital \*

The second of *April*, the usurper again quitted his camp, and began his march, having draughted off a select body of 10,000 horse, commanded by *Mustapha Khan*, that moved on his flank, to be an occasional check on *Ragojee*.

The third, the chiefs met at the appointed place, in a tent (previously examined by deputies from both parties) about two corse distant from each of their armies.—The condition openly insisted upon by the *Mabarattor* was, “ that twenty-five lac of

\* The cause that gave rise to *Aliverdi's* suspicions, was this, — *Ragojee* having heard that *Ballajee Row* intended to attack *Aliverdi's* camp, and judging the city would fall a prey to him if he succeeded, put his army in motion, that he might be near at hand, to come in for a share of the plunder.

“ rupees, for two years Chout of the revenues, should be paid down in gold,”—to this the Usurper replied, “ that however unreasonable the demand, considering they themselves had collected *the whole* of the revenues and customs for the last two years, yet, he would not make any objection, provided that *Ragojee* could be brought to sign the treaty, otherwise that he could not submit to it:” This unexpected proposal was highly disgustful to *Ballajee Row*, and had well nigh broke off the treaty; but by the interposition of *Sessarow*, he was at last prevailed on to send the overture to *Ragojee*, but not until he had been made easy by the promise of a private stipulation for himself.

*Ragojee* immediately returned for answer, “ that he would hearken to no terms of accommodation, unless the payment of the Chout in perpetuity, was established to them, as a preliminary article for treating at all \*.”

When the messenger returned with this laconic reply, the treaty seemed for some

\* This preliminary was dictated to him by *Mbir Hubbeeb*, who joined *Ragojee* as soon as he entered the province of *Bengall*.

time

time unhinged. — However by the address and mediation of *Sessarow*, a separate peace was at last concluded with *Ballajee Row*, on the following terms. “ That the Usurper “ shall pay down two years Chout, estimated at twenty-two lac of rupees in “ gold, and that *Ballajee Row* should either “ satisfy *Ragojee*, or join the Usurper to “ drive *him* out of the country.” To the performance of which they both solemnly engaged themselves by the most obligatory oaths; this done and mutual compliments and presents made, they parted.

The Usurper with great punctuality performed his part of the treaty in two days, and *Ballajee Row*, so far regarded it, that he drew off his army, repassed *Cutwah* river, and retired to *Burdomaan*, followed by *Ragojee*, who thought himself no match for the Usurper on equal terms.

*Ballajee row*, recalled all his detached parties, and making a dividend amongst his troops of part of the Usurper's contribution, according to their different ranks, he quitted *Bengall*, and marched by way of *Bierbokeen* to *Sittarah*; leaving (in breach of his solemn oath) *Ragojee* to make the best terms he could for himself.



This General made the most of his time, and immediately took possession of those parts of the country, which had been lately evacuated by *Ballajée Row's* flying parties; he sent *Mbir Hubbeeb*, with the title and authority of General, to take possession of *Orissa*, who accordingly seated himself at *Cuttack*, where he ruled as sovereign of the province.

The Usurper, called upon by the universal clamour of the people, and distressed of his country, once more quitted his capital, crossed over *Cutwah* river, and marched in pursuit of *Ragojee*; in which chase he was employed all the remaining part of *April*, and until the middle of *May*, without being able by any art or stratagem, to bring him to a general action, and the rains setting in earlier than usual this year, and the roads becoming impassable; both armies were obliged to go into quarters, about the twentieth of *May*; at the close of this campaign the enemy remained in quiet possession of *Orissa*, and of all the country on the Western shore of the *Hougley* river, from *Ballasore* to within a few miles of *Tanna's Fort*, near the *English* settlement of *Fort William* \*.

\* *Aliverdi* retired with his army to *Morshadabad* and *Ragojee*, with his main body to *Bierboon* during the rains.

Though

Though the treaty of peace with *Balla-jee Row* answered a present purpose, and relieved the Usurper from the more immediate danger which threatened himself, his capital and family, yet it afforded no relief to the provinces; the partial execution of the treaty on the part of the *Mabarattor*, he could not be much surpris'd at, as himself had set them an example of perfidious treachery.

Every evil attending destructive war, was felt by this unhappy country in the most eminent degree; a scarcity of grain in all parts, the wages of labor greatly enhanced, trade, foreign and inland, laboring under every disadvantage and oppression; — and though during the recesses of the enemy from *June* to *October*, the manufacturers of this opulent kingdom raised their drooping heads, yet the duration of their reprieves from danger was so short, that every species of cloth at the *Arungs* were hastily, and consequently badly fabricated, though immensely raised in their prices, and from these cause, came into disrepute at all the foreign markets, particularly at the Western ports of *Juddah*, *Mocha*, and *Bufforab*.

The trade of the *Europeans* became greatly embarrassed and injured, and their effects often plundered by the enemy, and these grievances much heightened by oppressive exactions of the Usurper; but in this they were not singular, for the whole of the people who yet remained within the reach of his grasp, suffered equally in this respect, even *Juggaat Seet's* house, who so eminently promoted his usurpation, was often fleeced; to the malicious joy of all, who were friends to *Soujah Khan's* family.

For these oppressive measures the Usurper had nothing to plead in extenuation, but *the necessities of his situation*; and in truth, had he not been the ungrateful traitor he was, they were such, as would have merited the deepest commiseration; for though by his usurpation he became possessed of the treasures of the three last Soubahs, yet so immense were his continual expences and disbursements, that little of them remained; for notwithstanding what has been said of the treaty with *Ballajee Row*, it was pretty well known, he did not buy the absence and retreat of that General, for a sum less than five *korore* of rupees, though the twenty-two lac for two years Chout only were speciously published to the world, to  
save

save the credit of the Usurper, and to afford an opportunity to the *Mabarattor* of secreting from his followers all above that sum, which he appropriated to his own use, besides the lions share of the twenty-two lac, therefore he was well enabled at his departure to present to *Jeyndi Amet Khan*, *Hodjee's* second son, a single compleat dress (for *Seerpab*) valued at two lac of rupees.

October 1743, opened the next campaign, when the Usurper again took the field, and *Ragojee* descending from the heights of *Bierbobeen*, assembled his forces about *Burdwan*.—The succeeding months exhibited the same scenes of marches, countermarches, retreats and skirmishes, with various success; but with uniform misery to the people, who now for the first time, began to be plundered, and cruelly treated, as well by the detached parties of the Usurper as of the enemy, those assuming the dress and accoutrements of the *Mabarattors*, to cover and conceal their villainies. Anno  
1743.

In March 1744, these invaders entered the provinces in fresh shoals, by *Cuttack*, *Bierbobeen* and *Patna*, excited by the immense booty carried off by their brethren, the two preceding years—and thus this miserable Anno  
1743-4

ferable country fell annually a prey to the deprivations of the *Makarattors*, under various leaders for the six succeeding years, receiving no effectual check, but from the succession of the usual rainy seasons; during these intermediate spaces the country was left to fatten, that it might again be worth devouring. During all this space, the Usurper sustained himself with amazing constancy, intrepidity and address, though often reduced to the deepest distresses, parts of his capital being frequently attacked and plundered.

In the latter part of the year 1744, by indefatigable marches he attacked and beat up all the quarters of the enemy, and obliged them to retire much sooner than usual. *Orissa* only remaining in their possession, early in *December* 1744, he marched to that province, where with expedition hardly to be conceived, he retook *Cuttack*, and recovered the province, obliging the enemy to retreat to the hills, then leaving forces for the defence of it, he returned, and arrived at the capital, the beginning of *February* 1744-5, crowned with laurels, and received with wonder. Here revolving in his mind the confusion of affairs in the province of *Babar* and city of *Patna*, and  
its

its importance to him, as being one of the enemies keys into his country, and resolving to have a Governor there, whose courage, capacity and integrity he might repose a perfect confidence in, he fixed upon his nephew *Jeyndee Amet Kban* for this post of trust, who possessed these qualities in a very high degree; he soon after set out for his government, escorted by a strong body of horse.

We shall shun the task of entering further minutely into the particular occurrences of these annual invasions, which would only exhibit an irksome detail of murders, oppressions, and distresses, similar to those already recited; but as we cannot help viewing this Usurper in an extraordinary light, we should be inexcusable in neglecting to lay before the public and posterity those striking events, which were interesting in themselves, and which more strongly mark the character and genius of this great, though wicked man, in the course of this destructive eight years war; with this intent only we again resume our narrative from the close of the year 1745, a period which gave birth to an *incident*, that eventually proved not only the destruction of his hitherto

therto favorite General, but also that of his brother and nephew.

It was at the time just mentioned above, that the Usurper first began to entertain suspicions and jealousy of the great reputation and power of *Mustapha Khan*, who had by his master's liberality and other means, at different times acquired great wealth, which he profusely bestowed on the soldiery, but chiefly on the *Patans*, thereby gaining a dangerous popularity, that bore too much the semblance of ambitious views; whether he really had any designs against his master is not known, but being the idol of the army was cause sufficient to make him obnoxious, in a government where no subject can with safety to himself, or to his prince be possessed with a superior degree of power or renown.

The Usurper had received intelligence from his brother *Hodjee*, that *Mustapha Khan* was forming designs to his prejudice, and that he had actually concerted measures with the *Mabarattors*, for cutting him off the ensuing year, and placing himself in the government.

Whether this intelligence had truth for its foundation, or was only afterwards devised

vifed to cover the ſtep, that was premeditated againſt *Muſtapha Khan*, is uncertain; *Hodjee*, however, had the addreſs to produce vouchers for his ſuſpicions that bore the ſemblance of facts, and theſe acquiring weight from the brother's apprehenſions of that General's known talents, reputation, and popularity, it was reſolved at all events that he ſhould be aſſaſinated the next time he appeared at court, and aſſaſſins were accordingly provided, ſtationed for his reception.

But *Muſtapha Khan* being generally beloved, the deſign againſt him could not be ſo ſecretly conducted, as to prevent his receiving hints to provide for his ſafety, and though theſe were imperfect, they were yet ſufficiently alarming to urge his immediate departure from the city, with 3000 *Patan* horſe, and in about twelve hours after, he was followed by *Sumſeer Khan*, a *Patan* General next in command to him, with about 2000 more of their country-men; the whole being joined, by rapid marches, they arrived at *Sichygully*, before any ſuſpicion or intelligence of a breach between them and the Uſurper had reached the commander of that *paſs*, and by a well feigned ſtory of their being diſpatched to  
join



join and re-inforce *Jeyndee Amet Khan*, they were permitted to advance into *Babar* without interruption; intending to pass through that province into the *Patans* country.

So great a defection of his best troops, with two officers of such reputation at their head, struck the Usurper with the deepest apprehensions, and this on a double score; he had the greatest cause to dread a union between the *Mabarattors* and *Mustapha Khan*, and by the secret flight of that General he became convinced that some traytors were about his person; but still himself, under every exigency and difficulty, he lost not a moment—by large presents, and larger promises, he secured the fidelity of the remaining *Patans*—sent express upon express to his nephew *Jeyndi Amet Khan*, informing him of this untoward event, with orders “to take the field with what troops he could get together, and endeavour to intercept the fugitive *Patans*—and that himself would go in pursuit of them, and probably they might be hemmed in between them.”

The Usurper immediately put himself at the head of a strong body of forces, who were

were next attached to his person and government, and with the greatest expedition arrived at *Sichyully*, where he only stayed to strike off the head of that commander, who had suffered the *Patans* to pass his post.

Had the unfortunate *Mustapha Khan* made the same expedition from the pass of *Sichyully*, as he did to it, he would in all human probability have eluded the pursuit, and passed through *Babar* before he could possibly have been intercepted by *Jeyndi Amet Khan*, or overtaken by the Usurper; but for a particular reason to be hereafter mentioned, and not suspecting he was pursued, he proceeded through *Babar* by such slow marches, that the Usurper came up with him between *Mongbir* and *Patna*, and sent a messenger to him with offers of pardon, and to favor himself and followers if they would submit, and embrace again his service.

*Mustapha Khan* disdainng all terms of accommodation, returned the Usurper's messenger, with a brave defiance to him, and receiving intelligence at the same time, that *Jeyndi Amet* was within a few hours march of him, he thought it most advisable to  
face

face about, and fight the Usurper first, having learnt his troops were very little superiour in number to his own, therefore without hesitation he distributed the necessary orders, and gave the signal for battle.

The conflict was bloody, but of no long duration. Valour and resentment took full possession of the soul of *Mustapha Khan*, and left no place for prudence or precaution: fired with the hope of executing his vengeance on the Usurper, he thought all else unworthy his sword, and attempting with too much impetuosity to penetrate to that part where *Aliverdi* fought, and not being well supported, he was soon surrounded, overpowered and slain—his head was separated from his body, and elevated upon a spear—his death being known to the *Patans*, *Sumseer Khan*, with those that survived the battle, made a speedy flight, and taking a rout different from that, by which *Jeyndi Amet Khan* was advancing, escaped out of the province, notwithstanding the eager pursuit that was made after them.

The Usurper returned to his capital more dreaded, but less beloved by the people, for this last stroke of his policy; the jealousy, and (generally believed) unjust motives,  
for

for assassinating the *Patan* General were now blazed abroad, and the Usurper became the object of detestation to some of his best friends, who drew a conclusion (from this act of base ingratitude to the man, who had so often preserved his life and government)—very unfavorable, and alarming to themselves; as the merits of their greatest services, might on the slightest suspicions or fear, in the cowardly breast of *Hodjee*, only draw on their own destruction.

*Hodjee*, who had accompanied his brother in this expedition against *Mustapha Khan*, advanced with the head of *the General*, to meet his son *Jeyndá Amet Khan*; with him he returned to *Patna*, and after bestowing many indignities upon the head of that brave man, whose face he could not have beheld the day before, without sinking into abject fear and terror, had now the coward bravery, to order it to be carried in triumph three times round the city;—unworthy and indecent insults, from which the remembrance of his former signal services should have defended his senseless remains.—*Justice* seemed to interest herself in avenging the death of this gallant man, by favoring in an extraordinary manner the escape of her destined instrument

*Sumseer Khan*; and the brave *Jeyndi Amet Khan*, at the sight of the barbarous insults exercised by his father, could not refrain from tears, for great friendship subsisted between him and the deceased, and his memory was dear to him.

We will leave *Hodjee* on his return to *Morshadabad*, exulting for a short time over the success of his treacherous machinations, and advert to *Sumseer Khan*.

This *Patan* General arriving safe with his few followers in their own country, began immediately to levy troops, and with such success, that in the year 1747, he was enabled to advance towards *Patna*, at the head of 8000 choice horse.

Here it is necessary to advertise the reader, that the two *Patan* Generals on their sudden retreat from the city of *Morshadabad*, had opened a correspondence with *Mbîr Hubbeeb*, informing him “ that they should  
 “ return the next year, to attempt the  
 “ capture and plunder of *Patna*, then  
 “ march by the hills and join the *Mabarats*  
 “ *tor* army, and with their united force  
 “ attack the Usurper; declaring themselves  
 “ justly absolved from all allegiance to  
 “ the

“ *the assassin.*” *Mbír Hubbeeb* improved upon this plan and advised “ to encounter “ *Hodjee* and the Usurper with their own “ weapons, *craft* and *treachery*; for that, “ by address and management, and a well “ feigned contrition for their former conduct, and a fresh tender of their troops, “ they might easily obtain an interview “ with the Nabob of *Patna*, at which “ they should cut him off, a circumstance “ that would much facilitate the taking “ and plundering that city (which seemed “ to be their principal object) as such an “ event must necessarily cause the greatest “ confusion and consternation in the place.”

It was this intercourse of letters, that proved fatal to *Muflapba Khan*, by retarding his escape through *Babar*, as already mentioned—but the counsel of *Mbír Hubbeeb* was not lost upon *Sumseer Khan*; a man, possessed of every requisite, for carrying it into effectual execution; he was brave, artful, beloved and highly esteemed by his officers and soldiers, who to a man was united with him in a solemn vow, to take an exemplary revenge for the death and indignities of their late lamented commander, or perish in the attempt.

With this determined view, *Sumseer Khan* began his march, and being arrived within a few hours of *Patna* on the opposite shore of the river, he despatched a letter to *Jeyndi Amet Khan*, couched in the following terms, “ that his heart had felt the  
 “ deepest compunction for his past conduct,  
 “ to which he had been instigated by the  
 “ rash counsels of his late commanding  
 “ officer, that he appealed to *Jeyndi Amet*  
 “ himself, to witness for the proved fidelity  
 “ he had always shown for the service and  
 “ interest of the *Soubah* his uncle, that  
 “ he had now raised a faithful and tried  
 “ body of officers and troops, who with  
 “ him were ready to devote their lives to  
 “ his commands, against the common ene-  
 “ mies of his house and country; hoped  
 “ he should obtain permission to visit him,  
 “ and in a personal conference, give him  
 “ more convincing proofs of his attach-  
 “ ment and submission.”

*Jeyndi Amet Khan*, immediately communicated the contents of this letter to his father *Hodjee*, who was very lately arrived at *Patna*, brought thither by some informations the brothers had received of the concerted scheme between *Sumseer Khan* and *Mbir Hub-beeb*, for the plunder of that capital—*Hodjee*  
 without

without a moment's hesitation ordered his son to encourage *Sumfeer Khan's* visit, and cut him off, telling him, he himself would direct the means.

*Jeyndi Amet Khan*, much averse to obey these orders, determined to wait those of his uncle to whom he wrote, and transmitted a copy of *Sumfeer Khan's* letter, and in the mean time returned in civil terms a reply to the *Patan General*, telling him " he " had forwarded the purport of his request " to the Soubah, but that he could not give " any conclusive answer thereto, before the " Soubah's pleasure was known."—This soon reached him, in these few, but peremptory words, " Regarding the business " between us and *Sumfeer Khan*, follow " the orders of your father."

*Hodjee* directed *Jeyndi Amet Khan* to write to the *Patan General*, " that he " should with pleasure receive his visits, " and rejoice to embrace him, as the Soubah had readily accepted the tender of " his services, and wished his speedy march " to *Morsbadabad*."—To which purport the Usurper had likewise wrote to him in pressing terms, thereby intending to lull him into the greater security.



We have already hinted the method proposed by *Mbír Hubbeeb* to the two *Patan* Generals, for taking off the Nabob of *Patna*, and plundering the city; the intelligence the brothers had received extended only to the latter part of their scheme; of the intended assassination of the Nabob they had not the least conception. — *Hodjee's* counter-plot for the murder of *Sumseer Khan*, was concerted in manner following; a day was appointed for the General's visit to *Jeyndí Amét Khan*, on a plain a small distance North of the city, where a sumptuous tent was prepared for his reception; in the floor of which a mine was sunk, whose train extended some distance from the tent; the signal for putting fire to the train was *Jeyndí Amét Khan's* withdrawing a certain space from the tent.—Every circumstance of which was betrayed to *Sumseer Khan*, by a *Patan* in the service and confidence of *Hodjee*.

May  
1747.

On the receipt of the Usurper's and the Nabob's letters, *Sumseer Khan* passed the river with his troops about two miles to the Northward of the city, and being advanced on the day appointed within a furlong of the tent, he received a polite message from the Nabob, requesting "that he would favor

“ favor him in ordering his troops to halt;  
 “ that they might not in their conference  
 “ be incommoded by the dust, for that he  
 “ himself was only attended by fifty fol-  
 “ lowers.” — This request was instantly  
 complied with, and the *Patan* General pro-  
 ceeded to the tent with a few selected atten-  
 dants only, all of whom were provided with  
 armour under their coats.

They met in mutual embraces, and with  
 the most affectionate compliments, these  
 over they seated themselves, and began to  
 confer upon the operations of the war  
 against the common enemy the *Mabarato-  
 tors*. — After about an hour's discourse, a  
 servant came and whispered the Nabob,  
 who soon after arose, telling the General  
 “ that he was just going to give some ne-  
 “ cessary orders for his reception and en-  
 “ tertainment in the city, and should at-  
 “ tend him again in a few minutes.” —  
 When he had got half way to the door of  
 the tent, *Sumseer Khan* and his attendants  
 drew their scymitars, fell upon *Jeyndi Amet  
 Khan*, killed him, and all that were in the  
 tent, before they had time to make any  
 resistance; some instantly flew to the head  
 of the train to which they were perfectly  
 instructed, and prevented fire being put to

it, for on the alarm, those who were on the outside of the tent, and thereby escaped the slaughter, fled with all speed to the city.

*Sumseer Khan* made a signal for his troops to advance, and mounting his horse gained the city almost as soon as the fugitives, and entered it sword in hand with his soldiers, before *Hodjee Hamet* had received the least intelligence of the unhappy fate of his beloved son.

*Sumseer Khan* proceeded immediately to the palace, where with little resistance, he took *Hodjee Hamet* prisoner, at the very moment he was (in disguise) making his escape, and after securing him under a strong guard, went in search of the principal *treasures* of the city, (to which he was minutely directed by his spies) these he deposited in the palace, and gave up the town to be plundered by the soldiers, who for the space of three days committed every ravage and outrage that revenge and avarice, backed by uncontrolled power could meditate and execute; except against the English, French, and Dutch factories, which alone remained unmolested and exempt from ruin.

*Hodjee*

*Hodjee Hamet*, after suffering the heaviest reproaches and revilings from *Sumseer Khan*, for his base ingratitude, treachery, and cruelty to *Mustapha Khan*; and after undergoing a hundred and one lashes from the severe discipline of the *Khorab*, was by order of the general set on an ass, with his legs tied under the belly of the animal, and his face painted half black, half white, and thus led round the city, the same rout himself had appointed for the head of the unfortunate *Mustapha Khan*.—Returning from this disgraceful progress, the discipline of the *Khorab* was again inflicted on him, not only as a punishment, but with a view to extort from him a confession and discovery of a large sum in gold and diamonds, which, it was said he had buried or otherwise secreted ;—but he bore the lash with amazing constancy, and made not the discovery that was aimed at.—After this he was chained to the leg of an elephant,—to that very elephant, on which the head of *Mustapha Khan* was exposed and elevated : *Sumseer Khan* had doomed him to a cruel and lingering death, but one of his guards, touched with his great age, the high dignity he had born, his cruel sufferings, and heavy lamentations for his murdered son, conveyed in pity to him a dose  
of

of poison, which he greedily swallowed and put an end to his miserable being.

*Sumsee Khan*, after this exemplary vengeance, made a short stay at *Patna*, and retired to his country with an immense booty, but without any further regard, at least for the present, to the engagements that subsisted between him and *Mbir Hubbeeb*.

The fates of *Hodjee Hamet* and *Jeyndi Hamet Khan*, met a very different regard from the world, the latter being as much lamented, as the memory of his father was detested; but it may be very easily conceived the loss of both proved a heavy stroke of affliction to the Usurper, who now became as eminently wretched as he was great; his grief on the arrival of the news was such, that it was with the greatest difficulty he was prevented following them.—However, cool reflection soon took place, and his usual fortitude surmounted in a few days the first violent impressions of his irreparable misfortune, and obliged him to attend the concerns of his government, to which he was roused and stimulated by the spirited, wise and affectionate representations of his *Begum*—A woman whose wisdom, magnanimity, benevolence, and every ami-

10 able

able quality, reflected high honor on her sex and station; she much influenced the Usurper's councils, and was ever consulted by him in every material movement in the state, except when sanguinary and treacherous measures were judged necessary, which he knew she would oppose as she ever condemned them when perpetrated however successful, — predicting always that such politics would end in the ruin of his family.

Though the Usurper's critical situation called him to action, yet the death of his nephew ever after remained a heavy pressure upon his heart; he greatly loved him, and had designed him his successor in the government of the Soubahship in preference to *Hodjee's* eldest son, who then bore the title of the Emperor's Dewan, (to which he had just as much right as his uncle had to that of Soubah) but this design being blasted by the untimely decease of *Jeyndé Amet*, and this occasioned by the pernicious policy of his brother and himself: The only amends in his power to make to the manes of his murdered nephew, was to transfer the affection he ever bore him to his eldest son *Mbírza Mabommed*, whom he immediately adopted as his own; and this youth

youth was from that period looked upon as his successor.

October  
1747.

Until the rains broke up in *October* 1747, the Usurper remained unmolested, but now the *Mabarattors* re-entered the province of *Bengal* by the *Bierboheen* hills, and *Sumseer Khan* having safely lodged his *Patna* plunder returned and entered *Babar*, at last remindful of his engagement to *Mbír Hubbeeb*, and hoping by a union with the *Mabarattors* to share at least the plunder also of *Morshadabad*.

The Usurper had taken the field very early—and on the first advice that *Sumseer Khan* had entered *Babar*, he advanced towards him by rapid marches, thirsting to revenge his brother's and nephew's deaths, and depending that he should be able to engage and defeat him, before the *Mabarattors* could possibly join him: Whilst he was in this pursuit, the *Mabarattors*, who did not think it eligible to risque an action with the Usurper until they had joined their new allies, were on full march to the settled rendezvous at *Bogolpore*, near which place the three armies arrived about the same time in the night. The Usurper encamped, and sent out his spies for intelligence,

gence, they soon returned and informed him he was encamped between the enemies armies, the *Patans* a course to the Northward of him, and the *Mabarattors* about the same distance to the Southward.—This perilous situation would have struck any but this brave Usurper with alarm and terror; some of his general officers proposed his taking the advantage of the night, and attempt a silent retreat to *Siclygully*; but he rejected this overture with high indignation.—He was perfectly acquainted with the different genius and disposition of the enemies he had to encounter; and from this knowledge formed his resolutions; the only resource left him was instantly obvious to this consummate general and soldier.

At midnight he held a council of war, of three or four of his principal officers only; to these he opened his designs, and directed them to issue orders for the troops to be ready to march half an hour before day break, without striking their tents—strictly prohibiting they should encumber themselves with aught but their arms, for that his own, his officers, and soldiers baggage should be left in the camp, for which he himself would be accountable to them.



— These orders distributed he went to rest.

Before day break the Usurper put himself at the head of his troops, and marched to attack the *Patans*, leaving his camp standing—he found them prepared to receive him, not doubting but their allies whose situation they had learnt, would attack his rear. — A bloody engagement ensued, in which the Usurper might justly say, with another great usurper, “ that he had many “ times fought *for Empire*, but in this battle, *for Life.*” — After an obstinate contest *Sumseer Khan* was slain, and the *Patans* put to flight—instead of pursuing them he immediately returned in good order to his camp, where, as he had foreseen, he found the *Maharattors* plundering it, confusedly dispersed, and regardless of the commands of their General or Officers:—In this situation the Usurper fell upon them, and after a great slaughter gave them a total defeat and rout. After these exploits he returned triumphantly to his capital.

Notwithstanding these glorious successes, he was incessantly harrassed by, and forced to be ever in the field against the *Maharattors*

tors until the year 1750, when he made a last  
 ing peace with them on the terms recited in  
 the " Short sketch of the history of Bengal"  
 before-mentioned, to which we beg leave  
 to refer; there the reader may if he please  
 follow this great wicked man, " through  
 " the more pleasing scenes of domestick life and  
 " public tranquillity." We shall content  
 ourselves in closing this chapter and second  
 general head, with a few circumstances  
 which happened in consequence of his na-  
 tural demise, *Anno 1756*.—It is pretty well  
 known, and has been by us severely felt,  
 that he was succeeded by *Mbirza Mahommed*  
 his adopted son and grandson (who assum-  
 ed the title of *Surajad Dowla*) in the go-  
 vernment; that after he had quelled a stand  
 that was made to his succession by part of  
 his own family; he directed his arms against  
 our settlements; took, and destroyed them.  
 —The *causes* for that invasion of property;  
 have been faithfully investigated and pre-  
 sented to the public in a second edition of  
 " *India Tracts*," published. *March, 1764*.  
 —This short recapitulation would have had  
 no place here, but to introduce a circum-  
 stance not so well known as the foregoing.

. . . When *Surajud Dowla* declared his reso-  
 lution to attack and drive the English out  
 of

of Bengal, he was opposed by the affectionate remonstrances of the deceased *Aliverdi Khan's Begum* already mentioned — with every argument which love and maternal authority could devise, she labored to dissuade him from his purpose, but labored to no end; for though the young tyrant preserved some reverence for her person, yet her influence was not great; but when she found him deaf to her intreaties she had the courage to tell him, “ She saw his own  
 “ fate was blended with, and waited on  
 “ the destruction he was aiming to accom-  
 “ plish against the English, and that if he  
 “ persisted, his rashness and injustice would  
 “ not only be the cause of his own death,  
 “ but the total ruin of his family.” Her wisdom and foresight was so great and extensive, that it was commonly said by the Usurper, “ He never knew her judgment or  
 “ predictions fail.”

We hope to meet with pardon for doing honor to the character of this extraordinary woman, especially as we thereby embrace a favorable opportunity of discharging the tribute of sincere gratitude particularly due from us,—the author owing life and liberty to her humane and successful intercession.

CHAPTER,

## C H A P. III.

HAVING in the preceding chapter shewn from what causes, and by what gradations these provinces fell under the usurpation of *Aliverdi Khan*, our plan leads us next to convey a summary account of their produce, the division of their principals, districts, and towns, with their situation respecting each other, and their commonly estimated distance from our principal settlement of *Calcutta*.

Geographers have distinguished these provinces by the title of *the rich kingdom of Bengal*, an epithet it highly merited when considered in its original state of opulence and tranquillity; in which point of view we intend to exhibit it, for this prevalent reason only, that we think it perfectly capable of being re-instated and improved, a circumstance well worthy our *present* attention and knowledge.

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To form a just estimate of the value and importance of these provinces, we must consider them at the period when they were governed by the younger princes of the Blood Royal, that is, some years before *Jaffier Khan's* Soubahship; for in his time they first began to decline and decrease in their worth, from causes already investigated in our last general head.

From his demise, the country for a few years recovered, and began to flourish until within two years of the decease of *Sujah Khan*; when by the rapacity of *Hodjee Hamet*, the Rajahs and Zemindars were again cruelly oppressed and plundered, and thereby disabled from making good their contracts to the government.—Soon after this period commenced the usurpation of *Alicerdi Khan*, that drew on the *Mabarator* invasion, which overwhelmed the country in miseries of every kind for the full space of eight years.

The peace which the Usurper made with these invaders, *Anno 1750*, seemed for four or five years to promise the restoration of vigour to this harassed country; but its shattered constitution was scarcely beginning to revive, when the rash conduct of the  
suc-

succeeding young tyrant reduced it again to eminent peril ; a just vengeance and necessity drew the English arms against him and his country, which produced a revolution fatal to himself and family ;—necessity again, produced a second revolution ;—wantonness a third, and when we shall stop, time alone can disclose. —A few individuals may benefit by this shifting system, but total ruin to the trade of the provinces and to the Company must manifestly in the end be the consequence of this continued warfare if not timely prevented, notwithstanding the flattering fallacious success of our arms.

The foregoing short recapitulation we thought necessary ; to vindicate our conclusion, that no perfect judgment can be made of the value of this estimable country from any period of time within the last forty years, during which space, with few and short interruptions it has been involved in war, and labored under difficulties that have impaired it's very vitals : Thence the necessity of our giving a picture of it in a permanent settled government, when the lands were permitted to yield their produce unmolested, when the manufactures and every branch of trade flourished, and when the rents, revenues, and customs resulting from

that happy state, proves it to have been as valuable a spot as any upon this globe, if not the most so.

To this desirable state we repeat from our perfect knowledge and experience, it is capable of being restored under a *proper government*; if it was not, our present labors were vain, and could answer no end or purpose. What essential end and purpose they are calculated to obtain, we shall now venture to open; and as I have no motive to influence me but sincere gratitude to my former employers, and true love for my country, I trust my endeavours will meet with candour and thanks—at least from the public, if not from that *respectable body of men*, for whose benefit they are more particularly intended.

Notwithstanding the plausible face of success our affairs in *Bengal* may wear at present, by late advices from thence, it is as demonstrable as any proposition in Euclid, that they cannot produce the great and essential end aimed at, *viz.* a lasting peace and settled government, without which, the Company must sink under the pressure of a long expensive war, which not only swallows up their new acquired revenues,

revenues, but impedes and shackles their trade in every instance, shape, and form: In prosecution of this war, the heads of their servants abroad are turned and bewildered, and their mercantile business (which only can support the Company in the end) must suffer under unavoidable neglects and abuses. The gentlemen at home in the direction of affairs, must labor under heavy embarrassments in conducting the two branches of war and trade, either of which would fully employ their whole time and attention.

A trading and a fighting company, is a two headed monster in nature that cannot exist long, as the expence and inexperience of the latter, must exceed, confound, and destroy every profit or advantage gained by the former,—new *temporary* victories, stimulate and push us on to grasp at new acquisitions of territory; these call for a large increase of military force to defend them; and thus we shall go on, grasping and expending, until we cram our hands so full that they become cramped and numbed, and we shall be obliged to quit and relinquish; even that part which we might have held fast if bounds had been set to our progress,



which (upon the present system) we now see is utterly impossible, therefore a total change in our politics becomes indispensably necessary.

The gentlemen in the direction must surely see this fatal tendency of their affairs, and must tremble at it—but where's the remedy? they will say—it has been already pointed out, and no regard paid to it—possibly, though convinced, they want the public sanction to a step they may think so extraordinary—though every day they are taking steps more extraordinary, in supporting their servants in a war against the Mogul, his Vice-Roys, and subjects, which on the present plan must unavoidably prove the ruin of the company.—We have a considerable concern in this stock, and therefore claim a right to speak—when private remonstrances fail, public ones may acquire a due influence.

Why we should wantonly persist in a in a state of destructive war, with a potentate whose alliance is so materially necessary to us, when we have it so much in our power to make a useful friend of him and his successors, is a conduct that surpasses human

human understanding; and yet that such has been our conduct for five years past is most certain.

Let us have done with this ringing changes upon Soubahs, there's no end to it; let us boldly dare to be Soubah *our selves*, our own terms have been more than once offered to us by the Emperor, why should we longer hesitate to accept them? we have not scrupled to seize and possess part of his territory with violence, surely it would be more conscientious, and more consistent with the laws of nature and nations to hold the whole of these provinces under him, by his own appointment—that this would be readily assented to on his part, if a proper overture came from us, is not to be doubted; the consideration of his own great and obvious advantages, and the necessities of his situation would leave him no room for choice.

We have already convinced him, we are able when we have a mind to set our own ruin and the lives of our fellow subjects at nought, to hold this part of his country from him, in spite of his strongest efforts against us; nay, possibly we might retain it under our subjection for some short time at least,

but the consequence to him and us is obvious, a wanton expence of blood and treasure, while the object we are contending for is daily more and more desolated by this contention, and bye and bye will not be worth the possession of either—for every movement that does not tend to a lasting and firm peace by advantaging both, is fruitless, and can have no permanent or salutary effect; and most sure it is, that the plan we have hitherto pursued, and are still pursuing, cannot accomplish that desirable issue.

It is true we have seen our forces in the East, under the conduct of an able and active commander, drive the Mogul's Vice-Roys out of the provinces; it is also true, that we have seen a spirited conduct and bravery in the Mogul's troops, that ought justly to strike us with apprehension of future consequences. The *Russians* when first attacked by *Sweden*, did not possess a tenth part of the courage and discipline that these our enemies have now acquired, and yet the event is known to the world.—Let us reason upon very probable suppositions, and not rest in a too great and flattering security, at a time when we have the greatest cause to be alarmed.

Sup-

Suppose the Mogul's Vice-Roys should from experience at last evidently see, that the only way to conquer us, and render our courage and discipline of none effect, is to avoid ever coming to a *general action* with us; with the great superiority of numbers they will ever be able to bring into the field, they may by this precaution and dividing their army (which consists chiefly of cavalry) into small bodies, cut off our provisions and forage, beat up our quarters, harrass our handful of men without ceasing, and finally destroy us without danger to themselves—and is it improbable they should at last adopt this conduct? we pronounce, no, it is most probable they will as the only resource left for them.

Let us again, suppose a rupture with *France*; whilst we are engaged in this war with the Mogul, our presidency of *Fort William*, and our other factories in a manner deserted, and the chief strength of all our settlements acting at the distance of eight or nine hundred miles from the center of our possessions. — We will not suppose a rupture with *France* near, but let it come when it will, it sets at nought the article in the last treaty of peace, which gave us an exclusive right to *Bengal*, and therefore ought

ought to be attended to; for it is not to be imagined, that they will neglect so favourable an occasion of attacking a settlement, that constitutes in the East the very essence of our being, when they find it left defenceless by the absence of our troops.

In short, every consideration calls aloud for a period being put to this unprofitable, and precarious war, by some other plan of operations, and we assert none is so eligible, honourable or practicable, as that we have now hinted at.—We have nibbled at these provinces for eight years, and notwithstanding an immense acquisition of territory and revenue, what benefit has resulted from our successes, to the company? are their dividends raised to the late standard of eight *per Cent.* no—it is impossible they should whilst this destructive expensive contest exists—and shall we thus go on, nibbling and nibbling at the *bait*, until the trap falls and crushes us?—but to come more immediately to the point.

Permit us most humbly to advise, that express orders be sent without delay to your President and Governor of *Fort William*; to make the following overture of peace to the Mogull; viz. “ That on condition of  
 “ his

“ his appointing and investing (to all intents  
 “ purposes) your Governor for the time  
 “ being, Soubah of the Provinces of *Bengal*,  
 “ *Babar*, and *Orissa*, you will engage on your  
 “ part, that the stipulated sum of onekhororé  
 “ of rupees, shall be annually paid into the  
 “ royal treasury, free of all deductions.”

As this sum near doubles the stipulation made by the usurper *Aliverdi Khan*, with the Vizir *Munsoor Ali Khan*, Anno 1750, (a tythe of which by the bye was never paid) and we venture to say, *re-doubles in one year*, any advantages the Emperors have received from the revenues of these provinces, for the space of *forty years last past*; we cannot entertain a doubt of his most readily acceding to the terms proposed, as thereby he would also secure a powerful ally, who could be occasionally of service to him on any emergency, in his government.

When we are invested with, and empowered to display the Mogul's royal standard, the provinces will be easily governed and kept in subjection, at a less annual expence and force, than the Company are now from necessity loaded with—but suppose it double, the *stake* is amply sufficient, as we shall presently demonstrate.

Some

Some narrow minds, strangers to the nature of the country and government will start, and make the greatness of the object a bugbear to their hopes and wishes—was it possible, that the Company could unmolested enjoy what they have got, and pursue their trade without interruption; we should be amongst the first that might justly exclaim against their extending their views;—but, that this was impracticable, we have long foreseen and publicly declared;—and if we think at all, we must now be convinced there is no medium, or alternative, but this, that can be adopted with any semblance of security or permanency—*aut Soubab, aut nullus*, must now be our motto.

We cannot enough applaud the reasonable measure of sending out Lord *Clive*, which we esteem a happy event; notwithstanding, what could be done upon the present plan of politics, has been done without him—the weight of his Lordship's reputation and experience in those parts will most essentially promote this our new plan; he is the best qualified to negotiate it, the fittest to be first invested with that high power, and the most capable of fixing and leaving it upon a solid basis.—That these  
are

are our real sentiments, flowing from a just regard to his Lordship's character, I think the public will not doubt, as they already know, we lie under no obligations to that quarter, that might excite our partiality.

We are very sensible our *rulers* at home do not like to have the affairs of the Company, the subject of public disquisition; but as *they* and their affairs, are now truly become a very important national concern, and their own intestine quarrels have given a latitude to make their conduct the sport of every pen, we think there needs the less apology for the liberty we now take; as one of our chief motives is to extricate *them* from the difficulties, we imagine they must be plunged in at this period; and no drowning man will surely be angry at another, who stretches out a friendly hand to save him from sinking?—The pointing out a measure to them, that must if it takes place in a very short space, mount their stock in substantial real value to five hundred, will not hurt them or the proprietors.

But it may be asked us, if these only are your motives, why not intimate the measure in private to our chairman or court of directors? Why not communicate it, and enforce



enforce it, at a quarterly general court? Why not call a general court *on special matters*? Why are our affairs and schemes to be canvassed by the public? Have patience my friends, and we will answer these interrogatories by one prevalent reason that determines us, to adopt neither of them.—*Private intimations for public good*, leave the *parties intrusted*, at large, and without public check, to concur with, or *reject* and lay aside, the means proposed, as caprice, want of comprehension, particular private views, or divided counsels, may chance to influence:—but when *publicly made*, they then become accountable *to the world*.—In assigning this reason, we must not be thought to insinuate any doubt, injurious to the honor and integrity of the present Chairman, or present court of Directors, whom from the sincerity of our heart, we believe as much attached to the true interest of the *East India* Company, as any set of gentlemen who ever sat at that board.

Our wish is, to promote the well being of the *East India* Company, and not intentionally to give offence to any, and if our proposed plan meets not the approbation and concurrence of those who will most benefit by the event; we can only lament

ment their loss and our own.—It appears by a correspondence laid before the public last year, that we urged the necessity of *this measure* in the year 1760; glorious! would have been the issue for the company, had it been then carried into execution, and happy! for many unfortunate individuals, who since perished by a contrary system of politics.—There would then have been no call or necessity, for this Nabob-changing scheme, the provinces would have been established in peace: and war, revolutions, murders, and massacres, without a being—however, from a thorough conviction we say, it is not now too late to regain the happy opportunity we then lost; nay, subsequent events, rather encourage and afford a more favorable aspect, as it may be accomplished now under less difficulties, than we should at that period have had to encounter and struggle with.—In this confidence we shall proceed, and by a rough sketch of the produce of the revenues, show the vast stake we throw for, if we win, the gain will be immense, if we fail in the attempt, we are but where we were, and at the worst, shall have it in our power to resume our *old Dog Trot* policy again.

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At

At *Natoor*, about ten day's travels North East of *Calcutta*, resides the family of the most ancient and opulent of the *Hindoo* Princes of *Bengall*. *Rajab Rhaam Kbaunt* of the race of *Bramins*, who deceased in the year 1748, and was succeeded by his wife, a Princess named *Bowanny Rhaanee*, whose *Deewan*, or *Minister*, was *Diaram* of the *Teely* cast, or *Tribe*; they possess a tract of country of about thirty five days travel \*; and under a settled government, their stipulated annual rents to the crown was seventy lac of *Sicca* rupees, — the real revenues about one *khoro* and a half.

The chief towns of these districts are, *Malda*, *Hurrial*, *Seerpore*, *Balekooshy*, and *Cogmarray*; all separately famous for manufacturing the following species of piece goods, viz. for the *Europe* markets, *coffacs*, *clatches*, *hummums*, *chowtahs*, *ootally* *soofies*, *seersuchers* and *raw-silk*: — for the markets of *Bussorab*, *Mocha*, *Judda*, *Pegu*,

\* The *Gentoo's* estimate distances by *corfes*, but more commonly by a day's journey, which they reckon five *corse*, but as the *corse* varies in different districts, from one and a half to two and a half miles *English*, we take the medium days travels at ten *English* miles.

*Acheen*

*Acbeen* and *Malacca*, the different sorts of coffa's, baftas, fannooſe, mulmulls, tanjeb, ordinary kenchees, &c. &c.

This country produces alſo, copoſs, or *Bengal* cotton, with which the above fortments of goods are in part manufactured; but the produce does not bear any proportion to the conſumption, ſo that they are indebted to foreign markets for this article, and chiefly to the port of *Surat*.

The towns of *Bowangunge*, *Siebgunge*, *Sorupgunge*, and *Jummaalgunge*, are all famous markets for grain; as their names imply.

Contiguous to this laſt mentioned diſtrict, but ſtill more to the North Eaſt lies the lands of *Rajah Praunaut* of the Koyt, or Scribe Caſt; his diſtrict extends about fifty days travel, moſtly low lands, and in great part annually overflowed; his ſtipulated yearly payment, twenty lac, the real produce of his revenue, from fixty to ſeventy—the chief products of his country are grain, oil, and ghee, (an article much much uſed in *Indian* cookery) it likewiſe yields ſome ſpecies of piece goods and raw ſilk, alſo ſoole ſugar, lump jaggre, ginger,

O

long

long pepper, and piplymol—articles that usually compose the gruff cargoes of our outward bound shipping.

The principle towns of this district, are *Rungpore*, *Gooragat*, and *Santose Bud-daal*, the capital residence of the head of this family; from these *Arungs*, the *East India* companies are supplied with sannooos, mulmulls, tanjeb and raw-filk.

The great market of *Bugwan Gola* \*, is supplied from this district, with the three important articles of grain, oil, and ghee,—and now we have occasion to mention this mart, it is not foreign to our purpose to dwell a little longer on it—it is situate on the *Ganges*, about a day and half North from *Morshadabad*, and two days South Easterly of *Rajambol*, and is the greatest market for the above-mentioned articles in *Indostan*, or possibly in the known world. The customs on grain only amount to three lac of rupees *per Annum*—all the customs and duties of *Bugwan Gola*, rank in the list of revenues, under the head of *Kbofs Mbol*, that is, duties which are kept in the governments hands, and not farmed out.

\* *Gola* signifies a granary, and *Gunge* a grain market.

This

This place is defended on the land side by a ditch and pallisadoes, and is always in troublesome times garrisoned by a thousand horse and a thousand foot.—In the year 1743 it was four times attacked by the *Mabarattors*, under *Boschar Pundit* and *Alibeg*, who were as often repulsed---It is a place of such importance to the Soubah, that the command of the garrison is always bestowed on the most experienced and trust worthy officer he has in his service ; the whole of its revenues being usually valued in peaceable times at thirty lac *per Annum*, in the beginning of the year 1750, it was again attacked by the *Mabarattors*, taken and plundered of an immense booty.

North West of *Fort William*. and about three days and a half distant, lie the lands of *Rojab Tilluck Chund*, extending twelve days travel ; the stipulated rents of these lands, thirty-two lac *per Annum*, but its real produce and value, from eighty lac to one khorore. This is the principal of the three districts ceded in perpetuity to the company, by the treaty with *Cosim Ali Khan* in the year 1760.

It's principal towns are *Burdwan*, *Kirpy*, *Radnagore*, *Dewangunge* and *Ballikissagur* ;  
 O 2 these

these supply the *East India* companies with the following sortments of piece goods, viz. doorcas, terrandams, cuttanies, soofies, soot romaals, gurras, seftersoys, fanton couplees, cherriderries, chilys, cuitas and doosoota's; the capital *Burdwan*, may be properly called the center of the trade of the provinces, in tranquil times, this place afforded an annual large vend for the valuable staples of lead, copper, broad cloth, tin, pepper and tootanague. The *Puggiah* merchants from *Delby* and *Agra*, resorted yearly to this great mart, and would again if peace was established in the country:—they purchased the above staples, either with money, or in barter for opium, tincal, salt petre and horses.

