If therefore the Company had the command of the whole country left to them,-if they had the whole military force in their hands-and if the China trade was secure to them, which, in a commercial point of view, was the most important privilege of the Company, he saw no danger whatever from conceding to the Outports what was proposed by His Majesty's Ministers; because, with all these means within their grasp, there was no doubt whatever of their protecting. all their most valuable acquisitions. For his own part, he was very much at a loss to discover from whence the danger was to arise to the East-India establishments from opening the trade of their ports, with all these advantages in the Company's hands; especially when they had every thing they could wish for, with one exception, which was, in fact, the most inconsiderable of all the objects at stake. The argument of those gentlemen was, that by suffering the trade to be carried on from the Outports to India, such would be the disposition of the persons trading, that they would in time overturn the Company's establishments. Now, that was utterly impossible, when the nature of the boon intended to be granted. to the Outports was considered. He could conceive some force in the argument, if, instead of having a trade going from England to India, it

was intended to give a trade to the Outports from India to England. But as that was not the case, no danger of that kind could be apprehended: he could not imagine any, from giving to eight, ten, or fifteen ports, the benefit of an importation trade from India. The only hazard that could arise would be from their becoming incorporated with the establishments of India; but even then, judging from the administration of affairs in India, no apprehensions of that kind could be entertained. But still, as to the effect of giving the Outports this permission, he doubted whether that effect could be extensive: for, in many points of view, it was merely a permission; and in many cases it could not be enjoyed, even by those to whom it was extended: for, in truth, it would not be attended with so many real advantages as the sanguine imaginations of some men ascribed to it; and he apprehended that many of those who seemed so anxious to be possessed of the privilege, would find afterwards that their golden prospects were imaginary. therefore, the Company were only called upon to concede and grant to them, a participation in the trade, which was admitted to be unimportant, not only by many of the East-India Proprietors, but even by some of the Honourable Directors themselves, who stated in their evidence that

they were not afraid of an open trade, and that they were contented to grant to the Outports a participation in those commercial advantages :-If, therefore, this was admitted, there could be no difficulty whatever in adjusting so important a point :- beside which, there was this fact admitted even by the Company, that they could then afford to trade at 15 per cent. lower than they had hitherto been able to do. If this was the fact, which he would not deny, as it was. admitted on their own shewing, he was at a loss to conceive what difficulty there could be in conceding to the merchants of the Outports a small portion of the import trade. For his own part, he thought, so far should the Court be from shewing any disposition of unwillingness to treat with the Government upon this point, they ought to come forward and shew every possible disposition to meet his Majesty's Ministers, and say to them-" We have done all in our power to meet your views :- we have left no argument untried; we have stated every thing that occurs to us upon the subject of our own interests, and the danger of an innovation on our privileges; but if you think it is of advantage to the country that we should admit the Outports to a participation in our import trade-we, who are equally anxious for the welfare of our country-consent to give

up such portion of our privileges as you may think conducive to that advantage. If you are of opinion that it is safe and proper, under the reservations you have left us, to give to the British merchants a participation in the trade to India, we, as creditors, grateful for the advantages already bestowed upon us, give our consent to such a participation."

It was his opinion that the Court of Directors. as a trading body, ought to look to those sources from which they were likely to derive the most advantage, in a pecuniary point of view. It appeared by their own shewing, that the Indian trade had been carried on, not only at a very. heavy expence, but under very severe losses: while, on the contrary, it was stated, that by pursuing their China trade, in that advantageous manner which it had been hitherto conducted, their finances would be in a much more flourishing state, and be every way more conducive to the general prosperity of the Company: and hence, by parting with that portion of their trade which, they found by experience, could not be carried on with advantage, they would, by the alteration, in a financial point of view, be gainers.

But the Company were not to look upon thmselves merely as TRADEPS; they were to consider themselves as SOVEREIGNS: and

he begged to call upon the attention of the Court, and to remind them of the true point of view in which this great question ought to be considered. This was not a mere commercial consideration. The Directors were to look upon themselves in a more important light, namely, as Sovereigns of India. They were to look to all those engagements and relations by which a great Empire would necessarily be affected: and therefore, when he saw no attempt on the part of His Majesty's Ministers to touch the political privileges of the Company; and, on the contrary, that there was a disposition, on their parts, to continue them, under proper regulations, it was their bounden duty to meet the wishes of Government. The nature of those regulations was known, and had been proposed. If they were not satisfactory, it was the duty of the Court of Directors to propose some measures more propitious to their own views. If they did this, such was the spirit of conciliation His Majesty's Ministers had evinced upon this subject, he was satisfied they would meet the Directors more than half way. If those Ministers appeared . ready to give every facility to a liberal and satisfactory settlement of the Company's rights, ought the Company, he would ask, as Sovereigns,

to object, on their parts, to dispense with a portion of their trade to India? Moreover, when they well knew that such trade was a losing concern, was there any reason, he would ask, for resisting on their parts, a participation of it? - Every consideration, he thought, should induce them to embrace the terms proposed, and to avoid resisting any disposition to conciliation on the part of the Government. As Sovereigns of a great Empire, and with a view to meet their vast and increasing expences, they ought, in a financial point of view, to shew the utmost readiness in accommodating themselves to the suggestions of the Minister. To prove that he was right in his proposition upon the subject of finance, he would only desire that the Directors should make out their accounts; and upon their own shewing, he contended, it would go against them? Upon this he built his proposition; because he was satisfied, that if the documents and accounts of the Company were laid before any merchant's clerk in London, who could keep a set of books, he would shew, in a commercial point of view, (allowing for those expences incurred in carrying on the commerce,) that the trade of India was not a gaining trade. Farther than this he could not go to sustain the proposition for which he contended. If it could be proved, that it was

