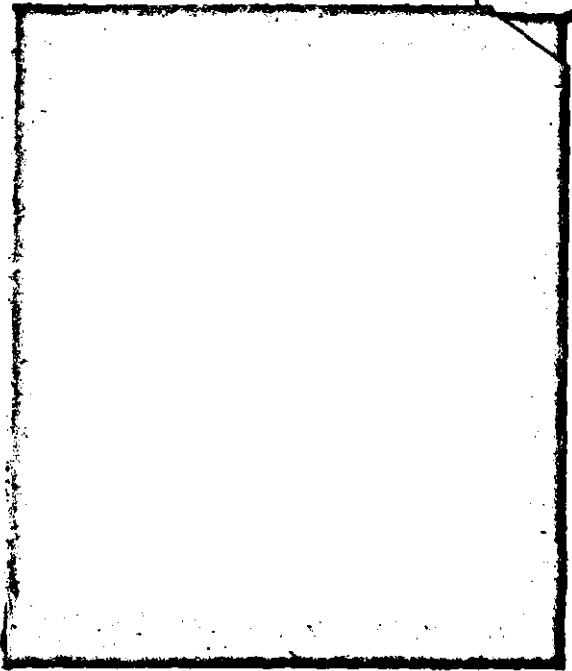


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SELECTIONS

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PAPERS OF LORD METCALFE;

LATE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, GOVERNOR OF JAMSHEDPUR,
AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA.

EDITED BY

JOHN WILLIAM KAYE,

AUTHOR OF THE "LIFE OF LORD METCALFE," "THE HISTORY OF THE WAR IN
AFGHANISTAN," &c.

LONDON:

SMITH, ELDER, AND CO., 65, CORNHILL.

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PREFACE.

I BELIEVE that, in offering the present volume to the public, I am rendering an acceptable service, not only to those who have been, who are, or who prospectively may be, connected with the affairs of our Indian and Colonial dependencies, but to all who have a common interest in good government and the administrative efficiency of the empire. But I am especially anxious that it should be regarded as nothing more than a *fasciculus* of Selections, for which the Editor alone is responsible, from the numerous public and private papers, left behind him by the late Lord Metcalfe. Bearing in mind that these papers are the growth of forty years of incessant official activity, the reader will not expect to find within the compass of a single volume more than certain specimens or illustrations, conveying, it is hoped, a just idea of the character of the writer's public life and the tenor of his opinions, but only a faint one of the extent of his activity and the magnitude of his labors.

I have divided the papers into three parts, illustrative of the three great epochs of Lord Metcalfe's career : firstly, his earlier official life in India before he became a member of the Supreme Government ; secondly, the period during which he sat as a member of that Government ; and thirdly, the space of time embraced by his Jamaica and Canada administrations. Under each of these heads will be found a considerable number and variety of papers, indicating the writer's opinions on all, or

nearly all, the principal questions submitted to his consideration during the forty-five years of his public service. In this respect there is a completeness about the present collection which I believe would not have been much enhanced if the dimensions of the work had been greatly extended.

Except in one or two especial cases, when I have desired to place beside each other, two or more papers bearing on the same subject, perhaps illustrating some particular chapter of Metcalfe's career, the arrangement of the first and the third parts of the collection is strictly chronological, according to the date of composition. In the second part I have thought it more expedient to classify the Council Minutes—placing in separate sections the Military and Political, the Revenue and Judicial Papers; and so on. The first and third parts have more of autobiographical interest than the second, for they relate mainly to circumstances with which the writer was personally and actively concerned; but perhaps the second part, devoted to minutes written at a time when Sir Charles Metcalfe's duties, as a member of the Supreme Government, involved the consideration of the whole range of Indian Government, political and administrative, will be considered of the greatest abstract importance. It is, however, that which necessarily most imperfectly represents the extent of Sir Charles Metcalfe's literary activity. The work of a member of Council is emphatically pen-work, and the writer of these papers addressed himself earnestly to the consideration of almost every question that came before him.

With regard to the papers themselves a few words may be said. The selection of them has been influenced by various considerations. I can hardly hope that it is altogether such as Lord Metcalfe himself would have made, but I have endeavoured, to the utmost of my ability, to approximate to such a consummation. It has been my object to impart as much variety as possible to the collection. Some of the papers are historical; some disquisitional; some are given for the sake of the facts, others for the sake of the arguments they contain; some as illustrations of the character or career of the writer;

others for their abstract interest or importance. And it may be added, that whilst I have striven to make the intent and purport of the insertion of each letter, minute, or despatch especially appreciable by the reader of Lord Metcalfe's "Life and Correspondence," it has been my endeavour, at the same time, so to select and so to arrange the papers as to give to the present volume something of a biographical character, and thereby to render it in itself sufficiently intelligible to those who now for the first time make the acquaintance of the great and good man who wrote them.