This district produces raw-silk and co-poss, sufficient only for manufacturing their soofies, cuttanees and gurras.—The lesser towns manufacture other inferior sortments of cloth, as seerbunds, gollabunds, &c.—it produces grain equal to the consumption of the people only.

*Burdumaan*, the proper name of the district, is high, better peopled, and better cultivated than any part of the three provinces;

vinces; blessings! that caused it every year, more particularly to become a prey to the *Maharattors*, as before recited.

The family of this Rajah farmed lands to the amount of four lac *per Annum*, contiguous to the bounds of *Calcutta*, and had a palace at *Beallab*, about seven miles South of it—the Fort of *Buzbudjee* on the *Ganges*, was also their property.

To the West of *Burdwan*, something Northerly lie the lands belonging to the family of *Rajah Gopaul Sing*, of the *Raazpoot Bramin* tribe; they possess an extent of sixteen days' travel, this district produces an annual revenue of between thirty and forty lac; but from the happiness of his situation, he is perhaps the most independant Rajah of *Indostan*, having it always in his power to overflow his country, and drown any enemy that comes against him; as happened at the beginning of *Sujab Khan's* government, who sent a strong body of horse to reduce him, these he suffered to advance far into his country, then opening the dams of the rivers destroyed them to a man; this action deterred any subsequent attempts to reduce him—but if the frontiers of the district were so invested, as to pre-



vent the exit of the merchandize of his country, which might easily be done, he would be presently brought to obedience, and glad to compound for a tribute of twenty lac *per Annum* ; as it is, he can hardly be said to acknowledge any allegiance to the Mogul or Soubah, he some years deigns to send to the Soubah, an acknowledgement by way of salaamy (or present) of 15,000 rupees, sometimes 20,000, and some years not any thing at all, as he happens to be disposed.

But in truth it would be almost cruelty to molest these happy people, for in this district, are the only vestiges of the beauty, purity, piety, regularity, equity and strictness of the ancient *Indostan* government. Here the property, as well as the liberty of the people, are inviolate, here no robberies are heard of, either private or public; the traveller, either with, or without merchandize, on his entering this district, becomes the immediate care of the government, which allots him guards without any expence, to conduct him from stage to stage; and these are accountable for the safety and accommodation of his person and effects.— At the end of the first stage, he is delivered over with certain benevolent formalities to the  
guards

guards of the next, who after interrogating the traveller, as to the usage he had received in his journey, dismisses the first guard with a written certificate of their behaviour, and a receipt for the traveller and his effects, which certificate or receipt are returnable to the commanding officer of the first stage, who registers the same, and regularly reports it to the Rajah.

In this form the traveller is passed through the country, and if he *only passes*, he is not suffered to be at any expence for food, accommodation, or carriage for his merchandize or baggage; but it is otherwise, if he is permitted to make any residence in one place above three days, unless occasioned by sickness, or any unavoidable accident.--- If any thing is lost in this district, for instance a bag of money or other valuable; the person who finds it, hangs it upon the next tree, and gives notice to the nearest Chowkey or place of guard, the officer of which orders immediate publication of the same by beat of tom-tom, or drum.

There are in this precinct, no less than three hundred and sixty considerable Pagoda's, or places of public worship, erected by this Rajah, and his ancestors.---The worship of the cow is here carried to so

great an extreme, that, if that animal meets with a *violent* death, the city, or village, to which it belonged goes into a general mourning and fast, for three days, and are obliged from the Rajah to the meanest of the people to remain on the spot, where they first heard the publication of the accident ; and are employed during that space in performing various expiations, as directed in the *Shastab* ; but more of this under a subsequent general head.

*Bisnapore* the capital, and chief residence of the Rajah, and which gives a name to the whole district, is also the chief seat of trade ; the produce of the country consists of shaal timbers (a wood equal in quality to the best of our oak) damper lacca's, an inferior sortment of raw-silk, and copols and grain sufficient only for their consumption ; it is from this district that the *East India* Companies are chiefly supplied with the article of shell lacca.

North West of *Bisnapore*, contiguous lie the territories of *Buddeir Jamma Khan*, son and successor to *Astoala Khan*, a Mogul, and Prince of *Bierbobeen*.—How this *Mahommedan* family, originally crept in among the *Hindoo Rajabs*, we never could learn

learn with any precision ; but think it proceeded from it's importance to the Mogul government, as being the pass into *Bengal*, from which most danger of invaders was to be apprehended, and therefore the Emperor judged it expedient to have the government of this pass in the hands of a Mahomedan Prince ; the conquered Rajahs not being deemed trust worthy.

The lands formerly possessed by this family, equalled in extent those of *Bisnapore*, and yielded nearly the same articles of merchandize, and about the same revenue ; but as soon as *Aliverdi Khan* usurped the government of the Soubahship, he divested this Rajah (for so he is commonly called) of a great part of his country, and otherways oppressed him, which he had afterwards cause to repent, as we have before shewn) but notwithstanding that, he remained taxed at ten lac *per Annum*.

The fertile part of his country is in the center of the *Bierboheen* mountains, his chief residence the fortress of *Nagur*, and his principal town of trade, is *Illumbuzar*, from whence the *East India* Companies usually had the greatest part of their gurras provided ; but the *Maharattor* invasion,

tion occasioned in a great measure this branch of trade to be transferred to the town of *Cutwab*.

North East of *Calcutta*, distant about three days journey lies *Kissnagur*, the fort and capital of *Rajah Kissen Chund*. He possesses a tract of country of about twelve days journey, and is taxed at nine Lac *per annum*, though his revenues exceed twenty five Lac; his principal towns are *Santipore*, *Nuddeab*, *Bouren*, &c. where mullmulls, coffees, and cotton yarn are manufactured for the Europe markets; the country produces copols and grain, but not sufficient for exportation.

The revenues of the city of *Dacca* (once the capital of *Bengal*) at a low estimation amount, annually to two Khore, proceeding from customs and duties levied on cloths, grain, oil, ghee, beetlenut, chank-metals, salt, and tobacco, &c.

The foregoing instances of the value of the lands in the province of *Bengal* only held by the Rajahs shall suffice, without particularising those held by the *Zemindars* scattered through the province; some of whom are very considerable land holders; these

these are generally taxed nearer the real value of their lands, than those which are held by the Rajahs.

Time and occasion presses, and will not permit us to enter minutely into a detail of the other branches of the revenues of this opulent country in times of settled peace, a bare mention of the principal remaining sources will fully and amply justify the point we aim at, and shew the vast importance of the stake we are pushing for.

The revenues of the city of *Patna*, and those of the province of *Babar*—the government of *Purnea*, a rich *Nabobship*—the revenues of the capital of *Morshudabad*, the city of *Rajahmbol*, the towns and districts of *Cossimbuzar*, *Cutwah*, *Mercha*, *Buxbunder*, *Azîmgunge*, *Jilinghee*, *Baaker Gunge*, *Rajapore*, several petty *Nabobships* and *Fowldaarys*, &c. &c. &c.—the governments and districts of *Midnapore*, and *Chitygongb*, already ceded to us by the treaty of 1760—and the *Purgunnabs* ceded by the treaty 1757, all held by a most precarious tenure whilst this war with the government subsists.

We

We make no account of the province of *Orissa*, usually estimated at one Khorore and a half, because it is a moot point, whether the Emperor will engage in any equivalent plan of satisfaction for the *Maharattors* evacuating it; be this as it may, if our general scheme succeeds, it would be worth *our* while to attempt the getting rid of them by fair means, as this province is greatly improvable, and constitutes a necessary frontier and barrier to *Bengal* on the South. We say nothing neither of the *Jagghier* lands, which are not taken into our estimate, though these are objects may be worth a future consideration.

To sum up the whole, we venture to stake our credit and veracity on the assertion, that the two provinces of *Bengal* and *Babar*, will fully yield a revenue of *eleven* Khorore *per. annum*, or 13,750,000 pounds sterling—if it yields this under a despotic and tyranic government in times of peace and currency of trade, what may *we* not more expect from it's improvements under a mild and British one? To conclude, we repeat——

If we should succeed in the attempt,  
great and glorious will be the British name in  
those

those parts, and immense the gain to the company and nation—if we fail—nothing remains, but to obtain a lasting *peace* on almost any terms—for if this war continues much longer on the present ineffectual and expensive footing. the company, as a company, cannot possibly support it, and therefore they must be reduced to the necessity of applying to our own government, for more powerful and potent aids than they hitherto have been indulged and favored with, though this has we confess, been *pretty considerable already*. What right we have (I speak as a proprietor) to claim or expect more — we leave to be resolved by our honorable rulers.

With the above obvious conclusion, we close this our third general head, and *first part* of our general work, and shall proceed to the discussion of our remaining five general heads in a second part, as speedily as leisure and opportunity will permit.

## P O S T S C R I P T.

Having received intimation that a certain party intend again to make application to parliament, for an act to lay the *splitting* of  
of



of East India stock under some restrictions, and having seriously considered this subject in we think a new point of view, we beg leave to be heard a few words relative to this matter, and a few more, touching the present mode of governing this company.

It is extraordinary that in the course of so much altercation before the general election last year, on the propriety or impropriety of splitting stock, two obvious considerations should not (as we remember) have been ever urged in defence of this practice, which if duely weighed we humbly imagine, would determine parliament to discountenance, and throw out, any bill brought before them for the above-mentioned intended purpose.

That both parties in the last year's direction benefited themselves by this practice, is incontestable, notwithstanding the bold assertion and fallacious reason on one side, and the unmasked hypocrisy of *their champion Verax*.——

It was asserted, “ that neither the stock-  
“ holder could split nor transfer, nor the  
“ transferer accept and vote consistently  
“ with a good conscience as a christian, or  
“ an

“ an honest man.”—To examine the foundation of this heavy charge, let us consider the situation of every East India proprietor on the common plan of voting, at general courts or general elections.

The proprietor who holds 50,000 *l.* original stock, and he who holds 500 *l.* are, touching the government of this company, upon an equal footing. Strange! that a regulation so repugnant to equity and the nature of things, should have so long subsisted without amendment.

The *attachment* and *attention*, which every individual owes to the particular community he belongs, will, nay must be in proportion to the specific *concern* and *part* he holds therein; therefore the proprietor who holds only 500 *l.* stock, will be less attached and attentive, and more liable to be swayed and influenced to join in bad measures with designing men, than the proprietor who holds 50,000 *l.* stock. — Therefore whilst this inconsistent regulation subsists, and the letter of it strictly adhered to, what remedy or means, has the proprietor of 50,000 *l.* stock, to obtain an influence in the government of this company on any critical emergency in their affairs adequate  
to

to his *concern* and *risque*? but this very method of splitting and dividing his stock, consequently every attempt to deprive him of this only resource, is beyond doubt most unjust, and may tend to the destruction of the company, if they should ever fall into the hands of a designing self-interested and wicked set of directors.

To refute the charge of dishonesty in the action itself, we need only consider it in comparison with a transaction much more common, yet we conceive strictly similar to it.

A. borrows 500*l.* cash of B. *on note of hand payable in any stipulated time*;—will any man be hardy enough to say, that this cash is not the property of A. to all intents and purposes, during the time of possession?—and could not A. conscientiously and honestly swear it was so?—where then is the essential difference between borrowing 500*l.* cash, or 500*l.* stock?—*Verax* will tell you (though he laughs in his sleeve at the same time) “ that A. borrows the  
 “ 500*l.* cash to convert to his own pri-  
 “ vate occasions; but that the stock lent  
 “ and transferred to A. is the consequence of  
 “ a private compact and collusion between  
 “ A.

“ A. and B. to enable and qualify A. to  
 “ vote on that side of the question B. shall  
 “ point out to him.”—Be it so—yet the  
 moment B. transfers, and A. accepts, this  
 individual 500*l.* stock becomes the property  
 of A. it has every essential of property, that  
 property can have annexed to it—he can  
 sell, dispose of, give it away, and expend it  
 in any manner he pleases; and though he  
 determines to hold it, yet it remains totally  
 in his own breast on which side he will be-  
 stow his vote, (as a certain party we believe  
 found the last election, to their great dis-  
 appointment and disgrace.) — *Verax* will  
 again tell you, there is a counter obliga-  
 tion for A’s replacing this individual stock.  
 —In like manner A. is obliged to repay his  
 500*l.* cash and take up his note, if in  
 either case he fails B. has his remedy at law  
 — but A. may most truly swear either  
 to be *bona fide* his property, whilst they  
 continue in his possession, though he is  
 accountable in the one case for repayment,  
 and the other for replacing.

Touching the mode of governing this  
 company, we beg leave to say, it never  
 could, nor ever can be *well governed* on it’s  
 present institution.—Would you have your  
 court of directors respectable, reduce their  
 P number

number to fourteen, raise the qualification for a director to 10,000*l.* original stock, and their salaries to 600*l.* *per annum*; on this plan the direction of your affairs would become an object worthy of being courted by men of the most distinguished characters, abilities, and property; which, the present great importance of this company loudly calls to be at their head—men who would not be shackled by their necessary attention to their own little concerns, and thereby obliged to abandon those of the company to the conduct and disposal of one, two, or three members of their body, which unhappily has been the fate of this company from its first institution.

**The End of the First Part.**

Lately published, the Second Edition,  
Revised and corrected with Additions.

## INDIA TRACTS.

By Mr. HOLWELL and Friends.

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# JUSTICE FOR INDIA.

A LETTER

TO

LORD PALMERSTON.

BY A PLAIN SPEAKER.

“There are some acts of policy which a magnanimous spirit only can execute.”  
PRESCOTT'S *“Conquest of Mexico.”*

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# JUSTICE FOR INDIA.

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*To the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Palmerston.*

MY LORD,

IF ever there were a question which it behoved a nation to exercise a dispassionate judgment upon, it is that great question which now possesses all minds, agitates all hearts, and is the theme of all tongues—*India*. But, unhappily, there are mixed up with that question so many circumstances calculated to lead the best and most thoughtful minds astray,—national pride, traditional beliefs, traditional hopes, imperfect knowledge, and angry passions,—that it requires no slight effort, in reasoning upon it, to hold fast by the cardinal maxims of wisdom, justice, and humanity. On every side, from ministers of state, from members of Parliament, from the pulpit, the platform, the press, resounds the cry,—Cost what it may, let us spend our last shilling and our last soldier upon it, British supremacy must be re-established in the East-Indies; the “foul treason” of the sepoys must be met as befits the countrymen of Clive and Hastings; and an awful and exemplary vengeance must

be taken for the enormities of which the rebels have been guilty. Certain phrases, acceptable to our national self-complacency, and happily safe from answer in their very vagueness and generality, pass current among us as unquestionable truths; whilst doubt and criticism are regarded with aversion and disdain, and are quickly drowned by the uproar of a million voices. In short, at the present moment, it is held to be almost treason to our country to ask to be satisfied on the two simple and obvious points which present themselves at the very threshold of this momentous question: First, what are we fighting for? Secondly, is our cause a just one? Thus, in presence of a question which would seem, from the important consequences it is fraught with, to call for all our prescience and wisdom, to demand a ready hearing for every new suggestion, and to require us to look anxiously both before and behind, we are acting just as a man would do, who plunged headlong into an expensive lawsuit, without one thought as to the value of the property he sought to recover, as to the cost of recovering it, or the justice of his title to it.

I cannot consent, my Lord, to act thus blindly. I am not of the number of those who preach up peace at any price: that doctrine I leave to men (if any such there be) who would not defend their own homes against midnight robbers, or would lie quietly in their beds whilst a neighbour's alarm-bell is ringing loudly for aid. So little, indeed, have I in common with these new-fangled notions, that I can even conceive a just war to have a wholesome

and purifying influence upon the character of a nation, by proposing to men who have been habitually engaged in the pursuit of gain, and of mere material advantages, a cause which appeals to the better and higher feelings of human nature, which demands their indignation at wrong, their sympathy with right, and calls upon them to do and to suffer, without any immediate reference to themselves. But, before I can cordially enter into a war, I must know that the object for which I am to spend my blood and my treasure is really worth the sacrifice. What concerns me, too, still more nearly, I must likewise know that the object itself is a just and honourable one,—one on which impartial posterity will set the irrevocable seal of its sanction.

I ask then, my Lord, of what worth to us is this Indian empire, for the maintenance of which we are now engaged in so bloody and costly a war? Is that empire indeed, as the phrase goes, the brightest jewel in her Majesty's crown; or is it, as some suspect, only a paste diamond, a glittering sham? And, whatever may be the answer to this question, I ask still more earnestly—Is the present war a JUST ONE? What *right* have we to India? What *right* had we, or have we, to conquer India?

In answer to the first question, I may at all events positively affirm that this country is not, in the slightest degree, benefited in its public finances by the large revenue, amounting to upwards of twenty millions sterling, which the East-India Company annually raises in India. For, as your Lordship knows (though it is not so well known

generally as it ought to be), every rupee of that revenue is applied, and justly so, in defraying the various expenses, civil and military, of the Indian Government. What is more, this revenue has hitherto been found insufficient to satisfy those expenses, and the East-India Company has, in consequence, from time to time, been obliged to borrow large sums to supply the deficiency, and has thus contracted a debt which amounts, at the present time, to upwards of sixty-two millions. I am aware that there are persons who say, that when the present rebellion is subdued, we shall have two hundred millions of people completely at our mercy, and that we shall then have the power, and ought to avail ourselves of it, of levying upon them, in twofold measure, the taxes which they have been hitherto in the habit of paying. This, however, is vain talk, and only evinces the ignorance, and, let me add, the unscrupulousness, o' those who indulge in it; for your Lordship need not be told that the East Indies are not that El Dorado which tradition and the popular imagination suppose them to be, but a land of miserable rice-eaters, who, for the most part, are only just able to satisfy the bare wants of nature, and, that done, have hardly anything left to hand over to the tax-gatherers. We have hitherto flattered ourselves (I think we have *flattered* ourselves) that the great mass of our Indian subjects have not partaken of the rebellious spirit which has just driven the whole native army of Bengal into open rebellion; but, depend upon it, that *if* this be the case now, it would not be the case much longer

were we to attenuate, by fresh extortions, the poor Indian's present pittance of the necessaries of life. Patient and unenterprising as his debilitating climate and long secular habits of submission have made him, such an experiment would be more dangerous than profitable, and would perhaps end in teaching us, that two hundred millions of people, howbeit Hindoos, are not to be driven to despair with impunity. In fact, the natives already pay their taxes sullenly and grudgingly, and we have it upon the authority of a "blue book" recently given by the House of Lords to the world, that it is not uncommon for the fiscal agents of the Company to enforce their claims by practices so cruel and obscene, that it is impossible to hear of them without a shudder and a blush. Away, then, with the notion that any part of the Indian revenue will ever find its way into the English treasury! But, alas, can I at the same time say—Away with the notion that any part of the English revenue will ever find its way into the Indian treasury? No, assuredly no; so far from it, indeed, that it is now the common talk, that one of the first measures in the present session of Parliament must be to impose a charge upon us good people at home, in order to replenish the East-India Company's rapidly sinking exchequer. And we may feel as sure of it as though the thing had already happened, that if the government of India, as seems very likely, should be transferred to the Crown, we shall see figuring, every year, in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's budget, a formidable sum to be paid out of *our*

purses towards the support of the Indian Government. It would, indeed, surprise no one who knows anything of the matter, if, when the year 1860 arrives, and we impatiently remind ministers of their promise to release us from the income-tax, we were quietly told, in reply, that we must make up our minds to bear that grievous impost *for ever*, as a necessary condition of keeping on foot the large military force required for maintaining our authority in the East Indies. It appears, then, my Lord, that our Indian empire, whatever good it may do for us in other respects, promises us anything but financial aid: we may impose our yoke upon India, but we can extort no tribute from her; she is so far protected by her poverty from our rapacity.

It is not difficult, my Lord, to show that another capital benefit, which we are supposed to derive from our Indian empire, has been, to say the least, greatly exaggerated, and, perhaps, has no existence at all. We, who trade with France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, the United States, the Brazils, Peru, and a thousand other countries, where we have not, and never dream of having, and do not wish to have, a single square mile of territory in dominion,—we (or, at all events, a good many of us), strange to say, fancy that our Indian commerce is indissolubly connected with our Indian empire, and that if we lose the latter, we must lose the former. That such a notion should have prevailed in former times, when a crude political economy relied on monopoly, and protection, and Government interference, for commercial prosperity, was natural

enough, but it is assuredly very much out of place in an age which has been taught, both by experience, and by the profound wisdom of the great masters who have treated on the wealth of nations, that commerce is always most flourishing where it is most left to take care of itself. The commerce we carry on with the East Indies, is, I may safely affirm, advantageous to both the parties concerned in it. We export to India, cotton fabrics, hardware, and various other manufactured commodities, to the amount of about eight millions sterling; and we receive, in return, from India, indigo, raw cotton, and silk, rice, tropical spices, and various other natural productions of the soil of our dependency, to somewhere about the same amount; the deficiency, if there be any, being made up by remittances in specie. What more natural than such an exchange of commodities! The people of India want the commodities which they import from us, and cannot get them anywhere else so cheap; we want the commodities which we import from them, and, likewise, cannot get them anywhere else so cheap. Surely such a commerce—a commerce which seems to draw both parties together by an irresistible attraction—would equally exist and flourish whether the two hundred millions who people Hindostan, and whom we, rather oddly, call the subjects of Queen Victoria, were under her dominion or not. And here, my Lord, I cannot help reminding you, that when the (as we now believe) happy revolt of our American colonies was crowned with success, and, in the plenitude of their independence, they

were free to do what they chose, their commerce with us was neither stopped nor stinted, but, on the contrary, went on flowing from year to year in a constantly increasing volume.

But, let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that the sword, and not mutual interest, is the only possible mode of propagating and sustaining our commerce with the East Indies, and, consequently, that our dominion over the East Indies gone, our Indian commerce must go likewise—what then? Why, even in this improbable event, we should, commercially, be but little the worse for it, since we should still have in our hands the cotton fabrics, the hardware goods, and the other commodities, which we formerly exported to the East Indies, as the price of the goods we imported thence, and with these, or with other articles, the fruits of the labour and capital which produced these, we should have the means of purchasing elsewhere the commodities which emancipated India, to her own great detriment, is supposed to refuse to us. True, I may be met with the objection, that the mere fact that we procure certain articles in the East Indies, is, of itself, a proof that we cannot procure those articles so cheap anywhere else, since mercantile orders, by a law almost as certain as that of gravitation, always seek the cheapest markets. I admit this, and the conclusion to be drawn from it, that the new trade, in the supposed case, would not be *quite* so advantageous to us as the one for which it was substituted; in other words, the articles which we now obtain from India, but which we should then be obliged to



obtain elsewhere, would cost us somewhat more abroad, and must therefore, to yield the same profit to the importer, be sold for somewhat more at home than is the case at present. This, no doubt, so far as it went, would be a disadvantage to us; still, instead of being, as some seem to think, a mortal wound to the commercial prosperity of this country, it would be but a scratch, hardly felt, and soon healed. To conquer, and to keep in subjection two hundred millions of people, is a momentous work, which (putting aside for the moment all considerations of justice and humanity) ought not to be undertaken for any purpose not of the highest national importance; and assuredly it ought not to be undertaken for the sake of the difference between a little more, or a little less, in some one branch of a commerce which embraces the world. Wisdom requires that the magnitude of the end should always bear a just proportion to the means. It does not bear that just proportion, however, where the means are innumerable battles and sieges, and the end (itself a problematical one) is only a somewhat more advantageous trade in silks and indigo.

I admit, my Lord, that no inconsiderable loss and distress would be occasioned to the civil and military officers of the Company were our Indian empire to be dissolved. But surely no one will say that we ought to keep that empire on foot solely for the sake of the officers who are engaged in its service. Happily, moreover, those officers form an exceedingly small fraction of our population, not more than one person out of many thousands being dependent

upon the Indian exchequer for a livelihood. And even these, it should not be forgotten, give equivalent services for what they receive, and consequently would, for the most part, be able, were they deprived of their present places, to bestow the same services elsewhere—some with more, some with less, effect—some, perhaps, even improving their fortunes by the change; others, on the contrary, being seriously impoverished by it. I can readily, indeed, conceive, that many an Indian officer who has been lately serving in the field under a fierce vertical sun, or has been pining away with bile and *enhui* in some remote garrison or station, in the midst of a population with whom he has no sympathy, and who have no sympathy with him, would be right well pleased to exchange his high Indian pay for a far smaller salary, to be earned by him in the genial climate, and agreeable society, of England. The truth is, the salaries which the Indian Government pays to its British officers are only a compensation for the loss sustained by those officers in quitting the various pursuits of gain by which they could have earned their livings at home. As things have been, a man who has taken office under the Company, has given his services and received his pay; as things would have been, had there been no Company, the same man would have stayed at home and busied himself there in the general work of production going forward,—directly or indirectly creating wealth, and spending or saving it, when created, as he chose. In either case, he would really support himself by

the exercise of his own brains or hands; in neither case, would he be a burden to the community.

But, though India threatens to be a financial burthen, and not a relief to us; though our Indian commerce certainly does not require to be fostered or sustained by the hand of a conqueror, and if it did, would hardly be worth having at such a price; and though, in a national point of view, it matters but little that our Indian government affords employment to a certain number of well-paid officials; it may still be asked, whether it be possible that our imperial supremacy over two hundred millions of people should not make us a greater power in the world. The popular belief, undoubtedly is that it does; and some of our newspapers have even gone the length of declaring that, if England should lose India, she would sink into a third-rate power; thus making the strength of England to lie in the East-Indies, that is, in a huge and, I will say it, unnatural, excrescence on the body politic, and not in the body politic itself. Indeed, if England, stripped of India, and left to her natural position, and domestic resources, would be only a second or third-rate power, it follows that you have only to give India to Belgium, Sardinia, or Greece, and forthwith, Belgium, Sardinia, or Greece, would enlarge to the dimensions of a first-rate power.

Let us see, my Lord, what grounds there are for the popular belief on this point. When it is said that our Eastern empire makes us a greater power in the world, I presume it is meant that it makes

us a greater power in our own natural and proper sphere, namely, AS A EUROPEAN STATE. Now, is this the case? Has it ever been the case? *Can* it ever be the case? That it is not the case at the present time, every one who will give the matter a moment's consideration must, I am sure, admit; and there is no one who knows it better than your Lordship, who watches with so learned an eye all the fitful phenomena pertaining to our foreign relations. In fact, our Eastern empire is now so heavy and exhausting a drain upon our military resources, and is so completely occupying whatever attention we can give to matters of public interest, that England may almost be looked upon as blotted, for the time, from the map of Europe. We no longer inquire—we can hardly be said to care—what is going on in France, in Austria, in Turkey, in Italy; and were it otherwise, we feel instinctively that, circumstanced as we are, we cannot interfere without betraying our impotence, and exposing ourselves to ridicule. What mischief may have been brewed by the two imperial plotters who lately met at Stuttgart to whisper into one another's ears, God knows; but we may feel sure that they did not put their heads together there for any purpose of which England can approve. Happen what may, however, we have India to think of, and must therefore be humble and submissive. What if honour forbids this, prudence commands it; and, alas! prudence, that meanest and most doubtful of the virtues, is permitted to take precedence of all the others in these days. Let Alexander, upon

some new pretence, artfully devised between himself and his now fast friend, but late formidable enemy, the Emperor of the French, once more cross the Pruth, and march upon Constantinople, and we must, perforce, look on with indifference, or, at the most, deliver ourselves of some vapid and hesitating protest, which the invader would see (if, to prevent mistake, we did not even tell him) meant anything rather than war, and another siege of Sebastopol, and which he would therefore only read to despise and defy. Let Francis Joseph precipitate his legions upon Piedmont, and, after a new battle of Novara, reduce that now free and prosperous state to the abject condition of an Austrian province, and we may pity, but must not aid the victim, or threaten the oppressor. Let our "loyal and august ally" make that plunge upon Belgium which, it is well known, he meditated at the time of his *coup d'état*, and we must, in fear and trembling, fain believe, or seem to believe, that it is all done from the best and noblest of motives; happy that he leaves our own shores unmolested,—happy, that our militia have not to fight his Zouaves and Imperial Guard in Kent or Sussex, whilst our soldiers of the line, far from the real battles of their country, are fighting the Hindoos, ten thousand miles off, on the banks of the Ganges or the Indus. And all this danger, all this weakness, is owing to that very Indian dominion which we have been assiduously taught to regard as a main source of our greatness as a nation, until the belief has become a fundamental article of our political

faith, which it is little short of treason to call in question. In truth, if we oppress India, India oppresses us; if we are to have a supremacy in India, it must be on condition of our bowing to the supremacy of some other state in Europe.

If it should be said that India will soon be reconquered by us, and that, with our arms once more at liberty, wea betide the nation that may have dared to insult or to injure us, my answer is, that if India were reconquered (and it is not done yet), you have still to govern and to keep in subjection the two hundred millions of people on whom you have imposed your yoke. We have hitherto believed that the people of India have been well satisfied with our supremacy, regarding us rather in the light of benefactors than of conquerors and oppressors. But it must surely be impossible even for the most determined optimist, in presence of the events of the last six months, not to have some misgivings as to the soundness of this notion. True, so inexhaustible are the resources of self-complacency, it has been the fashion amongst us to represent the revolt of the sepoys as a mere military affair, with which the people of India have had no concern, and which they regard even with dislike. But, whatever diplomatic habits may tutor your Lordship's lips to say, your Lordship, I am sure, cannot really believe that a great army of 100,000 native Indian soldiers could, without concert, *and without even the pretence of any military grievance,* have risen up in revolt here, there, and everywhere throughout the vast territory of India, unless they

had been urged forward by some strong popular sentiment,—unless they had known that their own countrymen would hail their mutiny as a patriotic effort to deliver the land of their fathers from the yoke of the stranger. But, my Lord, putting aside this overwhelming reason for believing that the *people* of India sympathize with the revolted soldiery, there are not wanting many other circumstances, all leading, more or less directly, to the same conclusion. Look, for instance, at the numerous improvised bands of rebels that are scattered about the country, and which, though constantly beaten and dispersed, are to all appearances constantly multiplying themselves; now “exciting alarm” in this place,—now “threatening” that,—never doing much in the way of battle, but always a good deal to tantalize and harass our troops. Look, too, at the incessant scourings of the country by small bodies of our soldiers, who, from their own reports, march from village to village, leaving behind them, as trophies, the houses in flames, and a ghastly row of villagers hanging as “rebels,” on trees by the roadside. We have, besides, further evidence of the same kind in a curious penal project, which, we are told by the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*, “is understood to express the general idea,” and which contains the three following articles:—“First: That every rebel\* who has taken up arms shall die.

\* In a previous article, the project condemns every “mutineer” to death; by “rebel,” therefore, we must understand every man who has not served as a soldier.

Secondly: That in every *village* where an Englishman has been murdered, a telegraph cut, or a dāk stolen, a swift tribunal shall execute summary justice.\* Thirdly: That every *village* in which a European has been insulted or refused aid shall be heavily fined." Moreover, we know that the great metropolitan city of Delhi was one unleavened mass of disaffection towards us; a fact, which no one, I presume, will call in question, who remembers General Wilson's proclamation to his army before the storm of the doomed city,—that terrible proclamation, which, by significantly calling upon the British troops to spare women and children, gave up to their bayonets *all* grown men, citizens as well as soldiers. What, is still more directly to the purpose, we have it from General Havelock himself that on his first march from Cawnpore upon Lucknow he found every cottage turned into a place of arms, and defended by the villagers with a resolution which showed that their hearts were in the cause for which they were fighting. And we know that, since then, the whole population of Oude has risen in arms against us, † though certain, in the

\* This, no doubt, means to set fire to the place, and hang its chief inhabitants.

† Why has there been a more general manifestation of the spirit of revolt in Oude than in any other province of India? Several reasons have been assigned for this phenomenon; but the most obvious one has been generally overlooked, namely, that in Oude the presence of a great native army gives countenance to the popular aspirations, and emboldens the discontented to show themselves. Put that army in any other part of India, and we should, I believe, witness the same ferment of the public mind.



event of failure, of receiving *less* mercy from their conquerors than was given to the insurgent patriots of the Low Countries by the remorseless Alva. One more fact shall complete my proof of the general sympathy with the cause of the insurgents; it is, that the different military contingents, furnished under treaties by certain of the native princes, have been for the most part as forward in the revolt as our own sepoys. Even the faithful Holkar has not been able to preserve his troops from the contagion of revolt; and it is a significant fact, that the only serious reverse we have sustained during the present war has been inflicted by the contingent\* of a prince who used all his efforts to keep his men true to us, and used them in vain. Is it possible, then, to believe that the popular feeling in the provinces from which these contingents have been drawn is not strongly averse to our rule? As to the princes themselves, they have, it is said, for the most part, kept aloof from the conflict; not, however, as we may well suppose, because they have any great liking for a foreign power which is constantly thwarting, humbling, and impoverishing them, but because they cannot easily believe that the same good fortune which has hitherto always crowned our arms in Indian wars will desert us now. But dissimulation is a conspicuous feature in the Indian character. Let us not forget that Nana Sahib was our humble servant, our fast friend, until the moment when it suited him to throw

The Gwalior army.

aside his mask; and show his real face. Sir Martin Syngb was under an engagement to join Havelock and Outram immediately on their arrival at Lucknow; but, to! instead of joining them he joined the enemy. Depend upon it, my Lord, that how ever it may now suit them to put an antic disposition on, there are many amongst the native princes and great landowners of India whose long suppressed impatience of our dominion is only waiting for an opportunity to explode. I cannot blame them for it. No, it is hardly possible that it should not be the constant aspiration of the whole Indian people—high and low, rich and poor, prince and villager—to reconquer their independence from strangers, who come from a far-distant country—who, in race, religion, language, and manners, have no affinity with themselves—and who, to use Lord Ellenborough's language, stalk through their land as conquerors.

Such, then, being the temper, such the natural, and, let me add, the just ambition of the Indian people,—how are we to maintain our dominion over them? The answer is obvious: it must be by the sword; it must be by a permanent and overpowering military occupation of the country. But that sword must not be committed to the hands of the natives; that military occupation must be our own especial task. In other words, we must always have a great army in India, and that army must be an army of Englishmen! And what number of soldiers will suffice for the purpose? Say, shall it be 60,000, or 80,000, or 100,000; or, setting no

limit at all, shall it be as many as the utmost resources of the country will permit, and as the exigency for the time being may require? When I consider the prodigious resources of this country, I see clearly enough that we can maintain our power in the East Indies against the utmost efforts which the natives, *if unassisted*, may make to shake off our yoke; but, sure I am that we cannot hold military occupation of that vast territory by means of an English army, except at the expense of that natural authority, dignity, and almost supremacy, which we have hitherto always enjoyed in Europe. How, then, in the name of wonder, can it be said that we add to our power as a nation, by a policy, which, whilst enabling us to give the law to the Sikhs, the Bheels, the Ghoorkas, the Rohillas, and the Mahrattas, may compel us to take the law from some arrogant neighbour in Europe?

The universal exclamation now is, "Thank God this mutiny did not break out whilst we were in the thick of the Russian war!" But what security have we, should these Indian troubles continue, that they may not, at last, become complicated with European embroilments? When, upwards of eighty years ago, the dispute with our American colonies waxed warm, our grandfathers talked much as we do now, of the utter futility of all resistance on the part of the discontented colonists, and of the imperious necessity, if we regarded either our honour or our interest, not to permit the crown to be robbed of its choicest jewels, to wit, these same colonies; but, "to strain every nerve to bring them back to their

*duty, and to secure to us their subordinate dependence.\**  
Read, my Lord, the pamphlets that were written, and

\* In a debate on the Boston Ports Bill, in 1774, Lord Mansfield said, "What passed in Boston is the last overt act of high treason, proceeding from our over-lenity and want of foresight. It is, however, the luckiest event that could befall this country; for now all may be recovered. The sword is drawn, and you must throw away the scabbard. Pass this Act, and you will have passed the rubicon; the Americans will then know that we shall temporize no longer. If it passes with tolerable unanimity, Boston will submit, and all will end in a victory without carnage."—(*Bancroft's History of the American Revolution.*)

In a debate, in the House of Lords, on the German treaties for the hire of troops to act against the Americans, Lord Carlisle said (*Parl. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 1199*), "If, viewing the map, we see the figure Great Britain cuts in respect of territory, if we collect the whole into one focus, and connect the ideas of their strength and our own native imbecility, should America be torn from us, the prospect is, indeed, dreadful. It is therefore, in my opinion, a measure not only necessary to the vindication of our honour, but essential to our very existence as a people. It calls upon us to strain every nerve to bring America back to her duty, and to secure to us her subordinate dependence." The earl of Sandwich, in a debate on the Address, in October, 1776, spoke in the same strain;—"As a friend of my country," he said, "I must dissent from the extraordinary proposition made by the noble duke (Richmond) who spoke last, recommending a reconciliation with America upon any terms, even upon grounds of admitting their independence. As an Englishman and a friend to my country, I cannot endure the thought; I will never consent to a doctrine so derogatory to the character, and so destructive to the interests of this country. I would risk everything rather than accede to it; I would hazard every drop of my blood, and the last shilling of the national treasure, sooner than Britain should be set at defiance, bullied and dictated to, by her ungrateful and undutiful children."—(*Parl. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 1382.*)

the speeches that were made at that time, and you will find there, stereotyped, as though for future use, the selfsame sentiments and opinions which are now commonly expressed with reference to our Indian troubles. We were to dispatch some half-dozen additional regiments to America, and to make a few examples of wholesome severity, and then all would be right again. We reckoned, however, without our host; for though our well-trained and high-mettled troops rarely met in the field the raw levies and undisciplined militia of America without asserting their superiority, still, in one way or other, the colonists stubbornly kept their ground, until France, Spain, and Holland, mindful of old grudges

Time is the true touchstone of political wisdom; and the following speech, delivered by the earl of Coventry, in the debate on the treaties for the hire of German troops, stands that test well:—"If you look," said he, "on the map of the globe, and compare the extent of Great Britain and North America; if you consider the soil, the harbours, rivers, climate, and increasing population, nothing but the most obstinate blindness and party spirit can prevail on any man to entertain a serious opinion that such a country will long continue under subjection to this. The question, therefore, is not how we shall be able to realize such a delusive scheme of dominion, but how we shall make it their interest to become faithful allies and warm friends. Surely, that can never be effected by fleets and armies. On the contrary, instead of meditating conquest, and exhausting our strength in an ineffectual struggle, we should vote a thanksgiving, and, wisely abandoning all wild schemes of coercing that country, *we should leave America to itself*, and wish to avail ourselves of the only substantial benefits we can ever derive from it,—the profits of an extensive commerce, and the strong support of a firm and friendly alliance for mutual defence and assistance."—(*Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 1200.)

towards us, and tempted by such an opportunity of gratifying them, stepped in, and threw their weight into the scale against us. The issue was that, after some years of hard fighting, both by land and sea, we got tired of, rather than exhausted by the war, and yielded all that was demanded of us. The tie between the mother country and her high-spirited child was severed for ever; our alienated colonies became the United States of America; and the man, for whose prudent counsels and able command in the field, this great issue was mainly owing, was elected the first president of the great American Republic. And, strange to say, there is now no name that Englishmen hold in greater honour than that of the "rebel" Washington!

And now, my Lord, I ask whether the loyalty of our late ally, the Emperor of the French, or the forbearance of our late enemy, the Emperor of Russia, be so unquestionable, that one or both of them might not be tempted to find occupation, more than enough, for our arms in Europe, whilst the flower of our troops are massacring and being massacred in India? Louis Napoleon's mission is only half accomplished; the star of his destiny does not yet shine in its full lustre; for he still has Waterloo to avenge. Besides, our free constitutions, so noble a contrast to his own despotism, irritates and alarms him; and (he hates us for affording a refuge to men whose supposed machinations against him are incessantly haunting him in the midst of all the splendour which has answered to the call of his guilty ambition. As to Alexander,

he assuredly has not forgotten that, if France brought the greatest power into the field against him during the late war, we were, from the beginning to the end of it, his most pertinacious enemy, and have ever since stood annoyingly in his way. I affirm, then, my Lord, that our Indian dominion must needs be a burthen and not a means of power to us, if owing to the chronic discontent of the Indian people, it can only be maintained by the constant presence of a great standing army of Englishmen, and if, whenever we may have to measure our strength with a powerful antagonist in Europe, we must put down our subject myriads of Hindoos and Mussulmans in the number of our enemies. Nor let it be supposed that the discontent which our rule of a hundred years has not been able to remove, will be exorcised by the blood-thirsty spirit in which the present war is being waged. No, my Lord, the natural hatred of the Indian people towards us is not to be softened by hanging and shooting them with almost as little thought or mercy as though they were the wild beasts of their native jungles. Men may be coerced into submission, but not into loyalty. I must believe, then, my Lord, so long as human nature remains what it is, what by our "energetic" measures (such, I believe, is the phrase of the moment) in dealing with the revolt, we are sowing broadcast among the Indians the seeds of increased and unyielding hatred to our race, and our rule in the time, I am afraid, will never come when we shall see the people of India fully reconciled to

our supremacy, and no longer disposed to hail with delight any chance which promises them vengeance and independence.

But, even if we could depend upon it that the people of India would always be as docile and well satisfied, as there is at present too much reason to think they will be refractory and malcontent, I have yet to learn in what way our dominion over them could give us a more commanding position amongst the nations of Europe. Give me, my Lord, some good reason why that dominion should enable us to present a better or bolder front to the great rivals and possible enemies that encompass us in this our immediate sphere. Tell me why, when we are at difference with France, with Russia, or with Austria, and when congresses, and conferences, and notes, and protocols, and minutes are the order of the day, our possession even of a submissive and loyal India should give weight to our remonstrances, and additional terror to our threats? Tell me, in short, why we should be any safer at home, or any more powerful amongst our neighbours, on account of our holding in subjection two hundred millions of human beings, who, whether well or ill affected to us, must always be too poor to pay us tribute, and are too far off to send us men? As to paying us tribute, it is, as has already appeared, a thing not to be thought of; and as to sending us men, let me remind you, my Lord, that during the late war with Russia, though we were sorely straitened for soldiers, and in our extremity even resorted to the not very honourable expedient of organizing an army of *condottieri*, under the name of "The



Foreign Legion," to fight for us, no one dreamed of our drawing reinforcements, for our thinned ranks in the Crimea, from our huge and, at that time, unemployed Indian army. And why? Not, assuredly, because there was then even a whispered doubt as to the loyalty of that army, or that the East-India Company could have hesitated to grant us any aid in its power, but that the cost of conveying soldiers, with their *matériel* of war, from so distant a part of the world, would very far exceed that of raising an army by *crimping* in Germany, Switzerland, and the United States. Besides, whatever might have been formerly thought about it, we have lately had abundant proof that an Indian army, even when well disciplined and armed, and fighting not merely for pay, makes but a poor figure when opposed to the hardier and braver soldiers of the North.

No, my Lord; the power of England, happily for herself, lies all *at home*: it lies here, under our very eyes, in our accumulated resources of a thousand years; in our fields, so well drained, irrigated, and husbanded; in our busy hives of industry, where the constant friction of mind with mind sharpens emulation and stimulates improvement; in our magnificent turnpike roads, our thousands of miles of railway, our canals, our electrical telegraphs, our innumerable and multiform machines; in our vast mercantile marine, as ubiquitous as the sea; in our great naval arsenals, where lie those ships of war which can sail round the world and nowhere find an enemy to dispute with them the dominion of the sea; in our gallant soldiers, in whose veins runs the

blood of the heroes of Agincourt and Crèssy, of Blenheim and Ramillies, of Vittoria, Salamanca and Waterloo, and who, under our own eyes, have lately proved at Alma and Inkerman, and, more lately still, before Delhi and Lucknow, that they are worthy of such sires; in the tutelary sea which embraces us all round, and thus enables us to sleep in peace, even were a banded world in arms against us; and, above all, in that freedom which so nobly distinguishes us from all the other great nations of Europe, and without which public spirit, and the generous and manly qualities affiliated to public spirit, can no more live than can a flame in an exhausted receiver.

These, my Lord, constitute the power of England, and the loss of these, or of any one of these, would do more to impair that power than would the loss of a hundred Indias. England was a great country centuries ago, when she knew India only as a kind of cloud-land from the fables of Mandeville. England was a great country in the times of Cromwell, of William the Third, and of Marlborough, when all we possessed in India were a few factories, and all we craved from India was permission to trade with her. England was a great country in the time of the elder Pitt, when we had as yet acquired only a small portion of that vast territory which now acknowledges, or but lately did acknowledge, our sovereignty. In fact, my Lord, we are not powerful because we possess the East Indies, but we possess the East Indies because we are powerful. Strip us of every colony we have, let India go, let Canada go, let Australia go, let

us simply be the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and we should still be a compact and homogeneous population of twenty-eight millions; who are neither fools, cowards, nor slaves. Is not this enough? What more can be necessary to make us a great and powerful nation? Our most formidable neighbour is, and ever must be, France; but we know that our native resources and population have, during the last century and a half, increased in a far greater proportion than those of France: consequently, if we proved the equal, and more than the equal of France in the time of their *Grand Monarque*, when we had no possessions in India, and when our other colonies, from their thin population and narrow limits, were but as dust in the balance of nations, why should we suppose that India is essential to our power now? Thank God, the unscrupulous Clive was not the founder of the greatness of England!

It being thus evident, my Lord, that our Eastern possessions neither enrich nor strengthen us, and that there is too much reason to fear that they may both impoverish and weaken us,—impoverish us by drawing deeply upon our revenue, and weaken us by diverting our strength from European to Asiatic objects,—I shall now proceed to consider the still more important question of our RIGHT to exercise sovereign and absolute sway over the two hundred millions of Indians whom we are now shooting and hanging as rebels and traitors, because they dare aspire to be independent. And what is that right? I know but of one answer that can be

given; it is, the right of conquest, the right of the stronger; it is the right of the midnight robber, who "stalks" through your house, and is for the moment its master. True, we have done our best to disguise this odious foundation of our power by ingenious sophisms, which have sufficed to lull the national conscience into the belief that the vast territory of India is not ours simply as the spoil of our sword. But history stands there, my Lord, with her plain tale, to contradict and confound any such pleasant assumptions. The simple truth is, it was by *filibustering* (that is the word) that we gained our first foothold in the East Indies, and it has been partly by the sword, and partly by dark intrigue, that we have since advanced, step by step, to our present dominion. We began with the battle of Plassy, a battle which was won more by bribery than by prowess; Clive having, by a previous treaty, engaged Meer Jaffier, the general who commanded for the Nabob of Bengal, to betray his master in the very crisis of the engagement. As the reward of this service, we raised the traitor to the Nabob's vacant throne, but, of course, with the understanding that he should be our puppet, that he should make war or peace just as we chose, and especially, and above all things, that he should extort money from his subjects to satisfy our incessant cravings. He was not quite so docile as we expected, so we soon deposed him, and put in his place another puppet, whom we thought we could more depend upon; nor was it long before we laid aside all disguise, and boldly assumed the sovereignty, in name as well as in reality, to our-

selves, Such was our *début* as an Indian power. All our other acts in the conquest of India have been very much of a piece with this. Now we made war upon a prince because he had money, and we wanted it,—now because he was powerful enough to be dangerous,—and now because he was too weak to resist us: now we aided a sovereign against his rebellious subjects, and now we aided rebellious subjects against their sovereign; now we deprived a sovereign of his independence by granting him our protection as a friend, and now by making war upon him as an enemy: now, by our vexatious tyranny, we drove a state to break some treaty with us, and then we conquered the offending state for having broken its treaty: now we conquered a province because we wanted it, and now we conquered another province to make our former conquest more secure. And so, my Lord, we have gone on, intriguing, fighting, conquering, and *annexing*, until we have become the absolute masters of Hindostan, and of two hundred millions of human beings, altogether alien to us in manners, sentiments, religion, language, race, and colour.