not a gaining trade, surely the proposal now made by His Majesty's Ministers must tend not to diminish, but to add considerably to the revenue of the East India Company; and this, too, without that risque and liability to loss, to which the Company was at present exposed. As Sovereigns of India, anxious for their own interests, and judging, as every Sovereign on earth would, and as he himself felt, if, as a part proprietor of East India stock, he might call himself a Sovereign (a laugh), they ought to adopt a step, so important to their own interests.

[Here the Chairman interposed, and asked, if he raight be permitted to prefer a petition? — (Hear! hear! hear!) — He said, he was obliged to leave the Court upon particular business, not his own. His worthy colleague, however (Mr. Thornton), he was sure would take the Chair for him, and would discharge the duty much better than he did.—(Hear! hear!) — The Chairman then retired, when the Deputy Chairman took the chair.]

Mr. Hume then resumed. To be short, he said, he merely wished to urge, that the Company, in its present situation, ought to judge of the actual danger of not conceding what was now proposed:—that they should consider them-

selves as Sovereigns of India: that they ought to abstract themselves a little from that narrow commercial policy, which a private merchant might be disposed to adopt for his own individual advantage, and boldly give up every thing which was of importance to general welfare. What, he asked, were the narrow and selfish interests of a few individuals compared to the general welfare of the whole Country? He therefore besought the Court to consider themselves, as Sovereigns, called upon to part with a portion of trade, not advantageous to themselves, in order to attend to the more important interests they had at stake; and "let the Court," said he, " satisfy itself of this fact, by looking to the calculations of the Company's trade during the last ten years, from the result of which they would find that the Indian trade had annually decreased." Whether this arose from the suspension of the intercourse between Great Britain and the other countries of Europe, or from the extraordinary commercial policy adopted by our neighbours, he would not enquire; but the fact was so. They ought, therefore, with pleasure, to come forward, and say to the Minister, " If such measures will tend to increase the trade and prosperity of the Country, we are extremely happy to meet them,

there, would in no was injured beauti

trusting that Government will not dispossess us of any thing which is essentially necessary to our security and welfare.

It was proposed, that His Majesty's Ministers should have power, with the consent of the Directors, to make such regulations by Orders in Council, as might be necessary to the conduct of the trade, and as circumstances might require. In that point of view, the facilities proposed by Government would necessarily advance the interests of the trade, without ttouble or inconvenience to the Company. He now begged to call the attention of the honourable Directors to what it was the Company proposed to do. It was proposed to call evidence to the bar of the House, to prove that the trade could not be materially increased. Now, if it should be proved that it would not be materially increased, could that, he would ask, effect any thing for the Company? If the trade should continue as it nowwas, had not the Public, by their claims, a right to participation in that trade, when the charter ceased, which it would do next year? And if the trade was to continue longer, why should the Public be deprived of the chance of benefiting by that, which was, in the hands of the Company, a losing concern? The chance, surely, if given to them, would in no way injure the Company; for

it appeared that they had lost by it while in their possession. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Jackson) though he argued upon the probable danger to the India establishments, from admitting the Cutports to a participation in the trade, had not thought proper to illustrate his argument by any fact which could prove the reality of the danger. He contented himself with asserting, that such danger would arise, and this, too, all at once, upon the admission of the Outports to a share of the Company's privileges. The fallacy of that argument would be shewn by considering what really was the privilege proposed. The danger supposed to arise from this concession would be from the inhabitants of the Outports settling in India, and overturning the Government. But was it really to be supposed, that the towns of Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow, were to export their inhabitants to India? Were they to send out their population to settle in the Company's possessions? Surely this was too preposterous even to imagine. All that was proposed to be given to the Outports was, the privilege of sending out cargoes from those ports, and bringing home cargoes of Indian produce in return. All parties admitted, that the only danger which could arise, was from those who went out to India. Were the Court then to apprehend danger from the ships' crews that

would be sent out from Glasgow or Liverpool? Surely not. And he should deny, upon every consideration, that danger would ever be found to exist. But the honourable Proprietor meant to prove, that this danger would exist. Of this, however, he (Mr. Hume) was certain, that the honourable gentleman could not prove that danger ever did exist; for he himself, and every other person acquainted with India, knew the contrary. No one ever heard of any danger existing from the intercourse of other nations with the ports of India. No one ever heard of, or even apprehended any danger, when · twenty-seven or thirty ships were in the port of Calcutta. It was known that the greater proportion of the trade to India was carried on by Europeans, and yet no danger was ever apprehended to the East-India establishments. fore, upon this prima facie view of the case, he would venture to say, that no danger whatever would take place.

Returning again to the subject of the East India Islands, the trade, to which was another portion of the East India commerce, he would remind the Court of the attempts made by the Americans to secure a portion of that commerce.