To the accomplishment of this object I believed that the intrusion of many explanatory notes was not necessary. The papers, for the most part, tell their own story. To have inserted much biographical matter would have been to repeat what I have written elsewhere; and to comment, either approvingly or disapprovingly, on Lord Metcalfe's opinions, would have been clearly an impertinence. These opinions are published because they are his; and whether they are mine or not the majority of readers will not care to inquire. It is hardly in the nature of things that any two men should concur wholly in opinion on so large a variety of subjects; but, where difference arises, there are few who will not mistrust their own judgment on finding that Metcalfe is their opponent. The reader, at all events, may in every case feel assured that the opinion expressed is the growth of much thought and much experience; that it comes honestly and earnestly, from the full heart; and that it has been maintained throughout a life distinguished by many great qualities, but by none so much as by its consistency.

In such a collection as this, altogether to have avoided the insertion of papers relating to circumstances almost forgotten, or to systems of government long since exploded, would have been impossible, if it would have been desirable. The vast changes which have taken place during the last half century, in the administrative principles and practices of the English in India, must necessarily impart something of an antiquarian character to such a volume as this. But whilst, in a biogra-

phical point of view, it is interesting to trace the opinions of the writer, and to discern the extent to which he may have been instrumental in evolving or hastening the changes of which I speak, there is much in those papers to be read with profit at the present time; and in others are contained lessons as pertinent to the present conjuncture of public affairs as though they had been written yesterday. There are, indeed, many weighty political truths inculcated in these writings of Lord Metcalfe, the disregard of which has been rife with national calamity, of which we are only now beginning to fathom the uttermost depths.

The papers in this collection have, with one or two exceptions, been printed from the original drafts in Lord Metcalfe's handwriting, and may therefore be relied upon as wholly and exclusively his own—a reliance not always to be placed in the published minutes and despatches of statesmen who have benefited largely by ministerial assistance at different epochs of their career. Two or three of them have been printed, wholly or partly, before; but, with these trifling exceptions, the contents of the volume are now given to the public for the first time.

It should be added that the notes to which no initials are attached are wholly the Editor's. Lord Metcalfe's own are distinguished by the initials C. T. M.

J. W. KAYE.

Bletchingly, March, 1855.

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ERRATA.

Pages 41 and 42, for "*baulich*," read "*bauteh*."

Page 54, line 7 (introductory note), for "term of his sentence,"
read "term of the sentence."

Page 385, line 3 (introductory note), for "under his command,"
read "under his charge."

ABSTRACT OF LORD METCALFE'S OFFICIAL CAREER.

[*The annexed List of the different Offices held by Lord Metcalfe, and the dates of his appointment to them, may be useful to the reader, as indicating the position which he occupied, at different periods, when he wrote the following papers, and in some degree the circumstances under which they were composed.*]

Assistant to the Resident at Scindiah's Court	Dec. 31, 1801.
Assistant in the Chief Secretary's Office	Oct. 4, 1802.
Assistant in the Governor-General's Office (partly in detached employ with the Commander-in-Chief).	April 3, 1803.
Employed under the Commander-in-Chief on the abolition of the Governor-General's Office	—, 1806.
First Assistant to the Resident at Delhi	Aug. 15, 1806.
Envoy to Lahore	Aug. 29, 1808.
Deputy-Secretary with the Governor-General	July 15, 1809.
Acting-Resident at Scindiah's Court	May 15, 1810.
Resident at Delhi	Feb. 25, 1811.
Political and Private Secretary	Jan. 29, 1819.
Resident at Hyderabad	Dec. 26, 1820.
Resident and Civil Commissioner at Delhi, and Agent to the Governor-General in Rajpootana	Aug. 26, 1825.
Member of the Supreme Council of India	Aug. 24, 1827.
Governor-General of India	March 20, 1835.
Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces	April 13, 1836.
Retired from the service of the East India Company	Feb. 21, 1838.

Governor of Jamaica (sworn in)	Sept. 26, 1839.
Governor-General of Canada (sworn in)	March 30, 1842.

Born January 30, 1785. Died September 5, 1846.

APPENDIX.

[The annexed Address, which I find in Lord Metcalfe's handwriting, and which was written for newspaper publication, embodies in a few sentences his views on some of the vexed questions of English politics. I do not know whether it appeared in print. But the same opinions were expressed, at greater length, in a pamphlet written by Metcalfe, under the title of "Advice to Conservatives."]

FRIENDLY ADVICE TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—I entreat your attention to some friendly advice from one who has your welfare at heart, and regards no interest in comparison with the interest of the country of which you form so large a portion.

You seek to better your condition—a natural and laudable object. With that view you claim rights which you have not hitherto possessed. This, also, is perfectly natural and unobjectionable, and in time your desire will be realised. But you listen to men, and adopt them as your leaders, who incite you to violence and rebellion against the laws—a course which, whatever might be the immediate result, would inevitably mar your prospects, and destroy all chance of success.