But, though the conquerors of Hindostan, we are, and always must remain, a mere handful amidst the myriads of natives. In fact, the entire European population in India, including the army, is at the present time, estimated at only 70,000; a number large enough, perhaps, to irritate and oppress the natives, but too small to exercise any assimilating power upon them: 'No amalgamation of the conquerors and the conquered, such as has frequently

happened in other enslaved countries, is consequently possible in this case. Centuries hence, should we so long retain our Eastern possessions, we shall still be foreigners in India, and our dominion will still be that of the sword. To the Indians, our very complexions must for ever bear testimony against us as conquerors. Some persons, I am aware, dream of a large European colonization of India; of intermarriages with the natives, of a gradual fusion of the two races. But it is hardly necessary to say, that without the greatest cruelty and injustice to the natives, any such colonization is impossible, since that region, though a continent in itself, has, from time immemorial, been peopled up to its full capabilities. India, my Lord, has no elbow-room for strangers; in this respect, differing essentially from those colonies which are, as it were, bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, and which may perhaps be destined, in some remote age, of the world, to replace, with kindred institutions, and kindred language, our then effete and almost forgotten England. Moreover, so fatal is the torrid climate of India to European constitutions, that we are told, every British soldier serving there, is even in times of peace, three times a year in hospital; and a regiment numbering 718 men, on disembarkation has been known, in the course of eight years, to be reduced to 109. Hence, no Englishman, on going to India, even intends to take root there; on the contrary, he looks forward with eagerness to the time when his pension earned, and his fortune made, he will be able to recross the seas, to his native

country, and thanks his stars if death spares him to do so, though with a ruined liver and a shattered constitution. In short, our tenure of India, from the very nature of things, has been, is, and always must be, that of a conqueror. The time will never come when we shall form an integral part of the country, or be anything else than an army encamped in it. Arrogant, rapacious, and cruel as we were at the beginning of our rule, so must we be to the end of it.

I know of no political event in modern times that has more moved the indignation of the world, and of this country in particular, than the subjugation of Poland by Russia. In that indignation I fully participate. During the ill-fated insurrection of the Poles in 1830, I well remember with what breathless interest I watched all the incidents of that chequered and heroic struggle—how fervently I rejoiced in every marvellous victory won by the patriot army, how I hoped against hope that the high justice of its cause would charm victory to its standard,—and how sad at heart I was, when, on the fatal field of Warsaw, might prevailed over right, and Poland fell once more under the dominion of Russia, her vigorous national life extinct, her future for ever divorced from her past. But odious, unjust, and cruel though the dominion of Russia over Poland may be, I deliberately affirm, far less odious, unjust, and cruel than the dominion of this country over India. Observe the difference, my Lord. In the former case both the conquerors and the conquered are Europeans; both are Chris-

tians—both are white men; whereas in the latter case the conquerors are Europeans, Christians, and white men, whilst the conquered are Asiatics, heathens, and dark men. We may be sure, then, that acting upon one another by their natural affinities, Poland and Russia will in time become as one, true and united nation; Poland, forgetting her former independence—Russia, that Poland was once the prize of her sword. This has, indeed, already taken place to some extent; and, perhaps, at no very distant period, the descendants of Kosciusko and Czartorisky may be seen doing homage to the Czar, as their liege lord and sovereign, with as much sincerity and warmth, as the descendants of Suwarrow and Menzikoff. But, as I have already urged, a close and natural union between this country and India is forbidden by nature herself, in the immense ocean, which she has interposed between the conquerors and the conquered; in the white skins which she has given to the one, and in the dark skins which she has given to the other, and in the fierce sun which reigns over the plains of Hindostan, and interdicts their colonization by Europeans, under mortal penalties. A short while ago, by an ordered and formal act of national humiliation, we, as a people, deprecated the anger of God for our manifold sins. We did this in the hope that the Almighty, thus entreated and propitiated, would bless our arms, and give us the victory over the rebellious sepoys. But we should, in my opinion, have done much better, and have offered a far more acceptable service to a just God, had we on



that solemn occasion acknowledged with contrite hearts, as the first and foremost of our national sins, the rapacity and lust of dominion which for a century past have been impelling us to subjugate, one after another, the different races of the remote Hindostan.

Our forefathers, more humane and more just than ourselves, received with consternation the tidings of the lust of lucre, and lust of aggrandisement, which distinguished our early career in the Indies. Instead of hailing Clive as a hero, they confronted him, in spite of his success, with a stern inquiry into his conduct; and such was the load of obloquy he lay under, that, we are told by the most brilliant writer of the present day,\* the very house in which he dwelt was regarded by his neighbours with a mysterious horror. But, though hard and unscrupulous, Clive was almost a good man in comparison with his successor, Warren Hastings, who seems really never to have had a thought that he ought to shape his conduct otherwise than according to the expediency of the moment. His rapacity had no other measure than his wants, and he hesitated at no cruelty which might be necessary to get rid of an enemy, or to enforce his teeming schemes of extortion. Honour to the Commons of England for impeaching him! And never did British eloquence manifest itself in a nobler shape, or in a juster cause, than when, one after another, Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Erskine, Dunning,† fulminated against the arch-

\* Lord Macaulay.

oppressor of India, against the bold bad man who had committed the judicial murder of Nulcomar, who had, of set purpose, driven the rajah of Benares to desperation by his often-repeated "stand and deliver," and who had taken advantage of that chief's resistance to depose him, to annex Benares to the British territory, and to charge it with a ten-fold tribute, who, with calculated cruelty, pushed even to actual torture, had compelled the harmless and reclusive princesses of Oude to disclose and deliver up to him large masses of treasure, their own private hoards, to which he had no other right than the robbers', namely, that they wanted them; and who, for a price, had lent a British army to Sujah Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude, wherewith to subjugate the Rohillas, a brave and independent race, who might have successfully maintained their own against their native enemy, but who fell beneath the irresistible valour of their British opponents. But all these things are forgotten now, or are no longer regarded as they were by the unsophisticated moral sense of an elder time. We have learned to be proud of the acquisition of India, as a middle class achievement; and our newspapers, echoing, or perhaps inspiring, the public sentiment, are not ashamed to breathe a prayer for the resurrection of our Clives and our Warrens.

It is a very general assumption in this country, that, though we rule India by right of conquest, we

\* In a leading article in the *Sun*, we find these two worthies rather oddly multiplied into three: "Our Clives, our Warrens, and our Hastings."

have amply atoned for any vice in the origin of our power by the blessings which our paternal sway has conferred upon the natives. This assumption is just now the cuckoo cry of all who write or speak on the unhappy recent events in India. The *Times* begins the cry; Lord Shaftesbury takes it up; Sir James Graham repeats it; Lord Brougham peals it forth with emphasis; Mr. Gladstone joins in, with a difference. "What grievances have they to complain of?" asks one. "A foul and causeless treason!" exclaims another. "It is only a military revolt," breaks forth a third; "the great mass of the Indian people know when they are well off and do not desire to be released from our dominion." "If not for our own sake for the sake of the people of India themselves, we must put down this monstrous revolt," adds a fourth. Moreover, we are told that the Hindoos, unlike any other people, are not in the smallest degree sensible to the ignominy of being under a foreign yoke. "As it is," says the *Times*,\* "the Hindoos willingly and cheerfully accept government at the hand of others, and ask only to be governed well." A doctrine which, by thus representing us as the benefactors as well as the conquerors of India, so happily reconciles our conscience with our ambition, could hardly fail to meet from us with a very cordial reception, a general currency, and a liberal immunity from criticism. No wonder, then, that almost every Englishman proclaims it as indubitable that, under our auspicious rule, India is

\* October 31, 1857.

thriving and content. The only conclusion, however, that I can draw from all this is, that England recoils from the naked view of her own inordinate ambition, and, therefore strives to give to it some agreeable relief of justice and humanity. So is it with all conquerors. Russia, for instance, can speak just as high for her dominion over Poland, as we for our dominion over India. If we say that our dominion over India has been mild, paternal, and beneficent, Russia will say quite as positively, that her dominion over Poland has likewise been mild, paternal, and beneficent. If we say that our rule has afforded to India a happy order and repose, which that country never enjoyed under its native princes, Russia will say, that the turbulence and intestine dissensions to which Poland was a prey, during its days of independence, have long since vanished; and that an unbroken quiet now reigns there. If we insist upon the long and general submission of the people of India to our rule, as a proof that they are happy and contented under it, Russia will again follow suit, by insisting upon the long and general submission of the Poles to her rule, as a proof that they too are contented; and no longer have a wish for their former independence. If we remind Russia that the Poles, but little more than a quarter of a century ago, *did* manifest their hatred of her yoke by a last desperate and heroic attempt to shake it off, Russia will retort upon us that India, at the present moment, is in revolt to emancipate herself from our yoke. In fact, my Lord, nations, like individuals, are rarely without

some excuses for their misdeeds, — excuses which only barely impose upon themselves, and which are scornfully rejected by the rest of the world, but which, at all events, serve the purpose of rescuing the offenders from the humiliation of being absolutely without defence. These excuses, moreover, are commonly mere assumptions, which, however false or improbable, do not, from their very vagueness and generality, admit of being disproved, and have thus no difficulty in passing current amongst men who are prepared even to strain a point in order to believe in them. In short, British rule in India is, on the first view of it, a perfect political monstrosity, nor can the utmost desire to find excuses for it hit upon anything more satisfactory than certain commonplaces, which are at the service of every conqueror, and which, by assuming everything, prove nothing. No one, I think, will affirm that we have the same, for anything like the same, assurance of the actual beneficence of our Indian rule, as we have that that rule, *the rule of conquest*, is evil in its principle, that is, in its tendency.

Having thus pointed out how little credit is due to the popular estimate of our Indian rule, I shall now proceed to show, not in vague and general terms, but articulately and distinctly, that India has, in fact, had, to suffer at our hands, all that conquered states generally have to suffer at the hands of their conquerors. And I call upon you, my Lord, as you read the catalogue of the sufferings and humiliations of our great dependency, to ask yourself, ever and anon, this question, What Eng-

land would have said, — how England would have felt, — what England would have done, — had she been the oppressed instead of being the oppressor? For my own part, — I say boldly, — had I been a Hindoo I should not have been in arms for her Majesty; on the contrary, I should have felt towards her Majesty, (and who will deny my right and my duty so to feel,) much as the Saxons, the Silesians, and the Welsh felt towards their conquerors, in the early Norman monarchs; and just as they, for ages, cast a sad look behind to the good times of King Edward the Confessor, so should I have cast the same sad look behind to the good times of Baber and Aufungzebe; times which, though we constantly speak as if the Indians, until we took them in hand, were amongst the most wretched (of mankind) are described by their own historians, and are still remembered in the mournful traditions of their country, as an age of gold. And now, my Lord, for the particulars of these same wrongs, — all of them, perhaps, the natural and inevitable result of that one master-wrong, that of our stalk through the land as conquerors:”

In the first place, partly to satisfy the cravings of an exchequer which war has been incessantly draining, partly in the natural recklessness of conquerors, and partly in an unavoidable ignorance of the habits, circumstances, and capabilities of the people under its care, the Indian Government has imposed upon the entire lands of India a grievous and intolerable tax. This tax, professedly amounts in Bengal, to one-third of the gross produce of the land, and is there

paid by the zemindars, or land-owners; but it varies somewhat capriciously in the different provinces, and, in many of them, is paid by the ryots, or cultivators. It was first established, in the Bengal territory, by Lord Cornwallis, whose model of proceedings in this matter was in the most approved style of conquerors; the government taking possession of all the lands of Bengal as its own, and then distributing them anew amongst different persons, each of whom was therefore bound to be responsible for the tax charged upon his particular allotment. In making this distribution, so in regard, no doubt, was paid to pre-existing rights; but there was neither time nor means to do this otherwise than very partially, and the consequence was, that the measure in question, whilst laying upon the people a grinding tax, carried with it, all the injustice of a wholesale confiscation. This is not all; for not only is this tax exorbitant in amount, but also it is imposed in the rude and summary manner I have just described; but it is really (whatever be the name given to it) a tribute paid to a foreign government; at any rate, it is all paid into a foreign treasury, it is arbitrarily administered by a foreign body, at the distance of many thousands of miles, and it is very generally applied to purposes, which the India Company can take no interest, and often to purposes to which India isaverse. Indeed, a large portion of the Indian revenue is spent in keeping a million of men in immense armies in hâtives; and thus, the taxes, removed from the Indians, have been employed, by means of an Indian army, in extend-

ing, more and more, our dominions, in a country which, of right (if such a thing as right there be) belongs to the Indians.

Even if the Indian Government had, by liberal advances of money, promoted the execution of useful public works within its territories, I cannot admit, with Lord Brougham and many others, that this would give it a claim to the "gratitude" of the Indian people; any more, than I can admit that it would give you, my Lord, and your colleagues, a claim to the gratitude of the people of England, that you had applied the taxes raised from *them* for *their* benefit. The Indian Government, however, has not even this poor claim to the gratitude of its subjects, since it has, in fact, been all along remarkably chary in advancing money from its treasury for the permanent improvement of the country. It is admitted on all hands that nothing would so tend to develop the great latent resources of our Eastern possessions as easier communications, by means of good roads, between its different parts; and yet, shame to us, we had been the masters of India and of its public treasure for sixty long years, before we opened a single new road. Even the Great Trunk Road, to which we so often refer as one of the happy results of our rule in India, is still not half completed, nor would it, perhaps, have been undertaken at all, had it not been for the sake of the military advantages which it promised to afford, and which it has, during the present troubles, so well afforded. So little interest, indeed, did the Indian Government, at first, take in the welfare of the myriads who had suddenly passed



under its rule, that we are told, it even permitted those numerous irrigating canals, with which the provident care of former monarchs had enriched the country, to fall into decay, and thus condemned to famine great multitudes, who had hitherto drawn their subsistence from the lands fertilized by those works. By a curious coincidence, shortly before the breaking out of the mutiny, there appeared in "*La Revue des Deux Mondes*," a series of papers on British India. The author had evidently mastered his subject, and spoke with the accurate knowledge acquired by personal observation. He evinces throughout his work a very friendly feeling towards this country, and is willing to believe that our rule must, in time, exercise a civilizing influence over India. But his indulgence does not permit him to ignore the fact, that hitherto we have done little or nothing to improve our Eastern dominions. Listen, my Lord, to the statement of this intelligent and friendly foreigner: "*Jusqu'à ces dernières années, si quelque événement imprévu et terrible avait mis fin à la domination Anglaise dans l'Inde, elle eût laissé derrière elle bien peu d'empreintes sur le sol, et le voyageur des siècles futurs, qui eût rencontré à chaque pas les splendides ruines qui témoignent longtemps encore de la puissance des empereurs Mongols, eût à peine trouvé dans quelque forte démantelée, un fusil à piston, ou un canon Paixham, souvenir de ces Européens auxquels le Dieu des batailles avait octroyé l'empire de l'Inde.*"\* My

case, my Lord, would not be complete if I did not add that the taxes, thus exorbitant in amount, and thus mispent, have been extorted from the poor natives by those revolting practices to which I have before alluded: I do not deny it, my Lord;—all this extortion, reckless expenditure, and cruelty, is natural enough; for are we not the conquerors of India? And what has a right of conquest to do with humanity and justice? //

—Secondly;—We have closed all the avenues to power and social distinction against the natives. In an army of 400,000 natives, there was not, when the mutiny broke out, a single commissioned officer that was not a European. The native might be a corporal or a sergeant, or an underling of some such kind,\*—but, no matter what his capacity, or what his length of service, he must not aspire to be a cadet. What is more, even the lower ranks of the army, which have hitherto afforded some field for the enterprise and activity of the needy youth of India, will henceforth, it is expected, be closed against them. As to the civil service, all offices that give distinction, power, or liberal emolument, are given to Englishmen; the poor natives only coming in for those mean and shabbily-paid ones which the conquerors, in their arrogance, disdain to accept, or are not numerous enough to fill. Perhaps I may be told that to bestow power upon the natives would be to endanger our own empire;—and so, no doubt,

\* The titles of the non-commissioned officers in the Indian service are not the same as in the line, but, with this difference, the above statement is substantially correct.

to build. But still, whatever the cause, I may surely ask those who, like Lord Brougham and Lord Shaftesbury, cannot, for the lives of them, conceive what grievances subject India has to complain of, whether it be *not* a grievance for the natives—two hundred millions of them, remember, my Lord—to find themselves thus the mere hewers of wood, and drawers of water, in their own country? Here is a haughty Mussulman, whose forefather followed the standard of the Prophet over half of the world,—here is a Brahmin, proud of his superior caste and of his ancient blood, and we are surprised and angry that these men should be impatient of a state of things which makes their dark faces, and everything they most honour themselves for a ground of social disqualification, and almost of outlawry, in order, forsooth, that we, their conquerors, may lord it over them with more security. (If I thought that the people of India could be satisfied with their abject state under our rule, I should despise them for their poor spirit. I certainly cannot charge them with base ingratitude, or with "foul treason," for showing us that they are *not* satisfied.)

Thirdly—We wound the native Indians in the most sensitive part of man's moral nature, by constantly insulting their religion. It is true that that religion is absurd, and it is true that the gods they worship are monstrous, horrible, grotesque, and that the rites they practise are ridiculous, and sometimes shameful. But, remember, those gods and rites have been their gods and rites, and the gods and rites of their fathers, not merely for hundreds, but for thousands

of years. It may be difficult to understand; but so, nevertheless, it is,—that the worshippers of Vishnu and Brahma are as firmly attached to their religion as we are to ours—perhaps even more so; since their very ignorance, their simplicity, the entire absence of any critical doubt or inquiry amongst them, leaves their minds undisturbed by those misgivings which have more or less invaded the religious convictions of countries where every opinion is submitted to question, and every objection to it is freely stated and insisted on. Hence, the supercilious pity with which our countrymen in India deplore, and the zeal with which they denounce, the religious convictions and rites of the natives, are deeply resented by the latter, as part of that appanage of woe and degradation which the subjugation of their country has fixed upon them. Nor is this all. They likewise fear—and, God knows, they have cause to fear—that sooner or later we shall become tired of the mild means of propagandism we have hitherto adopted; and, Mahomet-like, shall avail ourselves of our full rights as conquerors to impose our own creed upon them. Fancy, my Lord, what would be our feelings if we held—I will not say our Christianity, but simply our Protestantism, by the frail tenure of the goodwill and pleasure of a conqueror who abhorred Luther as an arch-heretic—who thought that a belief in the real presence was essential to salvation, and who was constantly muttering threats that it was his “mission” to uphold the true religion, and to smite schismatics everywhere? There is, my Lord Shaftesbury, who cannot conceive what

grievances the Indians have to complain of. How, I should like to know, would he feel in such a case? How would he act? Would he then say that it was no grievance for a nation to hold its religion at the will of a conqueror? Would he then denounce it as a "foul treason," were Protestant England to rise up and shake off so odious a yoke? He would not; or, if he would, it would simply show (what would certainly not very much surprise any one) that his lordship's much-pretended piety is, after all, only the *dilettantism* of an idle nobleman. Well, then, as a just man, I am bound to say that it is a grievance—an intolerable grievance—to the two hundred millions of native Indians who lie at our mercy, that one of these days, by a short Act of Parliament, or, perhaps, by a simple Order in Council, they may find themselves condemned to forsake their ancient temples, their familiar rites, their venerated gods, in order to make a lip-deep profession of a religion which is not theirs, and which must be odious in their eyes, because it presents itself to them as a badge of their subjection.

Fourthly.—In our more familiar intercourse with the natives of India, we never forget that we are the conquerors, and they the conquered. To have a white face is, throughout the vast extent of our Indian empire, to have a kind of patent of nobility, a patent which entitles its bearer to treat the natives with ineffable disdain, as an inferior race. Of this we have ample proof in the letters from India which daily appear in our newspapers: "niggers," "pandies," "brutes," "scoundrels," being profusely

scattered through them, as the accepted designations of the Indians amongst their conquerors. It is this very arrogance, indeed, which prevents us, at the present moment, from believing it possible that the natives can even dare to wish for their former independence, or be otherwise than satisfied with the crumbs which we deign to fling to them from their own table. In short, the whole of India we regard as our property, an appendage to England, and its teeming population as our helots.

Thus, my Lord, as we hold our Eastern dominions only by the right of conquest, so we exercise that right as conquerors usually do. Let there, then, be no self-delusion amongst us upon this point: we are, in the plain vulgar sense, the conquerors of India. But can we be satisfied with this character? With so much before me to make me think otherwise I will not say *we cannot*, but I will say it boldly, *we ought not*. If it be right in us to conquer and rule over an alien country, it must be equally right in any other nation to do the same. Were Austria, then, taking advantage of our present weakness, to pick a quarrel with Sardinia, to conquer her, and then to remodel her institutions so as to make them in harmony with the despotic spirit which now hangs like a funeral pall over the continent, what, I should like to know, would be our feeling about it? It would, I am sure, be one of strong indignation. In vain would Austria tell us, that, thanks to her great military power, she had subdued her neighbour and was ruling over her by right of conquest; for we should immediately reply

that might was not right, and that the conquest of Sardinia by Austria was a great wrong. But what if Austria should retort upon us our conquest of India; what if she should ask us how we reconciled that fact with the principle which we insisted upon applying to *her* conduct; how should we then be able to defend ourselves? Able, though you are, my Lord, as a diplomatist, you would I am sure be struck dumb by a recrimination whose remorseless logic would, at one and the same time, convict us of a great wrong and a great hypocrisy. In fact, our conquests in the East have been without the excuses with which ambition generally contrives to gild its delinquencies: for, sundered as we are by so prodigious a distance from India, we had no old grudges to avenge upon her; no mischief, no danger to apprehend from her; she belonged to one sphere, we to another. Our first relations with her were simply commercial; we crossed the seas to trade with her; we were kindly and hospitably received by her; we were permitted to build factories upon her coasts; but, alas for her! we found her weak, unwatlike, and disorganized—and therefore we conquered her. We conquered her just as the Spaniards conquered Mexico and Peru, with the same cupidity and eagerness for aggrandisement, with the same treachery, and almost with the same inhumanity. We conquered her just as Russia would recently, if we had not stepped in and forbidden the deed, have conquered Turkey; a country which, in many respects resembles India, and which her ambitious and powerful neighbour would not, assuredly,

in the event of success, have forborne to annex, for want of plausible reasons after our Indian pattern. And it is very strange, my Lord, that whilst we were making war against Russia to prevent this act of injustice, it never occurred to us that every denunciation which we were then directing against our enemy's overweening ambition was equally applicable to our own one hundred years' career of conquest and annexation in India.

I am well aware, my Lord, that all I have yet said is only matter preliminary to the more delicate, if not more difficult, task which still remains to be performed, namely, that of pointing out the course which it behoves us to pursue in the present crisis of our Indian empire. He, however, must be a dull man who does not see the conclusion to which I am irresistibly carried by the course of my previous argument. I have contended that our Indian empire gives us neither wealth nor power, nay, more than this, that there are strong grounds for fearing that, if persevered in, it may eventually both impoverish and enfeeble us. I have contended that that empire is a creature of might, and not of right; that, in short, we are but conquerors in India, as Timour was before us, and not the just and lawful owners of the country. I have contended that our rule in India is, in a peculiar manner, unjust and unnatural, because even Time cannot, as in the case of most other foreign rules, soften it, but it must to the last wear the stern features of conquest. Lastly, I have contended that our treatment of the native Indians has had



no particular merit of beneficence to distinguish it from the rule of other conquerors; assuredly we did not conquer India to make its people happy. Well, my Lord, such being my premises, what other conclusion can I come to than this,—that it behoves us, in the best way we can, and with the best grace we can, to leave India, as God and nature intended it, to the Indians; satisfying ourselves with our own noble domain of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and with those flourishing colonies which we ourselves have planted, and which (though the time will come for their emancipation too) will not readily forget their lineage or their allegiance. Justice commands this,—prudence commands this. In obeying prudence, we shall consult our interest—in obeying justice, we shall do our duty. If, indeed, justice alone commanded, it ought to be all-sufficient; but when both justice and prudence speak in the same voice—when they both point in the same direction—it would be, on our part, not only wickedness but folly, and not only folly but wickedness, to disobey. In truth, it is *always* the highest prudence to be just; it is then only that prudence becomes wisdom.

False shame is a weakness so nearly allied to all the better parts of our nature that it is always entitled to some forbearance; still, false shame is a weakness, and cannot, therefore, be allowed as a good and serious reason for any man's conduct, and still less so for that of a powerful nation, which prides itself on its magnanimity. Hence, if it be said that we cannot abandon our Indian rule, unjust

and worthless though it may be, because, were we to do so, we should draw down upon ourselves the imputation of being weak and cowardly—my answer is, that whatever the world may choose to say about it, if we ourselves know that our motives are just and good, we ought to be satisfied, and to trust to Time, the Enlightener, for doing us justice.

But, in point of fact, such an act would, even in the opinion of the world, redound to our highest honour, and would cover us with far greater glory than the winning of a hundred battles in a bad or a doubtful cause. For it would give us a moral supremacy amongst the nations,—a character for lofty disinterestedness, for inflexible constancy, for exalted principle, ay, and for firm good sense, such as no nation has ever yet enjoyed, or deserved. Understand me, my Lord: I do not mean that we should all at once pack up and make a sudden and precipitate *flit* from our Eastern dominions, as though we were doing a common every-day thing. No; I would have an act of such momentous consequence, an act of justice so grand as a precedent to mankind, carefully discussed, solemnly determined, and accompanied by every arrangement and palliative requisite to break the violence of so great a change. For our own sake, moreover, I would have it heralded by a manifesto which should proclaim, as with the voice of a trumpet, to all the countries of the world and to all coming ages, how we, being well satisfied, from recent events, that our rule was odious to the lawful inhabitants of India, and that we could no longer maintain or

perpetuate that rule except by the sword, had, for conscience' sake, and out of our regard to the great principles of public justice and national rights, deliberately and freely come to the resolution to leave India henceforth altogether free from our control, and in the enjoyment of her full natural independence. I ask, who, in the presence of such a declaration, would dare to say that we had acted through fear or conscious weakness? Who, indeed, that had either a head to reason or a heart to feel, would not rather admire and applaud an act so exactly in accordance with all the principles which we have of late years deemed ourselves a nation chosen and set apart to vindicate and assert? Who would affirm that England, in thus forbearing to exercise the rights of a conqueror, and freely setting India at liberty, had done anything else than what, according to all her previous professions, she was bound to do? What if the despots of the world should sneer at a liberality and a sense of duty which they are so little capable of understanding or appreciating—the peoples, at all events, with a truer instinct of what is great and noble, would see in it a proof of exalted principle, of real greatness of soul, of a lofty and generous wisdom. Amidst the coming troubles of the earth,—amidst wars and rumours of wars,—amidst revolutions and reactions,—amidst overthrown thrones and overthrown constitutions,—there would still be “one bright particular star” towards which the nations would look with hope and with confidence—*England!* Yes, my Lord—believe it as you may,—our moral grandeur, in en-

franchising India on such grounds, would, all to nothing, give us a greater supremacy in the world than could be obtained from the re-establishment of our power by the most brilliant feats of arms, or by the most successful wiles of that diplomacy of which your Lordship is so famous a professor. On the contrary, if we obstinately persist in ruling as conquerors over a remote and utterly alien people, we shall deservedly sink in the estimation of all who love justice and consistency; we shall be flouted as mere mouthing pretenders to virtues of which, when we are fairly put to the test, we show ourselves to be utterly void; and the sympathy we have so ostentatiously expressed for all struggling and oppressed nationalities, the indignation we have fulminated against the conquerors and tyrants of those nationalities, will everywhere be put down as *shams*. Russia will then have quite as good, ay, and a better right to reproach England with her India, than England has to reproach Russia with her Poland. Let me add that, if we are to emancipate India, *now* is the time to do it—*now*, when no one can question our military prowess, and when we may boldly affirm, and as confidently believe, that, in order to re-establish our empire, we have but to put forth all our strength.

My Lord, I have hitherto assumed that if we go on and untiringly prosecute the war, India must (so runs the phrase) be reconquered.\* But, permit

\* This very phrase shows that we are under no mistake as to the *right* by which we hold India.

me to say, this agreeable side has its reverse, and a very forbidding one too. India is a long way off, its deadly climate fights on its side, and our enemies, if not very brave or skilful in war, have whatever strength mere numbers can give—circumstances which may make it, at all events, no easy matter for us to re-establish our supremacy. Now, I ask whether we are quite sure that England will choose to spend her men and her treasure without stop or stint in this cause? How long will she be content to send forth army after army, always destined to conquer in battle, but always destined to be conquered in turn by the mortal toils of an Indian war? Suppose the war to be still pending, one, two, three years hence; suppose—as must happen in that case—the entire expense of it to be cast upon the people of this country; suppose that we have met with some reverses that have damped our hopes, and abated our haughtiness; do you think, my Lord, that the people will not then begin to inquire what is the value of India to us—what we have to do with India, or what India has to do with us; whether, in short, it would not be better to leave the Indians to govern themselves, than for us to insist upon governing or misgoverning them at such a prodigious cost to ourselves? I ask again, then, my Lord, do you really believe that the people of England will for any length of time continue to regard the distant region of India as a stake of such vital consequence to them as to call for any sacrifice of men, money, principle, and reputation, in order to win it? To say the least,

my Lord, I hesitate much to answer this question in the affirmative. Nor is this—all; for it still remains to be observed, that the war may not always remain a *dus* between the two parties now engaged in it. The time may come, as I have before observed, when India will find amongst the great powers of Europe some arm more powerful than her own to protect and save her, — an event which even the most sanguine will hardly deny might render the re-establishment of our Indian empire an impossible thing. I ask, then, my Lord; whether it be not far better for us now, at the outset, and with all the grace and honour attendant on free-will bounty, to restore to India the independence to which she is justly entitled, than to persevere in the cruel war we are now prosecuting; — a war which, considering the utter worthlessness of its object, we may soon get heartily sick of, and which, upon the happening of a not improbable event, might end — as a similar war of ours on her before did end,\* — in our discomfiture and humiliation.

I shall anticipate one objection, (which I do not doubt will start into the minds of many persons, at the suggestion I have just made,) It will be said that, however worthless our Eastern possessions may be to us; and however, under other circumstances, justice might require us to renounce a dominion which the sword (and intrigue) have alone won for us; and which the sword and intrigue can

\* Of course I allude here to the issue of the war with the revolted American colonies. od

alone preserve; still it behoves us to maintain our ground in India—at any rate for a time—if only to punish the atrocities perpetrated by the sepoys during the present troubles. Now, if cannon-balls and bayonet-thrusts were always directed with discriminating justice, there might be some force in this objection; but as, in the progress of a war—in the heat of battle—and especially in the sack of cities, death and destruction are not respecters of persons, but confound in one promiscuous execution the guilty and the innocent;—citizens with soldiers,—the old with the young,—those whose only crime may be that they have fought in the cause of their country's independence, with those whose conduct may have deserved the most exemplary punishment—I can see neither the humanity nor the justice of continuing the war for such a purpose. None is it surely unworthy of consideration, that whilst our soldiers may be exacting in bloody battles, where no quarter is given, full payment of the debt of vengeance we deem to be owing to us, those terrible scourges—sun-strokes, dysentery, cholera—may be ravaging *their* ranks; and devouring them by whole armies. I cannot agree, then, my Lord that, if every other consideration is in favour of putting an end to the war and of giving to India her independence, we ought to persist in the war simply for the sake of a vengeance which, exacted as it must be, it would be absurd to call by the sacred name of justice.

I go still farther, my Lord. I affirm that we really have no right to be so clamorous in our

denunciations of the cruelties of the sepoys. I am aware that I am now touching on very delicate ground, and that, to propitiate the public ear, I ought to make my advances with some rhetorical management; but as it is my ambition to be the frank and fearless adviser, and, where need is, even the rebuker of my countrymen, and not their flatterer—I shall not hesitate to say that our hands are assuredly not so clean as to entitle us to sit in austere judgment upon the cruel acts of our enemy. If he has been savage and remorseless, so, I affirm, have we; if he has made light of human life and human suffering in his hatred of our domination, and in his convulsive struggles to shake it off, so have we equally made light of human life and human suffering in our fear of the loss of our domination, and in our stubborn efforts to maintain it. Proofs innumerable of this may be found in the thick-coming letters from India, which during the last six months have so much occupied the columns of our newspapers,—some expressing without disguise a savage craving for hecatombs of victims, and others relating terrible deeds of blood perpetrated on our side without one word of pity or regret, and frequently in a flippant tone, a jocular vein, which would be almost shocking were the sufferers wild beasts, and not men. One tells us, just as though it were the merest trifle in the world, or a common incident in every war, “we hang our prisoners every night.” Another writes as follows: “A small force of fifty of the 3rd Europeans, fifty militia infantry, twenty militia infantry, and two



guns, the whole under the command of Captain Ross, 3rd European regiment, with Girdlestone, Corporal, Click, Walker of the artillery, and several other officers attached, went against an insurgent village ten miles off, yesterday, and burnt it down; and the cavalry having captured a number of the inhabitants, Phillips, of the civil service, *the magistrate of Agra*, who was with the force, hanged two of the principal men *with his own hands*, and then, as the force was in a hurry to be off, he shot them through the heart with his revolver; *so that if they were cut down after his departure, it might not tend to their advantage.* In these days, no one is very particular about matters of this description. Two young officers lately shot a Mahomedan a piece only for scowling at them, and a court of inquiry justified them.\* An officer, who was serving under General Havelock in his march on Cawnpore, speaks, without one word of condemnation, “of the evidences of the alacrity of our men in the numerous sepoy that were hanging to the trees by the road-side.” One writer tells us that, wherever the telegraph wires are cut, our troops burn the nearest village, and hang up the principal inhabitants. A private soldier in one of the Highland regiments, after giving a clever and animated description of a

\* We may be sure that, in expeditions of this kind (and they appear to have been lamentably numerous), the idlest rumours would be accepted as conclusive proofs of guilt by the rough and ready justice of a soldiery who are generally “in a hurry to be off,” and, in their blind fury, see an enemy in every swarthy face.

military foray from Benares into the adjoining country,—a foray which, from the number of villages burnt, and natives summarily hanged, must have turned every surviving inhabitant of the district into a mortal enemy of the British rule, concludes thus: “Out of the prisoners that were taken, the man that the 2,000 rupees were offered for was taken for nothing. We hanged ten of them on the spot, and flogged a good many—about sixty. We burned another village that night. Oh, if you had seen the ten march round the grave, and seen them looking the same as if nothing was going to happen to them! There was one of them fell; the rope broke, and down he came,—he was hung up again. After they were hanged, the others were all taken round to see them. . . . . On the 6th, we, a number of 180, went out against 2,000. We came close up to them; they were all drawn up in three lines, but on we dashed, and in a short time they began to run. We set fire to a large village that was full of them; we surrounded it, and, *as they came running out of the village, shot them.* We took eighteen of them prisoners; they were all tied together, and we fired a volley at them, and shot them on the spot. We came home that night, after marching twenty miles and fighting nearly thirty to one. In this country, we are told, we had killed 500 of them; our loss was one man and one horse killed, and one man wounded.”\* In another letter, written from Delhi, we find the following passage:—“All

\* Let the writer think what he may of it, it was no very brilliant exploit for 180 well-trained and well-armed soldiers to

the city people found within the walls were bayoneted on the spot; and the numbers were considerable, as you may suppose when I tell you that in some houses forty or fifty people were hiding. These were not mutineers, but residents of the city, who trusted to our well known mild rule, for pardon. *I am glad to say they were disappointed.*" Is it possible, my Lord, to conceive a more remorseless spirit than is indicated by this passage? Must not the heart that dictated it have been, for the moment, as void of humanity as that of the Nana Sahib himself?

As a further and crowning proof that we are not so free of offence ourselves as to have any right to urge the cruelties committed by the sepoys as an excuse for continuing the war, I shall recall to your Lordship's mind a terrible incident, which, though we have only caught a glimpse of it in one or two of our newspapers, has much surprised and shocked every humane person that has noticed it. After the mutiny at Dinapore two regiments still remained there, a British and a native one—the native regiment, however, having been disarmed, though not because it had revolted, or had even shown any sign of disaffection, but simply as a measure of precaution. Now, under the circumstances, it would, I

defeat and disperse 2,000 armed villagers, who had probably assembled without any thought of fighting, and solely from a common sentiment of horror and fear at the havoc that was going on around them; and if we may judge from the concluding sentence of the letter, the service itself was not a very dangerous one,—only one man being killed, and another wounded on our side; whereas, it seems, we killed 500 of the villagers.

admit, have been quite excusable had this regiment been watched with jealousy and apprehension by the public authorities; nor was it, perhaps, likely that the British regiment by its side would be upon very friendly terms with it. Inoffensive and defenceless, however, as it was, it had a right to expect that it should be free from any maltreatment, unless it rendered itself liable to punishment by overt acts of mutiny. If this expectation were entertained, it was but little justified by the event; for, after a time, the British regiment, without any provocation, fell upon the unarmed native soldiers, *and killed and wounded fifty of them*; not one of the assailants, so far as appears, having received even a scratch in return. Such an outrage, even where sepoy were the victims, could not be passed over without some notice. Accordingly, a few of the ringleaders were singled out, and handed over to a court-martial for trial. And what, my Lord, was the issue? Why, though standing before their judges with hands still reeking with the blood of innocent and defenceless men, the accused were, one and all, **ACQUITTED!** What is more, Sir Colin Campbell, the Commander-in-chief, approved of and confirmed the judgment; still more, the editor of the *Times*, writing at the distance of 15,000 miles, and in the serene atmosphere of Printing-house Square, has likewise put the seal of his approbation upon it.\* I know that an

\* In his comments upon this matter, however, he has taken care to omit all mention of the material fact that the sepoy had been disarmed before the massacre.

attempt has been made to excuse the perpetrators of this bloody deed, on the ground that they were exasperated to frenzy by tidings of the recent slaughter of their comrades in the fatal expedition to Arrah. But, how dire must that frenzy be which could thus drive men to massacre as a means of vengeance! Why all this chorus of indignation at the atrocities of the sepoys, when our own soldiers exercise, and we permit to them, so dreadful a license of bloodshed? Let me add, that the slaughter of our soldiers in the expedition to Arrah was, after all, a perfectly fair act of war,—one of which no European nation need have been in the least ashamed. We were marching in battle array through the country,—we were surprised by a superior force of sepoys, our then open and avowed enemies,—we fought against them as long as we could; but the fortune of war was, for once, adverse to us, and we were obliged to retreat, leaving one-half of our force, dead or wounded, on the field. That our soldiers should deplore this event, and should register a vow in heaven to take a full and honourable vengeance for it on the first battle-field, I can well understand; but that it should act upon them, not as an inspiration to brave deeds of arms, but as an irritant to the massacre of defenceless men, is what I cannot understand, and what I shall always deplore as a savage act, hardly to be exceeded in atrocity by anything the sepoys have done.

Permit me to say, my Lord, I cannot accept it as any excuse for the sanguinary spirit we have dis-

played in the course of this terrible war that our enemies are all rebels and mutineers, and therefore that we have a right, when they fall into our power, to put them to death. Whether the numerous and motley races of India are, according to any fair and liberal construction of the words, her Majesty's subjects, and, as such, capable of being her Majesty's rebels, is a point of casuistry on which I will not now enter; but this I will affirm—that be they rebels and mutineers or not, it has not been the practice in modern times, and amongst civilized nations, for a monarch, during the continuance of a civil war, to treat his rebel subjects, captured in the course of military operations, otherwise than as *prisoners of war*. Perhaps there never was a sovereign more tenacious of his prerogative than was Charles I.; and had he dared he would doubtless have sent to the gallows and the block every man who drew a rebel sword against him. But, in point of fact, during the whole of the long civil conflict in which he was engaged, he did not hand over to the executioner a single prisoner of war. On the contrary, he treated his subjects, taken in flagrant rebellion against him, just as though they were the soldiers of a foreign power at war with him. And why? For a very good reason, namely,—he knew well there were in the ranks of his enemies men bold enough and stern enough not to leave to him any advantage in the bloody game of war they were playing against one another—men who, for every Roundhead rebel he might have hung up or shot, would not have hesitated to hang up or shoot, in

return, half a dozen Cavaliers. Again, during the great war with our revolted American colonies, though every man in the American army, according to the lawyer's narrow creed, was in open rebellion against his sovereign, and was therefore, in strictness, liable to the extreme penalties of the law, the men captured by the royalist troops were admitted to all the privileges of prisoners of war. In a short time, indeed, regular cartels for the exchange of prisoners were made between the two armies, and the usual system of parole was established on both sides. And this is all the more remarkable, because, at the commencement of the troubles, both Houses of Parliament had formally addressed the throne to put in force an obsolete statute (the 35th of Henry VIII.), which authorized the king to bring over to this country, for trial, any of his subjects who had been guilty of treason or rebellion against him beyond his own dominions. Happily, the statute thus evoked from its long repose of more than two hundred years, was, after all, permitted still to slumber on; for, though a few prisoners were, just at first, brought over in irons, and amongst them one man of note—Nathan Allen—not a hair of their heads was ever touched, and in a short time all of them were exchanged for British soldiers captured by the Americans. We may, indeed, feel quite sure of this,—that had the British Government dared to send American soldiers to the scaffold as rebels and traitors, Washington, who on every occasion proved himself equal to the most painful duties, would quickly have taught us, by some startling and ex-

emplary act of the *lex talionis*, that we could not, even during a civil war, altogether disregard the claims of humanity.\* To come down more nearly to our own times; we lately saw a fierce civil war raging in Hungary; yet, though the imperial army represented the principle of authority in its supreme pretensions,—it did not dare to shed the blood of its enemies otherwise than in fair battle, though those enemies were all rebels; *and very many of them were mutineers*. It is true that, at the end of the war, the emperor did single

\* The duke of Richmond having taunted the government with not having brought Nathan Allen to trial, the earl of Suffolk, one of the ministers, said, in reply—"I will tell his grace the true motives which induced the administration to act as they did. We were aware that the rebels had lately made a considerable number of prisoners, and we accordingly arrested bringing Allen to his trial from considerations of prudence, and from a dread of the consequences of retaliation."—(*Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 1199.) In a debate in the Commons, in 1776, Colonel Barré read to the House a report of a conference between General Washington and Colonel Patterson, in reference to a letter which the latter had been charged by Lord Howe and General Howe to deliver to the American commander. The following extract from this report is curious, as illustrative of the distinct understanding that the war was to be carried on by the two parties on terms of perfect equality:—"General Washington observed that the conduct of several of the English officers would well have merited a different treatment from what they had received, some having refused to give any parole, and others having broken it when given. Colonel Patterson answered that, as to the first, the officers misunderstood the matter very much, and seemed to have mistaken the line of propriety exceedingly, and as to the latter, General Howe utterly disapproved and condemned their conduct.—(*Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 1422.)



out for punishment a few of the ringleaders, whom he brought formally to trial, and put to death as rebels and traitors; an act which, I well remember, provoked a burst of indignation from this country, and furnished material to our newspapers for whole columns glowing with the finest sentiments of outraged humanity;—those very papers which have applauded the summary execution of the sons of the Mogul, though it took place without even the ceremony of a drum-head court-martial, and, if one report of the case be true, under circumstances which leave upon us the imputation of having first beguiled them into our power by misrepresentation, and afterwards slaughtered them.\*

\* Two other sons of the Mogul have since been seized and put to death under the sentence of a court-martial. And what was the charge against them? That they had instigated, or taken part in, or been privy to, any of the atrocities committed by the sepoys? No; nothing of the kind. Was it, then, that they had been guilty of mutiny? No; for they had never even been in the British service, had never borne arms either for her majesty or for the East-India Company. What was their offence, then? Why, simply this: after the mutiny at Delhi, they had (and, as they alleged, with the greatest reluctance and under a degree of pressure which amounted to compulsion) accepted the command of two sepoy regiments that had revolted to their ancient sovereign. For this they died. The angel of death, in his full terrors, has, indeed, passed over the aged Mogul's house, for it seems that the military authorities at Delhi have followed up the execution of the unhappy man's four sons by that of twenty-four other members of his family. This is not justice; it is a massacre, which, in its remorselessness, reminds one of the proscriptions of a Marius or a Sylla, or of the bloodiest excesses of the French revolution.

By whatever names *we* may choose to call the Indians in revolt, we ought to remember that *they*, like every other army, assert their cause to be a just one, and refer the arbitrement of it to the God of Battles: Hence they cannot and will not admit that we have any right to treat them otherwise than as soldiers engaged in war with us. In vain will you tell them that they are rebels and mutineers, and that, as such, they deserve to die: their answer is, that they are not mutineers, but the great Indian army, fighting for their lawful monarch, the Mogul, and for the deliverance of their country from a foreign conqueror. Understand me, my Lord, I do not deny that it is the duty of those to whom the preservation of the discipline of an army is intrusted, to punish a mutiny, whilst it is as yet only a mutiny, by all those extreme measures which the military code authorizes. But this I do affirm, in the name of justice and humanity, that when a mutiny has swollen into the proportions of a great revolt, when the mutineers form a powerful army capable of taking the field, of standing sieges, and of laying sieges; when they have a common standard, acknowledged leaders, and a cause which does not concern themselves alone as soldiers, but enlists on its side the sympathies of great masses of the civil population, you ought not to regard them any longer as mutineers: It is then no longer a mutiny, — it is a war. At all events, if you choose, in the spirit of a martinet, or of a mere lawyer, rather than in that of a statesman, to treat an army of a hundred thousand men in revolt as if you would a single

company or regiment, you must be prepared to take the natural and certain consequence, and that consequence is what we now witness, — a war, in which reprisal provokes reprisal, and each army, forgetting all the better instincts of humanity, strives to the utmost to outdo its enemy in ruthless deeds; a war in which massacres follow, as of course, in the train of victory, and the most heroic valour is stained by the most degrading cruelties. I admit, my Lord, that the remorseless spirit in which we are now dealing with all concerned, or suspected of being concerned, in the Indian revolt, is not the sole cause of, or that it justifies, the cruelties alleged to have been perpetrated by the mutineers; but I shall ever declare that it does afford some extenuation of those cruelties, and that it ought to be largely taken into the account, when we are told, that it becomes us, to prosecute the present war, and to maintain our dominion in India, if for no other purpose, still for the purpose of vengeance.