This he desired to do, in order to shew how chimerical the notions of the British merchants

were upon this subject. The Americans had sent several of their vessels and attempted to trade with those islands; - but after various attempts to succeed in their wishes, they were obliged to give up the project in despair; and now they were content to take what they wanted from the Malay traders, who brought all the articles of commerce in that trade to a particular station. This was what the Americans were content and obliged to do, and this was what the British merchants must do; for it was preposterous to suppose, that merchants, embarking their capital in such a trade, could hope to succeed without learning the language of the natives, and acquiring some knowledge of their manners. Even if they surmounted the difficulties of a dangerous and tempestuous sea, still they would have more discouraging circumstances to combat; namely, a barbarous and untractable people. He was aware that a spirit of enterprise was necessary to the attainment of great objects, and it was a spirit which ought always to be encouraged; but, at the same time, Speculation was a rock surrounded by so many dangers, that the unwary traveller should be cautioned against the tremendous consequences that would follow a false step. The danger of unwise speculation, he therefore hoped, the British merchant

would be guarded against, and follow the advice, and take warning by the example of those who had gone before them. For even, after the most cautious and careful conduct, such was the disposition of the natives, that unless they should be so changed, for the better, from what they had hitherto been, it would be impossible to keep up any intercourse with them .- Looking, therefore, at the subject in that point of view, the Company should say to the British merchants, "Do nothing that you cannot satisfy " yourselves will be of advantage to you. We, " who know the danger, point out to you the " difficulties which you will have to encounter; " but if you have any doubt upon our statement. " examine evidence."

On the other hand, however, he (Mr. Hume) thought there was no occasion to examine evidence, for the purpose of shewing that any danger had taken place by allowing ships to enter the ports of India. They might examine evidence for fifty days and prove no more than what they already knew; namely, that no danger whatever had existed. A single witness could not be brought to shew that it ever did exist, or was ever even apprehended. What was the danger that could be apprehended, if proper regulations were adopted by the Company, with

all the means, and all the strength in their hands, to carry those regulations into execution? In fact, the result of experience gave proof positive against all the evidence that could be adduced to sustain the notion of danger. He therefore put it to the serious consideration of the Court, whether they ought not, as a body of men deeply interested in the welfare of India, to make every advance in their power, in order to cherish that spirit of conciliation manifested by the Minister.

He maintained that no danger could exist, because hitherto, when the Company's means of defence and protection were not so great as they are now, no danger had taken place. Therefore, it did not appear to him, that all the evidence, which could be brought forward, would be futile: and he pledged his own conviction, that if the whole was proved, that could be proved, no danger whatever would be made out. He was extremely anxious, therefore, that this Court should be impressed with the same idea: an idea which he entertained from the very first; and if he appeared desirous of endeavouring to convince the Court, and bring it to the same way of thinking, it was because he was sincerely anxious for the welfare of the Company; and the only object he nowhad in view was, earnestly to recommend this Court to meet His Majesty's Ministers, who had so liberally

declared their disposition to meet the two contending parties. - In all points, in which this branch of the question could be considered, every man acquainted with the affairs of the Company, must be convinced of the policy, as well as the expediency, of embracing the proposition of Ministers. It had been proved, to the satisfaction of the Court, that there was no prospect nor probability of increasing that branch of trade, under the present system. They had had the evidence of the most enlightened men upon the subject: some of whom gave it as their decided opinion, that in a commercial point of view the opening of the trade would be of advantage to the Company-that the private merchant could carry it on with greater advantage; so that, in a commercial light, the Company would be gainers by the change. It was natural that a private merchant, carrying on trade by himself, unshackled by any other object than the immediate one in view, namely, his commercial adventure, would be more likely to benefit by the trade, than a numerous Company engaged in vast and multifarious concerns, not only of a commercial, but of a political nature, and whose attention must naturally be divided, between political security on the one hand, and commercial advantage on the other. But, leaving these general

principles out of the question, was it not a matter of serious importance to the Company to reflect, that, for the last eighteen years, during which time the Company's public and private trade amounted to about seventeen millions, they had sustained a loss upon their capital of 10 per cent. annually? Therefore, this subject became a matter of very serious consideration, as a question of general policy: and, in that point of view, he did hope the Court would see the wisdom of that proposition of the noble Lord, calculated as it was to increase the commerce of India, without diminishing any advantage the Company had hitherto derived from their exclusive privileges, and in no way tending to injure the essential interests of the Company.

With that view he should, before he sat down, take the liberty of moving one or two, resolutions, declaratory of the wish of the Court to subscribe to this proposition of the noble Lord, and to pledge itself as willing to meet His Majesty's Ministers in the most liberal and unrestrained manner. These were resolutions which, he hoped, every person would support, because, by the resolutions of the noble Lord, the Court was bound to nothing. The very submission of them to the consideration of the House, implied that they were resolutions open to amendment, and the

