

General Sir John Dutton, G. C. B.

FURTHER INQUIRY

INTO THE *Rare section*

EXPEDIENCY OF APPLYING THE PRINCIPLES

OF

Colonial Policy

TO THE

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA;

AND OF EFFECTING

AN ESSENTIAL CHANGE

IN ITS

Landed Tenures,

AND IN THE

CHARACTER OF ITS INHABITANTS.

By the Author of the Original

“INQUIRY.”

Major Gavin Young.

LONDON:

J. M. RICHARDSON, 23, CORNHILL.

1828.

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DEDICATION.

TO THE MOST NOBLE

THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.

MY LORD,

The sound principles of internal and colonial policy which have ever characterized your Lordship's public life, encourage me to dedicate the following pages to your Lordship. Among the numerous objects of public interest which solicit your Lordship's attention, there is none which has stronger claims on a generous mind,—none which will more abundantly reward exertion with heartfelt satisfaction and lasting fame, than a Reformation of the Government of India.

The grounds on which that question now rest are essentially changed, and greatly extended beyond their former limits. Having assumed the station of rulers of India, all former plans of civil and military administration appear inadequate to present security, still more disproportionate to future exigencies; and India presents, to the eye of the statesman and philanthropist, a vast field of interesting duties and illimitable improvement.

I have the honour to be,
With the greatest respect,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient
humble Servant,
THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E.

THE following pages contain such further arguments, in support of the expediency of permitting the colonization of British subjects in India, as have been suggested by further observation, inquiry, and reflection, and by the books and documents which have been published, or which have come to my knowledge, since the "*Inquiry*" was written, (1820). That free scope will soon be given to the industry of British subjects and their descendants, in India, I am firmly persuaded; and the signs of the times

sanction the sanguine anticipations which I entertained, on that subject, eight years ago.

The only instance, in which I have found occasion to modify former views or statements, is in what relates to the condition of the Ryots, which appears generally to approach much more nearly to that of tenants at will than to that of privileged occupants, as they are commonly supposed to be, or of leasehold farmers, as it was predicted, by Mr. Colebrooke, that they would become.

To those at all acquainted with this controversy it is needless to say that what is meant by the *colonization* of India is something as different from the colonization

* See Inquiry, p. 167, 178-181.

of Canada as the emancipation of the Irish Catholics differs from the emancipation of the Greeks. It never was imagined that any part of the redundant *labouring* population of England or Ireland could find relief by emigrating to India; but that British landlords, farmers, traders, and artizans, of every description, would rapidly and indefinitely advance the agricultural and commercial interests of India, give stability and vigour to the local government, and conciliate the attachment while they raised the character of the native inhabitants. A note, however, in the Edinburgh Review, (No. XC. p. 346,) must have widely disseminated a singular misapprehension on the subject of the colonization of India. The reviewer admits that the author of a work on that subject is "right in point of

“ principle.”—“ But he has prodigiously
 “ exaggerated its importance. A few land-
 “ speculators might emigrate to India ; but
 “ it is ridiculous to suppose that there can
 “ be *any considerable or really advantageous*
 “ *emigration to a country where the wages of*
 “ *labour do not exceed three pence a-day.*”

If the reviewer can show that I calculated on the emigration of a single ploughman, or day-labourer, or point out wherein I have overstated the advantages derivable from the intelligence and energy of many Englishmen already in India, as well as of the kind of emigrants intended by me,* and generally understood by all who enter into the discussion, I shall admit that I am chargeable with exaggeration ; but, if he

* See Inquiry, p. 219-223, 295.

cannot, it will be for the reader to judge whether the Reviewer has not “prodigiously” *under-rated* those advantages, and mistaken the whole ground and bearings of the question. In conceding the “principle,” the Reviewer has conceded *all that is required*. Nothing more is required than that Englishmen should be free to expend their own money, and apply their own ingenuity and labour in cultivating the resources of India. No greater or more complicated effort is required from the British Parliament than that it should give to Englishmen the liberty of unlicensed resort to and residence in India, with the right of trial by jury in all cases. Without such indispensable protection, no Englishman will invest capital in agricultural*

* The name of “Indigo planter” may mislead some into a

or manufacturing speculations, and India may continue for ever stationary in wealth, civilization, and happiness. *With* such protection no man can presume to assign limits to the advancement of which that neglected portion of the British empire is capable. It has been well observed that, “ in England, “ the advantages of large capital are evident;—in all our large undertakings, “ money is as powerful as steam, because, “ like that power, we are enabled to confine “ it, and to apply its force on the particular “ point and in the particular direction which

supposition that Englishmen are proprietors or farmers of the land on which the indigo plant is grown, which they are not permitted to be. They procure the plant on contract, and extract the colouring matter, in which process very little *fixed* capital is requisite. The average value of indigo annually exported from Calcutta is £2,500,000.

“ is required. But take from us the laws
“ of our country, and the advantages of
“ public competition, which bind and pro-
“ tect our capital, and money, like steam,
“ becomes impotent as smoke.”^{*} The writer
of the above passage justly glories in the
security enjoyed by his countrymen, which
has given existence to so many miracles of
comfort, splendour, magnificence, and power;
and yet there is a dependency subject to the
legislature of that same country, from the
Englishmen resident in which, security of
person and property, the only foundation of
all prosperity, is withheld!

* *Quarterly Review*, No. LXXI. p. 99, on *Cornish mining in South America*.

APPENDIX.

THE following paper exhibits a curious attempt to extract some benefit from the agricultural operations of a few English gentlemen in the cultivation of a single article, *coffee*, without the relinquishment of any of the restrictions which render colonization impossible. It is a highly interesting document. Every line of it affords matter for observation, Paragraphs 5, 6, 17, 18, 19, 21, are particularly deserving of the reader's attention. It is a RESOLUTION by the Governor General in Council, dated 7th May, 1824, not a formally enacted and promulgated REGULATION.

“ Resolution.

“ *Revenue.*—As far as a judgement can in such a case be formed, until trial be made, there appears to be abundant reason to conclude that the cultivation of coffee may be successfully prosecuted in this country on an extensive scale, and that the article may indeed be produced at a cost considerably below that which

the lowest prices hitherto known in the market would amply reimburse: while, at the same time, there is scarcely any thing of which the consumption is likely to experience so large an augmentation in the event of any material reduction of price.