But on my own part, I accept with much reserve the reports which are in circulation as to the cruelties of the sepoys. Why, we know that if any event calculated to stir the public mind happens at Whitechapel, it will be so disfigured and exaggerated, by successive variations and additions, before it reaches Hyde Park Corner, as to be at last hardly recognizable. Such is the common tendency of rumour, even where the love of the wonderful is alone at work. But where, in addition, passion lends its irresistible agency, history tells us, in many a shameful page, that there is no

extravagance, no absurdity, which it cannot make men believe. Just before the breaking out of our great civil war, it made every true Round-head believe that Charles I. had authorized and fostered the Irish rebellion and massacre of 1641. It made them believe, too, that Goring's Cavaliers were cannibals, and had children's bodies served up at their feasts. It made our Protestant forefathers, in Charles III.'s reign, believe, and, what is more, formally record their belief on a public monument—that the great fire of London was the work of the Catholics. It made these same Protestants likewise believe in all the gross, disjointed, self-contradictory, barefaced perjuries of Titus Oates, and “the witnesses”—and, in that belief, send to the block many good and true men, victims to an inflamed public credulity. It made a great many of the “party of order” in France believe the monstrous fiction, that, in the insurrection of June, 1848, the workmen of Paris fought under a standard, bearing the inscription, “*Le vol et le viol.*” It made even the shrewd Duke of Wellington believe, on the representation of eye-witnesses, that the town of Birmingham, on the occasion of a paltry Chartist riot, which happened there a few years ago, had presented a scene of more terrible havoc than any place he had ever seen taken by storm.\* But, of a

\* The following are the duke's words:—“This large town, one of the largest and greatest manufacturing towns in the kingdom, containing property to an immense amount, has been treated like a town taken by storm. Houses have been burnt down,

certainly, the animosity of the Parliamentarians to the Cavaliers in Charles I.'s reign; of the Protestants to the Catholics in Charles II.'s; of the "party of order" in France, during the heat of the late revolution, to the Socialists; of the Duke of Wellington and his informants to the Chartists, was love itself, when compared with the utter malignity which the English residents in India now bear to the revolted sepoys. How unjust, then, in us to give, as soon as asked for, an absolute and uncritical credence to tales of horror, which have been borne all the way from Delhi or Cawnpore to Calcutta or Bombay, by tongues enflamed by rage and malice, and incapable of any invention or exaggeration too monstrous or unnatural to find entrance into the greedy ears to which it is addressed. I have no doubt but that many atrocities have been committed by the sepoys, for it is in the very nature of things that, in a time of such violent ferment, this should be the case. But when I remember the deeds of cruelty that have been committed, even by European nations, under the impulse of political or religious fanaticism, when I remember the reign of terror in France, when I remember the remorseless massacres which stained the cause of the Spanish patriots, in the earlier stages of their insurrection against the

others have been pillaged, and property to an immense amount has been plundered and destroyed. I have been in many towns taken by storm, but never have such outrages occurred in them as were committed in this town last night."—(*Hansard*, vol. xix, p. 874.)

military domination of the first Napoleon,\* when I remember the horrible barbarities of which the Irish were guilty in their rebellion of 1641, and in their more recent rebellion of 1798;—when I remember these things, and a hundred others like them, I confess I hesitate to believe that the acts of the sepoys, if stated without venom and exaggeration, would be found to have exceeded the ordinary measure of cruelty to be expected from an insurgent and only half-civilized people, in whose hearts were rankling the insults and injuries of a whole century of oppression. I may add, that the editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, a man of whom the Indian correspondent of the *Times* says, that he is the most highly-educated native in India, denounces, as malignant calumnies, all the foul outrages imputed to the sepoys,—all those cruel tortures, those hideous abominations, which have been so much talked about, but so little proved. And he might no doubt have added, had he dared, that the stern and cruel measures of repression adopted by the British had been so magnified and distorted by popular rumour amongst the natives, as to make every Hindoo and Mussulman believe that their enemies were possessed with the spirit of demons †.

\* See Southey's *History of the Peninsular War*, &c. and to

† It has been very generally considered that, in slaying their officers, the sepoys were guilty of an act of mere wanton cruelty. This notion, however, altogether ignores the fact, that, on the outbreak of a mutiny, the officers did not remain idle spectators of what was going forward, but bestirred themselves to the utmost, and, in some cases with success, to restore obedience.

Will pass on my Lord, to another offence which has been imputed to the Sepoys, and which has embittered the public mind in this country against them almost; as much as the charge of cruelty. We are constantly told of the "ingratitude" of the Sepoys in rising against us: it is said that they have eaten of our salt, & that we have always treated them with kindness and consideration, that their pay has been bountiful, & that their discipline has been mild, and that altogether their position has been a highly advantageous one. Now, my Lord, it appears to me that the matter thus charged against them mutineers is really, if fairly construed, a redeeming feature in their conduct. For it amounts to this, that the Sepoys have not risen against us because they were, or fancied they were themselves ill-treated or aggrieved, as soldiers, but because they could not repress the natural yearning

Is it then to be wondered at, if the more conspicuous mutineers, who saw their comrades wavering and irresolute under the privations, the remonstrances, the commands of their officers, and who knew very well that, if their attempt failed they would themselves be blown by dozens from the cannon's mouth, should at once cut the matter short by firing at the men who alone seemed to stand between them and success? No doubt, in some cases, the acts of violence committed by the Sepoys do not admit of this extenuation; but we should remember that when men mind begin to do deeds of blood, they are soon wrought up to a pitch of wild frenzy, in which they lose all self-control, and become, as it were, possessed. This, however, God knows, is not peculiar to the Sepoys. This is not the fact; for they were paid out of taxes levied in their own country.

of their hearts for the independence of their country. Surely, if we mete out to the Sepoys the same measure of justice which, in a similar case, we should claim for ourselves, we shall admit it to be to their honour, that, though especially benefited themselves by the foreign rule under which they served; they spurned all such narrow egotistical considerations, and thought only of their duty to their country. Suppose, my Lord, that the camp of Boulogne had not been an idle threat, but that the first Napoleon had actually invaded and conquered us, and that he had afterwards been silly or cynical enough to attempt to keep us in subjection by means of a pampered army of *Englishmen*; should we stigmatize that army as "basely ungrateful," as guilty of "a foul treason,"\* if, on the first favourable opportunity, it rose against our conquerors, and re-established our independence? On the contrary; is there a man amongst us who would not have strained his voice till he was hoarse in huzzas for England's noble deliverers? Austria, being a military despotism, I have no doubt but that her soldiers are a privileged class, and are exceedingly well treated, as a reward for their services in enabling the Government to treat all other classes exceedingly ill; yet I never heard any one in this country denounce "the base ingratitude" or the "foul treason" of those Hungarian soldiers who, during the late civil war, deserted from the Austrian standards, and fought the battles of their country against their former

\* Lord Brougham's expressions.



sovereign. Far from it; we gave them our warmest sympathy, we hailed them as heroes and patriots, and we revere as martyrs those amongst them, who, at the end of the war, fell into the hands of their conqueror, and were mercilessly dealt with by him as "rebels and mutineers." The plain truth is, the more the sepoys were pampered by us, the less reason is there for suspecting them of any mere selfish feeling in rising against us; and, consequently, the more obvious is it that their mutiny was inspired by the (to Englishmen) no very unintelligible or unworthy sentiment of impatience of a foreign yoke: I cannot admit, then, that the "ingratitude" of the sepoys ought to stand for a moment in the way of the debt of justice which, according to my view, we owe to their country.

As a contrast to the pitiless policy we have recently pursued in dealing with "rebels" and "mutineers," I submit to your lordship the following noble proclamation, addressed, on the outbreak of the war with our revolted American colonies, by General Carleton, Governor of Quebec, to the Canadian militia, who had just beaten a body of rebels in the neighbourhood of Quebec:—

307 "Whereas I am informed that many of his Majesty's deluded subjects of the neighbouring provinces, labouring under wounds and divers disorders, are dispersed in the neighbouring woods and parishes, and in great danger of perishing for want of proper assistance: all captains and other officers of militia are hereby commanded to make diligent search for all such distressed persons, and afford

them all necessary relief, and convey them to the general hospital, where proper care shall be taken of them. All reasonable expenses which may be incurred in complying with this order shall be repaid by the receiver-general; and, lest a consciousness of past offences should deter such miserable wretches from receiving the assistance which their distressed situation may require, I hereby make known to them that, as soon as their health is restored, they shall have free liberty to return to their respective provinces.\*

Bear in mind, my Lord, that the objects of all this tenderness were ("rebels;" rebels, too, who, drawing their blood from this country, owed a natural allegiance to the British crown, and whose grievances, more abstract than practical, were, in comparison with those of the Indian people under our rule, as "a mole-hill to Olympus")

There is one more topic which calls for notice. How—in what spirit—is India, if re-conquered, henceforth to be governed? I can anticipate the answer: I shall be told, no doubt, of the many blessings that we have in store for India, as soon as peace is restored there; we shall span the great rivers with bridges; we shall spread over the country a network of railways; we shall form tanks and reservoirs in the thirsty desert; here we shall make canals for navigation; there, for irrigation; we shall establish colleges, in all the great centres of population, to educate the people, and thus raise them,

\* Annual Register, vol. xix. p. 255.

morally and intellectually, in the social scale; we shall encourage husbandry; we shall encourage trade; we shall encourage European colonization; in a word, we shall teach the Hindoos, in a hundred ways, how happy a thing it is for them to be under the yoke of England. Alas, my Lord, hell, they say, is paved with good intentions; and I strongly suspect that we have here nothing but a heap of materials for that same unlucky pavement. I ask, is it to be believed that men, who, from the very beginning have betrayed all the arrogance of conquerors, and whose arrogance is now envenomed by the direst vindictiveness at finding that their bondmen, no longer patient of their yoke, are too dangerous to be any longer simply despised,—is it to be expected, I ask, that when India is once more subdued, and lies at our mercy, these men will, all at once, and for the first time, display an amiable and generous spirit towards the conquered country,—will think of nothing else than the welfare of the subject race, and will bury for ever in oblivion all the events of the present war,—the battles lost or won in it,—the massacres perpetrated by or on them, their escapes, their fears, their fierce vows of vengeance? No, my Lord, it requires no very deep knowledge of human nature to enable us to predict, with confidence, that, India once reconquered, our reign there will be a reign of terror, —a reign of terror, perhaps, such as the world has never before witnessed. Admit that the government at home, somewhat aloof from the fierce spirit which agitates our vast dependency, should be dis-

posed to throw oil upon the troubled waves, still its beneficent intentions will inevitably be frustrated, as has constantly been the case from the very commencement of our Eastern empire, by the passions, the prejudices, and the interests of the European residents, who will be sure to see, in a subdued rebellion, a happy opportunity for inflicting upon the conquered country every evil which cupidity, scorn, fear, revenge, and triumph can inspire.

How the poor Catholics of Ireland fared after their complete discomfiture at the time of our revolution we may learn from history. But in that case there were many circumstances which tended to mitigate the rigour of conquest. Though the conquerors were Protestants, and the conquered Catholics, still they were, even in religion, in one respect alike—they were both Christians; moreover, they both spoke the same language, had the same complexions; were, if somewhat different in race, alike Europeans, and lived constantly side by side in relations more or less friendly: whereas the Hindoos are kin to ourselves in no respect, except in so far as they are men; they live altogether apart from us; and a war, cruel and exterminating in a far greater degree than that which made the Protestants the masters in Ireland, and the Catholics their helots, is now effacing from the hearts of both parties to our Indian conflict every sentiment of humanity. I will tell you, my Lord, how we shall rule the reconquered Indians: we shall rule them much as the planters of Georgia or Louisiana would rule their slaves after a bloody and unsuc-

cessful revolt; but with this difference, that the planters, for their own sake, will always have some tenderness towards their slaves, whose bodies are their property; whereas the English residents in India will feel and act towards the defeated natives simply as enemies — enemies feared, hated, and despised, at one and the same time.

Permit me, my Lord, to indulge in a somewhat cynical smile at the amiable credulity which supposes that we shall ever take pains to educate the Hindoos, to give them intellectual and moral culture. Knowledge is power, and if we give it to India, depend upon it she will make use of it as a weapon against our dominion, more especially if it be accompanied by that dignity of character, that self-respect, which always accompany moral culture. In sad truth, to govern the Hindoos we *must* stupefy and demoralize them; such is the base tenure by which we hold our Eastern dominion. Assuredly it is not in the nature of things that two hundred millions of people, taught by science to make the secret powers of nature do their bidding, enlightened by history, and exalted by moral and political truths, should for ever continue subject to a handful of foreigners thinly scattered over their country, and no longer able to strike discontent with awe by the spell of an intrinsic superiority. No, my Lord, I say you will do nothing in earnest to educate the Hindoos — nothing to lift them up to our own level — nothing to make them good and great: I say you will not — I say you *dare not*.

Whether the government of our Eastern do-

minions remains as it is at present, or be transferred to the Crown is, in my opinion, a matter of little moment so far as the native Indians are concerned; because, in either case, our rule in India will still be the harsh one of conquest. But however this may be, as an *Englishman*, I protest against the change which is now meditated, a change which will give to the Crown a large amount of additional patronage, and which audaciously assumes, contrary to a thousand facts, and especially contrary to the genius of the English constitution, that great independent powers in the state are nuisances, and that the only effectual security for the the due administration of a public trust is to lodge it in the central government. I pray, my Lord, that India may not be avenged for the loss of *her* independence by being instrumental in shaking our freedom.

And now, my Lord, I have done. I am not, I assure you, vain or romantic enough to believe that any poor words of mine can alter the current of popular feeling, which has already set in so powerfully in an opposite direction; a current, along which your Lordship, with all that dexterity which is your Lordship's well-known characteristic, will, no doubt, glide, gaily and triumphantly for the present. For my own part, however bootless my task may be, I shall, at all events, have the satisfaction (no small one to me) of having given a free vent to sentiments that have long been struggling within me for utterance. Whatever, my Lord, may be the fashion of the moment, I must continue to denounce injustice and oppression, wheresoever, or by whomso-

ever, they may be committed; but especially I must denounce, whilst I especially deplore them, when they are committed by my own countrymen:—a race, happily blessed with freedom in the midst of servile nations, and, therefore, bound to make manifest to the world, by a policy of signal magnanimity, how glorious a thing freedom is; how it makes men humane; whilst it makes them valiant, how it inspires the sentiments that glow in the patriot's heart, whilst it tempers even those sentiments by the supreme control of justice!

I am

My LORD

Your Lordship's humble and obedient servant,

A PLAIN SPEAKER,

POSTSCRIPT.

In the foregoing pages, I have expressed a strong conviction, that the current tales about the atrocities of the sepoys require a large abatement, in order to bring them within the limits of truth. That I have done so upon just grounds, let the following short but significant paragraph, which has, this very day, appeared in the *Times*, bear witness. Unhappily, whilst the truth has been slowly struggling into light, the passionate delusion of the hour has hurried us into many acts, which, had they been

done by any other nation, we should have been the first most strenuously to condemn. Here is the paragraph I refer to:—

“ With reference to cases of alleged mutilation by the mutineers and natives of India, we are requested to state that several members of the General Committee of the Military Relief Fund have made careful inquiries, and have ascertained that no such cases have come down the Ganges in any of the vessels of the Inland Steam Navigation Company at Calcutta, nor have any come to England in any ship belonging to the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company.”

LONDON,  
*Feb. 1, 1858.*

THE END.



THE  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
AS IT HAS BEEN,  
AS IT IS,  
AS IT OUGHT TO BE.

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## P R E F A C E.

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JUSTICE, humanity, and honour, are rarely in England appealed to in vain. This it is which constitutes her most solid and enduring claim to the proud position she now occupies in the front rank of modern civilization.

It is with this conviction that the author of the following pages ventures confidently, yet respectfully, to submit them to the eye of a British public.

He recollects that the number of persons having an interest, real or imaginary, in the preservation of the existing system of Indian Government and Administration, is after all, very limited compared with that of the public at large who have no such interest. To the latter class, by very much the most numerous, though not, perhaps, in an equal proportion influential, the author would fain appeal, in the sincere hope that, by a clear statement and "plain tale," uninfluenced by any bias of interest on either side, and inspired only with a spirit of truth and fair dealing, he may be enabled to convey to them, and impress upon their minds the strong convictions which rest upon his own, in relation to some of the most important and vital questions connected with the future policy, government, and destiny of the great Indian peninsula.

He appeals to this generous public on behalf of the long suffering populations of India, who, while enduring the utmost that tyranny could inflict, have, for interested objects, and by interested parties, been so often and so cruelly misrepresented.

He arraigns at the bar of English public opinion, the Government of India, past and present, and he hopes that when he shall have called his evidence, and proved his case, he shall have no difficulty in obtaining against them, and against the entire system, policy, and principle of their rule in India, a verdict of unqualified condemnation.

He has firm faith in the sterling honesty, and sound moral integrity of the British people; he believes that where *they* are the jury, it is only necessary to manifest the truth to insure the justice of their decision.

*June 22nd, 1858.*

## GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

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LITERARY men and philosophers, not less than statesmen and politicians, on both sides of the Atlantic, are familiar with the noble speeches of Burke and Sheridan, and Pitt and Fox, upon the memorable trial of Hastings. Making all due allowances for the exaggerations of eloquent declamation, we find in those speeches more than sufficient evidence of the utter iniquity and tyranny of the East India Company's government of the unfortunate races, whom a cruel destiny had placed at an early period under their unscrupulous rule.

All that has been written since by men of character and authority, and who possessed the best means of becoming acquainted with the condition of Indian affairs and Indian Government, has not only confirmed the statements of Mr. Burke and his associates, but has added an immense body of new facts and evidence, unknown to the men best informed on Indian affairs at the period when those statements were made; and has illustrated in a striking way the tyranny, rapacity, and utter unscrupulousness of the Government of the East India Company.

That the Government of this Company should have been rapacious, cruel, and tyrannical, ought not, however,

to be a matter of surprise. The sole object of this Government is, the increasing the dividends of the proprietors of East Indian Stock. And how is this increase to be effected?—and what is the source from whence all these dividends are drawn? Why, of course, there is but one, viz., the wealth and revenues of India; and the means by which this source is made to contribute to the payment of the dividends are sufficiently simple. This wealth and these revenues are seized by the Governor-General, or those under his orders; and while a part of the spoil goes to pay the civil and military officers of the Company's Government, the residue (if any) goes into the pockets of the proprietors of India Stock, or, in other words, to pay their dividends. We have all heard of the goose that laid golden eggs, and of the folly of those that would have killed that well-known bird. Well, the interest of the East India Company's Government, as of the proprietors of East India Stock, whom the former represent, is to keep the goose alive for the sake of the golden eggs which she lays.

So far as the health, strength, and life of the goose are necessary for ensuring her laying the eggs, so far the Company's Government are solicitous for her personal welfare and prosperity. And if the Government of a country so distant as India were as simple a matter as the care and feeding of a goose, the Company's Government might have been less criminal and blundering than it has been.

But, it may be remarked, that, even though the object of the Company's Government had always been simply and purely the benefit of the people of India, it is im-

possible to believe that that Government should have been a good one. The mere distance between the governors and the governed would be quite sufficient to make it impossible that that Government should be a good one. And when it is considered that the simple and sole object of the Company's Government is to enrich the Company and their constituents, the proprietors of East India Stock,—it becomes very easy to understand how the wretched natives of that unfortunate country should be, as they certainly are, the victims of one of the most dreadful systems of oppression of which we have any record in the annals of the world. But, abhorrent as it is to all sentiments of humanity and equity, that any Government should be founded upon the sole principle of enriching themselves at the expense of their subjects, the matter becomes worse when, as in the case of this Company's Government, the governors, as we remarked before, are placed at so great a distance from the governed, that the latter, the wretched natives of the country, necessarily fall under the power of a host of hungry and greedy subordinates and agents in the employ of the former.

We may make, therefore, three distinct objections to the Government of the Company—first, its only object is to enrich itself and its constituents, the proprietors of East India Stock, without any reference to the happiness or welfare of the people of India—the country governed. Secondly, this Government, founded on a wholly indefensible principle, is placed at too great a distance from the country governed to be a good government, even were it founded on the best and most lawful principle, and though it aimed at the most legitimate

objects; and thirdly, this Government, bad in principle, and bad in being too remote from the proper objects of its attention and study, is bad also because it is compelled, by this last circumstance, to employ an intermediate government, and an immense host of agents and subordinates, whose sole aim and object are, like those of their employers and patrons—the Home Government—to enrich themselves, and to do this with even less regard to the welfare and happiness of the poor Indians than is felt by their employers and patrons themselves.

The strong feature of distinction between the present British rule of India, and the previous rule of the Mohammedan conquerors and sovereigns, is simply, that the latter, though foreign in its origin, soon ceased to be so; while the former, in its very nature, could never cease to be what it was in the beginning, viz., foreign, extraneous—essentially extrinsic. The Mohammedan rulers of India, whom British arms have driven from their thrones, and deprived of their crowns and revenues, and reduced often to penury and want, and not unfrequently confined in dungeons, had long ceased to be regarded by their subjects as strangers. They were as much the native princes of the countries which they ruled, as the descendants of Plantagenets or Guelphs were of the British Isles. Their rule may not have been what in England or America is called *Constitutional*. It was, as all Eastern rule has ever been, absolute, and was probably not on that account less suitable to the circumstances and political situation of the country which they governed. But at all events, their Government was not a *Foreign Government*. The Mohammedan,

princes had become *Indian* princes. The Mohammedan princes and their followers, though in the beginning invaders and conquerors, had become a part and portion of the Indian population. They had settled in the country. They had cast their fortunes and their future there. The prosperity of the country was their prosperity, and its ruin was their ruin. They had long ceased to be regarded by the inhabitants of India as enemies or strangers.

The Mohammedan princes represented dynasties which had long been the object of profound veneration to the Indian population. Although we may admit that their exercise of power was neither the wisest nor the best; that the taxation of the people was often heavy; that their general views of government were not (taking our views as the standard of comparison) the most enlightened or liberal; and that many evils flowed under their rule from bad or defective laws, or from a bad and negligent administration of the laws; still the Government was not a *Foreign* Government: the rulers were not strangers. The governors and the governed were united for better for worse. Their fortunes were united and inseparable. The governors could not ruin the people without, at the same time, ruining themselves. There was a limit to bad government and excessive exaction. There was a limit to tyranny and oppression. There Mohammedan rulers of India did not come into the country to enrich themselves by the robbery and plunder of the people, and then return to a distant land, fifteen thousand miles off, to enjoy their ill-gotten wealth, utterly indifferent to the fate of the unhappy people, whom their reckless rapacity



had despoiled and ruined. On the contrary, they remained in the country they had conquered. They identified themselves with the character and institutions of the people. Their rule was often paternal, and if sometimes severe or arbitrary, it was not more so, or more frequently so, than happens under other governments of an absolute and despotic form. The wealth and prosperity and improvement of the country were identified with their own. They could not be great or powerful sovereigns if the sources of national wealth, prosperity, and improvement were dried up. They were compelled, therefore, as a general rule, to consult the great material and substantial interests of the country: and the result was, that India, long before England had placed a foot upon her shores, and while all Europe, indeed, was benighted and ignorant, had existed as a great and powerful and civilized empire.

How contrasted with this Mohammedan rule has been that of the *Christian* East India Company and their agents! What have the Company's Government done to improve the condition of the people of this vast empire? But why ask the question; for it would be ridiculous to suppose that that Government could be expected to adopt any rule of conduct not consistent with the great and only object for which it was constituted, viz., the enriching themselves and their constituents. The great and only object of all the English, of whatever degree, who go to India, is gold, gold—was, and is, and ever will be.

The first who went out were merchant-traders, who humbly sought to better their fortunes by opening a traffic with the natives of that wealthy region. Events

opened to them new views. They found it easier and more expeditious to make fortunes by violence and robbery, than by the quiet way of commerce and exchange. It was discovered that the natives were so strikingly inferior in military skill and courage to the race which had now gained a footing on their shores, that a comparatively small number of Europeans, a mere handful of men, sufficed to hold whole kingdoms in subjection. A few battles were fought, and a few victories were gained by the intruders; gained, partly by force, and partly, too, by treachery. But the result was a conviction of the immeasurable superiority of European skill and valour over those of the natives. From this moment the English dominion in the East may be said to have been established. Trade and commerce henceforth were only secondary objects. The East India Company, although possessed at that time of an exclusive trade with India, have derived, as is well known, a very insignificant portion of their wealth and profits from that source. Although they most jealously guarded the trade of India against the intrusions of all not connected with themselves, they made very little other use of their exclusive privilege. Why should they seek to gain by trade or by exchange, what they might have for nothing—or for nothing but the expense of keeping up a force of hirelings, sufficient to awe the unhappy natives into submission, and to compel their reluctant compliance with the demands of their insolent conquerors?

The whole system of the East India Company's Government is grounded upon the broad principle of spoliation and robbery. It is quite ridiculous to look

at it in any other light : and an East India director who should not act and think upon a full and entire acquiescence in this fundamental maxim of East India Company government, would be as absurd as a mathematician who should withhold his assent to the elementary axioms of his science. This organised system of spoliation and plunder has now been carried on for somewhat upwards of one hundred years. If the great majority of those persons, who, during this long period, have been fattening upon the spoils of India, had, like the Mohammedan sovereigns of that country, been born, and lived, and died there, the evil and loss to India would have been less, and her ruin less complete. Under the existing system, which has now continued for something more than a century, the countless amounts of treasure which have passed into the hands of the East India Company's Government, and have been paid over to the proprietors of East India Stock in the shape of dividends, are *to India so much dead loss*. So far as India is concerned, these treasures might just as well have been cast into the sea. The proprietors of East India Stock reside in England, and spend their incomes there. And what service do these proprietors render India, that India should pay them tribute, and impoverish herself in order to afford them an income? What debt of gratitude does India owe them, that they should receive from her so large a tribute? *They help to keep India in subjection! They have helped to conquer and enslave her!* They have contributed in the price of their shares the sinews of war, by which the kingdoms and principal cities of India have, one by one, been subjected to the dominion of the Company's Government.

They subscribe the fund out of which are paid the military and civil hirelings who, by force or fraud, violence or treachery, have reduced India to the condition of a mere property of the East India Company. They have robbed the ancient sovereigns of the country of their lands and revenues, and treasures, and reduced them to vassalage, and a miserable and precarious dependence. They have claimed, indeed, and appropriated all landed property, by whomsoever held; and, assuming to be the universal landlords and proprietors, they compel the *ryot*, or cultivator of the soil, to pay to them, through the hands of their agents and collectors, *one-half* of the entire product of their fields; and, to render this last oppressive portion of the system still more oppressive, these collectors and agents are, at the same time, policemen and magistrates, having power to punish with fine, imprisonment, whipping, and torture; and this, practically, without appeal to any superior tribunal. These collectors and magistrates, too, have the power of parcelling out the lands which are cultivated by the *ryots*, and assigning to each *ryot* the portion which he is entitled to cultivate;—wholly depriving the *ryot* of *that species of property in the soil which springs out of long possession*, and which he was permitted to enjoy under the former sovereigns of India. Thus the *ryot*, or cultivator of the soil, is not only compelled to yield up to the English lords of the East India Company one-half of the product of his labour, but he is, in every sense, *a slave*; for he is subjected to the unlimited and irresponsible power of the collector-magistrates above named,—and it may be easily conceived how

this power is exercised, when it is considered that the collector-magistrate is himself paid by a per-centage (10 per cent.) out of the tax levied, and that he has therefore a direct interest in augmenting the amount of the tax, and in squeezing out of the unfortunate *ryot* the utmost farthing it is possible for him to pay, consistent with the barest and most miserable existence; while the latter has not even that humble claim to forbearance and mercy on the part of the collector-magistrate, which the Negro slave in America possesses, in the fact of his being the *property* of his taskmaster, and that he cannot be therefore seriously injured in life or limb without entailing upon the latter a detriment and loss. That the system described has, in fact, been attended with the most grinding oppression, and with the very worst of effects, as regards the prosperity, industry, and production of the country, has been testified to by the highest authorities among the writers who have made Indian affairs the subject of their study, and have had the best opportunities of arriving at just conclusions. Mr. Fullarton, one of the ablest of them, and formerly a member of the Council of Madras, writes thus:—

“Imagine the revenue, leviable through the agency of one hundred thousand revenue officers, collected or remitted at their discretion, according to the occupant’s means of paying, whether from the produce of his land, or his separate property; and, in order to encourage every man to act as a spy on his neighbour, and report his means of paying, that he may eventually save himself from extraordinary demands. Imagine all the cultivators of a village liable at all times to a separate demand, in

order to make up for the failure of one or more individuals of the parish. Imagine collectors to every county acting, under the orders of a board, on the avowed principle of destroying all competition for labour, by a general equalization of assessment, seizing and sending back runaways to each other. And, lastly, imagine the collector, the sole magistrate or justice of peace of the county, through the medium and instrumentality of whom alone any criminal complaint of personal grievance suffered by the subject can reach the Superior Courts. Imagine, at the same time, every subordinate officer employed in the collection of the land revenue to be a police officer, vested with the power to fine, confine, put in the stocks, and flog any inhabitant within his range, on any charge, without oath of the accuser, or sworn recorded evidence of the case."

Mr. Rickards, who for many years was a servant of the Company (page 275, Vol. I. of "Rickard's India,") writes thus:—"The British power supplanted that of the Mohammedans in Bengal. We did not, it is true, adopt the sanguinary part of their creed; but from the impure fountain of their financial system, did we, *to our shame, claim the inheritance to a right to seize upon half the gross product of the land as a tax*; and whenever our arms have triumphed, we have invariably proclaimed this savage right;—coupling it, at the same time, with the senseless doctrine of the proprietary right to these lands being also vested in the Sovereign, in virtue of the right of conquest."

My object, however, is not to enter into a minute and detailed account of the administration of the Company's Government in India. This has been done by a host of

English writers, whose works have long been before the public—that is, the reading public of England: but, unfortunately, these works, on account of their expensiveness, are not accessible to the public at large; and besides, until lately, the subject of India, partly on account of its great distance, and its Asiatic character, has been less attractive to the generality of readers than many others of far less magnitude, but which lie nearer home. Most well-read persons have, at some time or other, heard or read of the atrocities of the East India Company's Government, as they have of those of Roman Emperors. But, distance of space, in the former case, like distance of time, in the latter, has blunted their sensibilities, and prevented their bringing home to the Company's Government the dreadful crimes of which they have, undoubtedly, been guilty—their wicked and aggressive wars—their violated treaties—their false and flagitious pretexts for more flagitious violence and usurpation—their organised and systematic treachery. Indeed, as is well known to all persons at all informed on Indian affairs, the dominion of the Company's Government, acquired in India, has been the simple growth of a long succession of wars, quarrels, treaties, intrigues, systematically planned and carried out by the Company's Government, and their unscrupulous agents and representatives. It is calculated that three hundred native independent princes in India have been successively deposed by the wars and intrigues of the Company's Government;—deprived of their revenues, along with their rank, and reduced (to say the best of it) to an entire dependance on the scanty and reluctant charity of their

grasping and crafty conquerors. It may be said, indeed, that, with very few exceptions, all the princes and sovereigns of the country have been dethroned and beggared; the nobles, and gentry, and landowners, have been deprived of their land and property, and reduced to penury; the manufacturers and shopkeepers, and trading classes generally, have been ruined by a system of taxation the most meddlesome, vexatious, and extortionate, as well as most ruinous to the general prosperity and productiveness of the country.

It would be impossible, without going into details, to give the reader an adequate idea of the deplorable condition to which this land, once prosperous and favoured above all others, has been reduced by a system of government and policy—at once selfish, tyrannical, grasping, and stupid: I say stupid—stupid and narrow; as has *always* been the policy of those who have had any connexion with the colonial government of this island. In connexion with this part of the subject, it is impossible not to advert to the system of Colonial government so long acted on by the Government of Britain in relation to the *quondam* British colonies in America—now the United States. In the famous Declaration of Independence, we have a brief recapitulation of some of the most oppressive grievances which afflicted the colonies under the colonial system of the day. A few of them only may be here adverted to as a specimen of the rest.

“The quartering large bodies of troops among us;”  
 “protecting them by mock trial from punishment for any murders they may commit on the inhabitants of these States.” “Cutting off our trade with all parts of



the world." "Imposing taxes on us without our consent." "Depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by Jury." "Plundering our seas, ravaging our coasts, burning our towns, and destroying the lives of our people." "Taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our Government." But of all the grievances of which the Anglo-American colonies justly complained, the prohibition of internal trade and commerce between the colonies themselves was, perhaps, that which, more than any other, prevented the growth and development of the natural wealth and resources of the country. The British Statesmen of that day (if Statesmen they may be called) never seem to have reflected that the growth, progress, and development of the colonies, could not but have a most important effect in promoting the prosperity of the Mother Country, as England was called.

I mention these things as examples of the narrow and illiberal policy which England, from the beginning, has invariably pursued with respect to her colonial possessions. This policy has been entirely at variance with even an *enlightened selfishness*; for, while it has exhibited, unmistakably, the most greedy and grasping, covetousness, it has been marked, at the same time, by a disgraceful ignorance of the simplest principles and most obvious maxims of colonial administration, though viewed only as a means of adding to the prosperity and aggrandisement of the governing or Mother Country. The policy of England, in her Eastern possessions in India, is no exception to the general rule. It only differs from that pursued in her other possessions by a

striking exaggeration of all its worst attributes. It is more selfish, more tyrannical, more cruel. It has shown a more complete and contemptuous disregard of the rights of persons and property, and a bolder defiance of the most sacred principles of justice and equity. Not content with commercial restrictions and monopolies; with a system of the most extortionate and vexatious taxation, it has assumed the absolute ownership of the entire land of the country. Nor is this all; for, impudent and wicked as such a course as this would have been, had it stopped here, the policy of the Government has improved upon this, by adopting a system of alternate treachery and aggression, which has thrown down all the barriers which protected private property, and has, in effect, rendered the princes, and all holders of large properties in India, the mere tenants on sufferance of the East India Company.

That it may be seen that this system is not of recent origin, it is only necessary to revert to the speech of Mr. Burke, on Fox's East India Bill, delivered more than two-thirds of a century ago. "The country was laid waste with fire and sword; and that land, distinguished above most others by the cheerful face of fraternal government and protected labor, the chosen seat of cultivation and plenty, is now almost throughout a dreary desert, covered with rushes and briars, and jungles full of wild beasts.\*\*\* That universal systematic breach of treaties, which has made the British faith proverbial in the East! These *intended rebellions are one of the Company's standing resources. When money has been thought to be hoarded up anywhere, its*

*owners are universally accused of rebellion, until they are acquitted of their money and their treasons at once!* The money once taken, all accusation, trial, and punishment ends." This system, which the great orator so well and truly describes, began with Clive, and has been transmitted as the hereditary policy of the East India Company, and its Governor-Generals, through the lapse of something more than a century. And what is the system, in plain English, but a system of *robbery*? And what are its natural and necessary consequences? The ruin of India, and the utter demoralization of all who have any connexion with the East India Company's Government. What say the most recent writers upon the former point? They fully confirm the statements made at an earlier period, by thoroughly well-informed writers and travellers, who have had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the actual condition of the country. These statements are, that the largest amounts of crime and depravity are found in those portions of India where the British have had longest possession. And, speaking of the Northern, Western, and Central parts of India, that in the Hindoo and Mussulman cities, removed from European intercourse, there is much less depravity than either in Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay,—which have been longest under the influences of European example, and European government and policy.

But, looking to the merely material results of the iniquitous system of policy pursued by the Company's Government, we are told by the best authorities, that in the dominions of that Company, the value of the private rights of landed property is reduced to a most insignificant figure.

In Bengal estates were sold, about ten years ago, at something less than four years' purchase, of the tax imposed upon them. In "the Madras Government," says Mr. Cary ("Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign,"), "where the *ryot-war* settlement is in full operation, the land 'would be sold' for balances of rent, but, generally, it is not, as we are told, 'and for very good reason, viz., *that nobody will buy it,*' private rights in land being there of no value whatsoever." Various *unauthorised modes of torture are resorted to for the purpose of stimulating the industry of the cultivator*. Such means of stimulating industry, it is obvious, could never be necessary, except in cases where the burthen of taxation and the manner of imposing it, are such as to deprive the cultivator of all motive for increasing the results of his labours. The following statements made by Mr. Cary, in the work above referred to, are so very striking in connexion with the subject of the value of *rights of land in India*, that I have much pleasure in quoting them as affording an excellent illustration of "the working" of the Company's Government in India. He says,—“With the data thus obtained, we may now ascertain, with perhaps some approach to accuracy, the value of all the private rights in the land in India. In no case does that subject to tax, appear to be worth more than four years' purchase; while, in a very large portion of the country, it would seem to be worth absolutely nothing. There are, however, some tax-free lands that may be set off against those held under the *ryot-war* settlement; and it is therefore possible that the whole are worth four years' purchase, which would give two

hundred and eighty-eight millions of dollars, or sixty millions of pounds sterling, as the value of all rights in land acquired by the people of India, by all the labour of their predecessors and themselves, in the many thousands of years it has been cultivated.

“The few people that have occupied the little and sandy State of New Jersey, with its area of 6,900 square miles, have acquired rights in and on the land, that are valued, subject to the claims of Government, at 150 millions of dollars; and the few that have occupied the little island on which stands the city of New York, have acquired rights that would sell in the market for at least one-half more than could be obtained for all the proprietary rights to land in India, with 300 millions of acres, and 96 millions of inhabitants!” It would be difficult, I think, to find anywhere on record, a more remarkable proof of the destructive effect of bad government; than is afforded in the fact above stated. What we learn from it is the enormous disparity between what is, and what ought to be, the value of the most important element of national wealth—the land of the country; and we know, at the same time, that there is but one way of accounting for this; and that is, by referring it wholly to the effect of bad government,—a government so utterly bad that it has no parallel, and probably never has had, since the beginning of the world. The object of a good government should be, above all others, the protection of property and industry—the securing to the labourer, the workman, and the cultivator, the fruits of his industry, the promotion of such public works as cannot, on account of their magnitude, be successfully undertaken by private

enterprise, but which may be found highly conducive to the interests, welfare, and prosperity of the governed.

We have the most conclusive evidence to prove that the Company's Government, so far from fulfilling these conditions of a sound and wholesome rule, have pursued a line of conduct the very opposite. Instead of protecting property, they invade it ; instead of securing to the labourer the fruits of his toil, they greedily seize upon those fruits themselves, leaving to the unfortunate victim of their rapacity what barely suffices for a miserable existence ; at the same time depriving him of all hope that any increase of industry, or exertion on his part, can ever, in the least degree, improve his own condition, or that of his half-starved and miserable family ; and lastly, instead of promoting useful public works, such as roads, highways, canals, and large reservoirs of water, which in India have always been so necessary to the great interests of agriculture,—they have allowed almost all the great public works which had existed for centuries under the Mohammedan sovereigns of India, to fall into decay, and desuetude ; and have offered nothing in return as a compensation to India for the destruction of these noble monuments of her pristine greatness and power.

In proof of the total neglect, on the part of the Company's Government, of this part of their duty, as the administrators of what some of their admirers call their *paternal* government, we subjoin an extract from the work of Monsieur le Comte de Warren's "De l'État Moral de la Population Indigène" in India ; observing, that the author was formerly an officer in the Indian

Army :—“ Il y avait autrefois,” says the Comte, “ en dernier ressort les travaux publics. Les rajahs primitifs de l’Inde, les conquérants Afghans ou Mogols, cruels quelquefois pour les individus, signalaient du moins leurs régnes par ces prodigieuses constructions que l’on trouve aujourd’hui à chaque pas, et que sembleraient l’œuvre d’une race de géants. Ces travaux faisaient circuler des millions, et employaient des millions d’hommes. Avec un ciel dont l’impitoyable sérénité ne se voile jamais, sans un nuage pendant sept ou huit mois, dans un climat où la terre est six mois sans rosée, la seule ressource de l’agriculture, loin des inondations périodiques des fleuves, c’était de créer dans les bassins supérieurs des lacs artificiels ; où l’on pouvait puiser comme dans d’immenses réservoirs pour les besoins de l’irrigation. Le cultivateur ruiné, le journalier dans la misère, trouvaient dans ces constructions un travail assuré. Aujourd’hui, je puis affirmer sans exagération qu’il se fait, *dans le moindre departement de la France, plus de travaux publics en six mois que sur toute la surface de l’Inde Anglais en un an.* Tout ce que l’Inde possède en monumens ou constructions d’utilité publique remonte à ses princes indigènes. *La Compagnie n’a pas ouvert un puits, creusé un étang, coupé un canal, bâti un pont pour l’avantage des ses Indiens.*

“ Elle n’a pas tracé une route, si ce n’est pour le passage de ses armées ; encore c’est ordinairement un ouvrage si éphémère, que l’année suivante il faut remettre la main à l’œuvre. Les travaux des Hindous et des Mogols, comme ceux des Romains, étaient gigantesques, et semblaient faits pour l’éternité. Ceux des Anglais

portent un caractère de mesquinerie presque générale, et recèlent invariablement le principe de leur destination. Les plus beaux fleuves du monde, qui, au moyen de canaux et de derivations, pourraient fertiliser d'immenses régions, vont perdre inutilement leurs eaux dans la mer, ou dans les sables. Non-seulement on n'entreprend rien de neuf, mais on ne restaure pas ce qui existait. L'Angleterre a trouvé le moyen d'épuiser tous les trésors de l'Inde, sans en employer la moindre portion au profit des peuples qu'elle a conquis. Chaque année voit tomber en poussière quelque chaudière, quelque serait qui abritait le pauvre indigène, et s'écrouler quelque digue. La *culture forcée* de l'opium, si peu profitable au cultivateur, envahit des royaumes entiers, ce qui reste des meilleurs terrains, ceux que produiraient les plantes utiles à l'homme. Voilà, depuis un siècle, le seul cadeau dont ce beau pays soit redevable à la Compagnie : toujours et partout le même organisation, une exploitation égoïste, implacable. Voilà pour les paysans. Les autres classes, sont-elles dans des conditions plus heureuses ? On ne leur a pas même laissé une place dans l'organisation sociale. Tous les petits princes dont les états ont été morcelés se sont ou contraints de renvoyer une foule de serviteurs qu'ils occupaient autrefois. Il s'ensuit pour les classes supérieures Hindoues et Mussulmanes auxquelles les préjugés interdisent de travailler à la terre, les moyens d'existence diminuent.

“ Sous les empereurs, l'administration, les revenus, l'armée, offraient des carrières à leur courage ou à leur intelligence. Aujourd'hui toutes les places sont envahies par les étrangers. Il n'y a de gain possible que pour les



*Européens.* Si un ministre tombe, c'est un résident Anglais que le remplace. Si une administration s'écroule, c'est une administration Anglaise qui lui succède. Quels sont les hauts rangs offerts à l'ambition des hautes classes? Dans l'armée un grade équivalent à celui d'adjutant sous-officier; dans l'administration, quelques places d'huissiers et de commis. Quand, sous l'inspiration de Lord William Bentinck, la cour des directeurs donna une place dans le service civil au fils du célèbre Ram-Mohun-Roy, qui avait reçu une éducation Européenne, cette proposition souleva une telle tempête, qu'il fallut y renoncer. Toutes les carrières, tous les emplois honorables, leur étaient fermés. Il s'ensuit que la classe moyenne disparaît sans se remplacer. Dans un temps donné, il n'existera plus qu'une égalité de misère qui nivellera 150 millions d'hommes." The picture presented, in the passage just quoted, of the Company's rule in India, is perfectly faithful, so far as it goes. It exhibits very truly the general spirit which pervades the administration of the Company's Government. It is a summary, and could not enter, therefore, into the minute details which would be necessary to enable us to form a just conception of the thorough odiousness of the system upon which that administration is conducted. We easily understand the selfishness and egotism which must almost necessarily belong to a Government so constituted, and so circumstanced as that of the East India Company. But in order to have a just sense of the hatefulness of the policy which that Government has pursued for more than a century past, it is necessary to enter into details of administration which it was impossible to comprise

within the limits of a mere summary, or general view. These details are found *ad nauseam* in almost every page of the numerous works which have been written upon the subject of India, since the establishment of the British dominion in that country: and it is no small credit to the character of Englishmen, that far the greater part of these works are of British origin. That they should, so far, have produced little or no effect in mitigating the tyrannical rule in India, or in ameliorating the miserable condition of the natives of that country, ought to be no matter of surprise. All the evils which afflict that unhappy country have their origin in the selfishness of those who call themselves their conquerors, but who might more properly be called her plunderers and robbers. The form in which that selfishness is chiefly exhibited is that of rapacity—love of gold, love of plunder, and love of power. The agents, officers, and others in the service of the Company's Government are always poor, and dependent upon that body for support. They are naturally greedy, and if not always by nature unscrupulous, become so through habit and association.

The members of the Government, and their constituents, the proprietors of East India Stock, are not less lovers of gain and gold than their officers, agents, and representatives in India. The question with these gentlemen is *not* what will make India happy, but what will make themselves rich. This, it must be admitted, is all very natural; and to hope that *they* should be willing to adopt any course of Government, or policy which, however favourable to Indian rights and happiness, would

impoverish themselves, or lessen, in a single pennyworth the profits and salaries which they have so long drawn from their Indian possessions, would be to show a very great want of knowledge of the most ordinary principles of human nature. Reform, therefore, for bettering the condition of the natives of India, or for rendering them the merest measure of justice, or securing to them the treatment demanded by considerations of the most ordinary humanity, is not to be expected from this quarter. Selfishness, rapacity, love of gold, love of plunder, are far too strong for humanity and justice; and even for that selfish respect for the good opinion of the world which is seldom found quite extinct even in the minds of the most inveterate criminals. So long, therefore, as the rule of India continues in the hands of the Company and the Company's servants, so long will misrule continue;—so long will that great and rich country be governed solely with a view to the dividends of East India Stockholders, and the salaries and plunder of their agents and officers.