most ample discussion. Indeed, he would go the length of saying, that after all they might not be, perhaps, the resolutions which they would have ultimately to consider. A change of administration might put an end to the propositions in their present form. It was impossible to say how soon that change might take place: but it was a thing which was not unlikely. The Court were not, therefore, bound by them :- they were only to be con idered as the mere opinions of the present Ministry; but who, he must do them the justice to say, had on this occasion acted with the greatest liberality, and whom the Court ought to meet with the same liberal opinions on their part. It was for their own advantage that they should come forward, and embrace the measure proposed: and if what was proposed did not satisfy the public, it was for the interest of the Company that they should themselves do every thing in their power to strengthen the hands of Ministers, and enable them to carry into effect their liberal propositions. There was only one question upon the whole proposition, as it now stood; and that was, whether the Company would admit the people of England to a share with them in their trade, unshackled and unmolested ? and whether they would chuse to add to the prosperity of their own country, by increasing the prosperity of India? He was persuaded it was the wish of the Court of Directors to benefit, in every way, the trade of India, and add stability and strength to its government. He trustede therefore, that they would consider this proposition in that view. For his own part, as a person connected with the country, he laid claim to credit for not wishing to approve any arrangements, which could have a tendency to retrench the commerce of that country. Such being the case, he hoped it would not be considered that he was urging too much, in recommending the Court to adopt the resolution he suggested: or that he was desirous of misleading them. But, previously to his submitting those resolutions, he would take the liberty of noticing one or two objections which the honorable gentleman (Mr. Jackson) had made. The learned gentleman had first very properly noticed, that it would be adviseable for the Court to adopt the middle course; now, whether there had been any invitation on the part of the Court, in the course of their numerous discussions upon this subject, he would not take upon himself to enquire - This, however, was certain, that the noble Lord, upon this subject, had said nothing which could excite the least irritation: and therefore it was the

more imperative—indeed it was the duty of the Court—to do every thing in its power to conciliate the good opinion of the Minister; and to come forward in the most temperate and considerate manner to discuss the subject. It was true, in some of their discussions there was a little warmth; but he was persuaded that it proceeded from the momen ary effusions of the mind, upon a question certainly of the greatest importance. His anxiety, however, to deprecate every thing like irritation, was excusable, when he knew the disagreeable consequences to which it might give rise.

He had already stated his opinion at length, upon the subject of the China trade, which the honorable gentleman had, also, very extensively discussed; and he was free to ad it, that some of the dangers which he (Mr. Jackson), had pointed out, in other views of the subject, might exist; but, in general, he thought the dangers were of so trifling a nature, that they were amply counterbalanced by the advantages likely to result to the Company.—Of this, however, he was satisfied, that if His Majesty's Ministers thought proper to recommend the paining of a portion of the trade to India, the China trade would, in all events, remain as complete as it was now. He must say, in answer to what

the honorable gentleman had observed, upon the subject of the petition of a very numerous and important body of people, namely the ship-builders, it was reasonable to suppose, that the more ships there were built, the more commerce would be likely to ensue: though he confessed he did think it would be attended with more danger, in a political point of view. It was possible that some of the dangers might take place, from the increase of the shipping interest, which had taken place in America.

The honorable gentleman, he thought, had taken rather an unfair advantage of the statement he (Mr. Hume) had made in the course of a former debate, upon the subject of the trade to China. It would be recollected, he trusted, that in bringing forward that statement of the trade to China, he had shewn, on an average of fifty years, it had increased from £629,000 to £1,300,000. Though he had said that the Company ought not to hesitate in confessing that the trade to India was disadvantageous, yet it should be recollected that he brought forward this statement to shew, that since the period of the year 1700; the trade of China had increased in a great degree, notwithstanding all the difficulties thrown in its way. The Court would do him the justice, he was sure, to remember that he had

mentioned, in the most distinct manner, what had been done to injure the trade, and that he had added the opinions of Mr. Pirr and Mr. Dun-DASS, who had stated that, in their judgment, every thing had been done to injure the trade to China: vet if it appeared, on an average of fifty years, that the trade had increased from £629,000 to £1,300,000 it was an unequivocal proof that the trade had answered. There was no doubt but every means had been adopted to. injure that trade: yet, notwithstanding all the difficulties and obstacles opposed to its success, they had been entirely surmounted. He relied upon actual facts and the experience of the Company, from whose documents it would appear beyond all doubt, that it had increased from £629,000. to £1,300,000; at this moment it was so; and on that principle, judging from the present, the trade to China was increasing. He would admit, it might be a strong plea on the part of the Outports, if the trade was really decreasing, that they ought to have the opportunity of improving a trade, which was either neglected for want of energy, or dwindling for want of capital: the contrary, however, was the It was not a fair way of judging on the subject to calculate from one or two unsuccessful years. But, at the same time that the Company derived

considerable advantages from this branch of their trade, he did not think it would become them to enter into a sort of conspiracy, and conceal from His Majesty's Ministers the real state of the facts upon this subject. And he put it to his honorable friend, whether that was not the point of view in which he stated his sentiments on the former occasion? He was not one of those, he confessed, who would abandon small , but certain gains, for the chance of making more by a speculation confessedly hazardous. It was in this point of view that he considered this subject, and he thought it was perfectly consistent with the interests of the Company, to abandon, a losing concern, for the sake of promoting their views, in the pursuit of a trade every way more advantageous. They ought to give up that proportion which was almost a burthen, to secure that which was profitable, in every point of view.