“ 2.—The extension of the export trade of India is an object of the highest importance both to England and to India; and the introduction of a new branch of trade, such as that in question may eventually become, would be a great national benefit. The speculation appears, therefore, to be one which is in a high degree worthy of the support of Government. From the nature of the case, it is indispensably necessary that those who undertake it should have an assured tenure in the lands appropriated to the cultivation for a considerable period of time. And, although it is to be expected and desired that the natives will before long enter on the speculation, and be guided by the example set to them in the conduct of it, yet to its early and successful introduction on a large scale it appears to be essentially requisite to allow scope to European enterprise and intelligence.

“ 3.—The land required in each case will, it is probable, admit of easy demarcation, although, in the lower parts of Bengal at least, it may not be found practicable to procure a sufficient extent of suitable ground without some intermixture of land applicable only to other purposes. And his Lordship in Council would hope that little difficulty will be experienced in proceeding for the satisfactory adjustment of all claims and the effectual protection of all rights attaching to land to be used in the cultivation of coffee or other-

wise necessarily included within the limits of the plantation.

“ 4.—For this purpose, however, and especially for the protection of the Ryots and the security of the real interests of the speculators, it appears to be necessary to prescribe some special rules to be observed before any lands shall be occupied by Europeans, that the arrangements concluded by them with the owners and occupiers of land should be certified by the collectors of the districts, and that the European planters should be held subject to the awards of those officers in all matters touching the payment of rent, the adjustment of boundaries, and the like, with an appeal, of course, to the Board of Revenue.

“ 5.—It appears to be, for several reasons, desirable that the tenure of the European planters should be that of leaseholders, not that of proprietors of the land. As to the term of the lease, it seems to be unnecessary to lay down at present any general rule.

“ 6.—With the above sentiments, his Lordship in Council is pleased to resolve that Europeans of respectability, being persons, of course, duly licensed as to residence, shall be authorised to take leases of land for the cultivation of coffee, under the following conditions and restrictions.

“ 7.—Persons desirous of establishing coffee plantations shall, in the first instance, apply for the permission of Government to do so, stating the district in which they propose to have the establishment and the quantity of land they wish to include in their plantations, and each of them: such applications to be

submitted through the Secretary to Government in the Territorial Department.

“ 8.—When permission is granted, the parties shall submit to the Collector of the district a detailed statement of the lands which they desire to occupy, and of the terms which they may have settled with the owners and occupants, including every one whom they may know to possess an interest in the lands. This statement shall be in English, Persian, and Bengallee, if in Bengal,—and in English, Persian, and Hindoostanee, if in Behar or in the Western Provinces,—and in English, Persian, and Oorya, if in Cuttack.

“ 9.—The Collector shall cause to be published, on the land desired to be taken, or in the nearest hant, or village, and shall likewise stick up in his Kutchery an Ishtahar, notifying the contents of the application, and requiring all persons who may desire to submit any representation in the matter to come forward, in person or by Vakeel, within the period of one month.

“ 10.—Any representations which may be made to the Collector, in consequence of such notice, will be duly investigated by him, and the result recorded in a regular proceeding.

“ 11.—If the result of such investigation shall appear to him to render objectionable the establishment of the proposed coffee plantation, the Collector shall report the circumstances to the Board of Revenue, and be guided by their instructions as to his further proceedings.

“ 12.—At the end of the period fixed in the Ishtahar, if there shall not appear to be any objection to a

compliance with the application of the party, the Collector shall either proceed himself to the spot, or shall depute the Pergunna Canoongo, or other Ameen, to measure and mark off the land proposed to be appropriated as a coffee plantation, and to take from the several parties interested therein the necessary deeds in favour of the planter, and from the planter the requisite engagements in favour of the parties.

“ 13.—When the whole is concluded the Collector shall submit his proceedings to the Board of Revenue, who, if satisfied that all claims have been duly attended to and properly adjusted, will finally confirm the arrangement.

“ 14.—Persons licensed as above to hold lands will, of course, be chargeable with all expenses attending the measurement and demarcation of the same, and the other necessary investigations.

“ 15.—Lands occupied by Khoodkasht Ryots, or other cultivators enjoying an hereditary right of occupancy, must not, of course, be transferred without the consent of those persons.

“ 16.—Where the rents may be receivable by a Talookdar, or other Middleman coming between the Ryots and the Zemindar, or Sudder Malgoozar, the right of the latter to object to the arrangement will depend on the nature of the intermediate tenure. But in general it is the desire of Government that no lands should be taken by Europeans unless all parties possessing an interest in the soil or in the rents shall consent to the arrangement.

“ 17.—Europeans permitted to hold lands as above must bind themselves to submit to the award of the

Collector of the district, subject only to appeal to the Board of Revenue, in all matters relating to any rent, or other consideration demanded from them on account of the land occupied by them, as well as in all disputes touching the possession of the land, or any wells, water courses, tanks, reservoirs, or the like.

“ 18.—The coffee plantation shall be liable to sale by the Collector in satisfaction of any award passed by him, if not otherwise satisfied, within such time as may be appointed by the Board of Revenue, to whom, in all cases requiring recourse to sale, a reference shall be made.

“ 19.—If any European licensed to occupy land for a coffee plantation shall violate the engagement into which he may enter, or shall usurp or violently disturb the possessions of the neighbours, or shall be otherwise guilty of any act in breach of the peace, the Governor General in Council reserves to himself the power of cancelling the licence and of directing the interest possessed by the offender in the plantation to be sold.

“ 20.—The Board of Revenue will be authorised to take such further security as they may deem necessary, but in general his Lordship in Council would presume that the plantation itself will afford sufficient security. Parties who may suffer in consequence of the annulment of a planter's licence will also have their remedy in a suit in Court.

“ 21.—It will frequently, his Lordship in Council presumes, be necessary to include in the planter's possession a certain quantity of land on which coffee cannot be grown, besides tanks and the like, and the

plant requires the shelter of other shrubs or trees, which may at the same time be otherwise turned to profit. A certain latitude is, therefore, necessary, but the Board will see that it is not abused.

“ 22.—It will, of course, be the business of the Collector to see that an adequate rent is paid for all Malgoozaree lands included in a coffee plantation, and the tenure will be secured from the operation of a public sale for arrears of revenue,* under the provisions of Section 31, Regulation 11, 1822.