It may well be asked in the present day, why has a great country like England, and why have a generous people like the English, so long *permitted* the continuance of such a disgraceful Government as that of the East India Company? Negro slavery has long since been abolished in British possessions, and has cost the nation many millions of money in the shape of what was called "compensation," and still more in sacrifice of vested interests, and the profits of a lucrative commerce. Thousands of monopolies have fallen beneath the axe of progressive reform, and free trade has been vauntingly

proclaimed as the great catholic principle of British commercial and industrial policy; and yet the Company's Government—the most flagrant, and most mischievous of all monopolies, and the agent of the most selfish and cruel of all systems of slavery in the world, still flourishes, and receives countenance and support. Changes, it is true, have been made by Parliament, in the original powers and charter of the Company; and it no longer possessés, as it did until, comparatively, a late period, an absolute monopoly of the trade of India. But it is well known that the abolition of this portion of the Company's monopoly has made but a very insignificant deduction, if any, from its profits and revenues. These profits and revenues have never been derived from a commercial source, except in streams so very small, that, though completely dried up, their absence would scarcely be felt: and it is well known, that since the abolition of this portion of the monopoly in question, and the throwing open of the Indian trade, the commercial dealings and transactions of Britain with India have been vastly extended; and the commercial advantages to both countries have been proportionally greater than they ever were before;—and this notwithstanding all the obstacles which have been thrown in the way of the extension of trade by the agents and representatives of the Company, through the influence and authority which their long rule and possession in the country had naturally acquired for them. The profits and revenues of the Company are almost wholly derived, as I have before remarked, from a simple process of appropriation to themselves of that which belongs to others. They

not only "covet their neighbour's goods," but take possession of them without scruple or hesitation; and without waiting very often, even for a decent pretext for such acts of arbitrary and unjustifiable misappropriation. The whole system of their policy and government—the whole scheme of action, conduct and organization, as regards the unhappy country which has fallen under their power, is founded on the broad and undisguised principle of taking by force or fraud from the feeble and unresisting natives of India, and appropriating to their own use the revenues, the rents, the treasures, and, in short, the entire wealth and productions of that immensely wealthy and productive country. We have all heard of organized bands of robbers who, during the middle ages levied contributions upon great cities; and who, in default, or on refusal of the demanded contributions sacked the recusant and refractory cities, and put man, woman, and child ruthlessly to the sword.

This is exactly what has been done in India by the COMPANY'S *bands* for more than a century, and still continues to be done. It is the familiar means by which they pay their debts and secure their dividends. It is to the Company, what a regular and lawful system of taxation is to a regular and lawful government: and yet, what is it in the eyes of all—except, perhaps, East India Directors and Proprietors—but an organized system of robbery and plunder? And who that knows the relations between the Company and their dominions (as they are called)—who, that is aware of the means habitually employed by that Company, and under them by their agents, *familiars*, and myrmidons, can entertain of them any

higher opinion than all Christendom now concur in holding, in regard to those organized robbers of the middle ages, above alluded to? The fact that such robbers exist, and are tolerated and countenanced at the present day, and amongst Christian people, and *above all, by the Christian people of England*, is not a little startling. Stripped of all disguise, what is the East India Company but an organized association for maintaining and paying bands of armed hirelings (called Company's troops, and armies) for the purpose of compelling not only towns, cities, and extensive districts of India, but even kingdoms and principalities of that great country to pay tribute to them? If a town, a city, or a district refuse the required or expected tribute, what is done by the agents and representatives of the Company's Government to enforce their behests, or to punish what they *presume* to call the disobedience or insolence of their subjects? The town or city is bombarded, and, when captured, the wretched population is put to the sword, and their property which is not burnt, or destroyed, becomes the spoil of the victors. If a king, or prince (whose dynasty, very probably, began to reign while the inhabitants of these British Islands were wandering savages living in huts, and covered with the skins of beasts,) refuse obedience to a similar demand, or signify his intention of keeping his own, and resisting the attempted robbers, what are the means employed by the *Honourable Company's* servants to compel submission—to secure their spoil, and to punish a sovereign for asserting his just and acknowledged rights, and refusing obedience to the insolent and unjust demands of greedy,

intrusive foreigners? His kingdom or principality is invaded—his territory overrun by armed and organized bands of ruffians and hirelings; his treasures seized—his revenues confiscated—his person, if he escape with life, committed to a dungeon; and his sovereign power, or, at least, the pageant of it, delivered over to some complaisant slave of the *Honourable Company*, whose dependence upon them for the maintenance of his authority is a sufficient guarantee for his entire subservience to their slightest wish.

The history of British dominion in India, from the time of Clive up to the period of the late outbreak, has been indeed a series of outrages, such as those we have just described. That *illustrious* ruffian and robber set an example of violence and perfidy, which has been faithfully followed. Prompt and bold in action, and wholly unscrupulous as to the means he employed for obtaining any desired end, he was, at the same time, wholly deficient in grasp and comprehensiveness of intellect; and was incapable, therefore, of taking enlarged and statesmanlike views, or of judging correctly of the remote consequences of any system of measures, or policy. Like many others of his class of mind, he sought to make up by cunning and perfidy for the deficiencies of the higher qualities of intelligence: and, altogether, a more serviceable, or available in the tool hands of an unscrupulous master, it would have been difficult to find.

Hastings was a worthy successor of Clive;—*par nobile fratrum*. Under the administration of this bad man, the abuses of power, and the iniquities and crimes committed against the natives arose to such a pitch, that

the Government of India became the object of attention, and severe animadversion to the Imperial Parliament; and the House of Commons passed a resolution, 28th May, 1782, condemning the conduct of Hastings, as *bringing disgrace upon the British name and nation*, and recommending to the directors of the Company the recal of this infamous instrument of their detestable tyranny. This resolution was, of course, followed with no result; for the plain reason, that, however enormous and revolting the crimes of Hastings, they were such as evinced his zeal and devotion to his masters, and were calculated to bring money into their treasury, and raise the price of East India bonds and stocks.

Some years later, as is well known, this man was tried, and in spite of the accumulated proofs of his guilt, and of the extraordinary talents and eloquence exerted against him by the greatest orators and statesmen of England in that day, *he was acquitted!*—not because he was not guilty; nor because he was not proved to be guilty; but because the East India Company were, no matter by what infamous means, rich, powerful, influential, and possessed in various ways and under various forms the most perfect armoury of corruption that was ever employed for the purposes of screening crime, and defeating the ends of Justice: and because a court so constituted, and so numerous as that before which this great culprit was tried, could not, as a body, possess that sentiment of *judicial responsibility* of sober and conscientious earnestness, or of political and moral wisdom, which, had they not been wanting, must have ensured his conviction. Acquitted before the bar of the



Court, he was condemned before that of the intelligent and enlightened public.

The best defence of Hastings is, that, if he committed great crimes, he did only that which was expected of him by those under whose authority he acted—that, in *their eyes*, it was not *crimes*, but *blunders*, which constituted offences; that it was the essential office of the chief functionary of the Company's Government to uphold an organized system of measures and policy diametrically opposed to all the recognised principles of justice and equity; and that the system itself being bad, vicious, and iniquitous, it could not be upheld, or maintained without the aid of its natural allies of crime and violence, and its almost essential concomitants of perfidy and treachery. *The great business of a Governor-General of India is to bring money into the treasury of his employers; to manage, if possible, to secure them a surplus of revenue over and above the expenses of their civil and military establishments, and to do this, if possible, without endangering the loss of their dominion, or sacrificing, to any object of present gain, the hopes and advantages of the future.* This reservation of prudence, which looks only to the interests of the Company and Government, is the sole check upon the power of this vicarious sovereign.

Among the writers who have treated of the different forms of Government which have existed, or still exist among Christian and civilized nations, differing, as these writers do, upon mere questions of form, some preferring one form and some another, there is not to be found one who does not lay it down as a fundamental axiom, *that*

*Governments are made for the people, and not the people for Governments;* and, although history affords many illustrations of the forgetfulness of this axiom on the part of existing Governments, I am not aware that an example is to be found of one, excepting only that of the East India Company, which has had the effrontery boldly to throw off all disguise, and openly, avowedly, systematically, and practically to proclaim and act in defiance of this universally admitted axiom, and unblushingly to carry on, under the very eyes of the civilized world, a system of Government and rule in which the sole aim and object of every measure adopted, of every suggestion made, of every act done, is, simply and purely, the pecuniary benefit, the money gain of those who hold the reins of Government, and in which not a single thought ever enters which has regard to the happiness or welfare of the people governed;—a system which, though upheld and carried on by those who profess Christianity, is diametrically opposed to its spirit, and in contempt of its purest and holiest teachings;—a system which, in its greed of gold, tramples upon all laws, human and divine; and which, when understood and exposed in its true colours and character, must reflect a deep and indelible disgrace upon the nation, or Government, which gives it encouragement and support. It must not be said that Britain possesses in India *the rights of conquest*. These rights, barbarous at the best, and unworthy either a Christian or a civilized nation, are only available where a war, commenced *in just and conscientious motives*, has terminated successfully for the nation which claims such rights,—and we may add, *where the defeated party, had*

*they been conquerors, would have insisted on a similar claim.*

The same principles which apply to the case of individuals, apply equally and in the same manner to that of nations. If two individuals quarrel, *each believing himself in the right*, the victor, if he will, may claim this barbarous right of conquest; but if one of them, a thief or a robber, attacks, without provocation, any quiet, harmless man, in his life, or his property, who inoffensively is pursuing his own business and affairs, it will hardly be contended that the thief or robber, if victorious, may, with the smallest show of fairness, lay claim to *the right of conquest*. How then stands this *right of conquest* as regards the Company's Government in its relations with the native Governments of India? Which is the robber, and which the quiet, harmless man, inoffensively following his affairs? If the Company is the robber, what then becomes of the right of conquest? That the Company is the robber, no one, of course, can deny, and least of all those who would impudently claim advantage of this pretended right. No one knows better than they do, that for the last hundred years, the history of the British in India has been a history of successive violations of the eighth and tenth commandments of the Decalogue, and that while, with a truly pharisaical spirit, they were pretending to *Christianise* the people of India, whose ignorance and idolatry they affected to pity and deplore, they were daily and hourly and systematically engaged in a course of conduct and policy, which, in every act and thought and object, disobeyed the precepts, and warred against the spirit of

that very religion which they pretended it was their aim and mission, and glory, to plant and propagate upon the soil of India.

They *preached* "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" "Thou shalt do unto others as thou wouldst that they should do unto thee;" "Thou shalt do no murder;" "Thou shalt not steal;" "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour;" "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his:" and they *practised* robbery, murder, and treachery. Their mission to India, instead of being, as they pretended, one of peace and love, has been one of hate and violence. They have made treaties only to break them; and have broken them upon the most false and frivolous pretexts. They have systematically stirred up quarrels, wars, and contests among the native princes and sovereigns of the country, in order that, by taking part with one side or the other, as friends, or allies, they might rob and pillage both. By pursuing this hateful policy for a long series of years, and sowing the seed of discord broadcast over the land, they had at last succeeded in overthrowing one after another the largest part of the important and powerful states and dynasties of India—in revolutionizing their systems of Government, and in substituting, in their stead, others far more oppressive and onerous, and which were framed and organized with the object of extorting from the capital and land, and wringing from the hard-earned wages and profits of the poor and oppressed Indian, the utmost penny it was possible to obtain by the most

effective use of intimidation and punishment, often extending to the infliction of the severest corporal tortures.

I have now given a rapid and general, and, I believe, a true view of the relations which, for upwards of a hundred years, have existed between the Company's Government and their oppressed and wretched subjects—the natives of India. It has been no part of my intention to enter into minute historical details. These may at all times be consulted, and will bear me out, I confidently assert, in all that I have stated. In saying this, indeed, I say too little,—I might say much more, and yet fall far short of the truth. I can only regret that want of ability prevents my presenting any adequate picture of the dreadful oppression and tyranny experienced by the natives of India at the hands of the Company and their agents and subordinates; and of the consequent wretchedness, pauperism, and decay of all those portions of that once wealthy and prosperous region, which have had the misfortune to fall under the withering and blighting influence of a Rule which, true to its own peddling origin, makes Government a trade—conquest a speculation—and treaties of amity and alliance a means of forging quibbling pretexts, on all convenient occasions, for the renewal of hostilities and aggression—which passes laws, issues edicts, and performs all other functions of supreme authority, *not* for the improvement, the benefit, the prosperity and happiness of those subjected to its power—*not* to make them happier, or better; more secure against foreign foes—more tranquil and harmonious among themselves, more prosperous in their trade, more enlightened in their laws, more pure in their morals, more

honest in their dealings, or more happy in their homes; but, for the sole object, through the plunder and pillage of its subjects, of still ceaselessly adding to those enormous amounts of treasure, which for upwards of a century, have been wrung by force and fraud from the poor oppressed Hindoo, to pamper the luxury and swell the pride of bloated Indian Nabobs and Directors.

The picture, however, which I have been able to offer of the wide-spread misery of the wretched and despairing natives of India, on the one hand, and the selfish and grasping tyranny of the Company on the other, may suffice to call attention to those more elaborate works, in which will be found the history of the progressive development and ultimate consummation of this stupendous system of despotism, as well as a more full and detailed exposition of its odious and revolting features, than falls within the scope of the present publication. My object looks rather to the future than the past. If I have insisted, at some length, upon the evils and misgovernment which have prevailed for so long a period in India under the existing system, it is because I am satisfied that the first step towards the remedy of an evil is the proof and acknowledgment of its existence. It is not, however, to the East India Company, or the Directors, that I appeal upon this question. No one can know better than they of the truth of the statements I have made, and the iniquity of the Government I have exposed. Nor shall I appeal, even, solely, to the Imperial Government of these Islands; which, though it has, at different periods, given public expression to its *disapproval* of much of the proceed

ings of the semi-vicarious and anomalous government of the Company, has never taken those decided measures for arresting its career of iniquity and crime, which have been so often, and so loudly, *but so vainly*, called for, by every consideration of justice and humanity; not to mention that the Imperial Government, itself, has not only abstained from interference with the most unjustifiable acts and proceedings of its subordinates, but has actually afforded them its countenance, protection, and, even, its active support. And, indeed, it cannot be disguised that the Government of England is *particeps criminis* with the Government of India. It is an accessory to the crimes of the latter, both before and after the fact. If it does not so directly take a part in the robberies and murders, and *profitable confiscations of estates, and convenient incarcerations of their proprietors*, it receives, at least, in an indirect way, a portion of the stolen goods which are the fruit of those crimes; and, while the Government of England has found, or thought it expedient or profitable to support and protect this abominable and disgraceful system, so revolting to humanity, and abhorrent to the spirit of Christianity, (which they profess); the people have been deluded into the belief that the preservation of the East India Company in all their rights, privileges, and powers, was essential to the prosperity and greatness, and even glory of *England*; not distinguishing between the interests of a corporation, however wealthy and influential, and the interests of a great and powerful nation. It has been, of course, the policy of that corporation, and of all those connected with them, to keep up and

cherish this delusion ; and, to a very great extent, they have, in their endeavour to do so, succeeded.

It has been very generally believed that the interests of England and those of the Company are identical. So, it has been believed, not unfrequently, and upon very similar grounds, and under the illusions of the protective system, that the country at large was benefited by a partial legislation, which drew large amounts of labor and capital to certain occupations and employments at the expense of all others—which enriched one class, and impoverished another—which, while, in fact, it only changed, wrongly and unjustly, the distribution of property, and materially lessened the national annual production, played before the eyes of fond believers in the now defunct dogmas of Protection, the chimera of national wealth, created by the legerdemain of legislative statutes and enactments. But, when the subject of the connexion between England and India is considered in its true point of view, and divested of those delusive lights which have sprung out of a most imperfect and partial acquaintance with its nature and history ;—and when sounder and juster views of colonial and foreign policy shall have become more widely understood and received, it will then be admitted, perhaps, that, whether, with a view to the prosperity of England, or India, the whole scheme and practice of the Anglo-Indian Government, from its beginning, more than a century ago, up to the very moment that we write, has been founded in views entirely and utterly erroneous, and as inconsistent with solid national prosperity and greatness, as with true national honour and glory.



I have endeavoured in the foregoing pages to trace, though imperfectly and faintly, some of the numerous crimes and errors of that Government which, while they bore heavily and cruelly upon the natives of the conquered and dependent country, could not but have, too, a most unfavourable and depressing effect upon the commercial interests, and material prosperity of the people of the conquering and colonizing nation, whose paramount will, as expressed through the organs of their own Imperial Government, had so long countenanced and fostered a system, which was, at once, an evil and a disgrace. It would, perhaps, be more correct to say that the course of policy adopted and pursued by the British Government, from the first, in India, while it was in the highest degree unjust, ungenerous, and cruel; was at the same time unwise and shortsighted; and prevented the growth and development of those commercial advantages for England, which, under a different system of policy, might have been secured; and would have increased, a hundred-fold, any profit which, in a merely pecuniary point of view, England has actually derived from her connexion with her wasted and misgoverned provinces.

The most objectionable feature of the policy actually adopted was that of *Monopoly*. It was this which vitiated every thing else; and led to almost all the evils which ruined and desolated India, and prevented, in England, the harvest of those commercial benefits, which should naturally have sprung from her free and unfettered trade with a country so immensely wealthy and unproductive as India. It was this which shut the rich

gates of the East, not only against all the world besides but against that very nation under whose protection that monopoly was granted; and a few insignificant adventurers were enabled to set up an almost sovereign power, and, grasping at every thing themselves, to exclude their fellow-countrymen from all participation in gains, which, if they could be justifiably reaped at all, should, at least, have been equally open to all. The injustice of this exclusion had been felt for a long time previous to the termination of the Company's charter (in 1813,) by the manufacturing and commercial classes of England; and great efforts had been consequently made to have the monopoly set aside, and the trade to India thrown open to private and individual enterprise: and this, in spite of a strenuous opposition on the part of the Company, was at length effected: and, although the hard conditions and restrictions imposed upon the private trader, were such as to cramp his enterprise and restrain his operations, and to render the repeal of the monopoly in a great degree nugatory, yet, in the course of a very short time, the superior energy and efficiency of individual enterprise had surmounted these disadvantages, and *had more than trebled the value of British commerce with India.* If, notwithstanding the drawbacks alluded to, so important an increase was effected, it may readily be inferred that, under a freer system, the amount and extension of the trade would have been still greater; if, instead of restricting private enterprise to the direct trade to the presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and the port of Penang; and requiring that the vessels employed by private traders should not be under 350 tons burthen,

and that, except where permitted, they should not engage in the carrying trade of India, or the trade between India and China, the Government had extended to them the rights of a perfectly free and unfettered commerce, it cannot be doubted that the ratio of the augmentation of the Anglo-Indian trade would have been incalculably greater than that above stated. If, then, we reflect upon the fact that, for more than sixty years previous to the termination of the monopoly, England was debarred by it, from the advantages which must have resulted from a free and unfettered commerce, we may form some estimate of the amount of the loss which British interests have sustained through the effect of that unjust and unwise policy of exclusion.

The fact, too, that the Company which possessed this monopoly of trade, made, in reality, little or no use of it, with a view, at least, to any of its legitimate ends; rendered the impolicy and injustice of it all the greater. The Company were enabled by their privilege of monopoly to play the part of the "dog in the manger;" and it cannot be denied that their performance of that character was as perfect as the character itself was odious. The total amount of exports by British subjects to India during five years, ending with 1811 (previous consequently to the termination of the monopoly) did not exceed £2,000,000 a year,—and, of these my authority goes on to state "a very considerable portion consisted of military stores."

The legitimate trade with India and its hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants, was really, therefore, of hardly more importance than that with Jersey and the

Isle of Man. It is, however, too notorious at the present day, to make it necessary to dwell upon it, that the Company's monopoly, as a means of making commercial gains, and adding, by legitimate trade, to the wealth and prosperity of Britain, has been a most complete and flagrant failure. But, although this privileged association had no hope of drawing any profits from commercial operations, they discovered what, to them, seemed a more fruitful source of gain, or, at least, a more direct means of supplying their exchequer, and this was, the simple appropriation of the revenues, the taxes, the land, and the rich hoards of India to their own proper use; and the conversion of them to the payment of the enormous expenses of consolidating and perpetuating their ill-gotten power; thus using the very hoards and treasures of which they had forcibly and feloniously robbed her, to forge the chains and perpetuate the slavery of their victim. *This is the purpose to which the Company converted their monopoly; and it cannot be denied that the British Government, in permitting such nefarious proceedings, have been guilty of a crime not much less heinous than that of the Company itself, and quite unworthy the Rulers of a Christian people. Had this Government, in the beginning, adopted a more liberal policy—had they thrown open the rich fields of India to all alike, and given free way to the growth and development of an international commerce, instead of the petty peddling traffic of a small association of needy adventurers,—the results to England, to India, and to the world, would have been far different, and incalculably better, in every point of view.*

It is impossible to estimate the enormous amounts of wealth which, under the guidance of such a liberal policy, a free and unrestricted commerce with India would have thrown into the lap of England; nor is it easy to form any adequate conception of the multiform advantages and benefits which India must have derived from the spread and development of a peaceful and lucrative commerce with a great Christian community. Such a commerce would have been found a far more powerful means of promoting and extending civilization than the bayonet, the cannon, and the rifle; which, so far as that object has been aimed at, have been so vainly and fruitlessly employed.

The idolatrous usages, the barbarous superstitions, and the inhuman rites about which so much has been said, would yield before the spread of that enlightenment which would accompany a more extended and peaceful intercourse with Christian and civilized communities. The diffusion of a purer faith might then be left to the quiet labors of missionaries of the Gospel, unconnected with governments or bureaucracies, and under the guidance of higher and holier inspirations. It is admitted, on all hands, that the natives of India, however opposed to propagandism by the sword, are ever open to the friendly words of persuasion, or conviction; and that, if any hope is to be entertained of their conversion to Christianity, it must rest, purely and simply, upon the efficacy of the peaceful means of instruction,—education,—and, of that progressive enlightenment which would be the effect of extending commerce and intercourse with European and Christian nations. It was

commerce—it was the intercourse between man and man, and between nation and nation, springing out of their mutual wants and necessities, which, in the earliest, as in the latest times, fostered and brought to perfection, all the arts, ornamental or useful—the skill, the science, the infinitely various aggregate of human practised talent, capacity, and energy; and not less, those enlarged, liberal, and humane views of social, political, and international morality and law, which together constitute a just conception of a sound and Catholic civilization; and, accordingly, we find, that those nations, whether ancient or modern, which have been most distinguished by their advance in civilization, and the arts and knowledge, have also possessed peculiar facilities in their physical position, or some other circumstance, for international intercourse and commerce.

The immense extension of those facilities which, in modern times have been the result of scientific discoveries is the cause, as is known, of the rapid advance and spread of civilization throughout the world. By this means, the boundaries of the world, as it were, have been enlarged; and include regions wholly unknown in former times; but which now embrace communities which, in all the essential characteristics of civilization, may fairly boast an equality with the most highly cultivated and polite nations of either ancient or modern times. If such be the advantages and benefits of commerce, and especially of commerce free and unrestricted, it may well be asked by the friends of humanity, why, for so long a period, the East India monopoly was permitted to continue? It was, indeed, at length abolished, but not until

it had been productive of incalculable mischief and loss, both to England and India—to England, by preventing her from ever reaping, or enjoying the immense harvest of profits which must have resulted from an unrestricted trade for so many years with India; to India, by withholding from her, not only, the pecuniary advantages of an unrestricted commerce with England for a long series of years, but all the benefits besides, of a still higher nature, which, during so long a period, must have sprung from intimate commercial and social intercourse with a nation of far more elevated moral and intellectual attributes, and instincts; and by inflicting upon her, in addition (for this has been one of the natural results of the monopoly), all the manifold evils of bad government—a Government so utterly bad, selfish, and hateful, that, as I before remarked, no parallel for it can be found in all the records of past history. It must not be overlooked besides, that, had the monopoly never existed, or, had it been early abolished, and its influence so thoroughly destroyed as to leave no traces of its previous existence; not only would the relations between the manufacturing and trading classes of England, and those of India have been far more extensive and important than they are; but the personal intercourse would have been greater; and the middle and less wealthy classes of England would have emigrated to India in far greater numbers than at present; not, as marauders and enemies, but as friends, and peaceful traders and missionaries.

The mild influence of commerce, and of superior knowledge and science, would have done more to conquer India than the bayonets of all the mercenary legions

which have been successively sent there, year after year, for, now, upwards of a century past. This influence, while it rendered India happier and better, would, at the same time, have made England wealthier and more powerful; by opening new fields of industry and commerce—England, too, would have been saved from the demoralizing effects of that portentous example of wickedness and crime, which for so long a time has been held up before her eyes, in the conduct and proceedings of an irresponsible, though subordinate Government; which, acting upon a remote theatre, and ruling and legislating for a people at once remote in place and dissimilar in race from ourselves, have, in the lust of a grasping and unscrupulous avarice, permitted themselves to be drawn into the perpetration of acts of injustice, treachery, rapacity, cruelty and dishonour, so flagrant and flagitious, as would have consigned their perpetrators, had these acts been committed in Europe, or upon any stage less remote, to an undying and eternal infamy.

But this same irresponsible and subordinate Government—the Company—the Directors! who are they? What are they? Have they any responsible name,—any fixed residence? Have they any individuality?—such as may enable those whom they have wronged, or injured; to bring home to them the punishment due to their misdeeds and their crimes? Nobody knows who they are. Their names are constantly changing. They have neither a responsible name, nor a fixed residence. They have no individuality which may be held responsible; and nobody in the flesh which may be subjected to punishment. They are a *corporation* which, according to



the law, has no soul, and yet, according to the same authority, can never die. They are then a mere fiction! And can a mere fiction be responsible? How can a fiction feel remorse or pity? How can the crimes of such an ever-changing entity be brought home to it; especially from so remote a theatre as India? But, even though this soulless and bodiless existence possessed more fixedness of individuality and name;—though it were less changing in the individual elements of its composition;—it is evident that the sense and weight of responsibility would be lost in the division and multiplicity of those very individual elements. Of ten, twenty, or a hundred members of any body, who together might be responsible for the defeat of an army, or the misgovernment of a province,—any one, it may be easily assumed, would bear his individual share of blame, shame or disgrace, without feeling the burthen at all too great or oppressive for his powers of endurance; and, if this be true, where the injury sustained through his fault, and that of his coadjutors, falls upon the strong, and those who have power to punish, how much more emphatically so must it be, where the injury suffered is an injury to the weak—the defenceless—to those who have no power to rise up in judgment against him; and where, if he injures the weak, he benefits the strong—if he strikes the humble, he flatters and does pleasure to the proud; and where, above all, if he robs and plunders the defenceless, he may lay “the flattering unction to his soul,” that, at all events, he enriches and aggrandizes those who, in their turn, have power to enrich and aggrandize himself—those who, however great and flagrant their

iniquity, have that which "buys out the law," and however shameful the dishonour of their whole history and proceedings, have had the face to assume the title of "Honourable," and through the magic effect of Wealth and by "hurling their dazzling spells" and blinding gold dust into the eyes of all who were *too curious*, or were disposed to call in question the fairness of their claim to so "honourable" an addition to their escutcheon—they have succeeded in cheating too large a part of the world—blind, or seeming blind—into the seeming or real recognition of their usurped and impudent assumption. A jealous consciousness of how ill they merited the title thus assumed, and of the utter hollowness of all their hypocritical pretensions to be governed by any sentiments, save only those of greed and gain, has led to their being, to the last degree, close and exclusive in the management of their ill-gotten dominion.

The latent conviction, too, of the rottenness of the very foundation of their power has led to the same result. It is for this reason that, for so long a time, no one, not employed by the Company, or not having an express permission from them, was allowed to put his foot within the territory of British India. Their whole empire, the Company well knew, was built on stubble, and they naturally dreaded the contact of any new element of change, or disorder—any spark which, falling among the inflammable materials which composed the very basis of their power, might spread conflagration through the whole extent of their feloniously usurped dominion.

For a very long period previous to the outbreak of the rebellion about a year ago (May 1857) the Company

and all the most intelligent of those connected with it, were aware of the prevalence of a feeling among the native army and the better classes of India, hostile to the rule under which they had so long groaned. High pay, and flattery, and indulgence, were no longer of sufficient power to seduce the Sepoys from their natural allegiance to the country of their firesides and their altars. They had, at length, become united in the common thought and feeling, — conviction — despite the fear-born indulgences and some substantial privileges of their servitude, which were allowed — that fidelity to their masters was impiety to God, and the desecration of their religion.

The progress of knowledge and the facilities for its diffusion, had extended their influence even to these humble servants of the Company; and had put them in possession of ideas and conceptions, not favorable to the hopes of the long-continued predominance of a rule, founded solely on ignorance and *opinion*. Intercourse with Europeans, though far less extensive than, under other circumstances, it might have been, and (I may add) far less beneficial, had yet wrought out its natural effect. The better classes of India had, at least, acquired some knowledge of matters out of the limited spheres of their local courts and provinces. They had learned something more of the real power and resources of their tyrants and oppressors than they had possessed at an earlier period. They had many of them acquired the key to this knowledge, by acquainting themselves with the language of those tyrants, both as spoken and written, or printed, and the press and journalism had done the rest. The Sepoys, too, had acquired much knowledge.

and skill which, in a contest with their former masters, would enable them to contend with those masters upon a more equal footing than they could ever have hoped to do at any of the earlier periods of their history. The distances, at the same time, between the great geographical divisions of the Indian peninsula, had been lessened by the wonderful facilities of locomotion. Intercourse between kingdom and kingdom, province and province, and presidency and presidency, had become greater and more frequent: and the quarrels and enmities which, during a long period, had divided and weakened the nations and races of India, and which had ever been fomented by the cruel and selfish policy of the Company's Government, had in a great measure ceased. Britain, too, had been enfeebled in her resources by a long and exhausting contest with a formidable enemy. She had lost, through the essential vices of her military system, something of the *prestige* which had formerly attended on her arms; and it might be expected that, under all these adverse circumstances, the Company, the immediate rulers and enemies of India, might be less provided with resources for contending against the storm which was, now, collecting from all parts of the great Indian peninsula, and threatening the British intruders with complete and unsparing extermination. The moment seemed opportune for a great effort on the part of the oppressed and longsuffering natives. A blind confidence in spite of all warnings, continued to possess the British officials and residents in India up to the last moment before the outbreak of the storm.

This circumstance, too, was favourable to the success of the great movement which was now in progress against the enemies of India; but, the expected co-operation was not as perfect and simultaneous, as would have been necessary for the attainment of the object aimed at.

The successes of the natives were but partial, notwithstanding the destruction of a large number of officials, and residents of British race. The superiority of arms and prowess, on the part of the Europeans, was soon manifested in all encounters in the field. The successive falls of some of the great cities and most important strongholds of India, which, for a time in the possession of the native princes, had made some stand against British skill and valour, evinced, yet more decidedly, the superiority of the dominant race. But, in the mean while, the victories of the latter have been productive of small results: those who achieved them occupy the ground they stand on; and those portions of the Company's possessions which have never been seriously involved in the revolutionary movement, have, perhaps, been prevented by the military success of the Company's servants, from openly joining in the wide-spread revolt. And even though the Company, with the whole disposable force of Britain at their back, should succeed at last in quelling all open opposition, and in reducing India, once more, to a condition of miserable serfdom: what, we may ask, is the advantage they would gain? The sole advantage, evidently, would be the recovered privilege, for a brief space, of *robbing, plundering, and confiscating* the rights and property of the miserable and defenceless inhabitants of that once flourishing and

wealthy country. To England, this *gain* to the Company, must be an inevitable *loss*. To England, the only gain to be derived from India, must be drawn from the resources of peaceful intercourse and commerce; and what profitable or lucrative commerce can be carried on with a country given up to pillage, reduced to serfdom—deprived of all civil rights, wholly insecure in the possession of either property or life, and, so utterly and hopelessly degraded by the universal leveller of sword-law, that property and life have ceased to be of value? To expect to drive a lucrative commerce with a country so circumstanced, would be a mere fool's thought. A commerce, to be lucrative and gainful, must be with a country prosperous and productive. It is commerce with the rich customer, and not with the poor beggar, that we can hope to gain by. A country, to be a good customer, must be rich and prosperous—must have something to give in return for what it receives.

India, well governed, secured in possession of her rights of property, and life and liberty; containing, as she does, an intelligent, ingenious, industrious, and very numerous population; and embracing within her vast confines an unlimited variety of soil, climate, and production, could not fail to be, to England, and indeed the world, a commercial customer of immense and almost incalculable importance: and, at the present time, and for the future, this importance must be greater than ever, in consequence of the facilities of transport and locomotion which have now been developed. Yet, how small the benefit which England has, up to the present moment, derived from this rich mine of commercial

wealth, let the history of the Company's Government tell. I have already dwelt sufficiently upon the nature of the operations by which that body has depended for extracting wealth from India, for the replenishment of the Company's Exchequer, and have made it sufficiently clear that, to say the least of them, they were anything but calculated to develop the industrial and commercial activity and resources of the Indian population. Labour, languishing and reluctant, because deprived of its natural and healthy stimulant arising from the hope of wages and reward proportioned to the skill and energy of the labourer, dependent for its scanty meed and very existence upon the capricious tyranny and hard avarice of the Company's agents—forced on, therefore, with *stripes and torture* a manufacturing and commercial industry loaded with taxes most oppressive and extortionate—deprived of its natural market, and depending for its very existence upon the caprices of an ignorant, short-sighted, and selfish legislation;—and, lastly; a nobility and gentry, the natural customers, patrons, and employers of the inferior and industrial classes, robbed of their land, their revenues, and treasures; deprived of their offices and employments, degraded into small pensioners and hangers-on upon the grudging but *prudent* charity of the tyrants and enslavers of their country, form together a picture which, while it but too faithfully represents the past and present condition of British India, offers, at the same time, the most convincing, though painful, evidence, that the whole course of the conduct and proceedings of the East India Company in relation to that country, has been the very opposite of

that liberal and enlightened policy which we have indicated above; and which, had it been pursued, must, through the spread of unfettered commerce, and the development of both Indian and British industry, have raised Britain and India, but more especially the former country, to a pitch of commercial greatness and affluence, far beyond any to which they have ever actually attained; and would, at the same time, have spared this country the shame and penalty of that stain of blood, treachery and dishonour, which has been fastened on her name by the perpetration of crimes and misdeeds, which, if not her own, have had nevertheless the protection of her Government and flag; crimes and misdeeds, which, had they been known to the people—the people of England—as distinguished from the Government of England, would never, I sincerely believe, have had the sanction of a single honest British heart. Recent experience has proved that, in proportion as the true character of the Company's policy and antecedents has been made known to the world, in the same proportion have they become the objects of general scorn and contempt. If the *British people* would not share with the Company in bearing the burthen of general condemnation, let them repudiate all connection with that discreditable and, now, doomed association. Let them, through the direct action of a more enlightened government than they have always hitherto had, commence a new era in the conduct of their colonial policy. Let them learn, at length, that towards colonies, as well as in respect to independent nations, the most liberal and honest policy is always, in the long run, the best, the



safest, and the most profitable. Let them, or rather let their Government learn, that valour, ability, and the sword, alone, are not sufficient to secure the great objects of national prosperity and happiness; that although, alone they may suffice to conquer, or, enslave a colonial empire, they cannot, alone, make it either flourishing, or contented, or render it a useful or advantageous possession; nor can they, alone, even secure the conquered empire as a durable possession; for the attainment of all the objects which the sword *cannot* effect, justice, moderation, firmness, and humanity united, are required; and the liberal and enlightened wisdom which teaches that the prosperity and progress of nations, connected by the relations of intercourse and commerce, must, in the nature of things, be mutual, reciprocal, and dependent—that any serious visitation of calamity which may act as an obstruction to one of a number of nations so allied, must, to a greater or less extent, be a common calamity to all. Valour, ability, and the sword, unscrupulously used, were the means which first *gained* India; but the same means which *gained* India have now brought upon her, as well as upon England, the most dreadful calamities; because, unaccompanied with moderation, justice, and humanity, the means which *gained*, have been found unable to preserve her. India, under the unchristian, grasping, and demoralizing rule of the East India Company, has not been, except in a very partial and limited manner, allied to England by the relations of commerce; but there was no cause which should have prevented her being so allied, and this, to an extent, which must have been in the highest degree beneficial both to herself and

England, except only the obstructions which, through the means of their monopoly and exclusive privileges, the Company were enabled to throw in the way of all private adventurers and commercial enterprises to the East, not sanctioned by their permission and authority.

I have already adverted to the extent to which this cause has always operated to prevent the growth of Anglo-Indian commerce, and the development of the resources of both countries; and, at the same time, to check the emigration of Englishmen to India, and their permanent settlement there. Upon the issue of the struggle now in progress in India, will depend the important question, whether, and to what extent, the British Government will have power to control and influence for good, or ill, the destinies and happiness, for generations to come, of two hundred millions of human beings. Should the termination of the contest be such as to confer this tremendous power, the question then would arise, how, and in what manner, this power will be exercised—whether wisely, moderately, justly, firmly? Whether in such wise as to lay a solid foundation for the future good government and happiness to the millions subjected to British rule; or whether, under the influence of the traditions of a bygone age, the British Government shall, to the disgrace of Christianity and civilization, permit the prolonged existence of that commercio-politico military and irresponsible polyarchy, which to the obstruction of British commerce, and that of all the rest of the world, has enjoyed the exclusive privilege of fattening and gorging itself on the blood and sinews of India—converting the emblems of power to the base purposes of gain—and

desecrating the high right of Government and rule, by making it an instrument for the commission of crimes, which it is the first duty of Government to punish and prevent.

But, apart from any other considerations, the English people, as a civilized and Christian community, owe to themselves and their good name in the world, a great and paramount duty. The guardianship of that fair name has been, unfortunately, too often intrusted to incapable and unfaithful servants, both in the higher and inferior gradations of office. It behoves the English people to take care that a trust so sacred should sustain no detriment—that, like the sacred fire of ancient Rome, it should be watched over with unremitting care and vigilance, lest, through criminal negligence, or wilful misconduct, on the part of those to whose safe keeping it is committed, it lose something of the well-merited honour which belongs to it. No one can doubt that, at heart, the English people are generous, humane, and merciful—that they are prone, generally, to take part with the weak against the strong, with the oppressed against the oppressor. They have cheerfully submitted to enormous and burthensome taxation, to break the chains of slavery in distant lands, and to free from bondage a race of men having but feeble claims upon sympathy, on the score of either their civilization, or their high qualities and attributes of nature. They have paid away millions of money, though ineffectually and unwisely, perhaps, yet, certainly, most generously, in order to suppress and extirpate, if possible, for ever, a trade which they deemed

cruel and inhuman. In all such acts, not to mention many other evidences of their generous humanity and justice, *they, at least*—the *English people*—have been actuated by a spirit of sincere and disinterested humanity. The English people have won and merited a high and honourable name, not only for indomitable courage and daring enterprise, qualities in which many other nations may perhaps justly claim to be their equals; but for the possession of those higher, rarer, and more refined moral and intellectual attributes which mark, at once, superiority of race and culture.

It is this superiority, more than that of arms only, which, among the nations of the earth, gives her that foremost position which she now enjoys. It is this which, in a future age, when, by the growth of more extended communities, the British Empire shall, in mere physical strength and resources, be compelled to yield up the attitude of a first-rate power—shall still command the respect and homage of mankind. It is this intellectual and moral empire over the minds and souls of men which, when the sword of the flesh is broken, and the spear has lost its point, shall still give her power and dominion among the nations of the earth. But even now, and while she holds fast the sword, and wields a mighty power, she is stronger and more mighty, out of the possession of this fair and honourable renown. The people of England, I am sure, do not undervalue the importance, the dignity, the moral power, or even the worldly advantages which belong to the possession of this fair inheritance of honour. *They, at least, are proud of it. Will they consent to forfeit it?*

This is now the question. The iniquities which have been long practised in India cannot now be concealed. Will the English *people* approve of them? The bad faith, mal-administration, worthlessness, and selfishness, of the Company's Government have now been exposed. Will the *people* of England suffer that Government any longer to continue? The ruinous evils to the great commercial and industrial interests, both of England and India, in the past and for the future, have been shown to be the necessary consequences of such a system as that which has been adopted by the Company's Government: will the *people* consent that that system shall any longer continue? I firmly believe not; but, should I be mistaken—and should the continuance of the system receive the sanction of popular consent, (which I am persuaded it cannot), I foresee, yet, that causes, stronger even than the *fiat* of England, will, must, within the short lapse of a very few years, render the longer existence of such a system impossible.

If the old system is abolished, what other shall be substituted in its stead? What measures should be taken to end the present contest—to settle the disturbance, in the great scene of strife—to restore order, and re-establish the obligations, and put again, into healthy action, the suspended powers of regular Government? These questions and others yet remain to be answered.

Correspondence re. for  
Renewal of E. I. Co's  
Charter, 1812

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CORRESPONDENCE  
AND  
PROCEEDINGS  
IN  
THE NEGOCIATION  
FOR  
*A RENEWAL*  
OF  
THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY'S  
CHARTER.

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LONDON :  
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*The Publisher trusts he performs a Service not unacceptable to the Public, in offering to them a Cheap Edition of these important Papers, upon a Subject involving the dearest Interests of the Nation, and of the East-India Company.*

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**CORRESPONDENCE**

AND

**PROCEEDINGS, &c.**

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LETTER from the Rt. Hon. ROBERT DUNDAS to the  
CHAIRMAN and DEPUTY CHAIRMAN.

Gentlemen, *Melville Castle, 30th September, 1808.*

The propriety and expediency of applying to Parliament for a renewal of the privileges of exclusive trade enjoyed by the East-India Company, with such modifications as may be deemed necessary, and for the continuance of the system of government in the British Territories in India on its present basis, but with such amendments, also, as the experience of its effects may appear to demand, having lately been the subject of frequent consideration and discussion, you will probably concur with me in opinion, that it is advisable now to ascertain, whether the Court of Directors are desirous of agitating the question at present, and of submitting it, in all its details, to the early consideration of Parliament.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) ROBERT DUNDAS.

To the Chairman and Deputy Chairman  
of the East-India Company.

LETTER to the Rt. Hon. ROBERT DUNDAS, from  
the CHAIRMAN and DEPUTY CHAIRMAN.

(Secret.)

Sir,

East-India House, 12th October, 1808.

We now propose to do ourselves the honour of replying to your letter of the 30th of last month.

From the communications we have at different times had with the Members of the Court of Directors, we are well assured it is the general sense of that body, that it will be for the interest of the Public and the Company, that the Charter should be early renewed. Convinced that this is their opinion, and apprehensive lest inconvenience might be produced, by setting this important subject afloat before it was in some degree matured, we have not thought it necessary formally to resort to the Court for a declaration of their judgment upon the question you are pleased to propose to us; but we have, in order to obtain what we conceive to be, with the knowledge we before possessed, sufficient warrant to us to give an answer to your preliminary enquiry, laid your letter before a Secret Committee of Correspondence: and we are authorized to state it to be their opinion, as it is our own, not only that the interests of the Public, as well as of the Company, will be best consulted, by continuing the present system of Indian administration, but that it is material the Charter should be speedily renewed.

With respect to any modifications which you or His Majesty's Government may have in contemplation to propose, we shall be happy to be made acquainted with them, and to bring them under the most serious consideration of this House. We can at present only state that we trust there will be no disposition to introduce any change, that would alter or weaken the main principles and substance of the present system, which, in the opinion of the Company, is essential to the due management and preservation of British India; and that, with respect to minor points, as far as they may be really compatible with those essential objects, the Court will not be influenced by any partial views to withhold from them the fair consideration due to them.

Glad

Glad that you have seen it proper to bring forward this weighty subject, and desirous to be favored with your further communications upon it, as soon as may suit your convenience,

We have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants,

(Signed)

EDWARD PARRY,  
CHARLES GRANT.

The Rt. Hon. Robert Dundas,  
&c. &c. &c.

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LETTER from the CHAIRMAN and DEPUTY CHAIRMAN to the Right Honorable ROBERT DUNDAS.

Sir, *East-India House, 16th December, 1808.*

In consequence of a conference which we lately had the honor to hold with you, we have laid before the Court of Directors the letter which you were pleased to write to us, under date the 30th September last, on the subject of renewing the Company's Charter, together with the answer which we returned to that letter, on the 12th October following; and we are now instructed by the Court to state to you, that they approve of that answer, and are ready to enter with you, through the medium of their Committee of Correspondence, into a consideration of the various objects to which it may be proper to attend, in bringing forward so important a measure.

At the present moment it would, in the opinion of the Court, be premature in them, to proceed to any detailed specification of those objects, to which it may be proper, on the part of the Company, to attend, or to anticipate any discussions which it may be the wish of His Majesty's Ministers to propose; but the Court beg leave to offer some suggestions of a general nature, as the principal foundations on which a new agreement between the Public and the East-India Company may be placed.

1st. The system by which the Legislature has continued to the Company the government of the territories acquired by it in the East, with a regulated monopoly of the trade, has been held by the most eminent persons

conversant with that quarter and its affairs, to be the most expedient, both for the foreign and domestic interests of this country. Under it, those territories have been improved, and the security and happiness of the vast population they contain have been signally increased. It is also a system which establishes salutary checks for the exercise of the authority lodged in this country over the Indian administration, and for all the local details of that administration, in its political, judicial, financial, and commercial departments; and provides with singular felicity for a succession of a body of able and honorable European servants, who yield in general character and utility to no class of public functionaries under the Empire. In like manner, the constitution of the Indian army has proved itself calculated to produce a body of officers of high military spirit, and of very distinguished skill and conduct. The Court, therefore, trust that no material change in this system;—no change which would affect its principles or impair its efficiency, will be proposed.

2d. In this case, it will be unnecessary to enter into any discussion of the right of the Company to the territorial possessions; a right which they hold to be clear, and must always maintain, as flowing from their acquisition of those territories, under due authority, and after long hazards and vicissitudes, and great expense.

3d. The situation of the Company is, at this time, very different from what it was at the last renewal of the Charter, in 1793. European war, with hardly any intermission, through the whole of the period that has since elapsed, has exceedingly increased the expenses, and reduced the profits of the Company at home; and has likewise enlarged the scale of expenses abroad; where, moreover, wars with the Native Powers have been repeatedly carried on, to the vast accumulation of the Indian debt, now advanced from eight millions sterling, at which it stood in 1793, to about thirty-two millions. Without meaning at all to advert, in this place, to the question concerning the policy of some of those wars with the Princes of India; it is safe and proper to affirm, that they were not, in any degree, directed by the Executive Body of the Company, but proceeded from causes which that body could not control. As, in consequence of all the events which have happened since the year 1793, the benefits

profits intended to the Proprietors of East-India Stock, by the Charter then passed, have not been realized; so the Court trust, that in the formation of a new Charter, due care will be taken to secure their proper share of advantage in any future amelioration of the Company's affairs, and especially that no measure will be adopted, which can have the effect of reducing the value of their capital stock. The dividend on that stock, which is only equivalent to the legal interest of money, is all that the Proprietors have ever received from the united sources of Indian revenue and Indian commerce, whilst the country has been enriched by the long continued influx of private wealth, and raised in the scale of nations by the political importance of the Indian empire.