Something had been said by the honorable gentleman about the statements of Lord Castle-reagh, on the subject of the Company's capital. He (Mr. Hume) had the pleasure of hearing Lord Castlereagh on that subject: and although he castlereagh in himself so clearly as many might have done, yet the meaning he collected from his Lordship's observations, was very different from that represented by his honorable

friend to the Court. Lord Castlereagh stated very distinctly, that " the impediments to trading on the part of the present merchants, to and from India, under the regulations of the Charter of 1793, had forced the capital of British merchants into foreign trade, either in consequence of increased difficulties thrown in the way of the Court of Directors, or in consequence of the Court of Director's means having declined." This was the point Lord Castlereagh, as far as he understood him, had suggested: and was there any body who recollected the observations of Mr. Dundas on this identical point, touching the sub--ject of East-India ships, that did not agree in the truth of the observation? Examples were not wanting to illustrate that principle. One was sufficient for the purpose; and he would only refer the Court to the example of the Princess Amelia, a Company's ship, in 1797. Lord Castlereagh he contended was right, when he stated that a large capital had been employed to no beneficial purpose, through the very trammels of those regulations prescribed in the Charter.-He (Mr. Hume) was ready however to admit, that the Court of Directors had acted liberally but still, with all that liberality, (for which he was disposed to give them credit) it was not sufficient to prove the capability of the Company.

His honorable friend (Mr. Jackson) had not noticed the effect likely to be produced upon India, by allowing people to come in and receive permission to enter into the trade of the Company, The honorable gentleman did not recollect what the advances of the Company had been; he did not seem to recollect that the whole advance of the Company had not been much more than one third. Did he mean therefore to say, that there would be any injury likely to arise to the trade of India, or the advantages of it to the Company, from this measure? Did he suppose that the Company's interests would be affected by the loss of one eighth of the present. merchandize? In this last proposition, he derived his authority from the Court of Directors themselves. Surely every man must know, that the merchants of Britain were as well acquainted with the interests of Government as the East-India Company themselves. The merchants of Britain, therefore, ought not to be looked upon as men, differing in their sentiments and principles from the rest of His Majesty's subjects: theywere not to be considered as a different people from those who were at present employed in the trade to India. Their notions of loyalty, of good conduct, and good government, were (without at all detracting from the merits of the

Company) as much alive to the interests of their Country; therefore, in admitting the merchants of the Outports to a share of the trade in India, the Company ought to consider them as a valuable accession to the number of their subjects -as a body of men willing to be united with them in influence, in interest, and mutual sentiment, for the welfare of the Empire; and so far from apprehending any mischief through such a coalition, he thought, that as long as the Court of Directors retained the power and sovereignty in India; as long as they administered justice with integrity and impartiality; as long as the mild spirit of government which had marked the affairs of India for so many years, should continue to actuate the conduct of the Directory, so long would they be an accession to the prosperity and welfare of India.

It was very well known, that the present merchants had done very much towards the prosperity of India. He would not enquire more into the particular channels and modes by which they contributed their assistance, but certainly the present merchants had done, more to the prosperity of India, than those, who had not an opportunity of knowing the fact, could possibly conceive. Their capital had kept the trade alive in India; so much so, that the trade was almost,

in fact, merely pro forma, carried on by the Court of Directors, and hence, instead of increasing, the trade had decreased. This he had shewn on a former occasion, by a reference to the average of the trade during the last eight years, from which it had appeared (without now going back to the items) that the Company had lost eight millions of money. The inference to be drawn from this was, that the loss had proceeded from a decrease of the enterprising spirit of the Company, and from a want of proper application and supply of the capital. Ought they not therefore, as Directors and as Sovereigns of a vast Empire, to say to the British merchants, " Let us join heart and hand together in this great undertaking;-let us contribute all in our power to the prosperity and welfare of India?"

This, he (Mr. Hume) was firmly convinced, would be the result of such a policy; and in every point of view, in which the affairs of India could be considered, he anticipated prosperity to the commerce, and strength, and stability of the British Empire.

He should not detain the Court at any length with regard to the amount of the importation from India. The amount imported was of very little consequence. It certainly would be more if the state of Europe would permit it; but, at the

the same time, it should be recollected, that of all the manufactured goods imported from India, only one fifth of the whole was imported for British consumption: all the rest of the four-fifths went out of the country. As for foreign exports, therefore, it was of very little consequence, whether they came to the port of London or to the Outports. He, for one, thought it quite as just, that the Outports should derive the advantage of the foreign export trade, as the import trade for home consumption; because the reason of the thing was just the same; and he considered it was an exception which ought by no means to exist.

With regard to protection, a good deal had been said by the honourable gentleman; but he (Mr. Hume) must say, that the noble Lord had stated, that he thought it would be neither advisable nor safe for the Legislature to attempt any alteration in the present system in India. On the contrary, he said, it was his opinion, that the Government of India was as perfect as could exist; and that to take it out of the hands of the Court of Directors, would be to unhinge the whole fabric. Upon this subject, therefore, he (Mr. Hume) would not make any comments, but merely subscribe to that opinion.

With regard to the duties, the honourable gen-

so little, that he should not trouble the Court with any observations upon it. The whole duties were stated by the noble Lord to amount to £4,200,000. The whole computation which was derivable from tea having been stated to be three millions and a half, then this amount of the duties on tea being contra-distinguished from other duties, perhaps, would explain the apparent inaccuracy of the noble Lord's statement. But so far as he (Mr. Hume) could judge, his Lordship was pretty correct.