“ 23.—When a lease may be taken from a subordinate Talookdar, the planter must take the precaution of making the superior holder or holders parties to his engagement, that he may be secure from the consequences of default on the part of the lessor.

“ 24.—Subject to the above provision, his Lordship in Council is pleased to authorize Dr. Wallich and Mr. Gordon to hold the land for which they applied. They will be referred to the Board and the Collector for the final adjustment.

“ 25.—Mr. Lock's application to purchase one thousand Beegahs of land is deemed inadmissible.”

To Sir Alexander Johnston the credit is due of procuring the removal, in 1810, of the restrictions which prohibited Europeans from holding land in CEYLON.

* i. e.—Due by the Lessor.

To him, also, we are indebted for the first example of the use of juries composed of native inhabitants of our Eastern possessions.

The Dutch Government would not permit their countrymen to settle in the interior of *JAVA*, and the consequence is that they have for some years been maintaining a bloody and expensive contest for their existence! In 1820, a number of Europeans, many of them Englishmen, rented land from the native princes in the central provinces, chiefly for the cultivation of coffee. In 1823 they were all driven from the interior by the Governor, Baron Vander Capellen, without any indemnification but the future produce which might become available from their deserted plantations. Adversity has now opened their eyes to the folly, if not to the injustice, of those violent proceedings; and, by a decree, dated 17th May, 1827, the European planters are restored to their leasehold estates, and "the free disposition of their lands, and particularly the renting them to European planters, remains insured to the Javanese princes and chiefs." The errors, offences, sufferings, and repentance of the Batavian Government would throw a strong light on the doctrine of colonization.

THE following abstract of a celebrated speech by Lord Grenville, on the subject of the last renewal of the East India Company's charter still possesses a great and increasing interest, because, though public

opinion is considerably in advance of his Lordship's views on some points (the great question of colonization having arisen and grown to maturity since his time); yet on other and very material points, especially that of PATRONAGE, the weight of so high an authority—the testimony of a practical statesman of the first rank—must continue to be, till the fate of the broad continent of India is decided, of inestimable value.—*Ed.*

The speech, besides the value of its matter, is deserving of attention for the elegance of its style, always clear and forcible, and rising in some passages to eloquence. It was written out for separate publication by the noble author, and thus it must be considered as containing the deliberate views and opinions on Indian affairs of a veteran statesman of great talents and tried judgement, whose attention had been directed to the affairs of India in a degree much more than is now common in the English Parliament; from the circumstance, to which he alludes, that when he first entered public life party violence was peculiarly directed to that question. It was on that very ground that the government of the empire was disputed between the greatest statesmen of the age.

It is probably owing to this early and complete mastery of the subject that Lord Grenville's speech appears to so great an advantage compared with most of the debates upon the India bill. The reader sees that his Lordship is discussing a question on which he has clear and distinct ideas, and which enable him to perceive and fix upon the main points without being bewildered in irrelevant questions of subordinate detail.

He has given a brief yet a distinct view of the state of British India in 1813, and of the general plans for its improvement which suggested themselves to *his* mind. When the question shall come again to be discussed, in what manner India is to be governed, the clear fulfilment of some of Lord Grenville's anticipations, and the dissipation of many prejudices which prevailed in 1813, will probably occasion his opinions to be referred to with more deference than was paid to them at the time. They will not *then* be received with some jealousy, as the plans of the leader of a hostile party in the senate, but as the legacy of a statesman who has retired from public life.

As an instance of his keen glance through the mists of prejudice and ignorance, and of the beauty of his illustrations, we may quote the passage where he shows his just contempt for the mass of evidence which had been produced at the bar of the House, to prove that the trade with India could not be increased. A host of persons, eminent from their names or their places, who had resided in that country as Governors, Counsellors, Colonels, Judges, &c. were marshalled in array at the bar to prove this. Sir Thomas Munro and Sir John Malcolm were at their head, and many people were content to believe that, because these men were avowedly skilful in collecting revenue or negotiating treaties, therefore they were competent witnesses on other points, of which they had no experience and could form no judgement. The books of the Customhouse have long since proved the utter absurdity of the conjectural opinions which they delivered, with a very natural bias towards their "reverend and approved

good masters." Lord Grenville, at the time, pointed out, in the following passage, that their opinions were of no value whatever, and, by his parallel suppositions, has both indicated the causes of their error and shown that it was no impeachment to their general sagacity.

" To what extent this trade may then be carried, presumptuous indeed would be the man who shall now venture to pronounce. On what evidence, what conjecture, would he found his judgement? What present knowledge, what past experience of India could possibly decide that question? 'No commerce,' Trebatius or Quintus Cicero, returning from a campaign in Britain would probably have informed the Roman senate, 'no commerce can ever be carried on with that uncivilized, uncultivated island, divided absolutely from the whole world by tempestuous and unnavigable seas, and inhabited only by naked and houseless barbarians.'—'No commerce,' some sage counsellor of Henry or Elizabeth might, with equal authority, have assured those monarchs, 'can ever be opened with the dreary wilderness of North America, a land covered with impenetrable forests, the shelter only of some wandering tribes of the rudest and most ferocious savages.' Yet of these predictions the folly might be palliated by inexperience. In the defect of better knowledge, such conjectures might even pass for wisdom. But what shall we say of those who deny the possibility, not of opening new sources for the commerce of mankind, but of enlarging its present channels? Who tell us that the trade which we now carry on with India must, in all future time, be limited to its actual amount? Strange

“ and unprecedented necessity! which has thus set
 “ bounds to human industry and enterprise, arrested the
 “ progress of commercial intercourse, and, by some
 “ blasting and malignant influence, blighted the natural
 “ increase of social improvement. With full and confi-
 “ dent assurance may we repel these idle apprehensions.
 “ 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 follow-
 “ ing 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 com-
 “ merce, as every other people has uniformly derived
 “ from it, new comforts and new conveniences of life,
 “ new incitements to industry, and new enjoyments, in
 “ just reward of increased activity and enterprise.”