4th. The liquidation of the Indian debt is, on all hands, agreed to be a measure of indispensable necessity. From the magnitude to which the debt has now risen, and the circumstances of the present unexampled time, the aid of the Public will probably be necessary to the attainment of this most desirable object. For the aid that may thus be afforded, the Court conceive that sufficient means of reimbursement from the Indian territory and revenue may be found; and the arrangement of a plan, for these purposes, might, as the Court conceive, form a very material part of the provisions of the new Charter.

5th. To apportion duly between the Public and the Company the military expenses of the Indian empire, is another measure now become unavoidable. For wars growing out of the Indian system, or out of sources purely Indian, the revenues and other means of the Company were long made to suffice, including even the charges of occasional attacks upon the Indian settlements of European nations; but the influence of European war has, in the present protracted period of hostility, extended itself more and more to India, occasioning the expense of various distant expeditions, and the increase of the military establishment, particularly in the European troops of his Majesty, which from being twenty years ago only a very few regiments now amount to above twenty thousand men, and those of the most expensive description of troops composing the military force of British India: nor is it at all improbable, that from the avowed design of France to invade our Indian possessions with great armies by land, it may be necessary still largely to augment our European



pean force in that quarter. For a war of this description the Indian revenues, if unincumbered with debt, would be very inadequate. It would be an European war for European objects; a struggle between Great-Britain and France, on the soil of India, for the maintenance and support of their power in Europe. For such an object, to which the national funds only are commensurate, the national funds undoubtedly ought to provide; and as we know that, in this, we state only what your own mind has already perceived and approved, we the more confidently hope, that in a new Charter proper attention will be paid to the due regulation of so important a concern.

6th. As the early renewal of the Charter will serve to strengthen the hands of the Company in the transaction of their affairs, and improve their credit, so its renewal, for the like period as the present one run, and from the time of its expiration, would conduce to the same ends; and the Court are not aware of any objection to the proposition of this term.

We have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants,

(Signed)

EDWARD PARRY,

The Rt. Hon. Robert Dundas,  
&c. &c. &c.

CHARLES GRANT,

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**LETTER** from the Right Honorable ROBERT DUNDAS,  
dated the 28th December 1808, to the CHAIRMAN  
and DEPUTY.

Gentlemen, *Downing Street, 28th December 1808.*

In submitting to your consideration such observations as have occurred to me on your letter of the 16th instant, it is necessary that you should understand them to be merely preliminary, in contemplation of future discussions, and by no means as the result of any plan or projected system, matured in concert with His Majesty's confidential Servants. It will depend on the judgment which the Court of Directors may form on the propriety or necessity of adhering to the present system of their Indian trade and administration in all its parts, whether I shall be enabled to hold out to them any expectation, that their application to Parliament for a renewal of the  
Company's

Company's Charter will meet with the concurrence of Government.

I shall follow the order adopted in your letter, in respect to the subjects which you have particularly mentioned, and shall offer some additional remarks on any other important branches of the present system, in which alterations may probably be deemed indispensably necessary.

1st. Concurring in substance with the proposition contained in the first article, I shall not enlarge upon its details. I have not yet heard or read any arguments against the continuance of the system under which the British Possessions in India are governed, of sufficient weight to counterbalance the practical benefits which have been derived from it, in their increased and increasing prosperity, and the general security and happiness of their inhabitants. It is possible that the same effects might have been produced under a government immediately dependent on the Crown; but for the attainment of those objects, the experiment is, at least, unnecessary, and it might be attended with dangers to the Constitution of this Country, which, if they can be avoided, it would be unwise to encounter. Any alteration, therefore, which may be suggested in this part of the system, will probably be only in its details. It may, however, be deemed advisable, to extend the controlling authority of the Board of Commissioners to such proceedings of the Court of Directors in England, as are immediately connected with the government of revenues of the Company's territorial possessions in India, more especially if the suggestion contained in your fourth article should be adopted.

2d. In the view which I have already taken of the proposition contained in the preceding article, it is certainly unnecessary to discuss the question of the Company's right to the permanent possession of the British territories in India. It is impossible that this right should be relinquished on the part of the Public, or that a claim can be admitted on the part of the Company, to the extent which has sometimes been maintained, and to which you seem to have adverted in the second article.

3d. It is equally impossible to acquiesce in *all* the reasoning, though I am perfectly willing to concur in the conclusion deduced from it in the third article. I think it very desirable, that no measure should be adopted, in the renewal

renewal of the Charter, which would have the effect of reducing the value of the capital stock of the East-India Company, and that due care should be taken to secure their proper share of advantage, in any future amelioration of their affairs; but as the law has regulated the mode in which those affairs, at home and abroad, should be administered, I cannot enter into the distinction which is stated in this article, and which I have met with on other occasions, as to the equitable claim of the Company to any remuneration from the Public, or other benefit, on account of wars, or other events which, as represented in your letter, did not originate in "the Executive Body of the Company, but proceeded from causes which that Body could not control."

It would be premature, in this stage of the discussion, to enter into any details, as to the proportion of benefit to be derived by the Company or the Public, respectively, from any future amelioration in the state of your finances; and any contingent expectation of that nature must, at all events, be postponed, till a large portion of the Indian debt has been discharged.

4th. The liquidation of that debt is undoubtedly a measure of indispensable necessity, not only to the Company but to the Public. If we were now called upon to discuss the right of the Public to the territorial revenues which have been obtained in India, either by cession or conquest, it would be impossible to relieve the question from the fair claims of the Company and their creditors to a reimbursement of the expences which have been incurred, and the discharge of the debts which have been contracted, in the acquisition and maintenance of those possessions. Entertaining that opinion, and convinced that the liquidation of the Indian debt, in the most speedy and effectual mode, would be a measure of mutual interest and advantage, I do not suppose that your suggestion in the fourth article would be objected to by Government, provided the necessity, or at least the expediency of such an interference, on the part of the Public, is made obvious and apparent, and provided, also, that sufficient security is afforded for the punctual payment of the interest, and of an adequate sinking fund, for the liquidation of the principal of any sums advanced for that purpose. I need not remind you, however, that any such aid from the Public will be unavailing, and the relief af-  
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forded by it will be temporary and delusive, unless by the zealous exertions of your Governments abroad, and the minute and detailed investigation and unremitting attention of the Court of Directors, the ordinary expenditure in India, including the interest of debt, shall be brought within the limit of your annual income. The most sanguine expectations of a result even more favorable, and of a large surplus revenue above your ordinary expences in time of peace, have recently been conveyed to you by Lord Minto; but I trust that the Court of Directors will not be induced by those hopes, however well founded, to relax in their exertions. Every item of those, or any other estimates, which the Court may exhibit, must be strictly scrutinized and compared with the actual results of former years, and with the detailed account of any reductions which may have been ordered or carried into effect.

5th. I can have no hesitation in acceding, with some limitations, to the principle for which you contend in your fifth article. It is absurd and unreasonable to suppose, that the East-India Company, out of their own revenues, can long maintain a contest against the power of France, aided by the greater part of Europe, and a large portion of Asia. If the principal theatre of the war between European nations is to be transferred to Hindostan, it must be supported, to a considerable extent, by European resources; and if our empire in India is an object worth preserving, this country must contribute to its defence, against any attack of the description which we have been taught to expect. The extraordinary expences incurred in the necessary preparations for such a warfare, or in the actual contest, ought not, in justice, to be imposed as a burthen on the Company alone, even if they were able to sustain it.

6th. I am not aware of any reason for extending the duration of the Charter beyond such a limit, as, with the unexpired term, will be equal to the period granted in 1793; but I state this merely on the first consideration of the subject: and if the general question is to be discussed, I shall pay due attention to any suggestions which the Court may think it right to offer on that particular point.

Having thus adverted, at greater length perhaps than was necessary, to the various topics introduced into your letter, I shall proceed to state such observations as appear

to me necessary to be submitted to the consideration of the Court of Directors, for the purpose of enabling them finally to decide, whether, under the circumstances of the present situation of the Company's affairs, and of the expectations which will probably be entertained by the Public, and sanctioned by Government, they will adhere to their intention of applying now to Parliament for a renewal of the Company's Charter.

It will readily occur to the Court, that whenever an opportunity is afforded of deciding in Parliament on the propriety of continuing in the Company any privileges of a commercial nature, it will be important to consider, whether the system established by the Act of 1793, for the trade of private individuals between Britain and India, has answered the expectations, or fulfilled the intentions of the Legislature. It is wholly unnecessary for me, at present, to enter into any detail of the various discussions which have taken place on that subject. The arguments on both sides of the question must be familiar to the Court, and the opinions of those persons who have turned their attention to it, have, in all probability, been long since fixed and settled: it is fit, therefore, that the Court should now understand distinctly, that I cannot hold out to them the expectation, that His Majesty's Ministers will concur in an application to Parliament for a renewal of any privileges to the East-India Company, which will prevent British merchants and manufacturers from trading to and from India, and the other countries within the present limits of the Company's exclusive trade (the dominions of the Empire of China excepted); in ships and vessels hired or freighted by themselves, instead of being confined, as at present, to ships in the service of the Company, or licensed by the Court of Directors. In the detail of any legislative provisions which it might be expedient to enact on this subject, it would be absolutely necessary to guard against the abuses which would arise, from facilities thus afforded to persons attempting to settle and reside in the British territories, without a license from the Company, or without the sanction or knowledge of the local Governments.

There are various other points to which it would also be necessary to pay due attention; not only as being important to the Company and to the general trade of the country, but essential to the security and easy col-  
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lection of the public revenue. It would obviously, however, be premature, on this occasion, to enter into any further detail, and I have confined myself to a mere statement of the general proposition.

Another point, which would probably be deemed indispensable, is an alteration in the military system in India, for the removal of those jealousies and divisions, which have unfortunately been too prevalent, between the different branches of the military service in that quarter, and which must, at all times, be highly prejudicial to the public interest; and for the correction of the anomalous system of divided responsibility, which prevails at present in this country, in every thing that relates to the military defence of India. The only effectual remedy for these evils will, probably, be found in arrangements for consolidating your Indian army with the King's troops, founded upon the plan so strongly recommended by Lord Cornwallis, with such modifications as the actual constitution of your service may render expedient or necessary. These arrangements need not be attended with any alteration in the system of promotion now in operation among the officers of the native branch of the service, or with any diminution (they might more probably produce an increase) of any other professional advantages which those officers now enjoy; neither would they, in any degree, interfere with the general authority now possessed by the Court of Directors and the Governments in India over all His Majesty's forces serving in those parts, or with their control over all disbursements of a military nature. I am, moreover, not aware of any reason against continuing in the Court of Directors the nomination of all cadets, destined to hold commissions in the Indian army.

Having thus stated to you, for the consideration of the Court of Directors, the principal points to which I was desirous of drawing their attention upon this occasion, I have only to assure you, that it will be the earnest desire of His Majesty's Government to suggest to Parliament such a system only, as shall be conformable to the principles on which the regulations of 1784 and 1793 were founded, as will secure to this kingdom all the benefit that can practicably be derived from its trade with our possessions in India, and to the natives of those countries a government, and an administration of laws,

suited to their customs, habits, and prejudices, and consistent with the British character, and which shall also be strong and efficient, without adding unnecessarily to the authority of the Executive Government at home, or increasing, to any dangerous extent, the influence of the Crown.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed), ROBERT DUNDAS,

To the Chairman and Deputy Chairman  
of the East-India Company.

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LETTER from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman  
to the Rt. Hon. Robert Dundas.

Sir, *East-India House, 13th Januarij. 1809.*

The letter which you did us the honor to address to us, on the 28th of last month, on the important subject of a renewal of the Company's Charter, has received the most serious consideration of the Court of Directors, and we are, by their unanimous resolution, instructed to submit to you the following answer to it:—  
The Court having, in the letter which we had the honor to address to you on the 16th of last month, thought it sufficient to sketch the outlines of those principles and propositions which should, in their opinion, form the basis of a new Charter, and the reply you have been pleased to make to it, declaring the same intention of stating observations merely preliminary, and “not the result of any plan, or projected system, matured in concert with His Majesty's confidential Servants,” our present letter will abstain from any discussion of minor points, those especially relating to the proceedings of the Court of Directors with servants of the Company returned from India, to which article your letter is understood to allude; and likewise from some other points, connected with the exercise of their authority at home, which may be found to require revision and modification. Neither can it be necessary to go now into the subject of the Indian Expenditure, although it is impossible, after the notice taken of it in your letter, to omit saying, that the Court feel with the liveliest solicitude, how indispensable it is

to reduce that article far below the income, and are determined to act accordingly.

The attention of the Court will, therefore, be confined, at present, to two propositions of the highest importance, contained in your letter; the one suggesting such an enlargement of the trade of individuals with British India, as shall admit into it indiscriminately the merchants and the ships of this country; and the other, the transfer of the Company's Indian army to His Majesty. If these propositions had not been accompanied by the declaration with which your letter concludes, they would have filled the Court with the deepest concern; but you are pleased to close the whole of your observations with an assurance, "that it will be the earnest desire of His Majesty's Government to suggest to Parliament such a system only, as shall be conformable to the principles on which the regulations of 1784 and 1793 were founded, as will secure to this kingdom all the benefit that can practicably be derived from its trade with our possessions in India, and to the natives of those countries a government and an administration of laws, suited to their customs, habits, and prejudices, and consistent with the British character, and which shall also be strong and efficient, without adding unnecessarily to the authority of the Executive Government at home, or increasing, to any dangerous extent, the influence of the Crown." Satisfied, by this declaration, that His Majesty's Government understand the interests of this country and of British India too well, to intend any alteration that would subvert or endanger the system by which those vast possessions have been acquired, governed, and improved, and by which alone they can be held, to the mutual benefit, of their immense population and of the paramount state, the Court must, of course, believe, that the propositions which have just been quoted, are supposed to be compatible with the continuance of that system, or reducible to a consistency with it. These suppositions the Court are now called upon to examine, and they will endeavour to do so with the respect due to the authority with which they have to treat, with the duty which they owe to their constituents, and with that regard for the interests of their country, which they do not intend, nor feel themselves required



required to sink, in supporting the integrity of the present Indian system.

If either of the two propositions, respecting the Indian trade and the Indian army, were to be acted upon, in the sense which the terms of it seem obviously to convey, the Court have no hesitation in declaring their decided conviction, that it would effectually supercede and destroy, not merely the rights of the East-India Company, but the system of Indian administration, established by the Acts of 1784 and 1793; and with respect to the latter proposition, for the transfer of the native army, it appears to be incapable of any modification, which would not still make the overthrow of the present system the certain consequence of it. The Court will take the liberty to state the reasons on which these opinions are founded, with as much fulness as the bounds of a letter, and the dispatch necessary at this period, will permit, premising only, that in the time and space to which they must now confine themselves, many things, belonging to the consideration of both subjects, must be omitted.

With respect to the Private Trade, the Company are not governed by narrow considerations of commercial profit or commercial jealousy; and, in fact, the Indian trade, as an object of gain, has gradually ceased to be of importance either to the Company or to individuals. The admission into it already accorded to British residents in India, with the prodigious increase of the cotton manufactures of Europe, the changed circumstances of the European Continent, and the almost incessant wars which have prevailed for the last sixteen years (wars still without any near prospect of termination) have reduced the value of that trade to a very low point. The Court are actuated by a thorough persuasion, that the unlimited freedom, for which some persons have, of late years, contended, would have political consequences more injurious to the power of this country and of British India, than the advantages anticipated by sanguine minds, from an enlargement of the commerce, could compensate, if those advantages were to be realized; and that, moreover, the expectation of such advantages is unfounded, resulting from general presumptions, which are contradicted by the nature of the Indian people, climate, and productions, and by the experience of more than two centuries.

In any scheme of intercourse, purely commercial, between

tween this Country and India, the leading objects must be to export as many as possible of our home manufactures, and to import those commodities, which would either beneficially supply our own consumption, or the demand of other countries, European or Transatlantic: and it is, no doubt, imagined by many persons, that if the trade to India were perfectly free, these objects could be attained, in a degree extending far beyond its present scale. The ardour of individual enterprize, it will be thought, could find out channels, which the settled routine of a Company cannot explore, and carry on commercial operations more economically and expeditiously than suits with the habits of monopoly, whilst our most active rivals in the Indian trade would thus be best counteracted. The present times, it will also be said, peculiarly demand new attempts and discoveries in commerce, and His Majesty's Government may very naturally wish, at such a crisis, to procure for the country every possible facility for the exertion of its commercial spirit, and the employment of its commercial capital. But before a change in its principle altogether novel, and obviously connected with national interests of the highest importance, is adopted, it ought to be seen, not only on what rational grounds the expectation of advantages entertained from it rests, but to what consequences, so material a change might expose the country and its Indian dependencies.

Now, with respect to the benefits supposed to be derivable from opening the trade with India, it is, in the first place, to be observed, that no material enlargement, if any enlargement at all, is to be expected in the exports of our manufactures to that quarter. The records of the Company, for two centuries, are filled with accounts of their endeavours to extend the sale of British products in India, and of the little success which has attended them. The French, Dutch, and other European nations trading thither, have equally failed in introducing the manufactures of Europe there. This was not owing to their trading chiefly in the form of Companies; the Americans, who within the last twenty years have entered into the Indian commerce, and traded largely, not as a Company, but by numerous individuals, each pursuing his own scheme in his own way, in which course no part of the East is left unexplored, carry hardly any European

European manufactures thither, their chief article for the purchase of Indian goods being silver; and such has been the state of the trade from Europe to India since the time of the Romans. This state results from the nature of the Indian people; their climate, and their usages. The articles of first necessity their own country furnishes, more abundantly and more cheaply than it is possible for Europe to supply them. The labour of the great body of the common people only enables them to subsist on rice, and to wear a slight covering of cotton cloth; they, therefore, can purchase none of the superfluities we offer them. The comparatively few in better circumstances, restricted, like the rest, by numerous religious and civil customs, of which all are remarkably tenacious, find few of our commodities to their taste, and their climate, so dissimilar to ours, renders many of them unsuitable to their use; so that a commerce between them and us cannot proceed far upon the principle of supplying mutual wants. Hence, except woollens, in a very limited degree, for mantles in the cold season, and metals, on a scale also very limited, to be worked up by their own artificers for the few utensils they need, hardly any of our staple commodities find a vent among the Indians; the other exports which Europe sends to India being chiefly consumed by the European population there, and some of the descendants of the early Portuguese settlers, all of whom, taken collectively, form but a small body, in view to any question of national commerce.

What is here said does not relate only to those parts of India where the Company have settlements or factories, but to all the shores that embrace the Indian Seas, from the Gulfs of Persia and Arabia to the Eastern Archipelago. Many advocates for a free trade may suppose, that in so vast a range, numerous positions, favorable for the vent of European commodities, are still unexplored; but they are not aware, that in the British settlements, which themselves extend on the west to Cambay, and on the east to China, there are a number of merchants, native and European, who carry on what is called the coasting trade of India, with great spirit, sending their ships to every mart, insular or continental, where any profitable commodities can be either sold or bought. At all those marts, European commodities have been tried by the enterprise of individuals. The little demand that has been found

found for them has been supplied; and residents, settled in India, can carry into such parts the trade in European commodities, which it is now open to them to receive from this country, with more facility and advantage than merchants settled in England.

To these facts and observations, arising from the nature and circumstances of the people and countries of India, one remarkable argument may be added, furnished by our own experience at home. In the Charter of 1793, provision was made for the export of British manufactures to India, by any individuals who might choose to embark in that trade. The Company were required to find them tonnage to a certain extent, which has always been allotted at a rate of freight cheaper outward, as well as for the returns, than the Company themselves pay, or, as the Court think, than private ships could furnish it. But, in all the time that has elapsed since, very few applications, and these to a small extent, have been made, for leave to export the woollens, metals, and other staples of this country, on private account, the chief applications having been for the freight of wine, for the consumption of Europeans: and this is not properly a British production, nor is it so much an increase in the trade, as a transfer of it to the private merchants from the commanders and officers of the Company's ships, part of whose advantage used to arise from being the carriers of this commodity.

All these circumstances, to which other corroborations might be added, the Court trust will fully evince, that the entire opening of the Indian trade to the merchants of this country, would not, in reality, extend in any considerable degree, if at all, the consumption of British manufactures.

Let it be inquired, in the next place, whether the adoption of so great a change in our Indian system, would be followed by the discovery of such new and valuable productions of the East, as would serve materially to augment the trade of this country with the Continents of Europe and America; for, with regard to the supply of our home consumption of Indian commodities, it cannot be asserted, that the importations already made by the Company and individuals do not abundantly suffice for it, or may not, at any time, be extended to the exigencies of the market; in which, it may be noted, that a preference is given to the cotton and silk manufactures of our

own country, and to some of the tropical productions brought from our West-Indian Colonies. Nor can it be asserted, that new adventurers in the Eastern trade, fitting out from Great-Britain, could, with any profit to themselves, furnish the home consumption on cheaper terms than it is now supplied; for both the Company, and British individuals resident in India, must have an advantage over such adventurers in the provision of goods there (British residents in the freight also), and yet, of late, the great Indian staple of cotton piece goods has been a losing article in this country.

Now, as to the productions of India valuable for foreign commerce, the trade of Europeans, of different nations, to all parts of it, in the course of the last three centuries, may well be presumed to have left little for discovery in that way. The Portuguese, who, in their early time, spread themselves along all the shores of the East, explored every considerable part of it, and they were followed by the Dutch, English, and French Companies; with their numerous establishments, some of which extended inland to the Upper India. But the modern European merchants, resident in the East, who have long been the chief navigators and adventurers in what is called the coasting trade, have become well acquainted with the commercial capacity of every region washed by the Indian Seas; so that many countries supposed here to be little known, because little visited by the ships of Europe, are familiar to them, and whatever articles those countries furnish, valuable for the commerce of the West, are already conveyed, through the medium of private or foreign trade, to Europe.

The chief commodities suited to the European market, which India has hitherto been found to produce, are spices, pepper, drugs, sugar, coffee, raw-silk, saltpetre, indigo, raw cotton, and above all, cotton manufactures of singular beauty and in endless variety: These last have, as already intimated, formed, from time immemorial, the grand staple of India; but from the rise and excellence of similar manufactures in Europe, particularly in our own country, and from the general impoverishment which wars and revolutions have brought upon the Continent of Europe, with the obstructions opposed, in much the greater part of it, to our commerce, the consumption of the fine fabricks of India has considerably decreased, and

and it is not likely that it can be restored to its former standard. Spices, sugar, and coffee, have been furnished chiefly from the Moluccas and Java, Dutch islands not in our possession, nor, in a commercial view, worth the expense of conquering and keeping them. The cinnamon of Ceylon, now ours, may be brought, in sufficient quantity for the supply of all Europe, in one or two of the Company's ships. Pepper is a very losing article. Sugar has been, of late, imported from our territories; but the necessary expense of conveyance from so great a distance, prevents it from being profitable, and it can be much encouraged only at the expense of our West-India colonies. Raw-silk and indigo, now produced in great perfection in Bengal and its dependencies, have been brought to that state, by the expense incurred, and the support afforded by the Company. Both are articles occupying little space, in proportion to their value. The factories where the former is collected and prepared are in the hands of the Company, who have, in the course of many years, established them with great labour and expense. They can furnish not only all the raw-silk this country requires, but much for the consumption of the Continent, if it was possible to bring it there into competition with the raw-silk of Italy, and the tonnage already employed by the Company is quite sufficient for its importation from India. The indigo produced in Bengal and the adjacent Provinces is equal, probably, to three-fourths of the demand of all Europe, and may easily be raised to the whole demand; but the manufacture of this article is entirely, and the trade in it chiefly, in the hands of individuals, who need and require no shipping from this country, except what the Company provide, to convey to Europe, all that Europe can consume of it. Saltpetre, furnished only from Bengal, is, for political reasons, prohibited to foreigners, and exported exclusively in the ships of the Company: for the same reasons, it could never be prudent to allow the private ships of this country to carry it away at pleasure. Where then is the scope for the admission of new shipping and new adventurers, without limitation, into the trade of India with Great-Britain? In general, it may be observed, that the commodities which have hitherto come from that country, in a state prepared for use, such as the great staple of cotton piece goods, being articles of luxury, can have only a

limited consumption, and that the demand for them could not be increased, at all in proportion to the number of new competitors that should enter into the trade. The same may be said of all kinds of spices and drugs, which, from their nature, have a limited consumption; and, with regard to the important articles of raw-silk and indigo, which require a further preparation before they are used, there is already abundant provision made for their importation, to the utmost extent of demand.

There remains then to be considered, of all the commodities above enumerated, only the raw material of cotton; and to this may be added another, of high importance, which India is in time likely to produce abundantly, namely, hemp. Now, with respect to the former of these, the Company have formerly imported it, and permitted private merchants to do so; but it was found, that the cotton of India could not enter into competition with that produced nearer home, in the Brazils, the West-Indies, and North America. Of late, since the interruption of our trade with the last mentioned country, the Company have themselves commissioned cotton from India, and have been willing to encourage individuals to export it from thence; but that it can support a competition with the cotton of Georgia, when the American embargo is taken off, or become an article of extensive demand in this country, supplied with it from so many nearer quarters, is not very likely. The culture of hemp in India is yet in its infancy. A change in the circumstances of Europe may check it; but if it is not checked, years must elapse, before the quantity produced can form a considerable article of exportation. And with regard to both these commodities of cotton and hemp, it is to be observed, first, that cargoes for Europe cannot be composed of them only, some other, more ponderous for its bulk, being necessary for dead weight, and sugar, almost the only article of this nature that India can supply, must generally be rather a losing one: secondly, it is to be observed, that the private ships ready to be employed in India, must be abundantly sufficient for the supply of all the tonnage that can be required for these articles, which could hardly absorb any very large amount of capital. Thus, then, it is also apparent, that the country and productions of India afford no new field  
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of importance for the commercial enterprize of the merchants of Great Britain.

But were it indeed otherwise, where, in the present circumstances of the European Continent, could new commodities, imported into this country from India, find a vent, when many of those already made, and of articles which the Continent used to take off, remain in our warehouses? And hence may appear the inapplicability of that argument, which has sometimes been urged in favor of enlarging, or rather opening the Indian trade to individuals, "that they should be allowed to bring home *the surplus produce of India* which the Company did not require." There can be no room for additional importations, when the ordinary scale proves too large. But in the use of this plausible plea, respecting *surplus produce*, there was always a great fallacy. It seemed to imply, that there was a stock of commodities in India which continually remained undisposed of, whereas nothing is more evident, than that the productions of any country will be regulated by the demand, and that no agriculturists or manufacturers will go on from year to year to produce that for which they have no sale. The term, as connected with the Company, might also convey the idea, that *they* were the only purchasers in the country; whereas, at that very time, British residents and foreign nations had the privilege of exporting goods to the western world, and there was a great coasting and internal trade from one part of India to another. But the argument for permitting individuals to export the surplus produce, included fully, though not professedly, the principle of transplanting British capital to India, in order to raise produce there; a principle which, it may be thought, this country has already carried sufficiently far in its other distant dependencies, and which could not be applied to India without political consequences.

But it has been alleged, that the refusal of the Company to make a concession, which appeared to them to be claimed on unsound premises, and to be pregnant with danger, threw that trade, which might have been brought into the Thames, into the hands of foreigners, particularly the Americans, whose great progress in the Indian trade, of late years, has been charged to an erroneous policy on the part of the Company. Nothing can



can be more mistaken than the whole of this statement. Several European nations having from the native sovereigns of India the right of possessing settlements and carrying on trade there, a right which we had confirmed, we could not interrupt the exercise of it whilst they remained at peace with us; nor, therefore, divert from them whatever portion of the trade their means enabled them to embrace. And, with respect to the Americans, they owe their advancement and success in the Indian trade to the treaty made with them by our Government in 1794, to the belligerent state of Europe since that time, and, above all, to the neutral character they possessed, which enabled them to navigate more cheaply, more expeditiously, as well as more safely than our merchants or the Company could, and to supply many parts of the European Continent and of South America, to which our ships had no access. These, with the increase of the consumption of eastern commodities among themselves; are the true causes of the growth of the American trade with India; and even the abolition of the Company's privileges would not have transferred the share they acquired of it to our merchants, because it could not have lessened the advantages under which the Americans then carried it on, nor have gained us either the supply of their internal demand, or admission to many ports which were open to them. What the Company could do, in the way of regulation, to reduce the inequality between the American traders and our own merchants, you know, Sir, was effected, as soon after the expiration of the treaty of 1794 as His Majesty's Government thought expedient.

Among the speculations of the present day, the idea may perhaps be suggested, of carrying the productions of India directly to the ports of Portuguese and Spanish America; and eagerness for relief from the pressure which our commerce now feels, may be ready to make so great a sacrifice of the navigation laws. But such a measure would essentially exclude the mother country from being the medium and emporium of our Indian trade; and whilst it served to enrich India, rather than Britain, would facilitate the progress of the former to independence. If, however, so dangerous an innovation were not adopted into our commercial code, it is altogether probable that English ships, admitted without limitation  
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into the Indian Seas, would take the liberty of sailing to those markets which would be thought the most promising; so that, in effect, the opening of the Indian trade would be not solely or chiefly for this country alone, but for other, perhaps for all parts of the world.

Having thus shewn, that the opening of the Indian trade to the subjects of Great Britain could not materially increase, either the export of the manufactures of this country, or its commerce in the productions of India, it will next be proper to consider, what the effects of the proposed change would be upon the East-India Company and upon British India.

And, in the first place, it would, in substance and in form, entirely abolish the qualified monopoly which the Company still enjoys of the Indian trade. The admission of all private merchants, at their pleasure, and of their ships, into that trade, would make it as perfectly free as the trade to our American or West-Indian colonies. There would, as to India, be an end of all exclusive privilege of trade. This would not be any modification of the Act of 1793, but an essential departure from it. That act permitted only the export of British manufactures, and intended only to provide for the returns to them, and for *the remittance, in goods, of British fortunes from India; both on the ships of the Company.* The proposed measure must, in the nature of it, make the trade from India not merely a vehicle for the remittance of fortunes acquired there, or the produce of British manufactures, but a general trade; and what is a still more radical change, instead of a limited amount of tonnage not incompatible with the Company's system, it admits all ships, without any limitation, or option on the part of the Company: it throws all India open to those ships, and thus sets aside the Company from being the sole channel and medium of the trade, through their own shipping, or shipping engaged by them, which completely divests them of the last remnant of exclusive privilege in that trade.

It would be no argument to say, that in a trade, by which they now gain little, they might admit, without much sacrifice, the rest of the commercial world to share.

The loss of the Indian monopoly, such as it was left by the Act of 1793, would lead, by no slow process, to the entire subversion of the Company, both in their commercial

commercial and political capacity, and of that system which the Legislature has appointed for the government of British India, of which system the Company forms an integral and essential part.

If the Indian trade were thrown open, ships would, at first no doubt, swarm into it, and there would be a ruinous competition in the markets, both abroad and at home. Goods would be enhanced in cost there, as well as deteriorated in quality: the selling prices at home, already too low, reduced still lower, and the market overstocked. This was the effect, in some measure, produced by throwing open the trade in the time of Oliver Cromwell, who, after the experience of a few years, revived the Company. The same effect followed from the collision of the Old and New Companies, in the beginning of the last century, which forced them to unite, and their union received the sanction of Government. It is not sufficient to say, on this head, that increased demand abroad will produce increased supply, and the diminished price of goods at home increase the sales, so that things will, at length, in both countries, find their due level. From the nature of the Indians and their division into castes, it is not so easy among them, as in Europe, to meet an increased demand by increased production; and it is still less easy, when they can subsist by furnishing things of low or ordinary quality, to make them aim at excellence, which the supposition of increased sales at home would require. But of such an increase, in the present and prospective state of the trade in Indian imports, enough has been above said to shew the improbability; and before that supposition could, in any case, be realised, the ruin of the parties immediately embarked in the trade (a trade so distant, requiring large capitals, and making slow returns) might be completed, with the ruin also of the Company, whose establishments would have been deranged by this great change. If the change itself did not occasion the fall of the Company, the disappointments which the private adventurers could not fail to experience would, by them, be charged to the influence of the remaining privileges of the Company, and they would not rest until the whole were extinguished. But it may be observed here, and it is an observation which might be urged more formally and fully, that although the Company have the just-  
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est claim to those territories, which the powers vested in them by the laws of this land, the ability of their servants, and the hazards they have encountered, have enabled them to acquire, and that this right was never questioned, until the acquisitions, and consequently the merit of making them, became great; yet that, in a more peculiar sense, all the principal marts and factories of British India are their property, acquired in their purely commercial period, either with their money or by grants from the native princes of the country, and that the power of admitting settlers and traders to them strictly belongs to the Company.

One part of the present system, and a beneficial one for all parties, is to have only one place of sale for Indian goods, that is London; to make all sales by public auction at stated periods, and these sales to be regulated and conducted by the Company. With the proposed enlargements, it would seem hardly possible to continue that practice. Different towns would have their own sales, at their own times. Individuals might frequently chuse to dispose of their goods by private bargain. The general resort of buyers which the sales were wont to bring to London, a resort often productive of other commercial speculations, would thus be at an end; and the benefit derived from public auction, when that was the sole mode, would be lost, in the midst of many private sales and competitions: but to dispose of the goods of the Company by private negotiation, might open a door to many abuses, which would render that mode totally unsuitable for their business. The Company, with such a competition, could not go on to purchase the goods of India. With the cessation of their Indian trade, their Indian subordinate factories, which have been reared in the course of more than a century, and which are the seats of the best manufactures produced in the country, must be abandoned, and all the commercial branch of their civil servants be thrown out of employ. Their purchases of goods at home, for the Indian market, must also cease, with the circulation of money which has enabled them to support their credit in England, and to provide for the payment of bills, which it has been long and necessarily the practice to draw on them from India; a practice which, under such a change of circumstances, could not be continued: and, in general,

the great aid which the political affairs of British India have, at all times, derived from the commercial credit and resources of the Company with the reciprocally beneficial co-operation of the different parts of the Company's system, must thus be destroyed. In like manner, the Company must cease to employ the numerous class of excellent ships they have engaged for the Indian trade, ships constructed for warlike defence as well as for commerce, and rendered expensive only, by being necessarily destined and fitted for the performance of political services. Those ships the Company have contracted to employ for the term of their duration: there is a large capital embarked in them, and they can be employed in no other way than in that for which they were built. When they can no longer be kept up, the means of conveyance they have hitherto so well afforded for troops, and the large supplies of naval and military stores annually sent to India, must be lost.

But there is no reason to believe the evils would end here. The monopoly of the China trade, which it is proposed to continue, would not be safe. British ships, when permitted to range at pleasure through the Indian seas, however interdicted from that trade, would attempt to participate in it, either by resorting to it as the country ships do, under color of carrying on the coasting trade, or by other means obtaining teas, and the other productions of China, at the most convenient Indian ports. Love of gain, disappointments in other ways, the hope of impunity, would stimulate their conductors to break through restrictions imposed in this country. British subjects, who now navigate the Indian Seas, sail from some one of our established settlements there, and are amenable to the laws of it: it would not be so with men having no domicile in India. In ranging the numerous islands and coasts of the Eastern Seas, where they would be unknown, and whence they could not be followed to England by complaints, the probability of impunity might tempt them to commit upon the weak natives, accustomed to repose confidence in Englishmen, acts of injustice and licentiousness, which would wound the national character, raise complaints throughout India, and set the people against us. In this manner the Portuguese formerly rendered themselves odious in the East, and contributed to the downfall of their own power. In China, where the effects of such a spirit

spirit would be most to be feared, we could exercise no authority, sufficient to control men not within the reach of the Indian Governments, or to defeat their schemes and associations for eluding the laws. Practice would embolden them, and time increase their numbers. It is hardly conceivable they would not venture upon irregularities which would offend the Chinese Government, who, whilst the delinquents escaped to England with impunity, would doubtless take satisfaction of the national factory; and the pride and jealousy of that government, alarmed by repeated instances of this nature, from the desultory visits of a new order of Englishmen, insubordinate to the representatives of the nation, might determine to dismiss the whole together. If this extreme case be not supposed, which however is too probable and too momentous in its consequences to be hazarded, can it be doubted, that whilst the duties on tea continue at even the fourth part of what they are at present, private English ships adventuring to the Eastern Seas will not, by means of country vessels and intermediate ports, if by no other means, procure teas, and revive the practice of smuggling them into this kingdom? The consequence seems inevitable, and the ships of our own country, especially if allowed to chuse their port of discharge, as the proposed change seems to require, would have facilities, which those of foreign Europe or America could not command. In these ways, the China monopoly of the Company, reduced in its profits, would be rendered likewise insecure, and in the end untenable; and the noble fleet of ships, employed in that trade by the Company, must be also laid aside. How the immense revenue, now derived by Government from the very high duties on tea, could, under such circumstances, be realized, or a substitute found for them, may be an important, and, to all appearance, a most difficult subject of enquiry.

But a more serious consequence than all these would still remain. A free trade to India would, unavoidably, draw after it the residence of numerous and continually increasing Europeans there, whatever prohibitions might, at first, be opposed to their settling in the country. When all restraint to the importation of ships and goods is taken off, men must be allowed to follow their property, and to remain at the place where they land it till they have

have disposed of it : they must be allowed to navigate the Indian Seas, and to return to the same place when their business calls them : they will thus, insensibly, and with hardly reasonable grounds for opposition, domiciliate themselves ; nor would an unsuccessful trade prevent them, but many would seek to indemnify themselves on shore for their losses by the voyage. The instances of such settlements will be numerous, and it will be impossible for any police to follow up the cases of individuals, and continually to exercise a rigorous system of exclusion. This has not hitherto been done, though attended with comparatively little difficulty ; and the attempt would soon, under the new order of things, be abandoned as hopeless. Colonization must, in such case, follow. Large communities of Europeans will struggle for popular rights ; new feelings with respect to the mother country, new interests and attachments will then spring up ; and in a region so remote, so rich and populous, and so accustomed to yield to the ascendancy of the European character, the tendency and process of these things cannot be difficult to conceive. :

With the prospect of all these consequences, commercial and political, before the Court, it is impossible that they, as faithful guardians of the interest committed to their care, or as men truly solicitous for the welfare of their country, which they profess themselves to be, can advise their constituents to seek a renewal of their Charter, on conditions which would despoil it of all its solid advantages, deprive the Company of their most valuable privileges, and incapacitate them from performing, for themselves and the nation, the part hitherto assigned to them in the Indian system. Such a further enlargement of the Indian trade, in favor of individuals, as may be compatible with the preservation of these essential objects, the Court will, in present circumstances, certainly be disposed to recommend. They will be ready to enter into a serious enquiry concerning the concessions which may be made, without trenching upon the principles established by the Act of 1793 ; and they trust that the justice and wisdom of His Majesty's Ministers will not require the Company to make essential sacrifices, for the sake of giving to the Public what would, after all, be more an ideal than a real benefit, and be, in other respects, productive of incalculable disadvantages.

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The other important proposition which is next to be considered, is the transfer of the Indian Army to the King. The reasons assigned for this proposition are, that an end may be put to the jealousies and divisions which have too much prevailed, between the officers of His Majesty's army and those employed by the Company, and that the responsibility in the country, of providing for the military defence of India, may be ascertained and strengthened.

The Indian army is the main instrument by which the Company have acquired and retained the territorial possessions they have added to the British Empire. The people of those countries submitted more easily to an authority exercised by means of a body formed from among themselves. We fought battles and governed provinces as the native powers did; and our new subjects, undisgusted with the sight of a foreign conquering army, supposed the government to continue substantially the same, and the principal change to be in the individuals who exercised it. The constitution and character which this Indian army has acquired, have been the subject of just admiration. These have been owing, essentially to the happy mixture of bravery and generosity, of firmness and kindness, exercised towards the Sepoys by their European officers. The superior lights and energy of the European character have directed the powers and conciliated the prejudices of the native troops; but it was because the officers knew the people and their prejudices well. These officers had been trained up among them from an early age: the nature, the usages, and the language of the natives, were become familiar to them; and the natives, remarkably the creatures of habit, in return, from being accustomed, became attached to them. Without such knowledge, however, on the part of the officers, they might every day have revolted the minds of so peculiar a race, and have alienated them from our service and government.

An Indian military education, from an early age, is essential to the formation of a good Sepoy officer; and gradual rise in the service by seniority, is no less indispensable. In this way; the Indian army has been constituted and rendered eminently efficient; and all measures, tending to change or weaken the constituent parts of this fabric, are to be deprecated. When, excepting a few regiments



regiments of European artillery and infantry, the whole military force of British India was composed of Sepoy corps, the officers of that army, of course, possessed entire the emoluments and advantages which the service afforded. The introduction of European troops from His Majesty's army into India altered this state of things. Young officers, of no Indian experience, who had obtained their commissions by purchase, took rank of men of long and tried service: the King's officers were thought to come in, also, for too large a share of employments and advantages. To redress the complaints which the Company's officers made of supercessions and partialities, and to give them a better share of the benefits of the service, was the leading object of Lord Cornwallis's Military Plan of 1794, and with him a principal motive for proposing to transfer the Indian army to the King, no other practicable means having then occurred to him. But the object was, in substance, attained by the Military Regulations of 1796, passed in concert with His Majesty's Government, without that transfer, of which his Lordship did not revive the idea on his last return to India, those regulations having given increased rank and retiring pay to the officers of the Company's army. The causes of complaint, however, did not entirely cease. To avoid the collision of authorities, the Company had adopted the usage of appointing the Commander-in-Chief of the King's troops, also their Commander-in-Chief; and one consequence of this has been, that the Company's officers, resident from early youth in India, possessing little influence in England, unknown to officers of high rank in His Majesty's service, have thought themselves treated with less favour and distinction, than younger officers of that service recently arrived, but better patronized. You know, Sir, that there have been instances of this sort, which the Court, with the sanction of your Board, have interposed to repress: but as long as the British force in India is made up of two armies, so differently constituted, with so large a portion of King's officers, the whole commanded by generals of His Majesty's service, there will, probably, be real or apprehended ground for the like complaints. They do not arise because one army has the honour to belong to His Majesty and the other serves the Company, but because the constitution of the two armies are radically different, and must continue so, whether the armies are

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are under one head or two. The Indian army cannot be maintained without officers attached to it from an early age, and rising by seniority. Frequent changes of King's regiments serving in India, and the consequent frequent arrival of young men, promoted in them by purchase, cannot be avoided: the former class will be comparatively unknown to the King's commanders, the latter will have among them the connections of those commanders, or of men of influence in England. It is not difficult to see, therefore, to which side the exercise of military patronage will lean; and to prevent causes of complaint, and to keep the balance even, must be an important object in the Government of India. It does not seem the way to effect this, to put the Indian army wholly in the power of the Commander-in-Chief. It is of the partiality of that station of which the Company's officers have sometimes complained; and the Court see no reason whatever to suppose, that their jealousy and dissatisfaction would be removed, by putting them entirely under its control: and, indeed, by placing two armies, of such different races and so differently constituted, under the same master, it would seem difficult to avoid attaching the idea of permanent inferiority to that which was Indian. Nor is it a thing to be taken for granted, that the Sepoys, so much, as already observed, under the influence of habit, would chuse to be transferred from that service to which they have been always accustomed, to one of which they have little experience, and that experience not always of a conciliatory kind. To place the officers of the Indian army wholly under that authority of which they have hitherto complained, does not certainly appear to be the way to render them easy. It might, on the contrary, lead to serious discontent; and though the Court would be far from countenancing that spirit among their officers, or yielding to any irregular exertion of it, yet it must be said, on the other hand, that those officers are a body of men who have deserved too well of the Company and their country, to have real causes of discontent; and that it would be impolitic to adopt any system, likely to generate such causes, either among them or the men they command.

With regard to the other reason assigned for the proposed change, the Court beg leave to observe, in the first place, that they do not perceive the necessary connection, between the inconvenience which is alleged, and the  
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remedy suggested for it; since, if it were true that the question of responsibility in England, respecting the appointment of Commander-in-Chief, lay under an obscurity and uncertainty detrimental to the public service, it does not appear to follow that the Indian army ought to be transferred to the King, to remedy this defect. But, in the humble apprehension of the Court, no obscurity hangs over that question. The appointment of Commanders-in-Chief of the King's forces there rests with His Majesty, and the officer chosen by him will, by virtue of his commission, generally command the Company's army on service. The appointment of Commanders-in-Chief for the Company's army is placed, by law, in the first instance, in the Court of Directors, but with a power vested in His Majesty to annul such appointments. This necessarily points to an agreement between His Majesty's Government and the Court of Directors, in respect to those appointments, and the Court are not aware, that they have, on any occasion, used the share of power left to them by this arrangement, for the exercise of which they feel that they are responsible, to the prejudice of the public service. They must, at the same time, humbly express their opinion, that the law, as it now stands, is wisely conceived, since it does not halve the responsibility; but double it, making both His Majesty's Government and the Court of Directors fully answerable for the appointment of the Company's Commanders-in-Chief: and if it should still be said; that, in point of fact; the selection of a Commander-in-Chief for His Majesty's forces may be rendered difficult, by reluctance, on the part of the Court, to accept of the same officer for the command of the Company's army, it may be justly replied, that they make a sacrifice to the public interest, in agreeing that the Commanders-in-Chief of His Majesty's shall also be the Company's; and when he is not only to command their army, but expects to be made a Member of their civil and political Government, it cannot be deemed unreasonable, that they should possess the right of satisfying themselves as to his competency for filling those high offices: neither is it, as they think; to be shewn from theoretical reasoning, or by an appeal to facts, that the service will suffer, or has suffered, by their assertion of this right.