Notwithstanding the observations made on the policy of India; notwithstanding an honourable. Director had himself asserted, that the Government was not quite complete, he himself was happy to say, that, in his own opinion, as far as facts went, they bore against the honourable Director. He was, however, bound to state, that it would give him (Mr. Hume) the sincerest pleasure to see any improvement for the better.

But although experience had shewn that the power and means put into the hands of this great body of merchants had been used with moderation upon all occasions, and with the greatest propriety and advantage to the country, yet he did not think that should be urged as a reason why economy ought not to be adopted; nor ought it

to be urged as a reason why ecclesiastical power. should to be adopted in India. On the contrary, it was, in his opinion, a reason why it ought not to be introduced. He was as anxious as any man could be to see the religious establishments of India, as such, properly supported, and that there should be no want of religious instructors: but, as far as he knew any thing of India, he was not aware of any want of that kind. Every man who looked to the state of India, or who was at all acquainted with its domestic policy, would find that there was no occasion for any increase of the religious establishments. On the contrary, · the number of religious instructors was very great, and had been much augmented of late. Company had many chaplains in their train; and he was convinced it would be found, that the number of elergymen was quite enough; in his opinion it would be perfectly useless to send out any increase to the ecclesiastical establishments of the Company. But it occurred to him as rather extraordinary, that the recommendation of his Lordship (Castlereagh) upon this subject should follow immediately after a recommendation of "retrenchment." For it would be observed, that the very words from his Lordship's lips were "the necessity of retrenchment in the Company's establishments," Now, how was that followed up? The very next proposition of his Lordship was, "That the Company's system of expense was to be increased, and that they were to have a Bishop (whether with an income of tenthousand pounds a year, he did not know), and three Archdeacons! Surely, then, when the Court considered the enormous expence of keeping up the Government of the territories in India, and when it was considered that the expence was as much as the Company could bear, it could not be contended, in an economical point of view, that this was a season for adding so considerably to the expence, even if the policy of introducing such high dignitaries were unquestioned. And iv might be necessary to consider also the expediency of introducing, in a political point of view, such personages into the Indian settlements. He was not perfectly satisfied, that an ecclesiastical. power of that kind, if admitted to India, would be very advantageous to its good government; nor if it were attempted, was he perfectly satisfied it would contribute to the tranquillity of the Empire. - Though he was most perfectly convinced that such an augmentation of their establishment would be attended with an intolerable expence; this, however, was not his chief objection to their admission; for he had a sincere wish that a liberal provision should be made for the

teachers of the Gospel. But the main point of view . in which he objected to it was, that it would be attended with the highest possible danger to the tranquillity of India; for he apprehended if a Bishop were admitted to have any authority in India, the Company would have a second Lord Chief Justice to take the lead in their affairs, and guide their councils,-It would be impossible to keep those ecclesiastical dignitaries from interfering with the politics of India; and consequently affecting the councils of the government. If the Clergy now in India were disposed to do their duty, there were quite enough of them for all spiritual and religious purposes. He, therefore, would by no means recommend a measure of this kind; and he perfectly agreed in an observation, urged against it in the House of Commons, that if there were any one measure more dangerous and threatening to the government of India than another, it was that of allowing a hierarchy without controul. For his own part. he dreaded also the suspension of that liberal and mild spirit of toleration which characterized the present government towards every sect of religion; and therefore, in that point of view, he should shudder at the idea of introducing a religious establishment which might, in any degree, tend to introduce a schism into that country, in

matters of conscience. The Court of Directors, in his opinion, were bound to sanction nothing which might, in the slightest degree, tend to disturb the harmony of the government or risk the quiet of their empire. As a question, therefore of religion, of politics, and of economy, it was every way objectionable. His honourable friend (Mr. Jackson) had argued with considerable force, to shew that the government of India was a government of opinion. He, however, could not consent to the proposition, that our territories in India were governed by opinion alone. He thought that 150,000 men added considerably to the strength of that opinion, and gave some weight to the orders of the government. The fact was, the Company had a very large physical force in India, and it was not mere opinion that governed their immense territories. But, judging of the great force of the Hindoos in India, he thought it highly necessary to consider seriously the policy of attempting to convert the natives to Christianity: and this was another point of view in which he objected to any unnecessary increase of the religious establishments in India. His reason was this; it was contrary to the Hindoo laws to admit a convert from their religion into society. Such person was excluded from either intercourse or

commerce with his friends and countrymen. He . lost his cast, and was, in fact, considered as a vagabond and an outlaw; he was deprived of all those comforts which constituted the happiness of social life: he was even thrown off from the society of his father, his mother, and of his friends. Surely, then, if the chief object of religious instruction was the social happiness of mankind, it would be well to consider the policy of attempting to convert a people, who visited apostates from their own religion with such serious and heavy penalties. Could it be supposed (however desirable it might be, to see Christianity spread amongst the millions of unenlightened inhabitants of the eastern world), that such policy would either tend to the happiness of the people. or the security of the British empire, in India? Did facts prove, that the condition of the people hitherto converted had been bettered-or that their attachment to the Company's government had been made more secure? For his own part, · he declared, for one, he never knew a convert in India who was a friend to the State: and, on the other hand, he never knew a convert, who was received by those who had converted him, with the warmth and cordiality of a brother. He therefore hoped the Court would seriously consider the very important question now suggested.