Lord Grenville commences his speech with some
 remarks on those of Lord Wellesley and Lord Buck-
 inghamshire, who had spoken before him. After
 some compliments to the brilliant Indian administra-
 tion of the former, he remarks that the latter had, with
 great propriety, pointed out the real nature of the
 duty now cast upon Parliament:—“ he has reminded
 “ us (I think it has been frequently overlooked in dis-
 “ cussing the subject elsewhere) that our present de-
 “ liberation embraces the whole question of our future
 “ relations with India: the government of a vast em-

“pire, and the regulation of the British commerce
 “with every port and country between the southern
 “promontories of Africa and America. It is a de-
 “ception 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 mea-
 “sures would be deceitful guides. They were ex-
 “periments not always successful, and, at the best,
 “calculated only for limited duration; never perma-
 “nent, nor ever meant for permanence; temporary in
 “their nature, and continually varying with the pro-
 “gressive variations of our interest and power in a
 “country where our situation has never yet been sta-
 “tionary. 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 per-
 “ petuate those anomalous and imperfect arrange-
 “ ments, I am persuaded that we are not yet arrived
 “ at the period when any final regulation on the sub-
 “ ject 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 Par-
 “ liament 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 fortunes of
 “ the British empire! This improvidence I trust we
 “ shall avoid.”*

He proceeds then to remark that it is important to
 keep in mind that this was not a mere question re-
 garding the interests and privileges of the East India

*It is a remarkable fact that, in 1813, Mr. Canning also pro-
 posed that the exclusive trade to China should be continued only
 for ten years, and divided the House upon that proposition.

Company, but that there was a preferable and higher duty which ought first to be discharged.

“ Consider” (says the orator) “ 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, territory, or dominion, is of right an-
“ nexed. *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 sove-
“ reignty 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 de-
“ rive any authority to make laws for India. No
“ territories to which the king’s sovereignty did not
“ extend could, by any possible pretence, be subjec-
“ ted to the legislative authority of his Parliament.

“ What are the duties which this sovereignty im-
“ poses and the order in which they should be dis-
“ charged? The very reverse of that in which, I am
“ sorry to say, 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 con-
 “ siderations, 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 in-
 “ dustry; 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 dis-
 “ tinct, are really at variance with each other. Far
 “ from it. Pursued with sincerity, and on the prin-
 “ ciples of a just and liberal policy, there exists be-
 “ tween them a close connexion,—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 metro-
 “ polis 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 Go-
 “ vernment in India shall carry to its highest pitch of

“ attainable advantage our connection with those vast
 “ dominions? In what manner shall it enrich the metro-
 “ polis 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 retri-
 “ bution of gratitude, for protection and good govern-
 “ ment, enjoyed in substance and not in name? By
 “ what laws, what judicatures, what responsibility, shall
 “ we prevent the oppression of distant subjects, submis-
 “ sive to all power, and incapable, in the present state
 “ of their manners, habits, and opinions, utterly incapa-
 “ ble, of political freedom? How reconcile with their
 “ progressive improvement, with the gradual diffusion of
 “ light and knowledge, the deference due to their sub-
 “ sisting 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 hap-
 “ piness, 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 preemi-
 “ nence of superior knowledge in its best and noblest
 “ form, the dignity of superior virtue?”

He proceeds to state that the next step he would
 advise, after having first asserted the sovereignty of
 the crown over India, would be to separate its govern-
 ment from ALL admixture with *mercantile interests* or
mercantile transactions.

“ The very existence of this blended character of
 “ sovereign and merchant, 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 govern-
 “ ment for the happiness of its subjects.”

As an illustration of the unfitness of this blended character for its trading functions, Lord Grenville states, on the authority of Lord Wellesley, adding, that he believes his assertion is much within the truth, that since the last renewal of their charter they had lost on their trade four millions sterling; and that the only profitable trade which they carried on was with China, where they had no sovereignty. He asserts that the compound body had been found to perform its governing functions quite as ill for near twenty years after the acquisition of the Dewanee. “ 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. All men
 “ were agreed that the *political direction* of India
 “ must be transferred from the East India Company,
 “ and placed under the *complete control* of the *public*
 “ councils.” Fox and Burke proposed to do this openly. The Company resisted vigorously, and succeeded in preventing “ Carlo Khan’s triumphant entry
 “ into Leadenhall-street.”* In this campaign they were

* This was the title of a very clever caricature, that made a

assisted by Mr. Pitt,—and they fared like other sovereigns who have called in too powerful an ally. To escape from a Board of Commissioners who would have pushed them from their chairs, they accepted Pitt's Board of Control, but when the full powers of this Board were afterwards unfolded to them, on a dispute taking place with the ministry, they found that their patronage indeed remained, but that their political power was departed. From the year 1784, the superintendence of all the political affairs of India has resided in the Board of Control, and, in fact, in the President of that Board. *That* Government has still been exercised, indeed, in the name of the Company, as the Company has also used the name of the Asiatic powers, whose misrule it superseded; but both the control 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: 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 control. 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 ser-

great sensation in its time: Fox, in Asiatic robes, was drawn seated on an elephant with Lord North's face, and advancing in triumphant procession to the India House: Burke marched before him blowing a trumpet.

vants in India are bound implicitly to obey. If, therefore, the Government of India has been materially ameliorated since 1784,—if there is more purity in the public functionaries, and a greater and more systematic desire to conduct the Government for the benefit of the governed,—if the demands of the exchequer have been limited, and the channels of justice have been purified, Lord Grenville claims the merit for the King's Government, which was the real moving and directing power in the new system of government.—The Company, it has been seen, retained their commerce and their patronage. The former he now proposed to leave to them entirely, and to take away the patronage altogether. “ From the union of merchant “ and sovereign, in any form, his judgement revolts as “ every where incompatible, in a cabinet as much as “ in a trading company.” He would not, therefore, give ministers the smallest right to interfere with the commercial concerns of the Company. They should manage them entirely as they pleased; it being clearly, however, understood, that *their* commercial agents who purchase silk, cotton, &c. in the interior of the country would no longer meet with any partiality or special indulgence from the judges and collectors of *the Indian Government*, which would render even-handed justice, and impose equal duties of customs and other taxes upon the merchandize of the great Company and upon that of all other trading companies. It would be for them to consider whether, under these circumstances, they could carry on a profitable trade when relieved from the cares of government; or how long their

patriotism would induce them to conduct a losing commerce. That they did so before 1813 their advocates proclaimed and boasted of it.

On the great question of the patronage of India Lord Grenville enters at much length—and his observations on this subject are so original and important, that they will undoubtedly attract notice whenever the subject shall again come before Parliament.