The effect of violent resistance to the laws must be one of the following results: Either you would be easily subdued, which would cast ridicule on your proceedings and stifle your pretensions, or you would be subdued with difficulty, and after

much bloodshed and all the horrors of civil war, which would crush all your hopes for a long period. Or you would succeed and overthrow the Government, the consequences of which would be, first, anarchy, and next, despotism, by which, instead of gaining your object, you would be reduced to disgraceful slavery.

Violence on your part, or the appearance of an intention of violence, must rouse against you all the feelings, good and bad, of those classes in whose privileges you seek participation. That they are tenacious of those privileges is no matter for wonder. It is as natural as that you should desire to participate in them. There is, therefore, a predisposition to question your assumed right; and if you attempt violence you will be sure to find resistance. The same blood runs in their veins as in yours, and the more you display a disposition to violence, the more you will rouse opposition.

Another point for your consideration is, whether those things which you professedly seek are worth committing violence for; that is, whether their natural consequences are such as in the end, supposing them to be attainable, would justify violence as the means, if violence could anyhow be justified. As I am fearful of encroaching too much on the space that can be afforded in the columns of a newspaper, I defer for another letter what I would say as to the probable consequences of the measures which you desire to establish; but, before I conclude, I must advert to one circumstance, which, in whatever view it may be taken, shows the utter unfitness of some of those whom you have accepted as your leaders to guide you in a right path to the attainment of your wishes.

More than one of them are described as endeavouring to excite your passions by pretending, or representing, that the Government has in contemplation, or is likely to patronise, a plan for putting to death all the children born henceforth of poor persons beyond two or three in a family. If these persons really believed that such a plan could possibly be conceived or

supported by any Government that could be established in our country, they must be credulous in such a degree as to render them totally incapable, from want of judgment, of giving you good advice. If they used such a method of exciting you to rage and outrage without believing that such a monstrous design was probable, no words can be sufficiently severe to characterise the wickedness of such conduct. They must, in this case, be totally unworthy of your attention, from their diabolical malignity.

You aim, I presume, at a modification of the Poor Laws, and there is no reason to despair of the accomplishment of that purpose. The perfection of Poor Laws would be to give the most effectual relief without unnecessary hardship to the destitute, and to afford at the same time the greatest encouragement to industry and exertion, and no encouragement to idleness. To make any human institution perfect is difficult and scarcely possible. Whatever there may be of unnecessary hardship in the Poor Laws will, you may be sure, be amended; but this may be prevented by violence on your part, which will strengthen those who are opposed to any alteration.

You desire, no doubt, the abolition of the Corn Laws; and those laws, which are contrary to all right principle, must be speedily abolished, without any violence.

You call for the Ballot. This also, being calculated to promote the independence of voters, is right and reasonable, and must soon come. Violence will only retard it.

You long for Universal Suffrage. This also is a right which must be acknowledged, whenever it can be exercised with benefit to the national interests. It is in a fair train of accomplishment, notwithstanding the opposition not only of those who are falsely called Conservatives, but of many also who on other questions have been Reformers.

I reserve what I have further to say on these and other subjects for another opportunity. In the mean time, let me exhort you to proceed with temper and moderation. I do not

ask you to desist from any of your projects; but pursue them without violence. Let your motto be, "Patience and perseverance; order and obedience to the laws." In this manner you are likely to obtain all that you desire, without anarchy and its consequence, despotism; without revolution, without bloodshed. The only certain result of violence is, that whatever may be the issue, you must fail of obtaining the objects for which you are exerting yourselves.

GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS.

[The technical Eastern terms, often used so frequently in Indian official papers, are but sparingly scattered over Lord Metcalfe's writings; and the few which he has employed are for the most part explained; but the following definitions, for which I am chiefly indebted to Professor Wilson's excellent Vocabulary, may be of use to the European reader.]

Bautah—Division of the crops between the cultivator and the landlord, or Government.

Bajra—A description of grain resembling the millet.

Desmooks—Hereditary officers under the Native Administrations, exercising chief police and revenue authority over a district, responsible for the payment of the latter; holding certain rent-free lands, and receiving certain fees as the remuneration of the office.

Despandees—Hereditary revenue accountants, paid by certain grants of land.

Dustukana—Fees paid to the officer who issues a writ or serves a warrant.

Jaidoe (Jaidad)—The system of assigning the revenues of certain lands for the payment of troops, &c.

Maliks—Landed proprietors, or cultivators having an hereditary right in the land.

Mokuddams—Head men of the village corporations.

Moonsiffs—The lowest grade of Native Judges.

Nuzzurana—Fees or fines paid on assignments of revenue or succession to lands or offices.

Patels—Head men of native villages.

Putwarrees—Coparceners, or shareholders in village estates.

Peishkush—Tribute money; quit-rent in lieu of fixed revenue.

Talukana—Fees paid to revenue agents.

C. WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND.

March 1855.

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