It was a question that involved not only the happiness of the people themselves, but the security of the government in India. He besought them to recollect the melancholy consequences that befel those unfortunate persons who left their cases and he desired them to recollect, above all things, the necessity of keeping up that good opinion and confidence which subsisted between the natives and the government.—

(Hear! hear! hear!)

There was another topic in the honourable gentleman's speech to which he must take the liberty of adverting : he meant that which respected remuneration. Now, really, he did conceive, that after the most liberal offer had been made by Government, to give the Company their China trade (worth £1,200,000), that they would have been contented, without the permission of levying duties, to remunerate them for those alleged advantages which were to be given up; and he begged to call the attention of the Court of Directors to one point of the measure proposed. It was a circumstance impossible for any Englishman to believe, that he should be obliged to pay more duty at Hull than at Liverpool, or at Glasgow than at Bristol. No man would know the duties if they were continually changing, which they would inevitably

do, under the arrangement proposed by the honourable gentleman; and it would be impossible to carry on the trade, with satisfaction or advantage, without knowing what the duties were, that were to be charged in each port respectively. Therefore, if such a proposition were to be seriously made, it ought not to be adopted without the perfect sanction of all parties: and he himself would be happy to see any necessary and reasonable rate established; but it ought to be a general, clear, and known rule of conduct to all parties. The honourable gentleman asked, - "Was the Company to part with their " wharfs, their forts, and their establishments "in the ports of India, without remunera-"tion?"-Good God!-Was not the China trade -worth £1,200,000 a-year-an ample remuneration for what the Company gave up? Surely it was; because, by the tenor of the Company's charter they would have been obliged to give up the whole trade to India, to all His "Majesty's subjects in common. As soon as their charter expired they would have no more right to the trade of India than the rest of His Majesty's subjects. He thought all that the mer-· chants of the Outports ought to pay, therefore, would be a rate for the maintenance of the harbours and quays of the ports. This was fair, reason.

able, and natural. His answer, therefore, to the honourable gentleman's opinion upon this subject was, that the remuneration should go no farther than that proposed by the Government. Would it be just, or would it be reasonable, to tell the merchants of Liverpool and other Outports: - " In return for the expences we have been at, in adapting our settlements for the purposes of trade, you must reimburse us?" Why, the very nature of all those conveniencies was to enable the Company to carry on their trade. He would read the very words of the act :- "To enable "the Honourable the East-India Company to carry on their trade in execution of their charter, these things are granted to them, that "they might be applied for their own convenience: but, at the termination of their ex-" clusive privileges, these things shall be in common, as fort's for protection, &c."-The honourable gentleman asked, -- "What was the " Company to have by way of remuneration for " their forts?"-What, he (Mr. Hume) asked. had the private traders to do with the forts? The forts were to protect the country-to protect the territories of the Company .- Therefore, to call upon the traders to pay for these forts, would be most unjust and unreasonable. What! was the Company to be paid a revenue for the protection of its own ports and territories? and were they to call upon the merchants for this revenue? Besides which, he considered, at the present day, those forts, erected by the Company, were not necessary for the security of the merchants. They might, indeed, be necessary as safeguards for the Company's territories against hostile invaders, and might be the means of protecting their territorial possessions. He therefore hoped, in that sense, it would be thought, by the Court, that the Liverpool merchants, and the merchants of the other Outports, had no right to pay any demand of this sort; for, in every point of view, he considered it would be very unreasonable.

It appeared to him, that his honourable friend had misconceived the noble Lord (Castlereagh), when he stated that there was a kind of influence which the Court of Proprietors had over the Court of Directors. He (Mr. Hume) desired it to be recollected, that the noble Lord did not state this influence as extended to the territories in India, or that any danger was to be apprehended from its effects in that quarter; but what the noble Lord said was to this effect—and however unpleasant it might be for some gentlemen to hear, he would repeat it—the noble Lord had stated, that such an influence af-

fected the conduct of the Court of Directors themselves-that, in many of their proceedings, the Court of Directors were over-awed by the East-India Proprietors-that they, the Proprietors, were anxious to keep up the present system in some shape or another-and that he was afraid the trade of the India Company was good for nothing. This, he stated, was the effect of what the noble Lord had said; and he begged the honourable gentleman (Mr. Jackson) would recollect, that it was with a view to the trading influence, and not in allusion to the Company's territories, that the noble Lord's observation was made. It was only meant by the noble Lord, that this alleged influence led to a want of management in the Company's commerce; and that the natural consequence of that was its injury and declension. It was not, however, to be therefore supposed, it was at all meant by the noble Lord, that the Proprietors were to be precluded from deriving all the advantage they could from continuing the trade to India. On the contrary, he (Mr. Hume) had no doubt that they would continue the carrying trade; but, at the same time, the system required some alteration. And he had no doubt that a great many improvements would take place; for he could not but admit, that there were a great

many wanting. Therefore, the noble Lord, in making the observation alluded to, merely meant to allude to that sort of influence he had described. But the noble Lord was not the only one who took an opportunity of submitting that as one of the reasons why he thought the present system ought not to continue against the conviction of some of the Proprietors. He remembered that an honourable Director, not now present, who saw the danger, and who stirred heaven and earth to change the shipping interest, declared that he regretted the interference of that interest, though, at the same time, he admitted his disposition to give it all the advantage he could; yet still his sentiments were strongly against it, on account of its dangerous tendency. Surely, therefore, it was no harm for the noble Lord to take a leaf out of that honourable Director's book.