He avows that he retains unchanged the opinions he held in 1784, that if this influence were vested in the Crown, or in any political party, it must weigh down the balance of the Government. But he asked, is there no other course? Because we fear to give it to a party, must we therefore vest it in an exclusive corporation? “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?” He then proceeds to examine this question—and first he distinguishes what is too often confounded, the *patronage of advancement* in rank and office, and the *patronage of appointment* to the service.

The selection of those who are to exercise the supreme civil and military authorities in India had been for a long time *influenced* by the King’s ministers; and Lord Grenville recommends, as far more constitutional, that the responsibility of the nomination should attach to them openly. But with respect to the offices of inferior trust, including all below the councils, he observes that the general course of nomination, both in the civil and military line, has rested where, unquestionably, it ought to rest, with the governments on the spot, under certain limitations of selection fixed by

law. And he remarks that those legal securities against abuse would apply with equal, perhaps with greater efficacy, to the same services, administered under the constitutional security of the crown.

“ The local governments are best qualified to discriminate the characters of those who act immediately under their inspection. They are most immediately concerned to reward the merit, to discountenance the misconduct of those who are to act under their orders.

“ But undoubtedly a 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 1784, an inviolable course of succession by seniority was established, both for the civil and the military service in India. By that of 1793 the strict letter of this rule was a little, and but a little, relaxed. Under that law, fixed classes and gradations of office have been established in India, of rank and value proportioned to the length of service, by which alone any servants, even the most meritorious, can be 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 all 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 from among whom
 “ the selection must in every case be made, are few
 “ in number, and that they have all 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 grada-
 “ tion 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.”

No less distinct is the outline which he traces for the
 transfer of the Indian army to the Crown.

“ To blend, 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 advantage of local education,
 “ knowledge, and habits, so necessary for the com-
 “ mand 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
 “ renew, 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 dis-
 “ posed to hope that this valuable army might be taken
 “ as a distinct force, under the King’s immediate pro-
 “ tection and command. Preserving to it all its local
 “ character and local advantages; securing to it a com-
 “ plete 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 com-
 “ mission, as well as by merit and service, and called,
 “ by habitual and indiscriminate appointment, to ex-
 “ ercise 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, and guaranteed to
 “ it by law, must be broken down, before it can be-
 “ come, in the hands of the Crown, any more than in
 “ those of the Company, an object of political pa-
 “ tronage. And if these rules are thought insuf-
 “ ficient, 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 prin-
 “ ciples of military advancement.”

The *patronage of advancement* and promotion being thus lodged where it now resides, in the local government, under the sanction and restrictions of law, there remains the *patronage of appointment*, the original nomination of writers, cadets, and assistant-surgeons—a matter in itself of far less magnitude and importance, but which has generally been mixed up with the other through confusion of ideas or ignorance, and sometimes from an intention to magnify the amount of influence to be transferred. But while Lord Grenville objects to this patronage being vested in the ministry—he shews how easily it might be so disposed as to provide amply and efficiently for the wants of the service in India.

“ It remains to speak 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 exercising
 “ such a trust? Can it be supposed that the control
 “ over the conduct of these public servants will always
 “ be justly exercised by those with whom their ap-
 “ pointment has originated? In whatever hands the
 “ Government of India shall now be placed, it is just,
 “ it is necessary to provide some new course of impar-
 “ tial, and what is not less important, of mixed selec-
 “ tion, for keeping up your civil and military service
 “ in that country. Nor can the task be difficult. In-
 “ numerable are the modes in which it might be ac-
 “ complished. The most obvious course would be to
 “ choose the young men, who are destined for the civil
 “ service, by free competition and public examination,
 “ from our great schools and universities: to name the
 “ cadets not by the choice of any man, but by some
 “ fixed course of succession, from the families 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 go-
 “ vernment 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, whe-
 “ ther or not to separate the commerce from the Go-
 “ vernment of India. This, at least, is certain, that
 “ their union contributes nothing to the security of the
 “ British constitution.”

A kin to the question of the appointment of fit per-
 sons for the civil service is the scarcely less important
 inquiry how they are to be trained for the service, and
 Lord Grenville's remarks on the establishment of a
 separate college in England, for this purpose, are well-
 deserving of attention.

“ 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 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 justifica-
 “ ble 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 sepa-
 “ rated 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 *caste* of men, destined to ad-
 “ minister 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 universities would have af-
 “ forded to them for this purpose: that they might
 “ learn there, I trust, with not less facility than else-
 “ where, 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 com-
 “ munity, and destined to various ways of life: that
 “ they might there be imbued with the deepest tinc-
 “ ture 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 re-
 “ membrances and affections, not local only, but per-
 “ sonal; 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.”

Having thus explained the outlines of his own plan, he proceeds to examine the usual arguments which were brought forward to shew that there was in India some special cause, some local and peculiar necessity, for uniting *there* the functions of commerce and sovereignty, which are every where else so carefully discriminated. The commercial and political accounts of the Company had long since been blended into one texture, so complicated in its fabric, so artificially and intricately interwoven, that the separation seemed nearly impracticable. “ A late Committee of the House of Commons had judged it impossible to unravel them; and had, accordingly, laid before the House, not an *account*, but an *estimate* of what *had been* the Company’s profit and loss on their commerce for the last twenty years!” The first proposition with which Lord Grenville grapples is the advantage asserted to be derived to India, from a portion of the Revenue being applied to the purchase of the Company’s Investment for the English market. Instead of the usual admiration of this process, which is to be found in so many pamphlets and speeches, Lord Grenville characterises it as a system equally adverse to the prosperity of our own provinces, and to the just claims of the British merchant to a free participation in their commerce. “ We have been reminded,” says he, “ 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 of India: and this is pointed

“ to as a gratifying proof of the advantages resulting
 “ to the Indians, from a Government which combines
 “ the functions of merchant and sovereign.”—“ I am,”
 says his Lordship, “ surprised at hearing this practice
 “ relied on as beneficial to the country !