But the strongest objections of the Court to the proposed

posed transfer arise from political considerations. They conceive the continuance of the Indian army in the hands of the Company to be essential to the administration of the civil, financial, and political affairs of British India, according to the present system. The Company's Government has hitherto been respected, both by its own subjects and foreign powers, because it possessed a great military force. Organizing this force, enlarging or reducing it at pleasure, appointing its officers, rewarding merit, punishing the unworthy, providing for the comfortable retirement of the veteran soldier and officer, and, in short, exercising all the functions of a governing power over a very numerous body of men of high military spirit, it has possessed all the respectability and the benefit of their attachment and fidelity. Looking upon the Members of the civil Government and the body of civil servants as belonging to the same master with themselves, and as the first order in the state, they have paid a willing obedience to their authority, and have thereby upheld their internal administration and their consequence abroad. The introduction of certain King's regiments has been understood, as it was intended, to be merely in support of the public interest under the existing system: but if the Company were to be divested of the whole of their military force and power; if they were to be no longer masters of a single regiment, no longer capable of entertaining any soldiers nor of giving one subaltern's commission; if the immense body of men, who have so long looked up to them, were to be transferred from them, the people must consider their power as fallen and drawing rapidly to a close. Continuing still to their Governments a general control over the employment of the army, and to their civil servants the internal administration of their affairs, would give the people no assurance to the contrary. Those servants, in the discharge of their different functions of judges, magistrates, collectors, could not expect the same respect and support, either from public opinion or the attachment of the native troops, as when all looked to the same head for protection, patronage, and reward. Indeed, to make so wide a separation of the military from the civil power; to take away the organization, the interior regulation, and with these, the patronage of the army, from the local Government; to place all those powers in the hands of the

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Commander-in-Chief, subject only, in the exercise of them, to an authority at the distance of half the globe, would throw the means and the temptation of a dangerous ascendancy into the scale of the military department, which, constituted by His Majesty, might easily be led to slight the civil servants of a meaner master, and their chance of distant redress. Among the natives of India it has been usual to consider the military power, and those possessing it, as pre-eminent; and they see, in some examples of the present day, *that* power, under the idea of assisting the civil and political administration; actually controlling it. The Company's Government, in short; lowered and over-shadowed in this way, would not, in the opinion of the Court, continue to possess the authority necessary for the proper administration of the affairs of that great empire; and it might then be conceived, that a further change only could supply what was defective.

But this is not the only way in which the measure in question appears to the Court to be pregnant with danger. It proposes to place in the entire disposal of the Crown; a regular army, amounting to one hundred and forty thousand men, commanded by above three thousand European officers, having a great variety of places of honor and emolument; and all the vast patronage attaching to such an army (saving the nomination of cadets) would, mediately or immediately, be under the influence or control of some of the Members of His Majesty's Government. This would be a signal departure from the spirit and letter of the Acts of 1784 and 1793, a professed principle of which was; that the Indian patronage, civil and military, should be kept entirely out of the hands of the servants of the Crown. It is not for the Court to enlarge upon a proposition so momentous; but they beg leave, with the utmost deference, to state, that they would deem it a dereliction of their duty, to which no consideration could induce them to submit, to recommend any measure of this description to the adoption of their constituents. Knowing however, Sir, your concern for the promotion of the public interest; a concern which we have frequently witnessed, the Court still flatter themselves, that the consideration of the renewal of the Company's Charter, a measure which they believe to be for the interest of the nation as well as of the Company, will go on without your insisting on this proposition, or any further

further on the other which has been above discussed, than may be really compatible with the preservation of the present Indian system.

We have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants,

(Signed)

EDWARD PARRY,

CHARLES GRANT.

The Rt. Hon. Robert Dundas,  
&c. &c. &c.

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*At a Secret Committee of Correspondence,*

The 28th February 1809.

The Chairman and Deputy Chairman reported to the Committee, that in consequence of an invitation from the President of the Board of Commissioners, they had yesterday an interview with him, in which he discoursed with them on the present state of the negotiation for the renewal of the Company's Charter. He inquired, in the first place, whether the Company would have occasion to apply to the Public for pecuniary aid in the course of the present year. To this inquiry the Chairman and Deputy answered, that from an estimate lately made up of the Company's receipts and payments, till the month of January 1810, it appeared probable they might be able to do without any public assistance till that period; but that this could not be positively affirmed by the Chairs without further and more certain investigation. Mr. Dundas then said, that if the Company were not under a necessity of coming to Parliament this session on the score of their finances, he thought it would be expedient to delay the agitation of the subject of the Charter in Parliament till next session, because the Committee of the House of Commons for inquiring into the state of the Company's affairs, recently re-appointed, being about to examine into all the great branches of those affairs, which would necessarily engage the public attention on the renewal of the Charter, it would be expected by the House, that the reports of that Committee should be submitted to them, before the question of the renewal was brought forward, and from the number and weight of the subjects to be investigated, it would be impracticable to report upon them, soon enough to afford sufficient time to the House to

go through the consideration of them in the remainder of the session: it was, therefore, Mr. Dundas's opinion, that it would be advisable to postpone the agitation of the question until next session; but before he fixed his determination, he wished to receive the sentiments of the Chairs and the Committee of Correspondence on this important point, and those sentiments would probably influence him in shaping his answer to the last letter of the Court, dated 13th January 1809, on the renewal of the Charter. The Chairman and Deputy Chairman beg leave to state, that they, in reply, expressed their opinion to be clearly in favor of proceeding with the business of the Charter this session, if it should be practicable for the Committee of the House to make the requisite reports in due time.

The Committee having deliberated on this communication, are of opinion, first, that it will be necessary to form as accurate an estimate as possible of the home finances of the Company for the current year; secondly, that it is very desirable the renewal of the Company's Charter should be brought forward in Parliament this session, even if the Company should stand in need of no pecuniary aid; but, thirdly, that if the Select Committee cannot prepare their reports in due time, and His Majesty's Ministers deem it proper to wait till next session, the Court must, of course, acquiesce; yet in the wish and hope, that if any circumstances should occur in the course of the present session, favorable to the agitation of the measure, it may still be brought forward; and if not in this session, as early as possible in the next; to which end the Committee will be very ready to proceed with the President of the Board of Commissioners in the discussions already commenced.

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**LETTER from the CHAIRMAN and DEPUTY CHAIRMAN to the Right Honorable ROBERT DUNDAS.**

*(Private.)*

Sir, *East-India House, 5th December, 1809.*

From the conference the Chairs had the honor to hold with you on the 13th of February, on the subject of a renewal

renewal of the Company's Charter, we were given to understand, that although His Majesty's Ministers did not deem it expedient to bring that subject under the consideration of Parliament in the session then preceding, it might, in their opinion, be proper to prepare for the agitation of it in the next following one.

We now, therefore, by the authority of the Committee of Correspondence, whom the Court of Directors have empowered to conduct the details of negotiation on the subject in question, beg leave to state to you, that, in their opinion, it is desirable the discussion concerning the renewal of the Charter should be brought on in the ensuing session, both on account of the general situation of the Company's affairs, and also on account of the particular pressure on their finances (arising chiefly from the transfer of certain sums of the Indian debt to England) which we have already had the honor to represent to you and to Lord Harrowby, and which renders necessary such an application for public aid, as may, of itself, be expected to lead to a general consideration of the Company's affairs.

We therefore take the liberty to propose, that the discussions between you and the Court, on the subject of the Charter; be resumed, from the point at which they were left by the letter the Chairs addressed to you, under date the 13th January last.

We have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants,

(Signed)

CHARLES GRANT,  
WILLIAM ASTELL.

The Rt. Hon. Robert Dundas,  
&c. &c. &c.

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LETTER from the Right Honorable LORD VISCOUNT  
MELVILLE to the CHAIRMAN and DEPUTY CHAIR-  
MAN, dated the 17th December, 1811.

Gentlemen, *India Board, 17th December, 1811.*

Understanding from you, that it is the wish and opinion of the Court of Directors, that a proposition should be submitted to Parliament in the course of the next session, for continuing to the East-India Company, for



for a further term, their privileges of exclusive trade and the government of the British territorial possessions in India; it will be necessary, before I can proceed with you to the discussion of that question in all its details, that certain preliminary matter should be again brought under your consideration.

In a letter which I addressed to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, on the 28th December 1808, the outlines of such a system, in regard to the trade between this country and the East-Indies, were stated, as His Majesty's Government at that time were willing to propose to Parliament. In a reply to that letter, dated the 13th January 1809, detailed reasons were urged, for the Court of Directors declining to "advise their constituents to seek a renewal of their Charter, on conditions which" (as asserted by the Chairman and Deputy Chairman) "would despoil it of all its solid advantages, deprive the Company of their most valuable privileges, and incapacitate them for performing for themselves and the nation, the part hitherto assigned to them in the Indian system."

I do not feel it requisite, in this stage of the business, to enter upon a minute examination of the arguments from which that conclusion was drawn. Many of them have reference to possible dangers, which might arise from a system of trade wholly unrestricted; against which dangers, however, it was expressly admitted in my letter, that it would be essentially necessary to guard. A considerable portion of their reasoning, also, would lead to the inference, as a general proposition, applicable to all cases of foreign and distant trade, that a monopoly was more beneficial to both countries than an unrestrained commerce; and that the facilities intended to be afforded to private trade with India, by the Act of 1793, were inexpedient and impolitic. There are several statements in the letter, in which I fully concur; but it is unnecessary to advert to them at present, because, if the Court of Directors adhere to the above-mentioned determination, I cannot hold out to you the least expectation, that His Majesty's Government will be disposed to depart from the proposal contained in my letter, or that they will concur in any application to Parliament, for the continuance of a system of trade, conducted under all the restraints now imposed upon it, and for the permanency

manency of which the Court of Directors have so strenuously contended. If they are willing, on the other hand, that the ships as well as goods of private merchants, may be admitted into the trade with India, under such restrictions as may be deemed necessary, I shall be ready to discuss with you all the other details of the system.

There are two points, however, of considerable importance, which are adverted to in the above-mentioned letters, and on which it may be advisable that I should state to you shortly what occurs to me.

The first relates to the transfer of the Company's army to the Crown; a measure which has been frequently suggested by persons intimately acquainted with the military concerns of the Company, and whose opinions are entitled to great consideration. It is impossible, however, not to admit, that several weighty objections to such a change are stated in the letter of the 13th January 1809. Events which have since occurred must, also, have an influence in deciding this question, and may possibly suggest the expediency of adopting other measures for promoting the discipline and efficiency of the army in India. Further discussion on this subject may be deferred till a future opportunity, and any arrangements which may be deemed proper can be carried into effect, without having recourse to special legislative enactments.

The other point to which I allude, is the proposition for enabling the Company to meet the heavy demands which were then expected, and which, to a certain extent, have since come upon them, by the transfer of their Indian debt to this country. All uncertainty, as to the possible amount of those demands, is now removed; and the period, I should hope, is arrived, to which, during some years, we have looked forward with anxiety, for providing out of the Company's own resources, without any pecuniary aid from the Public, the means of enabling them to satisfy all the claims of their Indian creditors. The sanction of Parliament will probably be necessary for carrying into effect any arrangement for that purpose; and if the Court of Directors are willing that these discussions, on the renewal of the Charter, shall proceed, in so far as relates to the question of the trade, on the principle to which I have adverted, I shall be ready to receive

receive from you any suggestions you may have to offer on the subject of the debt, and on the mode by which you propose that funds for its liquidation shall be provided.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

MELVILLE

The Chairman and Deputy Chairman  
of the East-India Company.

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LETTER from the CHAIRMAN and DEPUTY CHAIRMAN to the Right Honorable LORD VISCOUNT MELVILLE,

My Lord, *East-India House, 4th March 1812.*

We duly received and laid before the Court of Directors your Lordship's letter of the 17th of December last. We trust that the great importance of the matter contained in it will explain, in a satisfactory manner, to your Lordship and to His Majesty's Government, why an answer has not been prepared at an earlier period.

By that letter we think it is to be understood, that His Majesty's Ministers have made up their minds, not to hold out to the East-India Company an expectation of their being disposed to concur in an offer to Parliament of any proposition for the continuance of the present system of trade with India, at the close of the term limited by the Act of 1793, which is now nearly expiring, without a previous consent, on the part of the East-India Company, as the basis of such concurrence, that the trade with India shall be extended to the ships, as well as goods of private merchants, under such restrictions as may be deemed necessary: but that His Majesty's Ministers are of opinion, with respect to the subject of the Indian army, that the idea which was held out in your Lordship's letter of the 28th December 1808, relative to the transfer of the Company's army to the Crown, will not be contended for; and that, upon these grounds of understanding, your Lordship will be prepared to receive from the Court of Directors any suggestions which they may have to offer on the subject of the Company's debt, and upon the mode by which the Court propose that funds for its liquidation should be provided.

From

From the terms in which the first proposition, respecting the trade with India, has been brought to the notice of the Court, they conceive that it is intended, on the part of His Majesty's Government, to preclude the Court from any further agitation of a question already so fully discussed. The Court, indeed, cannot avoid considering this as the obvious interpretation of your Lordship's letter, respecting a point upon which, perhaps, it might be out of their power to offer any arguments, not contained in the letter of the Chairs to your Lordship, of the 13th of January 1809.

Whatever opinion, therefore, the past experience and daily observation of the Court may have justly induced them to form upon this subject, or however incontrovertible they may believe many of the arguments to be, that are made use of in the letter of the Chairs to your Lordship, to which they have referred, they think it their duty to state, that if this alteration be made an indispensable condition, on the part of His Majesty's Ministers, of their proposing to Parliament the renewal of the Company's privileges, the Court will, though reluctantly, offer this measure to the consideration of the Proprietors, with whom alone the power rests of consenting to such a fundamental change in the constitution of the Company. But they must, at the same time, beg leave, in the most unequivocal manner to declare their conviction, that though this alteration may, and probably will, be attended with many serious inconveniences to the whole frame of that Government, which, whatever opinion may have been formed of its imperfections, has, beyond all dispute, acquired and maintained for Great Britain a paramount, and almost undisputed sovereignty in the East, it will not give to the nation those commercial advantages, which it has been the habit of many of the commercial interests of this Country to contemplate.

The Court, however, hope it will be understood by your Lordship, that they have entertained this opinion, not upon the narrow, and now justly exploded ground, which they are sorry to see has been imagined by your Lordship to exist, that the Company have ever considered a monopoly to be more beneficial in all cases of "*foreign and distant trade, than an unrestrained commerce,*" but upon the conviction with which they have been impressed;

that an exclusive trade with India is the only one really applicable to the maintenance of the public interests with that country, interwoven as that trade is with the very frame and integrity of those possessions, and resting, as it does, upon many highly important considerations, which are, in no wise, applicable to other commercial establishments.

In support of these opinions, the Court beg leave to enclose abstract copies of the Accounts (A and B), which have been called for, and laid before the Committee of the Honorable House of Commons upon East-India Affairs, established in 1808, and continued to the present time, which they imagine will afford a fair representation of the trade in bullion and in goods carried on with India, as well by individuals as by foreign nations; and these accounts will, they trust, establish, in a conclusive manner, the correctness of the sentiments entertained by the Court respecting this trade.

In communicating, however, those sentiments of reluctance, by which the determination of the Court to submit the proposition in question to the Proprietors of East-India Stock is accompanied, the Court hope it will be clearly understood, that this determination arises from a presumption, that such military powers as are now vested in the Company will be left unimpaired, which can alone induce them to entertain an expectation of their being able, in a manner satisfactory, either for the Company or the Public, to perform the part which has hitherto been assigned to the Company in the Government of a distant empire; and also, that such regulations will be adopted, as will prevent the highly dangerous intercourse of Europeans with the East; and that such arrangements will be made, in respect to pecuniary matters, as will enable the Company to meet with confidence the present state of their affairs. The Court also hope, that in the extension of the trade which the Company now enjoy, His Majesty's Ministers have not had in view the hazardous experiment of dispersing, over all the ports of England and Ireland, a trade now brought, with so much advantage, both to the Company and the Public, to the single port of London.

If the private intercourse with India should, in future, be extended, it may naturally be expected, that upon the  
return

return of peace, a number of British seamen will be thrown out of employ; and the Court are apprehensive that such an intercourse, carried on through the medium of Indian ships and Indian sailors, relaxing as it would do the spirit of the navigation laws, which have always been considered to be the basis of the maritime strength of this country, may be viewed by the nation with extreme alarm, and will probably give rise to many disorders. The Company's papers and offices, might furnish material information, by which the relation of the Indian trade with the navigation system could be appreciated, and the Court, if it should be thought likely to be of public utility, are ready to have that information collected; but without such call, and without pressing their reasons at length, either upon your Lordship, or the other Members of His Majesty's Government, they will content themselves with the declaration they have already made of their opinion upon this subject.

The Court are desirous of taking this opportunity to offer some remarks, and to answer, in a cursory manner, part of those public accusations, which have been so assiduously urged against the East-India Company, and against the further continuance of a system, which, they hope, will appear to rest, not upon the grounds of individual interest, but upon the firm basis of national advantage.

Whatever opinions the Court may deliver, upon a subject in which they are manifestly interested, will doubtless be received with circumspection; but the Court think, that they may be allowed, and with justice upon the present occasion, to assert, that the leading disposition of their minds is, to preserve the empire obtained in India to the parent state.

The first, and the most prominent of the charges, which have, at various times, been brought against the Company, is the repeated calls which they are accused of having made upon the public, for money for the prosecution of ruinous concerns; as if they had dissipated large sums in useless and improvident undertakings. Upon this head it may be sufficient for the Court to observe, that their commercial affairs (and to those alone was the Company's management restricted) have been invariably attended with success, as they are prepared to shew; if the proof should be called for; and that these advantages

have been sufficient to allow of a moderate dividend to the Proprietors of East-India Stock. Over and above this dividend, a surplus sum has been applied, arising from this source, towards the extension of that territory, the acquisition of which has been under the immediate direction of His Majesty's Ministers.

But the Court are persuaded, that the magnitude of the affairs which the Company have had to manage, has been little known and little attended to, otherwise it would, at once, have been seen, that one of the principal difficulties with which the Company have had to contend, is a capital, not in any respect equal to the great extent, variety, and importance of those affairs.

The disbursement of the Company upon the single article of commerce in goods and wares, &c. or of articles necessary for its management, a disbursement of sums going from and returning to the Company, from one moment to another, was, at the close of the year 1811, not less than about ..... £14,847,678

To this must be added, the amount of advances in India and at home, for stores of various kinds, applicable to the purposes of Government, and in constant use for military equipments, &c.; of cash, arms, &c.; and of debts due to the Company from various states and princes, &c.; and other articles, making, at the close of the Indian year 1810, about ..... 21,282,279

If to these sums be subjoined the absolute expenditure made by the Company, for the acquirement of a territory, with forts, ammunition, &c. and the actual purchase of many factories and territories, building of docks, purchase of forests, &c. including a considerable sum which has been paid by them, at various times, to the Public, or disbursed for expeditions, and the maintenance of captures afterwards surrendered up to the enemy, viz..... 15,052,170

They form altogether an aggregate of £51,182,127  
Aggregate

Aggregate disbursements brought forward	£51,182,127	
The capital of the Company is :—		
In money advanced by the ad- venturers, about . . . . .	£7,780,000	
And they receive from the aid of bonds at home . . . . .	7,000,000	
And from other contingent credits, at home and abroad, about . . . . .	7,787,953	
Together	<u>                    </u>	<u>22,567,953</u>
Leaving a balance of . . . .	£28,614,174	<u>                    </u>

Constituting, at this moment, a permanent debt in India and in Europe. (See C.)

This aggregate of £51,182,127, a part of which sum only has been employed upon the territorial acquisitions of the Company, forms an outlay, beyond the capital of the Company, of so large an amount, as to make it more matter of wonder, how the Company have hitherto been able to carry on the concern at all, than to render it extraordinary that they should have been constrained, respectfully and at various times, to represent the urgency of their affairs; and to press upon the Public for the mere return of those sums, which had been fairly expended by the Company abroad for the public service; a return which has never yet been granted to the Company, to the extent to which, in justice, it ought to have reached. In every war which has taken place since the Company became possessed of the territorial acquisitions, large sums of money have been expended in capturing the settlements of the French, Dutch, and Danes, and heavy expenses incurred in keeping the same, till the political views of the Public occasioned these settlements to be restored, in return for other objects, in which the Company had no particular interest. The Company have also been compelled to pay part of the expense of capturing and maintaining an island, afterwards reserved for the exclusive benefit of the Crown; to disburse a considerable sum for a force, of which the Public have derived all the benefit at home; and even to contribute to the Egyptian expedition, the whole of which expenses the Company have always thought ought to have fallen upon the State.

This



This large and necessary outlay, in fact, now constitutes the source of the Company's embarrassment. A considerable part of the money raised in India upon periodical loans, to meet this outlay, has (as your Lordship well knows) by the terms of these loans, which made them payable, if required, in England, and in consequence of a general reduction of interest from eight to six per cent., been at once thrown upon the Company for immediate payment in Europe; a sum which, without the aid of Parliament, it is impossible for the Company to discharge.

Of this large expenditure, sanctioned, and in many cases specifically directed by the Ministers of the Crown, it may with justice be asked, what part has been incurred for the partial or exclusive advantage of the Company? — It is evident, that the whole concern has been begun and continued by private exertions alone; nor have the Proprietors received, by any means, an adequate recompence for those exertions: they have scarcely derived more benefit than the common interest of money. And if India be an object of regard to the world, the Company may have the satisfaction of thinking, that they, at their own risk and expense, have rescued it from contending Nations, and may claim the merit of having laid it at the feet of their country; acquired and preserved, it is true, at a great pecuniary expense, and by such abilities and such exertions, both civil and military, as not only to reflect the highest credit upon the East-India Company, but also to raise, as the page of history will testify, the national character. They venture to hope, that when all the great political relations of this acquisition are considered, the price paid for it will not be deemed as out of proportion to its intrinsic value,

The wisdom of Parliament will, the Court make no doubt, be applied to preserve what has been so acquired, and finally do justice to those, at whose risk it has been obtained; and not be induced to barter positive, and very large immediate advantages, against speculative notions and theoretical plans.

In the second place, it has been often urged, that the Company have been favoured, during these exertions, with an exclusive trade, and that the nation has thereby lost an opportunity of extending their commercial enterprises over a large quarter of the globe. It is true, that the

the Company have been favoured with this exclusive trade; but it may fairly be asked, would India have belonged to Great Britain if this exclusive trade had not existed? That this trade would have been of greater magnitude in the hands of individuals, is yet a matter that remains to be proved: but it is obvious, that during part of the above period, *viz.* from the year 1763 to 1812, the Public have received, in direct contributions from the Company, a sum not falling short of £5,135,319, as will appear by the accompanying Account (D).

With respect to the immediate produce of this trade to the Public, the Court believe it will bear a comparison with that arising from any other distant possession. It produced last year to the Public the large sum of £4,213,425 (E), *viz.* in customs £759,595, and in excise £3,453,830; and though this return to the Public be larger, as the Court have reason to think, in respect to the capital employed, than the return from any other trade, it has, at the same time, been collected with a facility unknown to other concerns; an advantage which has been obtained, partly by the progressive enactment of regulations the fruit of many years experience, and partly by the concentration of the trade in a single port, and the prevention of smuggling, which has been the consequence of it.

But what has never yet been fairly estimated in the existence of the East-India Company is, that the whole of these returns have been brought into the exchequer of the Public, without the Public having been called upon for any direct contribution for the preservation of the source from whence they have had their rise, whilst the possessions of the Crown, in every quarter of the globe, have drawn from them a considerable sum for their support in troops. What has been saved to the State has thus, the Court conceive, been gained by the Public, and would amount, as the Court are satisfied, in only twenty years, to a sum of a very great magnitude. From the Navy, indeed, the East-India Company have received important assistance; but such assistance, it must be recollected, has been afforded to them only in common with the rest of His Majesty's subjects.

That the trade of the Company has been highly beneficial to the Public, in affording a nursery for seamen in time of war, and employment for them in time of peace,  
and

and that the Company's maritime service has contributed materially towards those benefits, cannot, the Court apprehend, be doubted; nor that the fortunes of individuals, acquired either in the service of the Company, or by their industry and exertions under the Company's protection, have gradually contributed to the accumulation of that public stock of national wealth, which has enabled this country to stand, almost alone, against the united exertions of nearly all Europe.

Having offered these cursory observations upon matters of such obvious importance, we are directed by the Court to state, that as the pecuniary arrangements necessary for the support of the Company cannot, with propriety or with effect, be made the subject of correspondence, they beg to refer these points, as well as all those of inferior detail, of which there are a great many, to a personal conference between your Lordship and the Deputation of the Court, which had the honor to wait on your Lordship this morning.

We have the honor to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servants,

(Signed) JACOB BOSANQUET,  
HUGH INGLIS.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Viscount Melville,  
&c. &c. &c.

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LETTER *from the Right Honorable* LORD VISCOUNT  
MELVILLE *to the* CHAIRMAN *and* DEPUTY CHAIR-  
MAN.

Gentlemen, *India Board, 21st March 1812.*

I have delayed answering your letter of the 4th instant (received the 6th) until I could transmit to you, at the same time, replies to the several propositions brought forward by the Deputation of the Court of Directors, at our conference on the 4th instant.

In submitting to you these observations, however, I beg to be distinctly understood, as conveying to you only the present sentiments of His Majesty's Government on the several points to which the propositions relate. Public discussion on such an important question, may possibly produce an alteration of opinion on some of the details; and though the subject has been fully considered, it may be deemed necessary,

cessary, in the further progress of the measure, to propose, on some points, regulations of a different description from those which are suggested in the enclosed observations.

The Court of Directors are perfectly correct in supposing that it is now, as it has been for a considerable time past, the fixed intention of His Majesty's Government, to withhold their concurrence from any proposition which might be submitted to Parliament for continuing to the East-India Company their privileges of exclusive trade on their present footing. It is unnecessary now to discuss, whether the provisions of the Act of 1793 (by which the Company's monopoly was so far relaxed, as to admit the goods of private merchants to be conveyed in the Company's ships) have in any degree fulfilled the expectations or intentions of the Legislature. It will not be denied, that the facilities granted by that act have not been satisfactory, at least to the merchants; either of this country or of India. They have been the source of constant dispute, and they have even entailed a heavy expense upon the Company, without affording to the Public any adequate benefit from such a sacrifice. You will do me the justice to recollect, that in all our discussions on this subject, both recently and on former occasions, the admission of the ships of merchants in this country into the trade of India, in concurrence with those of the Company, has never been urged as a measure, from which much immediate benefit would, in my opinion, be derived, either to the country or to the individuals who might embark in the speculation; and I certainly am not without considerable apprehensions, that, at least on the first opening of the trade, the public expectation, as to the British territories in India, affording any considerable outlet for British manufactures, beyond the amount of our present exports, may be disappointed. On that admission, however, and on the necessity of guarding against the unrestrained intercourse of Europeans with the territories of the Company, or of the native States in India (in which also I fully concur), nearly the whole of the arguments adduced by the Court of Directors against any opening of the trade are founded. But it must be recollected, that in determining the question, as to continuing the whole or a part of the Company's monopoly, it will be the duty of Parliament to consider, not merely whether it may be safe to prolong it, but whether it may be unsafe to abridge or abolish it. As far as relates to the trade with India, and several other countries included within the limits

of the Company's Charter, the Court do not appear to have succeeded in establishing the proposition, that any detriment will arise to the public interest, either in this country or in India, or ultimately even to the interest of the Company themselves, from the introduction of private adventurers. If the Company carry on their trade more expensively and with less activity and industry than private individuals, it is unjust to the country, as well as to the inhabitants of British India, that the exclusive monopoly should be continued; and in such a state of things, the trade is more likely to be advantageous to the country, and beneficial to the individuals in their hands, than in those of the Company: but if the latter shall conduct it with skill and enterprize, and with due and unremitting attention to economy, the extent of their capital, and the superior facilities which they must continue to possess, of providing their investment in India at the cheapest rate, will undoubtedly afford them the means of successful rivalship with all other competitors.

In adverting, in your letter of the 4th instant, to the statement contained in mine of the 17th December, on the proposed transfer of the Company's army to the Crown, you do not appear to have understood accurately the purport of my suggestion. I entertained no doubt, as to the expediency of continuing to the Company's Governments in India the supremacy of their military, as well as civil authority: but though various regulations may possibly be necessary, with a view to promote the discipline and efficiency of the army in India, I am not aware, that any legislative enactments are requisite, except as to the amount of force which His Majesty may be empowered to maintain in India, at the expense of the Company; and perhaps also some provisions, in regard to the relative powers of the Board of Commissioners and the Court of Directors.

In your letter of the 4th instant, you advert to the question as to how far it may be expedient to admit into the trade with this country, ships built in India and manned with Indian seamen. This is undoubtedly an important consideration, as it involves in it, to a certain extent, a departure from the principles on which the navigation system of this country has hitherto been conducted. As far as the East-India Company is concerned, it will probably be necessary to leave the matter on its present footing, during the continuance of the war; but if the trade with India is to be opened to all British ships, in the manner already pointed out,  
there

there seems to be no sufficient reason for breaking in upon the system of our navigation laws, by permitting any other than British ships, with a due proportion of British seamen; to import colonial produce into the United Kingdom.

I have not thought it requisite, in this letter, to trouble you with any observations on several points adverted to in your's of the 4th instant, which are also noticed in the enclosed paper of hints and of replies to the several propositions. I shall abstain, also, from any remarks on the calculations detailed in your letter, and which are introduced more with the view, as I conceive, to vindicate the Company in their past management of the exclusive trade to India and the government of their territorial possessions, than to any practical results to be derived from your statement, in relation to the matters at present in discussion between His Majesty's Government and the Court of Directors. The Committee of the House of Commons on East-India Affairs have already submitted to the House detailed statements on that part of the subject, and in any further reports which they may present they will probably complete the investigation.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble Servant,  
(Signed) MELVILLE.

To the Chairman and Deputy Chairman  
of the East-India Company.

*HINTS submitted to the  
Consideration of the  
Rt. Hon. LORD MEL-  
VILLE by the DEPUTA-  
TION of the COURT of  
DIRECTORS, the 4th  
March, 1812.*

*LORD MELVILLE'S OB-  
SERVATIONS on the  
Hints submitted to his  
Consideration by the  
DEPUTATION of the  
COURT of DIRECTORS;  
21st March, 1812.*

That the renewal of the Charter shall proceed upon the basis of the Act of 1793, and that no greater extension of the trade shall be granted than what was allowed by that Act; but the Deputation are ready to recommend

commend to the Court of Directors, and ultimately to the Court of Proprietors, to admit such modifications as may be deemed necessary to give greater facilities to the private trader.

1st. No British or Indian ship to sail, directly or circuitously, from a British port in Europe to China.

2d. No British subject to be permitted to reside in China, without the Company's licence.

3d. No goods, the growth or produce of China, to be imported into any of the ports of the United Kingdom, except by the East-India Company.

4th. The power of levying duties in India upon British subjects, and the subjects of foreign nations, to be continued to the Company, upon the footing on which it at present exists; and the same power, with respect to British subjects, to be extended to the districts within the jurisdiction of the courts of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Prince of Wales Island.

5th. Saltpetre to be considered as a political article, and to be confined exclusively to the Company.

1st, 2d, and 3d. It is deemed advisable, with a view to the security of the revenue and to other objects connected with the trade to China, to leave it on its present footing, and to guard, by proper regulations, against any encroachment on that branch of the Company's exclusive privilege.

4th. This proposition ought to be acceded to; with the reservation, however, that the Governments in India ought to be restricted from imposing new duties, without the previous sanction of the authorities in England.

5th. The Company are understood to have, in some degree, the power of regulating the internal trade of saltpetre in India; it appears, therefore, to be scarcely necessary to impose any other restrictions on the exportation of saltpetre from India, than such as may be deemed

6th.

deemed

*Hints.*

6th. The whole of the Indian trade to be brought to the port of London, and the goods sold at the Company's sales, and to be, as at present, under the Company's management.

7th. The three per cent. now paid to the Company by the private traders, for the warehousing and management of the private trade, to be increased to five per cent.

8th. No private ship to be permitted to sail for India, except from the port of London.

9th. No ship to be permitted to sail, except under a licence from the East-India Company. Ships obtaining this licence, to deliver one copy of their journals at the East-India House; and the licence to contain such clauses, as may be likely to prevent an unlimited or improper intercourse of individuals with India.

10th. Fire-arms, military and naval stores, to be prohibited articles.

11th.

*Observations.*

deemed expedient for political objects, especially in time of war.

6th. The adoption of the regulations suggested in this proposition, will probably tend to the security and advantage of the public revenue, in collecting the duties on all articles imported from the East-Indies and China, as well as other countries to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.

7th. The Company ought at least to be indemnified from the charges incurred by this management.

8th. There does not appear to exist any sufficient reason for preventing ships from clearing out for the East-Indies from other ports of the United Kingdom besides the port of London.

9th. It will be necessary, either by the regulations suggested in this proposition, or by others of a similar description, to guard against the evil therein described.

10th. It will probably be necessary to regulate the exportation of military stores to the



*Hints.**Observations.*

11th. Existing restrictions, with respect to the article of piece goods, to be continued.

12th. It being desirable, as well for the Public as for the Company, that the quality of the silk grown in India should not be deteriorated, it is submitted that this article be confined to the Company.

13th. The ships of private persons to be subject to the same regulations, in respect to convoys, &c. as those belonging to the Company.

14th. No private ship to be permitted to sail, either from Great Britain to India, or from India to Great Britain,

the East-Indies, and also of naval stores in time of war.

11th. It is understood that the object of this proposition is to secure to the manufacturers of piece goods in India the continuance of regular and constant employment, under the same system of local management, for their benefit, which prevails at present. If that object is likely to be attained, without continuing the restrictions mentioned in this proposition, it certainly would be desirable that they should cease, except in so far as it may be necessary to regulate the importation of Indian piece goods, with a view to the protection of British manufactures.

12th. As no such restriction exists at present in the importation of silk by private merchants, and as the reasons which have hitherto been adduced, on the part of the Court of Directors, for establishing such a regulation, though entitled to much consideration, do not appear to be conclusive, it will scarcely be deemed expedient to agree to this proposal.

13th. This suggestion appears to be perfectly reasonable.

14th. It is understood, that this proposition is founded on a principle of guarding against the dangers to which vessels of

*Hints.*

tain, of a less burthen than four hundred tons.

*Observations.*

of less burthen than four hundred tons would be exposed on a voyage to the East-Indies, and also of providing for the security of the revenue, which might be affected by permitting importations in smaller vessels. These reasons, though entitled to due consideration, do not appear to be sufficiently strong to justify the proposed restriction, or the making a distinction, in that respect, between ships trading to the East-Indies and to other countries.

15th. The Company to be subject to no obligation with respect to Exports to India, except in common with the private traders.

16th. The Lascars and Chinese sailors brought home in private ships to be placed under proper regulations. Not, upon any account, to be suffered to wander about the streets of London. Good treatment to be secured to them, and the Company to be enabled, by some summary process, to recover the expences to which they shall be subjected, in the event of neglect on the part of the owners of such ships in these respects.

17th. The Company to be indemnified for their unexpired engagements for extra shipping, provided for the accommodation of the private traders.

15th. This seems to be reasonable.

16th. It will be necessary to provide, by proper regulations, for the care and maintenance of these persons, and for their return to the East-Indies.

17th. This proposal would be wholly inadmissible, unless it were limited to such unexpired engagements as do not extend beyond March 1814, when the Company's present term of exclusive privileges

18th. An unrestrained intercourse with India to be prevented, and the existing restrictions, with respect to residence in India, to be continued.

19th. The number of His Majesty's forces in India to be in future maintained by the East-India Company to be now fixed, and any troops sent beyond that number (except at the express requisition of the East-India Company) to be at the charge of the Public.

20th. The Company to be released from any future account with the Pay Office, and to be henceforward charged, either so much per regiment of a given force, or so much per man.

21st. The present heavy current and postponed demands of the Pay Office against the Company to be arranged upon some footing of general equity, and some advertance in settling this account

privileges will expire; but the public may fairly look to the Company to bear this burthen, as a compensation, to a certain extent, for the continuance of the exclusive trade to China.

18th. It will be indispensably necessary, for the purpose of guarding against the inconvenience herein alluded to, that the existing restrictions shall be continued, with such alterations as may be requisite, in the new system of trade.

19th. The number of His Majesty's forces to be maintained by the East-India Company may, without inconvenience, be limited, as herein suggested. It will be necessary, however, in consequence of the increased extent of the British territories in India, since the passing of the Act by which the number is at present regulated, that a considerable addition should be made to it.

20th. It will be necessary, that the present system of accounting between the East-India Company and the Paymaster General should be abolished, and new regulations enacted.

21st. These demands must necessarily be arranged on the principles suggested by the Committee of the House of Commons, who have reported upon the subject of the accounts herein referred to. If

*Hints.*

account made to the share which the Company have been obliged to bear in foreign captures not retained by them, and to their having been constrained to maintain an European and native force, larger than what was required for the defence of the Peninsula, and other heavy expences.

22d. The Proprietors to be secured, as at present, in the receipt of their dividend of ten and a half per cent., upon the faith of which dividend the capital in 1793 was raised.

23d. The whole of the surplus of the East-India Company to be appropriated to a diminution of their debts, until the debts be reduced to the sum of ten millions sterling.

24th. The sums required by the East-India Company to liquidate the debt transferred from India to Europe, and becoming payable in

1812

*Observations.*

it were necessary or proper, in discussing the future regulations which it may be deemed advisable to establish, respecting the affairs of the East-India Company, there would be no difficulty in demonstrating, that the amount of force maintained in India has not gone beyond what was requisite for the defence and security of the Company's possessions, and for other operations, intimately and inseparably connected with those objects.

22d. The Proprietors ought to be secured, as at present, in their dividend of ten and a half per cent.

23d. The whole of the surplus funds of the East-India Company, at home and abroad, ought to be applied, in the first instance, to the reduction of debt, till it is reduced in India to the sum of ten millions, and the bond debt at home to the sum of three millions, after providing for a proportionate increase of the capital stock of the Company, if they shall think fit to avail themselves of the power now vested in them by law to that effect.

24th. It is intended to submit to Parliament a proposition to that effect, or similar in substance.

25th.

*Hints.**Observations.*

1812 and 1813, to be funded by the Minister, the interest of which shall be regularly paid into His Majesty's Exchequer by the Company, together with any such percentage, for the gradual liquidation of the capital or redemption of the fund, as shall be deemed proper by His Majesty's Ministers.

The twenty-fifth article did not form a part of the propositions submitted to Lord Melville, but is now introduced by the Committee of Correspondence, and is as follows, *viz.*

25th. That, in order to give the utmost possible extension to the commerce of private merchants, and at the same time to secure the Company's exclusive trade to and from China, private ships be not permitted to go farther eastward than Point Romania, at the entrance of the China Seas, and to the northward not beyond the equinoctial line.

N.B. Should it be the intention of Government that private traders shall be excluded from the Spice Islands, the limits ought then to be for them not to go to the eastward of the Straits of Bally, nor to the northward of the Line.

25th. If the object adverted to in this proposition can be obtained by exclusion from the dominions of the Emperor of China, and a prohibition to import the produce of that country without license from the Company, it will be preferable to the mode hereinsuggested. There seems to be no reason for excluding the private trade from the Spice Islands.

*At a GENERAL COURT of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, held on Thursday, the 2d April 1812.*

Minutes of the last Court of the 25th ultimo were read.

The Chairman acquainted the Court that it was assembled for the purpose of taking into consideration the papers which were laid by the Court of Directors before the General Court on the 25th ultimo.

It was then moved, and after a mature deliberation,

*Resolved Unanimously,* That this Court having perused the papers laid before them at the last General Court, desire to express the high sense which they entertain of the great ability, zeal, and fidelity, with which the Directors have maintained the interest of the East-India Company. They return them thanks for the powerful and convincing arguments by which they have shewn the danger which would await the British empire, from opening the trade of India, and the immense advantages which the nation has derived, in strength, revenue, territory, and character, from the capital and the exertions of this Corporation.

That although this Court will feel it their duty, on all occasions, to bow to the determination of the Legislature, they cannot but observe with extreme concern, that no proposition is suggested of an increased or further dividend, either now or hereafter, or advantage of any kind whatever, to the Proprietors of East-India Stock; notwithstanding the negotiation for the renewal of the Charter, in 1793, begun with a proposal for an increase of dividend of two per cent., which Charter opened the trade but in a limited and partial degree; and notwithstanding that, while such great and progressive advantages have been obtained for the public at large, the Proprietors themselves have made little more than common interest of their money. That now to be called upon to part with an undefined proportion of a trade thus established, and maintained hitherto at their sole expence, without any consideration for the same, seems to them to be wholly inequitable. Under these impressions, this Court confides to the Honorable Court of Directors the care of its interests in the farther negociation for a new Charter, trusting to the justice of their fellow citizens, as well as to His Majesty's Government

and to Parliament, that they shall receive that liberal treatment, which they regard themselves as so justly entitled to at the hands of their country.

And that the Directors be requested to report their proceedings, from time to time, to this Court.

That this Court cannot contemplate the essential change proposed in the constitution of the Company, by an unrestrained trade to and from India, without great concern and apprehension; not so much on account of the injury to which it will subject the Company in their commercial privileges and profits, as on account of the tendency which such a change must have to affect the system established by the Legislature, for the civil and political government of the Company's territorial possessions, whilst it is not at all likely to afford to the commercial interests of this country the advantages expected from it.

Should, therefore, the opening of the trade to India be the ultimate determination of Parliament, this Court cannot but express its hope, that all due care will be taken to accompany the enlargements which shall be given to individuals in the Indian trade, with such regulations as shall most effectually guard against the dangers to which those enlargements might expose the existing system of Indian administration.

Draft of a petition to the Honorable House of Commons was read

It was then moved, and on the question,

*Resolved*, That this Court do approve the above petition.

The Court then, on the question adjourned.

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LETTER *from the Deputation appointed by the Court of Directors to the Right Honorable the Earl of Buckinghamshire.*

My Lord, *East-India House, 15th April 1812.*

The correspondence between the President of the Board of Commissioners, on the part of His Majesty's Government, and the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, on the subject of the renewal of the Company's Charter, having been laid before the General Court of Proprietors, we now, in consequence of the resolutions of that body,

body, propose to ourselves the honor of continuing the correspondence with your Lordship, and especially to reply to the letters of the late President, dated the 21st and 23d of March, and to his *Observations* accompanying the former of these letters.

In the first place, however, permit us to offer some remarks on the outlines of the negociation, as far as it has hitherto advanced, and on the opposition which has begun to shew itself to certain propositions, respecting the necessity and importance of which His Majesty's Government and the East-India Company appear to have entertained similar sentiments.

It is manifest, from the letters written on the part of the Court of Directors, that they have contemplated with the utmost reluctance such an enlargement of the trade to India, as seemed to be desired by His Majesty's Ministers, because they believed that the commercial advantages expected from it to this country would not be realized, and feared that it might eventually endanger the security of the British possessions in the East. We must desire on the part of the Court of Directors, distinctly, and in the face of the country, to state this opinion, not as advanced without conviction, to serve a cause, but as the genuine result of such knowledge and experience as the Court possess, upon a subject respecting which they have better means of information, than any of those associations who are now eager to take full possession of the Eastern trade, and upon which also it is certainly material that the Public should form just ideas. We have, indeed, yet seen no arguments advanced, in answer to those reasons which the Court have offered against the opening of the trade, and particularly against the expectation of the great increase to be produced by such a measure in the exports from this country to India, and the imports thence. Lord Melville has signified his concurrence with the Court, in thinking that the public will be disappointed, at least at first, in this expectation, and though his Lordship has said, that "the Court do not appear to have succeeded in establishing the proposition, that any detriment will arise to the Public interest, either here or in India, or ultimately even to the interest of the Company themselves, from the introduction of private adventurers," we must beg leave to observe, first, that we cannot doubt, "the introduction of private adventurers," which his Lordship had in view, was less extensive than is now likely to be contended for by some portions of the public, and was connected, in his mind, with limitations



tations and restrictions in the conduct of the trade, which those who claim the largest opening of it exclude; and, secondly, that several reasons which the Court have urged, to shew that much detriment would arise from a general opening of the trade, remain unanswered, either in his Lordship's letters, or in any of the public resolutions we have yet seen. Until of late, the general language held on the subject of the Indian trade was rather that the merchants of Great Britain should be allowed to apply their industry to such branches of it, and to such ports of the Indian Seas, as the commerce of the Company did not embrace, than that they should invade the portion of the trade which the Company carried on. But now little is said about the advantages to be derived from adventures to the unexplored parts of India, and the objects likely to be most warmly contended for are not new accessions of commerce to the nation, but a transfer of much of those branches of trade, already carried on by the Company in London, to individuals in the outports. The large concessions at first required from the Company by His Majesty's Government appear only to have encouraged the merchants of the outports to make still further demands; regardless, as it would seem, of the political consequences that might ensue from a compliance with them, and apparently unaware, too, that the corporate capacity of the East-India Company is perpetual, and cannot be annulled, even if the qualified monopoly they have enjoyed were to cease.

We are confident, my Lord, it was not the intention of His Majesty's Ministers, that the East-India Company should be broken down and despoiled of those faculties, necessary to enable it to perform the important part assigned to it by the Legislature in the government of the British empire in the East; a part which probably it will be allowed to have performed well, and with more safety and advantage to the mother country, than any other system, hitherto thought of, could have done. The benefits accruing to that government by the reciprocal aids of revenue and commerce, the powers of which are united in the constitution of the Company, in a way peculiar to it, have been often seen and fully acknowledged, and were it necessary, it would be easy to enlarge upon them. These powers have now become so incorporated, that it is impossible to separate them, without essentially endangering the whole of a system that has proved in practice eminently useful. If, therefore, the commercial part of that system were now to be destroyed, the political func-  
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tions exercised by the Company would be so weakened, as necessarily to bring into view questions of the last importance to the safety of the British empire in India, and of the British constitution at home.

We hence assuredly rely, that the wisdom of Parliament, and the good sense of the nation in general, will resist those rash and violent innovations upon the system of the Company, which the merchants of different towns, proceeding upon theoretical ideas, and overlooking most material facts, now appear to intend, without any certainty, even of extending the commerce of this country, but to the unavoidable detriment of its political interests abroad and its financial interest at home.

It was in contemplation of dangers less immediate and alarming than the designs now avowed threaten, that the Court so earnestly proposed, that the renewal of the Charter should proceed, with certain modifications, upon the basis of the Act of 1793, which made the Company the medium of the enlargements of private trade; but having been forced to depart from this preliminary principle, which they still maintain consults the true policy of this country, and the sacrifice of which they may observe, by the way, inflicts great injury upon all the private interests and parties engaged in the Indian trade, as established by that Act, particularly on the commanders and officers of the Company's ships, whose professional merits are universally acknowledged, the Court are, however, perfectly satisfied, from the assurances already given by His Majesty's Ministers from the beginning, that any enlargements which may be given in the Indian trade shall be accompanied with such provisions, as will guard against the dangers to which such enlargements might otherwise expose the existing system.

Several of the precautions necessary in this view were suggested in the *Hints* submitted by the Deputation of the Court to Lord Melville, on the 4th March; and upon these, and the *Observations* made on them by him, we now feel ourselves called upon further to offer some elucidations to your Lordship.