“ It may have become necessary to the maintenance
 “ of this involved and complicated system. 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 coun-
 “ tries impoverished and exhausted by a long course
 “ of public calamity, and in those where no commer-
 “ cial 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 dis-
 “ pensations 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 fur-
 “ nished 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, main-
 “ tains the artisan at the cost of the labourer; and

“ claiming to be himself, also, the paramount pro-
“ prietor 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 com-
“ petition can exist in commerce so conducted?
“ What health or vigour in the community which
“ thus draws from its own veins the only nourish-
“ ment by which the vital circulation is maintained?
“ 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 in-
“ terests are there considered, and the anxious solici-
“ tude displayed on every occasion for the prosperity
“ of the people whose government we administer, do
“ afford, in the execution of this system, every possi-
“ ble 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 in-
“ crease; and most especially of one so highly fa-
“ voured 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 fos-
“ tering 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, ar-
“ bitrarily, the sale of their produce and manufactures,

“ by transactions too large for counteraction, too un-
 “ certain 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 in-
 “ crease or diminution of the national expenditure.”

The exclusive trade had been often contended for as a necessary channel for remitting to England the surplus revenue or tribute. Lord Grenville seems reluctant to acknowledge the fitness of such a demand, which he observes must still be in some degree 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 medium of an *open* trade, and *limited*
 “ *most scrupulously* in the amount by a due considera-
 “ tion 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 mo-
 “ nopolizes the commerce, compels the payment, and
 “ forestalls the resources which should provide it.
 “ And this too in a country where few and inconsider-
 “ able 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 al-
 “ most all who trade, are at no distant period remitted
 “ also to the metropolis. It is, indeed, this last cir-
 “ cumstance which is, in my judgement, by far the
 “ most alarming in the nature of our connexion 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 enterprise, for inviting to her
 “ harbours the ships and merchants of every quarter
 “ of the globe, and securing to her, as far as legisla-
 “ tion can secure it, the fullest benefit of the most
 “ unqualified commercial freedom! If evil so exten-
 “ sive and alarming 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 English-
 “ men 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 any principles of colonial mono-
 “ poly 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 such a system
 “ 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 sove-
 “ reign, members of the same community, we submit
 “ ourselves with equal obedience to the same legisla-

" ture, and we are entitled to receive from it the same
 " protection: varied indeed in form, and adapting
 " itself in its regulations to the difference 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.

" For the encouragement of such hopes no moment
 " was ever yet more favourable. The barrier of pre-
 " judice is shaken; the spirit of monopoly is rapidly
 " giving way to juster principles of commercial legis-
 " lation; 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 Com-
 " pany 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 control of man, opened, in every
 " case I trust infallibly opened, to the commerce of
 " the world.

" What a scene does this present to our imagina-
 " tion! We are told that when the Spanish discoverers
 " first overcame, with labour and peril almost un-

“ speakable, 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 pros-
“ pect. They adored, even those hardened and
“ sanguinary adventurers, 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 antici-
“ pated, in prophetic 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, for 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 in-
“ tercourse 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 instru-
“ ments 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?”

After this eloquent peroration Lord Grenville hastens

rapidly to the close of his speech. There are, however, one or two other points (he observes) so important, that he must detain the House a little longer by some brief remarks upon them. One of them is the question of extending the permanent settlement; and it is interesting to read the sentiments on this great question, of a veteran statesman, who had taken a share in the discussions which ended in Parliament's enjoining this measure upon the Indian Government.

“ The most considerable among the benefits which
 “ my noble friend enumerated, as having been con-
 “ ferred 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 col-
 “ lected from the landholders of our provinces, instead
 “ of leaving it to be varied from year to year at the dis-
 “ cretion 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 prin-
“ ciple 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 who
“ opened this discussion, agreeing with me in prin-
“ ciple, 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 Parlia-*
“ *ment 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 despatches which it quotes, is really am-
“ biguous. 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 bene-

" ficial. To remind us that so important a measure
 " as this cannot be duly executed but after some
 " previous deliberation and inquiry, and on such in-
 " formation 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 ar-
 " rangement. 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 im-
 " possible. 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 prin-
 " ciple, 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 Com-
 " missioners: and to apply to the ceded and con-
 " quered 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, re-
 “ newed 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.*”

The length to which he had extended his remarks upon the general principles which should be adopted in the government of India, left him no time (he observes) to enlarge upon many details of great moment. He therefore declines entering “ upon the defects of
 “ the judicial system of these provinces, or into the
 “ present state of their internal legislation and police,
 “ providing (as it too plainly appeared from the
 “ reports upon the table) in no adequate manner for
 “ the personal protection and security of the people.
 “ Neither (he proceeds) will I discuss the question
 “ of taxation. Though I trust in the ultimate con-
 “ clusion 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.*”

The last is a remarkable passage, when compared with the late discussions at the bar, regarding the true meaning and intent of the 98th and 99th clauses of the Act of Parliament, which was passed after all

these debates. Lord Grenville declares his most explicit objection to any vague powers of taxation in India being left to the discretion of the Executive Government, "to be exercised without the authority, "without even the knowledge of Parliament." And as the famous 98th and 99th sections, authorising the imposition of customs and other taxes, passed without any opposition or remark from his Lordship, we must fairly conclude that he did not construe those enactments in the wide sense which has since been given to them. He was as unconscious as the other parties most concerned appear to have long continued, what a numerous brood of taxes they carried in their womb, to come forth after the long gestation of fourteen years.

It is considered of consequence to the subject of the foregoing pages here to subjoin a Report of the Public Meeting held at Calcutta on the 5th of November last, taken from "The Bengal Hurkaru" of the succeeding day. It is as follows:—

" Calcutta, Tuesday, November 6, 1827.

" A meeting was held at the Town-Hall yesterday, pursuant to requisition, for the purpose of petitioning for the equalization of the duties on East and West India sugars, and the removal of the restrictions on the resort of British subjects to India, and their residence therein, with reference to their influence on the commercial prosperity of the country.

“ Mr. PLOWDEN, the sheriff, having read the requisition, took occasion to advert to a letter in ‘The Hurkaru,’ which alluded to the day chosen for the meeting being no less than that of the anniversary of Guy Fawkes’s plot—a day most propitious to the dealers in squibs and crackers. The worthy sheriff expressed a hope that, notwithstanding this alarming coincidence, the business of the meeting might pass off without any blow up; a hope which was fully realized by its peaceful result. There was no explosion at the meeting; the government-house still stands where it was; nor have we heard that even one solitary squib has been introduced under it or into it, in order to disturb the repose of its inhabitants. After the exhortation to peace and good order, the sheriff requested the meeting to elect their chairman, and Mr. James Young was elected to the chair, and briefly stated the objects of the meeting.

“ Mr. BRACKEN then addressed the chairman as follows:—

“ Mr. Chairman,—Previous to proposing the resolution which I shall have the honour to submit to the consideration of this meeting, I request permission to offer some observations not only on the objects of the requisition but on a circumstance connected with the *getting up* of the requisition itself. It has been publicly stated, and circulated throughout India, that some of the requisitionists signed the letter to the sheriff without reading it, or, having read it, without perceiving the tendency of the second proposition contained in it. As one of the requisitionists, I beg publicly to declare that statement does not apply to

me; and, were I to judge from the professional caution of the class, and the characteristic sagacity of the country to which all, or most, of the requisitionists belong, I should doubt whether it applied to any. Be this, however, as it may, they are, I believe, here to answer for themselves. I am responsible for my own acts only, and having read, clearly comprehended, and deliberately signed the letter, I am not so alarmed at the sound of my own voice as to wish to deny, or retract, or qualify, in the slightest degree, my entire concurrence in its full scope and its most extended construction.

“ Objections, gentlemen, have been raised, too, against the requisition, in consequence of its embracing two subjects alleged to be of distinct and unconnected interest. With your indulgence, I trust I shall be enabled to prove, before I sit down, that they are closely and intimately united; springing from the same principle, and directed to the same purpose. In considering the first branch, the equalization of the duties on East and West India sugars, and the grounds on which the West India proprietors claim the monopoly of the home-market, and by which they have prevented the possibility almost of an advantageous shipment of sugar from this country, I am fearful I cannot avoid much dry and tedious matter, the repetition of a ‘ thrice-told tale;’ but, on an occasion when we are met to oppose the interests, we are bound to show we understand something of the case of our rivals.

“ They take their stand on prescriptive right and expediency; and, as regards the first, contend that

they planted, cultivated, and invested large capitals in sugar-plantations, under an implied compact with the legislature, that, so long as they brought the whole of their produce to, and received the whole of their supplies *from*, the mother-country, her market should be secured to them. A glance at the *history* of the sugar-trade will satisfy us that this position is untenable. England was originally supplied by the Portuguese; but the high price induced the legislature to encourage the growth in the British plantations; and, from 1649 to 1792, the importations were almost exclusively from thence. In 1792, prices still continuing high, cultivation in the East Indies was called for by the Parliament and Government; and a quantity, proportionate to the rather slow and unwieldy movements of a chartered company, was shipped. From that period until 1809, there were additions, reductions, and alterations, in the scale of duties, applicable to the sugars of both countries, and, comparatively speaking, they were not very unfavourable to the East Indies. These varying regulations, however, evinced anything but a determination to exclude, under all circumstances, the competition of East India with West India sugars; and, if the importation of the former was so insignificant as not to excite the fears or the jealousies of the West India merchants, we must look to the cause, rather in the limited arrangements of the East India Company, than in any fixed and unalterable policy of the British Parliament. I am confirmed, gentlemen, in this view of the merits of the prescriptive right, by the admission, at a former period, of the sugars of the conquered colonies on the same

footing as those of the old plantations; and, more recently, by the admission of the sugars of the Mauritius, although, in both instances, the parties affecting to suffer by the extension petitioned Parliament against it. It seems, therefore, that the legislature has, on frequent occasions, disputed the claim of right; and has been influenced by considerations of the price of the article 'in England, and the increase of the revenue in 1813. The West Indians, anticipating the enterprise of the private traders, obtained the duty of which we now complain, and for the continuance of which they have now lost the only plausible pretension they had, viz. the restrictions imposed on them to bring the whole of their produce *to*, and receive the whole of their supplies *from*, the mother-country. These restrictions have lately been in some instances removed, and in others relaxed. On the score of expediency, if the West Indians boast their consumption of the manufactures of the mother-country, we can repeat, nay, exceed that boast, in pointing to the wants of eighty millions of people. The population of the West Indies does not exceed, I believe, one million.

“ If they refer to their encouragement of British shipping, we may advantageously contrast the length of the passage as affording at least an equal nursery for seamen to India, and the greater expenditure of all articles connected with the shipping interest.

“ But of course we are subject to that principle, universally acknowledged, that no nation can *buy*, which is not permitted to *sell*; and, whilst the prohibitive duties are enforced, the extension of the manu-

factures of England must be, with reference to what they *might* be, limited and confined.

“ In approaching the second proposition, I cannot but express my thanks for the friendly caution we have received from an intelligent and watchful guardian of the public weal. He states that he is not asleep. I believe him. He must be more than awake; he cannot but see double in discovering disloyalty and danger to the state, in the humble petition of the British merchants to be allowed to invest their capitals in the purchase of land, and in expensive machinery for the improvement of its produce. His fears remind me of honest David’s alarm at receiving Bob Acre’s challenge. ‘It does not look like another letter. It is, as I may say, a malicious, designing looking letter. It smells of powder, like a soldier’s pouch. Oons, take care, I should n’t wonder but it mayn’t go off.’

“ So our requisition, having in view the extension of British skill and capital, has been converted into a formidable attack on the good order and security of the country.

“ Gentlemen, history bears me out in stating that the resort of Europeans to this country has been advantageous to India and to England; and, when we see the good effects of the establishment of respectable indigo-planters, both on the revenues of the Government and the prosperity of the people, in the districts where that valuable commodity is chiefly grown, I cannot but anticipate the same results on the application of capital to the other products of the country.

“ But so long as the prohibition to purchase land exists, and an arbitrary power of transmission to England shall be vested in the local Government, the full and complete advantages contemplated from that skill and capital cannot, in my humble opinion, be realized.

“ It is not necessary to my purpose to comment on the past exercise of this power. I believe it has been generally admitted that, in some instances, it has been, to say the least, hastily used; and that the Court of Directors have not withheld compensation for supposed hardship under its application. But it is the principle of accuser and judge being in the same persons that seems objectionable; and I do hope that a modification of this power may be made, combining the due and efficient control of the Government with the legal and constitutional security of the person and the property of the subject.

“ The delusion that once existed of the barrier opposed, by the institutions of the natives, to the use of articles of European manufacture, has long been dispelled. We have only to refer to the records of the Custom-house in proof of this assertion.

“ In 1813, the exports of cotton goods to India were valued at about £120,000; in 1824, at £1,115,000. This fact speaks for itself; and we should neglect our own interests, the interests of the natives, and the interests of the United Kingdom did we not do all in our power to increase and consolidate the commercial intercourse between the countries. Gentlemen, with your permission, I will now read the first resolution.