(Articles 1, 2, 3.) On the very important head of the China trade, permit us, my Lord, to remark, that although the *security of the revenue* is doubtless a very fit consideration for His Majesty's Government and for Parliament, yet the Company do not understand that the continuance of their exclusive privilege in this trade is rested on considerations

tions of revenue alone, nor that it ought to be affected by any varying circumstances in that branch of the public affairs. The Company have the actual possession of the monopoly of that trade, which was given them for national purposes, and by the perpetuity of their corporate capacity must be more capable of maintaining it against the competition of private merchants, than those merchants would be to drive them out of it. But such competition would be ruinous to the public interests; for the Company already supply the nation with as much as it wants of China commodities, which are almost entirely used for home consumption, and exports woollens and metals of this country, to the amount of a million sterling annually, at a loss to themselves during war. By competition, the cost of teas, and other China articles, would be enhanced, the prices of our staples lowered there, and if individuals could possess themselves of the trade, the exports in those articles which they could not sell to profit would be lost to the country. A struggle, therefore, between the Company and individuals, could only produce ruinous consequences to both. The jealousy of the Chinese government, which now allows only one port of that vast empire for all its foreign commerce, and subjects the European residents at Canton to a confinement to their factories for six months of the year, and to banishment to Macao for the other six months, would undoubtedly take alarm at the ingress of indefinite numbers of unconnected Englishmen from Europe, and if it did not at once exclude them, would soon be induced to do so, by the disorders which would not fail to follow, and which are on the present limited scale of intercourse, prevented or palliated only, by the extreme caution and established usages of the Company's supra-cargoes. Thus the trade would be entirely lost to the country, and with it not only the export of a million of its manufactures annually, but a revenue of four millions, with the fleet of excellent ships now employed in that commerce, to the great inconvenience of the people at large, the ruin of particular classes, and the complicated injury of the state. The resort of American ships to Canton, without either hindrance from the Chinese or consequent disorder, affords no parallel to the case of an open trade from Great Britain and Ireland to China. Those Americans, few in number, carrying thither only silver, and carrying away silk cloths as well as tea, derived their reception and protection very much from the orderly English factory long established there, who  
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have endured treatment from the Chinese government, to which no representative of His Majesty could submit. We are satisfied, therefore, my Lord, that such provisions will be introduced into the new Charter, as will effectually secure this great branch of trade to the Company and the nation, in the manner it has hitherto been enjoyed.

(Article 4.) We submit, that this observation ought to run thus: "This proposition ought to be acceded to; with the reservation, however, that the Governments in India ought to be restricted from" making any alteration in the rates of the duties sanctioned by the authorities in England, or that they may hereafter sanction.

(Article 5.) To the concession on this head, we wish it to be added, that the Company shall have a fair price for all the saltpetre they shall supply to the Government.

(Article 6.) As the confinement of the private trade to and from India to the port of London is an article of essential importance on the whole of the present question, involving the safety of the Company, it may be expedient, that we state somewhat fully the various and powerful considerations on which the propriety and necessity of the measure rest. These considerations relate to the usages resulting, unavoidably, from the nature of the Company, which for political, as well as commercial purposes, it is so material to preserve; from the law of the land, the existing rights of individuals; the conveniency of the re-exportation of Indian commodities; and the security of the public revenue.

From the first institution of the East-India Company, they have used the port of London only; and the practice of selling their imports by public auction only, is also almost coeval with the Company.

The utility which dictated the first of these practices is obvious; a little consideration will shew the other to be yet more necessary. If private bargaining and trafficking with individuals, and from day to day, were allowed in the sales of the great imports of the Company, how many doors would be open for collusion, imposition, and abuse! It would be impossible the business could go on in that way, and the very liability of it to suspicion, would be enough to destroy the confidence of the proprietors and the public. Besides, the importations of the Company coming in fleets at stated seasons, it suited the convenience of all parties, that the sales should also be only at stated season, and public,

public, which would afford the opportunity to buyers to resort from all parts, foreign as well as domestic, to those sales.

In the ninth and tenth years of King William the Third, the Legislature interposed to prohibit the sale of East-India goods, otherwise than by public auction; and in the next year of that prince it was also enacted, that East-India goods should be sold only in London. Thus the law at present stands.

The immediate object of the legislature, in these enactments, appears to have been the security of the revenue; then appointed to be derived from the customs laid on Indian goods imported: And nothing so effectual could be devised for that security. To bring the imports to one place; to have them lodged under the keys of the Government officers; to have them sold publicly, in the presence of those officers; and, finally, to have the duties, thus carefully ascertained, collected through the medium of the Company, with hardly any charge: the whole of this practice is the most complete provision that can be imagined, against defect, fraud or expense, in realizing this branch of revenue to the public.

But if this was material in the time of King William, when perhaps the revenue from East-India goods, including China, did not exceed £100,000, how essential must it be at present to the State, when that revenue exceeds four millions!

With all the care now taken, and when London is the only lawful place of importation, it is well known that teas, shawls, silks (prohibited, for the encouragement of our own manufactures), and other articles, are at the present time, to some extent, smuggled on shore from the East-India ships, notwithstanding the penalties of the law; and when, in addition to the legal penalties, the offending parties, if the Company's servants, are liable to further fines and mulcts on all illicit trade. But the hope of evading the heavy duties will ever continue to operate on persons, who look no further than their own immediate profit or convenience.

Every deviation from the established usage would so far destroy its simplicity and efficiency, and open the way to abuses. Suppose the importations to be allowed to go only to one outport, a new establishment, new expence, new trouble, would be created, and a channel opened for smuggling.

gling, fraud, and abuse. What would it be, then, if several outports were opened for the landing and sale of Indian and Chinese goods?

But this still supposes the Company, either for itself, or for private traders, to be the only medium of importation. If, however, all individuals were to be allowed to import, and into all the ports of the United Kingdom, especially if it were allowed to employ ships of small burthen, which drawing little water, could run into obscure ports in the remote parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, where would be the practicability of any safe control? Legions of Custom-House and Excise officers must be appointed, at a very great expense; and after all, where the duties are so high as they are, especially on the articles of tea, silk, and fine muslins, smuggling without end must be expected. If private ships were allowed to go to the Eastern Islands, they could find means to procure tea; and if also allowed to return to the outports, smuggling in that article would be by far the most gaining trade.

At present the duties upon East-India goods are collected and paid in London, at a very small expense to Government, and to the full extent to which they ought to be paid. This follows, because the value of the goods is ascertained by competition at the Company's sales. Were every port to have its India House, where would be this general competition? The same goods which pay the duty *ad valorem*, would be liable to one amount of duty at Fowey, to another at Dublin, to a third at Port Glasgow; all differing from each other, and from that paid at London. There would be no remedy for this inconvenience, whatever may be said by interested persons to the contrary. The endless variety of Indian commodities, renders it impossible that they should generally pay what are called *rated* duties, of so much per piece, or so much per yard. Pepper may pay a fixed sum by the pound, and sugar by the hundred weight; but the staple article of piece goods, and many others, must ever be rated by the value, quantity being no just criterion.

It therefore follows, from what has been above observed, that were the trade to be carried to the outports of the United Kingdom, the revenue drawn from Indian goods must be greatly diminished, and the charges of collecting it greatly increased.

Let it be next inquired, what would be the effect of such a change on different interests; the persons already

possessed of valuable property employed for the Indian trade, the exporters of India commodities from this country; and on the East-India Company itself?

The City of London, in their corporate capacity, as conservators of the Thames, and all classes of persons in the metropolis, who are engaged in the building and outfit of ships, in the carriage, warehousing, sorting, buying, and selling of the Company's goods, have also a direct interest in the present discussion.

The East-India Dock Company have likewise a very great and obvious interest in keeping the Indian trade in the Port of London.

With respect to the re-export trade in Indian commodities, at least three fourths of the imports from India have hitherto been for the supply of the continental markets. The foreign buyers repose confidence in the regularity and publicity with which the Company's sales are conducted. When the trade was solely in the hands of the Company, the particulars of their cargoes were published immediately on the arrival of the ships, and distributed all over the continent. Notices of the quantities to be sold, and periods of sale, were also published for the like distribution. The sales of each description of goods were made at stated periods, twice in the year. The buyers, of course, knew the state of the market at the time of coming to the sale, and the purchases were made under an assurance, that no more goods, of such description, would be disposed of before the next sale. Hence they had a certainty of the market for six months. This established a solid confidence, which very much benefited the sales. Such confidence has, no doubt, been much weakened since 1793, when private persons were partially admitted into the trade. The chief object of the private trader being, as it always must be, to obtain prompt sales to meet the payment of bills, East-India goods are frequently resold, while they remain in the Company's warehouse, merely by a transfer of vouchers. The goods, when so sold, will produce from five to ten per cent. more than when in the hands of individuals. This is particularly the case as to drugs, which are subject to great adulteration.

The confidence that has been entertained of the Company's regularity and fair dealing has been such, that the foreign buyers have given their orders to their correspondents in London, on the faith merely of the descriptive marks; and  
goods,

goods, on their arrival on the Continent, frequently pass through various hands, before they are finally unpacked.

By the mode proposed, it is to be feared the foreign buyer will cease to be at any certainty as to his purchases and the quality of the commodities, and this may, eventually, lead foreigners to look directly to India, for the supply that has hitherto been furnished through the medium of this country.

To speak now of the effects of the proposed change upon the interests of the Company. And first, with respect to the East-India trade, properly so called, as contradistinguished from the imports from China. If the mode of private sale of Indian goods in every town in the kingdom were introduced, would not the stated and the public sales, to which the Company are restricted, be continually anticipated, and consequently the supply of the foreign markets be so also; though on the whole, these markets could not take off more? Could these sales, then, secure a general assemblage of buyers? Could it be reckoned upon, that the Company's goods would go off, as they usually have hitherto done, at the sales? Could the prices be expected to indemnify the Company, when the market should be lowered by the necessity or impatience of private importers? Could the realization, in money, of the Company's Indian imports be depended on: that realization, so necessary to the finances of the Company? and if not, how could the currency of their affairs be preserved? how could they pay for exports to India? how could they maintain the fleet of ships they now employ in their Indian commerce; a fleet so necessary for the transportation of troops and stores and warlike services in India? And if the Company's Indian commerce failed, and so much of the Indian imports were transferred to outports, what must become of many of the Company's wharfs, warehouses, and other articles of dead stock, formed at a vast expense, in consequence of this Indian trade? And where would be the benefit to the nation by the change? Would it be any thing else but transferring to Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Dublin, that which London now has? Would it be really any accession of benefit to the empire at large? And what, to look towards India, would be the effect of an unlimited trade from the outports of Great Britain and Ireland to all those regions? Would it be possible to enforce the regulations, which His Majesty's Ministers think absolutely necessary, for preventing an uncontrolled intercourse



intercourse with the East, and for averting the evils that would ensue from it?

These questions, to add no more, ought to be very clearly and satisfactorily answered, before so great a change is attempted, before an order of things that has subsisted so long, and done so well, is subverted and destroyed. If great and sudden innovations ought, at all times, to be regarded with caution and distrust, surely ought those in particular, which are proposed by men for their own immediate advantage.

But what are the arguments with which the merchants of the outports may be supposed to enforce their claim? Natural right;—the freedom of trade; allowing every man to carry on his own business in his own way; the odium of the principle of monopoly; the disadvantage with which they would carry on the trade, if they were obliged to bring back their ships to London, instead of their own ports; the disadvantage to the country consumers.

To all this it may be replied, that supposing the whole true, are these arguments of weight and value sufficient to overturn the present long established system of the Company, and to endanger so large a portion of the public revenue? As to the arguments from natural right, &c., such arguments must always be limited by considerations of practical good. The only practical arguments that occur in favor of the outports, are the advantage to the merchants themselves and to the country consumers. Now what is the amount of this advantage? Let it not be forgotten, that at present it is problematical, at least, whether any great Indian trade can be established by the private merchants; that, at any rate, the chief part of Indian goods imported into England is intended for re-exportation; that London is the fittest port and mart for the foreign trade, especially since the Warehousing Act; that there is really little consumption of Indian goods in the interior of this country; and that if no great accession of trade should be brought to the country by the private merchants, then they will have sacrificed the existing system, without obtaining even the object for which the sacrifice was made.

It may perhaps be said, that the Hudson's Bay Company has public sales, and that yet there are sales on account of individuals of the same articles the Company import. But this will form no parallel case as to the *Companies*,

nor is there any great question of revenue concerned. The only article imported by the Hudson's Bay Company is furs. The sales of this article, on private account, are also by auction, and it is believed confined to London: The whole is comparatively a small affair, and can be of no weight in the present question.

Upon the whole, therefore, it seems most certain, that on such slender grounds, with respect to advantage (and advantage as, before mentioned only to be taken from London for the outports), with so little certainty of establishing any great trade to or from India, with such imminent hazard to the East-India Company and to the revenue, it would be contrary to the prudent policy which this nation has generally observed, and most unwise in itself, to venture upon so great an innovation, some of the effects of which were pointed out to the President of the Board of Commissioners three years ago (printed papers, page 30), effects, which, by his silence, he seems to have admitted; and, in a word, it may be apprehended, that they would amount to the destruction of the Company's Indian trade, their Indian commercial establishments, their Indian shipping, and finally leave the China monopoly so insulated and unsupported, as to bring that, also, at length, to its fall, and with it, the whole fabric of the Company, and the great revenue now so easily realized through its medium; nor can it be at all doubted that, in such case, the China trade would also be lost to the nation.

It is not irrelevant to this subject to advert to a passage in the history of the Dutch East-India Company, under the year 1602. "The plurality of East-India partner-ships or societies, at this time, formed in Holland, creating much disorder and clashing in that commerce, the States-General summoned before them the Directors of all those Companies, and obliged them to unite, for the future, into one, to which United Company the states granted the sole commerce to East-India for twenty-one years from the 20th March, 1602." They had, in consequence, several *Chambers* of East-India Commerce in Holland, as Amsterdam, Middleburgh &c. but they were all under one united Direction.\*

(Article

\* See Anderson's Commerce, and Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, under 1602.

(Article 7.) In the time of King William, the Company were allowed five per cent. on the private-trade.

(Article 8.) Many remarks made upon the sixth article will also apply to this, which might have properly formed a part of it. We need, therefore, only observe here, that the permitting of ships to sail from the outports, will go very materially to injure the interests of those who were let into the Indian trade by the act of 1793;—to increase the danger of colonization abroad;—and of injury to the revenue, by smuggling, at home, as well as another danger to be noticed in the next article.

(Article 10.) It is not only to all our Indian possessions that the exportation of military stores ought always to be prohibited, but also to the numerous islands in the Eastern Seas, inhabited by a vindictive race of people, who may be ready, not only to buy warlike stores, but to engage Europeans in their quarrels, and the sailing of ships from the outports will certainly increase the danger of these evils.

(Article 11.) The existing law, as to piece goods, enables the Company to confine the importation of that article to themselves. They have never availed themselves of this privilege; but yet it may be proper to continue it, because “the regular and constant employment of the manufacturers, under the existing system of local management,” is a matter of consequence, not likely to be otherwise so well guarded, and that great importations of piece goods would operate against the home manufactures; whilst a smaller select importation would be useful.

(Article 12.) There is a new reason for the same restriction, in favor of the Company in the article of raw-silk, because such a general competition is now to be opened against them, and because they have, at great expense in a long course of years, by means of their own establishments, brought the raw-silk of Bengal, which they export, to a high state of perfection;—and if that article is left to the competition of individuals, who will often have to resort to the agency of indolent natives, the quality of the article may be expected materially to fall; and the silk manufacturers of this country to be much worse supplied than they are at present.

It is proper to add, on this subject, that the restriction in favour of the Company, in the article of piece goods,

is by no means of the value it was at first, the demand for that Indian staple being now greatly diminished in this country.

(Article 14.)—Lord Melville has observed, on the reasons which he apprehends had influenced the Court, in proposing that ships of less than four hundred tons should not be allowed to sail to India; that “though entitled to due consideration, they do not appear to be sufficiently strong to justify the proposed restriction, or the making a distinction, in that respect, between ships trading to the East-Indies and to other countries;” it is therefore deemed necessary to discuss the proposition more at length.

In examining the subject of the sixth proposition, the facility which small ships would afford to smuggling, were the outports opened for the disposal of the homeward cargoes, has already been considered. In further support of the fourteenth proposition, respecting the least size of ships that should be permitted to go to India on account of individuals, the practice of the India Company, in the early part of their intercourse with the East, might be adduced, for they soon dropped the smaller class of ships for one of five hundred tons; but as this country, in its improved state of navigation and commerce, has few ships of that burthen, except those employed by the East-India Company, the limiting of ships to be now employed in the private-trade to India to four hundred tons, was supposed to afford facility to the most respectable houses, to benefit by the proposed enlargement of the trade.

Every one will admit, that there is more of respectability in the larger class of ships; and this circumstance should not altogether be lost sight of with the inhabitants of India. The impression of the superiority of our maritime strength to that of other nations, and particularly of the Americans, who speak the same language, and who navigate very small vessels to and from the ports of the East, should be kept alive; and, as a reason of State, should have its due weight in the consideration of this subject.

It is not only the respectability of the *ship* that should be attended to, but there is also a degree of respectability and responsibility attached to the character of the commander and of the officers (of whom there is a greater establishment;

establishment in the larger ships). Their information in pre-eminent, particularly in those essential articles of nautical science, the variation and the lunar observations in the navigation of the Indian Seas, and to and from thence. By such men, a better discipline is established in those larger ships which suit them: the ships are also better armed, and less liable to capture, than vessels of the smaller class. The length of voyage requires, not only superior equipment and a stouter vessel, but in order to guard against contingencies of every kind, subordinate officers and their assistants are indispensable; because, in the event of the death of the principal officers, the knowledge and skill requisite to supply their places, especially in cases of emergency, could be derived from no other quarter. Small vessels cannot have these necessary advantages; an observation which applies, more particularly, to such petty officers as carpenters and caulkers, in respect to matters that concern the hull of the ship, and to medical men in respect to the crew.

It has been found by experience, that larger ships can be navigated at a less rate per ton than small ones: hence one of four hundred tons will require less rate of freight than two of two hundred-tons; a point of economy in the conveyance of goods, which is not to be disregarded, even in a national view. As India is concerned, the smaller vessels will multiply a description of persons in the ports and throughout the country, whose conduct may have serious effects on the peace and quiet of the Asiatic Governments, from the causes before mentioned. The minor ports throughout the country will admit of an intercourse and connexion between Europeans and the natives, which the vigilance and power of our Governments cannot discover nor control.

The ships employed in private trade should be constrained to navigate with a certain number of Europeans outward, so as to prevent, as much as possible, the introduction of native seamen to this country: and hence, for the sake of humanity, a surgeon becomes a necessary person, the employment of whom may well comport with the size of ships of four hundred tons or upwards, but not with those of two hundred and fifty or less. If the health and lives of seamen be thought of consequence to the State, the larger class of ships should certainly be preferred. If the present superior class of West-India shipping

shipping are of four to five hundred tons, where the passage is not more than six weeks, it appears at least as reasonable, that those employed in an East-Indian voyage, which may last many months, should be equally competent and formidable as the running ships, and not stand on a scale beneath those of the first class upon Lloyd's books, so that the premium of insurance upon the goods shipped may be kept at the lowest possible rate.

Whenever such enlargements, as may induce the subjects of this country to embark very large property in the Indian trade, shall be opened to them, it must be highly expedient that, for such time at least as may be sufficient for the return of one voyage, the utmost possible security, which the Legislature can devise, should be provided, in order to check such hazardous adventures as might otherwise be carried on in any description of vessel, or under the conduct of characters not sufficiently responsible, and at the risk or cost of the under-writer.

If an honorable commercial intercourse with India be the object, such wholesome regulations will promote it; but if speculations of mere chance outward, and smuggling homeward, should be in the contemplation of any adventurers, protection to the fair trader, to the East-India Company, and to the revenue, can only be secured by some efficient law, respecting the size of the ships, and their consequent equipment in stores and force, under the conduct of able and responsible commanders and crews.

(*Article 16.*) The regulations proposed with respect to Lascars, are only intended for a time of war. No Lascars should be brought to this country in a time of peace.

(*Article 18.*) The existing regulations, as to ingress and settlement of unlicensed Europeans into the Company's establishments and territories, to be continued. No British subjects to be allowed to settle in any country within the Company's limits, and not under the government of the Company.

(*Article 19.*) The King's forces, maintainable by the Company in India, not to exceed fifteen thousand men in all; and this number to be reduced, as may be found practicable.

(*Article 20.*) If the proposition made by the Company, to be henceforth charged so much per regiment of

a given force, or so much per man, be not adopted, we shall be glad to receive any specific proposition, for putting upon a clear and equitable footing the adjustment of accounts between the Pay Office and the Company. By any such arrangement, we cannot doubt, that, at least, the intricacies of the present mode of settlement, utterly unsatisfactory as it is to the Company, will be got rid of, even if the expense should not be diminished: but will it, for example, admit of any question, whether, when the Company have been charged, as they really have been, with the expense of an entire recruiting company at home, as constantly raising recruits, and whilst, in many instances, the recruits so raised have been sent, not to India; but to other quarters, the recruiting company having also been at all times available for internal service; it can come within the equity of the 127th clause of the Act of 1793, or ever could have been intended to charge the expense of such company to the Indian territories? Or is it just, that the expense of the colonel of a regiment, employed either at home or on the Continent, or perhaps on a furlough staff appointment, should be partly charged to the East-India Company, and his pay be drawn from them? As all parties, therefore, agree in the propriety of an alteration, the sooner it is made the better.

(Article 21.) The Court of Directors have already objected, and must ever object, to the arbitrary mode adopted by a Committee of the House of Commons in 1805, for the settlement of the demands of the Company on Government. We think it a clear and equitable principle, that the expense of captures made, and not retained by the Company, but transferred to His Majesty, or by His Majesty restored to the enemy, should be charged to the Public.

The ordinary pay of the Company's troops employed on such services, and especially in places out of the sphere of India, as in Egypt, should also be placed to account of the Public.

On these grounds we beg leave to propose, that the balance of demands now made by the Pay Office on the Company, be set off, by the sums which they are yet unpaid for the capture of Ceylon and the Moluccas, and for the expedition to Egypt. Even then, the settlement will be greatly to the advantage of the Public, as the  
Company

Company have made good to the Pay Office a sum exceeding two millions, in addition to which they have, since the year 1797, been charged for King's troops beyond the number for which the law obliged them to pay, at the average annual rate of about three thousand firelocks, besides the officers and serjeants requisite for that number of men.

(Article 22.) As a supplement to this article, the Court cannot help again submitting to consideration, the earnest desire and hope of the Proprietors to be exonerated, out of the general funds of the Company, from the payment of the Property-tax. The dividends of other public Companies are thus exempted; and it is but a small consideration, in the immense concerns of the Company, from which the Proprietors have, on the whole, yet derived only the ordinary interest of money, in return for all the hazards their property has run.

(Article 23.) The debt of which the Court of Directors meant to speak in the twenty-third proposition, was the whole of the Indian debt, part of which, to the amount of about seven millions, has been transferred to England. The observation of Lord Melville will coincide with this proposition, and the Court of Directors can have no material objection to his Lordship's proviso, respecting the reduction of the bond debt at home to three millions; but experience has shewn the inconvenience of confining within narrow limits, by parliamentary regulation, the amount of this debt.

(Article 25.) Considering how probable it is, that private adventurers will desire to obtain a supply of the article of tea, in order to be smuggled into this country and to foreign parts, and considering also the importance of not endangering the commercial intercourse now permitted by the Chinese to the British nation, through its long established organ, the East-India Company, it is obvious, that effectual provision ought to be made, in some mode or other, for preventing both these evils; and we shall be glad to hear any propositions which were in Lord Melville's contemplation, or may be in your Lordship's, as more likely to suit that end than the suggestion we have offered. In the mean time, we feel it incumbent upon us to request your Lordship's attention to some remarks on the question of admitting private ships to the  
Spice



Spice Islands. The demand of all Europe for the spices of the Moluccas is so limited, that one or two of the Company's ships may import a sufficient quantity for the supply of it: the division, therefore of this supply among the Company and the Merchants in general of this country, will leave so little to the individuals of the latter class, as to form no object worthy of long and distant enterprize; not to mention, that spices are now rising up in other parts of the East, which renders these islands less important than they have been. The maintenance of the Molucca Islands, which produce no valuable commodity but spices, occasions to the Company a heavy expense, and can only be compensated by a monopoly of their trade; and if private merchants are to participate in that trade, they ought also to bear a proportionable share of the charge of establishment in those islands. But the spice trade is not the most interesting consideration belonging to this question. If in any of the islands in the Eastern Seas, not belonging to the Company, British subjects were to settle, (a thing which the Company, even if armed with legal powers, would find it difficult to prevent, after those seas should be open to all the ships of this country,) it would seem impossible to hinder them from obtaining, by one means or other, a supply of the teas of China, for the purpose of being smuggled into Europe. That object alone might be tempting enough to induce a settlement, where no other circumstance was sufficiently inviting. And if from this motive, or a concurrence of others which might be supposed, a number of Englishmen were once to unite themselves in that quarter, whither new individuals might continually resort, and whence, again, they might repair to all the ports of the Indian continent, it would seem scarcely practicable to preserve the efficiency of regulations formed, either here or by the Indian Governments, for the exclusion of unlicensed persons from their territories. Such would be the danger, especially of any British settlement in the Eastern Archipelago, not subjected to the government of the Company; a danger very seriously to be deprecated: and even in those held by them, as the Moluccas, if they were open to all British ships, it may well deserve consideration, whether there might not be some liability to danger of the same kind.

kind. On all these grounds it really seems advisable, that British ships from Europe should not have access to the Spice Islands.

Having concluded our remarks upon the proposition and observations hitherto brought under discussion, we next beg leave to suggest some other regulations, growing out of the general subject now under consideration, and of our past correspondence. These, we trust, will be found so obviously proper and necessary, as to require no enforcing argument.

*26th Proposition.*—That no ship shall go from any British colony to the East-Indies or China, without the special license of the Company.

*27th Proposition.*—Private ships going from the United Kingdom to India to sail direct from that kingdom thither, and from India to that kingdom, without pursuing any circuitous route.

*28th Proposition.*—Ships going from this kingdom to India, not to engage in the coasting trade of India, but to be permitted to go from one port of delivery of the original cargo, to another for the full discharge of it.

We have the honor to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servants,

(Signed)

HUGH INGLIS,  
ROBERT THORNTON,  
JACOB BOSANQUET,  
W. F. ELPHINSTONE,  
CHARLES GRANT,  
EDWARD PARRY,  
WILLIAM ASTELL,  
GEORGE SMITH.

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Buckinghamshire,  
&c. &c. &c.

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*At a Secret Court of Directors,*

Held on Tuesday, the 28th April 1812.

The Chairman from the Committee of Correspondence reports to the Court, that in consequence of the request contained in the minute of the 20th April, which was communicated to Lord Buckinghamshire, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his Lordship favoured the Deputation with an interview

on Saturday, the 25th instant, at which Mr. Wallace was also present.

At that meeting various points belonging to the present negotiation were touched upon; but the discussion mainly turned on the important question of permitting the ships of private merchants generally to import goods from India, at the outports of the United Kingdom. The Deputation urged every thing which occurred to them in support of the proposition of the Court upon this subject, as involving the essential interests of the Company; but they found, with regret, that the impressions which his Majesty's Government had received respecting it, since the date of Lord Melville's letter of the 21st March, were not in consonance with the sentiments of the Court of Directors. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, and Lord Buckinghamshire, expressed their intention of communicating, in writing, the judgment they had formed on the subject, in question; and Lord Buckinghamshire having accordingly addressed a letter to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, dated the 27th instant, that letter is now laid before the Court.



*LETTER from the Right Honorable the Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, referred to in the preceding Minute.*

Gentlemen,

*India Board, April 27th 1812.*

In communicating to you the sentiments of His Majesty's Government, after a full consideration of the several points which have been brought under their view, in consequence of the conferences and explanations I have had with you and the Deputation, since I had the honor of receiving your note of the 3d instant, it is unnecessary for me to enter upon the discussion of the Hints and Observations which have been the subject of the correspondence between the late President of the Board of Control and yourselves, as far as those Hints and Observations have been sanctioned by the General Court.

It was to have been expected, that upon a question involving the various interests of so large a body as the merchants and manufacturers of the United Kingdom, as well as of the East-India Company, that considerable differences  
of

of opinion should arise, and that reasons should be alleged of sufficient weight, to suggest the propriety of revising any plan which might originally have been concerted.

Under such an impression, Lord Melville, in his letter of the 21st ultimo, desired it to be distinctly understood, that public discussion, in the further progress of the measure, might possibly produce an alteration in some of the details, as well as regulations of a different description from those which were then suggested.

You would, therefore, not have been wholly unprepared for the communication made by me to the Chairman at a personal interview, when he was informed that the representations which had been brought before His Majesty's Government, since the publication of the correspondence already referred to, had led them to entertain an opinion, that they would best consult the public interest, by not confining the import trade from the East-Indies to the port of London.

The arguments adduced by you and the other members of the Deputation, and which had been urged with much ability, and at considerable length, in your letter of the 15th instant, have received the most serious attention of His Majesty's Government; but I have to acquaint you, that although they think that the great interest of policy and of revenue, as well as of the East-India Company, will render it their duty to propose to Parliament, that the existing restraints, respecting the commercial intercourse with China, should continue, and that the exclusive trade in tea should be preserved to the Company, for whatever term the charter may be renewed, yet that they remain of opinion that the import trade from the East-Indies should not be confined to the port of London.

They are not, however, insensible to the danger and mischief which the revenue, as well as the East-India Company, might suffer, if under the cover of that trade, an illicit commerce in tea were to be successfully carried on; but they conceive, that regulations, both in India and at home, may be so framed, as to guard against that danger, and to protect the Company and the revenue, whose interests in this respect equally require such protection, from the effects of it.

In submitting, therefore, the propositions to Parliament in this shape, the Government are persuaded, that whilst they would thus be supporting interests justly entitled to public consideration, they would, at the same time, be pursuing a course, essential to the collection of a revenue of nearly four millions

sterling; without breaking in upon that system, under which the salutary provisions of the Commutation Act secure the people of the United Kingdom against any failure in the regular and constant supply of an article, which has become a necessary of life.

In considering the terms proposed for the renewal of the Charter, as they would stand, should the suggestions I have conveyed to you in this letter be adopted, you will be sensible of the high importance of bringing to a conclusion an arrangement in which the interests of the Company and the nation at large are so deeply implicated, with as little delay as may be deemed compatible with a mature consideration, and satisfactory adjustment, of the several claims and pretensions of the parties concerned.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

To the Chairman and Deputy Chairman  
of the Court of Directors.

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LETTER *from the Deputation to the Rt. Hon. the*  
Earl of Buckinghamshire.

My Lord, *East-India House, 29th April 1812.*

The letter which the Chairman and Deputy Chairman had the honour of receiving from your Lordship on the 27th instant, was the day following laid before the Court of Directors, and engaged their most serious attention. It has again been considered by them this day, and we have now to submit to your Lordship the answer which they have instructed us to make to it: an answer which, from having before well reflected on the principal subject of your Lordship's letter, delivers their mature opinion, and as they presume to hope, in the least time possible, being sensible with your Lordship that, in the present critical period of the negotiation, all unnecessary delay is to be avoided.

It is with extreme concern the Court find, that since the publication of the correspondence between the President of the Board of Commissioners and the Court of Directors on the momentous question of the renewal of the Company's Charter, his Majesty's Ministers have been led, by the representations which have been made to them, "to entertain

" an

“ an opinion, that they would best consult the public interest, by not confining the import trade from the East-Indies to the Port of London,” and that they still hold this opinion.

Not having been made acquainted with the particulars of those representations, and having urged various arguments which remain unanswered, against the measure of opening the outports to the trade from India, the Court, under the disadvantages of such a situation, are imperiously called to the consideration of the circumstances in which the Company are now placed, and in which, according to the best judgment they can form, the Company would be placed, if the new Charter should open the outports of the United Kingdom to the returns of the Indian trade.

Whatever may be thought, my Lord, by the merchants of this country, of their right to enter into the possession of a trade, acquired and maintained through long struggles and vicissitudes, at immense expense, by the East-India Company; a trade still intimately connected with the security of the vast empire which the same Company have gained, and administer for the benefit of the nation at large; the Court of Directors are of opinion, that the sacrifices they agreed to make of that trade to the public feeling, or if they may be permitted to express their idea more accurately, the public prejudice, were very large; and they yielded to them undoubtedly in a firm belief, not at that time discouraged by His Majesty's Ministers, that the importations from India would be confined to London, as well as that the exclusive privilege of the China trade would be carefully secured to the Company. But the concessions frankly made by the Court of Directors and Proprietors, who regard themselves always as a part of the Public, and wish, as much as possible, to be in unison with it, have, it appears, only encouraged farther demands; and if the tide of prejudice, of popular clamour, of most extravagant expectation and unbounded pretension, which have been more industriously than fairly excited, were now to determine the public counsels, not a vestige would remain of that great fabric, which has been reared in the course of two centuries, uniting with commerce an imperial dominion, which would be shaken to its foundation by the destruction of that system which has acquired and preserved it.

It is no surprise, my Lord, to the Court, though it is undoubtedly a great consolation, that His Majesty's Ministers unite with the “ great interests of policy and of revenue,”

those of the East-India Company, and that it must hence be their object to continue the political functions of the Company, and the means which are necessary for the maintenance of those functions. On this basis, the Court are happy to have the honor of meeting His Majesty's Ministers, and to continue the present discussion.

It is perfectly known, that for a series of years past, since the Indian territory has been loaded with an immense political debt, the Company have derived no surplus from the revenues. They have carried on the currency of their home affairs, they have even aided the political concerns of India, and, above all, they have made good the dividends to the Proprietors from the profits on their commerce; and, of late years, these profits have been derived chiefly from the China trade. From the still existing territorial debts of the Company, and the scale of their Indian expenditure, after all endeavours to reduce it, the Court of Directors have no prospect of pecuniary acquisitions, except through the same medium of commerce, for many years to come; and, as already intimated, it is the commercial profits of the Company which enable them to discharge the political functions assigned to them in the management of the Indian empire. Without this resource, or some equivalent one, not within their power, the dividends could not be continued, the value of the stock would diminish, and the Company be brought to a state of dissolution.

It is the extinction, or material diminution of the commercial profits, arising chiefly, as we have said, from the China trade, that we apprehend from the opening of the outports to the returns of the Indian commerce. If this extinction or diminution were to take place, your Lordship will doubtless agree with the Court, in admitting, that the fatal consequences they contemplate, would follow; and that, after going on a few years on the new plan, the Company would be so impaired in its resources, as to be inadequate to the important part allotted to it in the system of Indian administration.

When the Court of Directors thus view the consequences of opening the outports, His Majesty's Ministers will not blame the anxiety with which they respectfully contend against that measure. The duty they owe to their Constituents, to their own characters, and to the Public, requires them, in such a case, to act with the greatest circum-

circumspection, in order to obtain a reasonable assurance, that the terms of the new Charter will be such, as will enable the Company to go on efficiently in the performance of the political functions it has hitherto discharged.

We do not apprehend, my Lord, that there is any difference in principle on these points, between His Majesty's Ministers and the Court of Directors. The main difference, in respect to the question of opening the outports, is as to the practical effects of that measure. It appeared, in the conference we had the honour of holding with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and your Lordship, to be his opinion, that checks could be devised to prevent an indefinite extent of smuggling tea, ruinous to the Company, which we fear from opening the outports to the Indian trade. We have already given many reasons for thinking, that the practice of smuggling would, in such case, be uncontrollable. Those reasons, which need not be repeated here, we believe it will be difficult for the parties most adverse to the Company to refute; but the subject being so important in the present discussion, we beg leave to add a few more observations on it.

It is a fact notorious, that tea has been smuggled, by the way of India, into this Country, even when the duty was comparatively small; when the Indian import trade was confined to eight or ten Company's ships, and to the river Thames. How much more, then, is smuggling, beyond all bounds, to be expected, when the ships shall be unlimited in number and size, and may resort to the outports of England, Scotland, and Ireland? This practice would be much facilitated, because, in the numerous Eastern Islands, not subject to any European power, where we have said tea might be brought for English ships from China, there is no usage of clearing out vessels, or giving them papers or manifests. It would thence be easy for them to break bulk in the passage home, and as they approached the coasts of Britain and Ireland, to put tea, as well as other articles chargeable with duty, on board of ships and cutters, destined either for the ports of the Continent, or the remote coasts of Scotland and Ireland, on which, for a hundred miles together, every where accessible from the sea, there is scarcely a custom-house, and where custom-houses could not be sufficiently multiplied. Vessels of very small size being allowed in the Indian trade, they could enter into ports and bays  
little



little frequented, and run goods to be carried inland and there dispersed. In some of the northern and western ports of the United Kingdom, we have heard that collusive practices between the revenue officers and the smugglers are not unusual. If this is the case in respect to articles which pay a comparatively small duty, what would it be, where the articles of tea and Indian goods were in question? Ships might stop at intermediate ports for orders, and there smuggle; as those bound to the Western coast, at Cork and Falmouth; those to the eastern coast, at Falmouth and the Downs; those going north about, on the Irish and Scotch coasts. Ships having several ports of discharge, would thereby obtain facilities in smuggling; and the state of relations between this country and parts of Northern Europe may be such, as to afford the means of running goods into those parts; which, from their proximity, may again be able to smuggle the goods into our remote ports. In a word, we are led to apprehend, that the means and the temptation of smuggling tea, when an unlimited trade is permitted to India and the Eastern Islands, must be, in a very great degree, uncontrollable by any checks which His Majesty's Government can, in such circumstances, interpose. Nor is it to be overlooked, that a class of Indian goods, styled in the revenue language *prohibited*, because excluded altogether, as interfering with the manufactures of this country, will, by all the openings which the new trade will produce, be every where unavoidably brought into use. It is true; that even if the return trade of India were confined to the Channel, as we proposed, smuggling might be expected, but certainly, not, in our opinion, at all to the same extent. And had we conceived otherwise, the same objection we now advance against opening the outports, would have been urged against that enlargement of trade, in which the Court have acquiesced; and for the same reason, to prevent the ruin of the Company; which did His Majesty's Ministers apprehend, they would doubtless, in either case, have desired to prevent, even by refusing the required concessions to the British merchants.

With these views, my Lord, deeply impressed on the minds of the Directors, acting as they are in a most responsible situation, is it too much for them to expect and to request, that they may be honored with the know-

ledge

ledge of those means which his Majesty's Government may think would be effectual to prevent the practice of smuggling, under the new circumstances, to any ruinous or great extent?—could they have a reasonable persuasion of the practicability of such prevention, *that* would undoubtedly, so far lessen their fears and the arguments on which they now feel it their duty to insist. They hope not to be misunderstood in this proposition. Assured both of the desire of His Majesty's Ministers, as well on account of the Company as of the revenue, to prevent smuggling, and of their belief of the practicability of doing so; feeling also, as the Court do, the delicacy of seeming to interfere in any of the revenue-regulations of Government, they are yet so circumstanced, in the present critical conjuncture, as to find this enquiry most interesting to the cause of the Company.

It is indeed true, that the Public appear to have a greater concern at stake here than the Company. The Public may lose the greater part of a revenue of four millions per annum, whilst the Company can have only to the extent of one million at hazard. But then this one million is all the Company's certain income: if they lose that, they lose the foundation on which their efficiency rests; unless, in the new arrangements, some other resource should be provided, which should secure the dividend to the Proprietors; a provision which, undoubtedly, would also materially affect the views the Court of Directors now entertain from contemplating the dangers of the Company's China trade. And suffer us, my Lord, since the assailants of the Company's privileges are so loud in representing their interests as those of the nation at large, to add this remark concerning the national interest in the present question, that if the revenue of nearly four millions, now so easily collected from tea, should fail, or fail to the extent of only two millions, other taxes must be laid upon the Public, to compensate for that loss: and whether the nation will gain so much otherwise, by the proposed enlargements of trade, may be a serious question with those who have to decide on this momentous concern; with us it is none. It may deserve also to be recollected, that with the fall of the Company's China trade will fall the exports of woollens and metals, to the extent of a million annually, by which the prosperity of the counties of Cornwall, Devon,

Devon, Somerset, Dorset, and Gloucester, and Norfolk in some measure, have been upheld, during the arduous struggle of eighteen years in which the country has been engaged; the excellent fleet of ships employed by the Company, with all the long detail of interests connected with them, must decay; whilst the nation will lose that certain and regular supply furnished by the Company of the article of tea, an article, as your Lordship justly observes, now become a necessary of life.

Before we dismiss this topic, may we be allowed to bring under your Lordship's inspection, a succinct view of the capital and interests concerned in the Indian and China trade from the port of London.

There are about fourteen hundred commanders and officers belonging to the ships of the East-India Company (besides the seamen, who may be about eight thousand). The tradesmen engaged in the supply of the Company's shipping in the river Thames are about twelve thousand, and the labourers employed in their warehouses are about three thousand. All these, with their families and dependants, making an aggregate of upwards of thirty thousand persons, would, by the removal of the Indian trade from the port of London, be generally reduced to great distress, and many of them become burthensome to their parishes.

The capital now employed in the Indian trade may be moderately computed as follows.

The Company's capital stock of £6,000,000,	
at the price at which many Proprietors	
purchased, will amount to	£10,800,000
Capital in warehouses	1,000,000
Capital in ships	3,800,000
Capital in docks	400,000
Capital of individuals in the metropolis may	
be moderately estimated at	5,000,000
	<hr/>
	£21,000,000

The trade in which this large capital is employed produces, as we have had occasion repeatedly to observe, an annual revenue to Government of more than four millions sterling; and the net saving to Government, from the present mode of collecting the duties, may, we conceive, be fairly estimated at £150,000 per annum. By means of direct and indirect taxation, the capital

itself,

itself, and the profits upon it, yield a farther sum of large amount to Government; but the productiveness of the capital, in this respect, depends wholly upon the solidity of the basis on which it rests.

These, my Lord, are the sentiments and observations which we are directed to communicate to your Lordship. The reflection upon them has, we trust, been mature, though the expression of them, in the shortest time allowed for the preparation of this letter, may require indulgence. But we are further specially directed to add, that this is a concern of too great moment for the Court to trust to its own judgment; or to act on its own responsibility; the Directors have therefore summoned a General Court of Proprietors to meet on Friday next, when the correspondence with your Lordship, including this letter, will be laid before them for their consideration.

We have the honor to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servants,

(Signed)

HUGH INGLIS,  
ROBERT THORNTON,  
JACOB BOSANQUET,  
W. F. ELPHINSTONE,  
EDWARD PARRY,  
CHARLES GRANT,  
GEORGE SMITH,  
WILLIAM ASTELL.

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Buckinghamshire;  
&c. &c. &c.

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*At a GENERAL COURT of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the EAST-INDIES, held on Tuesday, the 5th May, 1812.*

Resolved Unanimously;

That this Court has learnt with deep concern and surprize, that His Majesty's Ministers have been induced to change the view they first entertained of the propriety of confining to the Port of London the returns of the Trade to India, now to be permitted to all British subjects.—That the measure of opening the Outports to vessels of all descriptions from India, comprehending in that term the Eastern Islands, appears to this Court to be fraught with consequences ruinous to the Company, and all the long train

of interests connected with it; by removing from the Port of London the greater part of the Indian Trade, which it has hitherto enjoyed; by rendering useless many of the extensive establishments formed there for the Merchandize and Shipping of that trade, and throwing out of bread many thousands of persons who now derive constant employment from it; by deranging the practice and frustrating the end of stated Public Sales which are useful and important both to the Country and the Company, who are necessarily restricted to this practice; but, above all, by affording facilities for the Smuggling of Teas into the Ports and Harbours of England, Scotland, and Ireland) to an extent unlimited, and as this Court apprehend, uncontrollable.—That, the consequences of this must be the destruction of the Company's China Trade, their best source of commercial profit; the failure of their Dividend; the depreciation of their Stock, and unless a fund is provided from some other source for the payment of the Dividend, inability on their part to continue to perform the functions assigned to them in the Government of British India.—That if the constitution by which the Indian Empire is now administered should thus be subverted, the excellent system of Civil and Military Service formed under the Company, and maintainable only by such a body, will be broken down, the tranquillity and happiness of the vast population which that Empire contains, the Interests of this Country in Asia, and its Constitution at home, will be imminently endangered.

That the professed object for which the proposed charges are to be made, and such immense sacrifices hazarded, namely, the Increase of the Commerce of this Kingdom, cannot be in any great degree attained; there being no practicability of extending materially the use of our Manufactures among the Indian people; the tonnâge allotted by the Company, or afforded by Indian Ships in the management of individuals, for such exports, not having been fully occupied; neither does it appear practicable largely to augment the importation of profitable commodities from thence; of all which the example of the American Trade to the East is a proof. British Manufactures, which they could easily have procured, making no part of it, nor their returns exhibiting any new articles of importance.—That therefore the Trade now enjoyed by the Company and individuals will be the only certain trade  
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to which new adventurers can have recourse; and this will be no addition to the Commerce of the Country, but only a transfer from one set of hands to another; so that, Old Establishments will be subverted, without substituting any thing equally good in their place; and to all appearance with great detriment to the Nation, particularly in the Defalcation of a large part of the Duties now collected on Tea, to the amount of Four Millions sterling per annum; for all which Defalcation, whether one, or two, or three millions, New Taxes must be laid on the people.— That the Cause of the Company has been deeply injured by prejudice, ignorance, erroneous assumptions, and of late by extensive combinations, and by unfair representation, canvas, and intimidation—in all which the merits and rights of the Company, the Political Interests of British India, and of this Country as connected with them, have been left out of sight, and the single object of the Extension of Commerce, an object too only of speculation, in opposition to past experience, is the governing principle.

This Court however confidently hope, that Parliament will not decide the fate of the Company, on the representations and demands of private interests, but on just and comprehensive views of National Policy; and the Court must also believe that His Majesty's Ministers are too enlightened and equitable finally to adopt any measure calculated to destroy the commercial profits of the Company, and thereby to disable them from performing their political functions. This Court, therefore, entirely approving, both of the firmness which their Directors have shewn in maintaining the interest of the Company, and of the manner in which they have, in the papers now produced by them, defended those interests, doth recommend it to them to persevere in the Negotiation with His Majesty's Ministers upon the same principles; assured of the determination of this Court to support them to the utmost in maintaining the permanence of the Company and the National Interest, which are involved in their stability.

Resolved Unanimously, That the thanks of this Court be given to Randle Jackson, Esq. for his very luminous and excellent speech this day; for the great zeal, ability and industry he has on various occasions, and particularly  
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on this, displayed for the honor and advantage of this Company.

Resolved Unanimously, That the warmest thanks of this General Court be offered to the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Court of Directors of this Company, for their very able conduct in the Negotiation with Government for the Renewal of the Charter; alike evincing the most luminous ideas of the best Interests of this Company, and their most honorable conduct in the management of so important a concern.

*(Signed)*

WILLIAM RAMSAY,  
*Secretary.*