“ A gentleman (Mr. Vickers Jacob, we believe) read a letter from Mr. Goulburn, with a view, we believe, of showing that the West Indian made no claim to a monopoly on the score of prescriptive right, but merely claimed a due regard to their interests, involved in the large capitals embarked by them on the faith of laws it was now proposed to abrogate.

“ Mr. COLVIN, in moving the second resolution, stated that he was one of those who had not strictly attended to the language of the requisition; and he was not prepared to go so far as his friend Mr. Bracken, in regard to the object involved by it, although he would not oppose it. His own opinion was, that the power of transmission placed no obstacle in the way of vesting capital in India; for that the power had been very leniently used, of which his own case was an instance, as he had been twenty-five years in India without a license. In the other observations of Mr. Bracken he fully concurred.

“ Mr. G. PRINSEP, in moving the third resolution, expressed his dissent from what had fallen from Mr. Bracken, as to the policy of continuing the power of transmission. He considered it essential to the success of the main object of the meeting to be excessively cautious of manifesting any desire to curtail the ‘ political rights ’ of the Company; and seemed, if we rightly understood him, to be of opinion that the question should be confined, itself, to the question of relieving the trade of the country, by the removal of prohibitory duties, and trusting it to the ministry to provide for collateral questions of policy connected with it. Mr.

Prinsep then took a luminous view of the sugar question; in which he satisfactorily showed, we think, that, on principles of political economy, of sound policy, and of strict justice, British India was entitled to the boon which it was the object of the petition to obtain. An argument, which seems to us equally novel and forcible, was the singular predicament in which Great Britain placed herself by the existing law, in the event of some of our West India islands, which have been so often conquered and reconquered, becoming again the property of an enemy. England might then, as we believe she has done before, admit East India sugars on equal terms; but where would be procured the increased production necessary to meet this increased demand upon India? and where that equality of quality, which can only be obtained by an improved process of manufacture, that cannot be suddenly resorted to to meet an emergency? We regret that it is not in our power to give even an outline of Mr. Prinsep's able speech; what we have given is a mere reference to one or two detached points embraced by it.

‘ THE RESOLUTIONS :

“ 1. Moved by Mr. Bracken; seconded by Mr. Bruce—That this Meeting, deeply impressed with a conviction that the commercial intercourse between England and India is susceptible of great and indefinite extension, which is *prevented* by the imposition of extra duties on the products of India, and by *legal obstructions to the application of British skill and capital to the cultivation of those products*, entertain

a just confidence that the wisdom and justice of Parliament will, by the removal of such impediments, give an immediate impulse to the commercial prosperity of both countries, and incalculably promote the general interest of India.

“ 2. Moved by Mr. Gisborne; seconded by Mr. Colvin—That a Petition, to the above effect, be prepared, and submitted to his Majesty, and to both Houses of Parliament.

“ 3. Moved by Mr. Colvin; seconded by Mr. Brown—That this Meeting cannot omit this opportunity of expressing its grateful admiration of the unsolicited and often-renewed efforts of William Woolrych Whitmore, Esq. and other members of the legislature, in support of the claims of India to be put on an equal footing, in point of import duties, with the other tropical dependencies of the British Crown; and that the Chairman of this Meeting do communicate, accordingly, by letter, to Mr. Whitmore, our respectful thanks, and our solicitations for his continued and powerful assistance in a cause which must eventually prevail, when it shall have been fully discussed, and thoroughly understood by our countrymen at home.

“ 4. Moved by Mr. G. A. Prinsep; seconded by Mr. E. Trotter—That the Marquis of Lansdowne and the Right Honourable Lord Goderich be respectfully requested to present and support our Petitions to the House of Lords, and Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Whitmore to the House of Commons.

“ 5. Moved by Mr. E. Trotter; seconded by Mr. J. Cullen—That the following gentlemen be appointed a

Committee for carrying into effect the several objects contemplated in the Resolutions, with power to add to their number: Messrs. Young, Colvin, Gisborne, Bruce, Melville, Brown, Allport, Boyd, G.A. Prinsep, H. Mackenzie, T. Bracken, W. Patrick.

“ G. Moved by Mr. W. Melville; seconded by Mr. W. Patrick—That the following draft of the Petition to Parliament be adopted by the Meeting; to be engrossed, signed, and despatched with all practicable expedition.

“ THE PETITION.

“ I. That your petitioners have observed, with the utmost satisfaction, the various Acts of Parliament which have, within these few years, been passed for the purpose of facilitating commercial intercourse between Great Britain, her colonies, dependencies, and all other countries; and the unqualified recognition of those sound principles of political economy, by which such intercourse ought invariably to be regulated. Relying on these public pledges, that your Honourable House have nothing more at heart than, by moderate and equal duties, to promote the most advantageous distribution of capital and application of industry, your petitioners beg leave respectfully to remind your Honourable House that the duty of 37s. per cwt. charged on East India sugar, (while that payable by the sugar of the West Indies and the Mauritius is only 27s.) necessarily has the effect of greatly restricting the export and import trade, the public revenue, and general prosperity of India.

“ II. That an equalization of the duties on East

and West India sugar would also be of the most essential benefit to all classes in Great Britain, for whose relief from acknowledged distress the legislature has so frequently desired to provide the means. 1. To the manufacturer—by the increased facility of making returns for the goods sold in India, thus removing a serious obstacle, which at present exists, to the extended consumption of British manufactures in that wide field. 2. To the ship-owner—by a favourable effect upon freight. 3. To the artizans, agriculturists, and general community of Great Britain—by providing the means of meeting the annually increasing demand for sugars at considerably reduced prices. And 4. While the benefits of the measures would thus be shared by the British manufacturer, the ship-owner, and the general community, and a stimulus be given to the extended production of sugar in the British possessions in the East, the revenue, derived by Great Britain from East India sugar, instead of being diminished, would unquestionably be materially augmented.

“ That your petitioners are not aware of any objection that has been, or can be urged, to an equalization of the duty, except that its tendency to reduce the selling price of sugar in England would be prejudicial to the interest of the planters in the West Indies; but, if similar objections have been over-ruled, in numberless instances of a return to sound commercial policy, and if the vast addition to the exportation of sugar from the Mauritius, which immediately followed the equalization of the duties in 1823, has not