Without detaining the Court any longer, and after apologizing for the great length of time he had trespassed on their attention, he begged to remind them, that the sole object of his rising was strongly to recommend a feeling of conciliation on the part of the Company, and to beg that, after the most liberal, and, he must say, unexampled advances of His Majesty's Ministers, they would come forward themselves with a similar

feeling of liberality, and appear ready to evince a sincere spirit of conciliation. They ought to join hand in hand with Ministers to meet the contending force; for they should to bear in mind that they had to oppose the whole public, as it was natural to suppose that the nation at large was against them. As a Company, they ought to stand forth and conciliate the good opinion of Ministers—they ought to come forward and meet them half-way—indeed, he might say, two-thirds of the way. It was their duty to make the first advances, and it was for the Ministers to meet them.

Upon this very trying occasion, he certainly would do the Court of Directors the justice to say, that they had done their duty. He believed they had conscientiously and with unfeigned sincerity, pointed out those rocks upon which the merchants of the Outports were most likely to split, and erected those beacons to warn them of the danger, when an inconsiderate view of their own interests might lead them to risk dangers which might lead to their own destruction. He deprecated, above all the rest, every thing like hostility on the part of the Company. To go hostily into the field might be detrimental to their own interests, and perhaps be the occasion of imposing harder terms than those which a more

pacific aspect might induce Government to grant. The less they came to blows, the better for themselves, because he was persuaded they would effect infinitely more by mildness and good humour. They had nothing to do but to consider a public point in a private light. For his own part he would recommend, that their Chairman should ask leave to visit His Majesty's Ministers, and to state that the Court were extremely anxious to meet their views, and accommodate themselves to their wishes. A yielding disposition must be obviously more beneficial to their interests, than even the power (if power they had) to command: -command indeed could elicit nothing. They might detain the House of Commons for a week, examining evidence and debating the question, without half the advantage that an hour's private interview with His Majesty's Ministers might effect. In such a meeting many points might be granted, which could not be hoped for in a more open manner; and by meeting the Ministers half way, they would put it out of their power to refuse any thing that was consistent with the mutual interests of the Public and the Company.

[After some further observations to the same effect, in which the honorable gentleman recommended the renewal of the negotiation on the

part of the Company with the Ministers, in that spirit of conciliation he had suggested, he concluded by moving a resolution to that effect.]

The Deputy Chairman (Mr. Thornton) begged leave to put the honorable gentleman in mind, that there was already a question before them, which, though not absolutely moved, remained to be put, for the sense of the Court. It was a motion of the honorable Chairman, who had been called away by public business. The honourable Chairman had signified an intention, before he left the Court, to submit his proposition, but was diverted from his intention in its regular course, in consequence of an honorable and learned proprietor (Mr. Jackson) having immediately followed him, with his address to the Court. However, if the honorable Proprietor who spoke last, wished to propose his motion as an amendment, it was certainly in his power to do so: but it would be for his discretion to consider whether, under the circumstance of the case, he would adopt such a measure. He (the Deputy Chairman) indeed conceived, that the honorable gentleman, whom he represented, was in possession of the Court, and he should, therefore, take the liberty of reading the motion which he had left on the table, and which it was his intention to have proposed.

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Mr. Hume thanked the Deputy Chairman for his suggestion, and requested that the motion before the Court might be read.

The Deputy Chairman said the motion was

"That the Court of Directors be empowered to affix the seal of the Company to Petitions to the Right Honorable the House of Lords and the Honorable the House of Commons, to be heard by Counsel, and to examine evidence at the bars of the Houses of Lords and Com-

"the bars of the Houses of Lords and Commons, should such measures be deemed neces-

" sary or advisable by the Court of Directors."

Mr. Hume apprehended there would not be any difference of opinion on this point; and as soon as it was disposed of he should beg to submit his own, as a second motion.

Mr. Rock requested, that the motion read from the Chair should not be now put, that he might be allowed to say one word before he gave his assent to it. He wished to be informed whether the opposition intended to be made by the Directors at the bar of the House of Commons, was intended to go to the whole of the resolutions, or whether that opposition was to be confined to certain resolutions? because there were unquestionably some out of the fifteen which he approved of, and there were others which required

very serious consideration: and amongst the latter was that relative to Religion. Before he could give his opinion therefore upon that subject, he should wish to know whether the opposition was intended to be confined to the third resolution only, or to the resolutions generally?

Mr. Randle Jackson apprehended that the bonorable gentleman had mistaken the course of the proceedings. The question before the Court was merely to ask permission for the Directors to put the Company's seal to a petition to the honorable the House of Commons praying to be heard by their counsel, or to lay such evidence before the House as should be required, for the purpose of explaining such propositions and difficulties, and such resolutions as might arise in the course of the business. He therefore suggested the impropriety of their expressing any formal opinion upon resolutions which were only submitted to the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh for the mere purpose of consideration; and not with a view of precluding the House, or the Company from suggesting such alterations and improvements as circumstances might require. As the motion before them did not intimate that it was the intention of the Court to oppose those resolutions, but merely to request permission to be

heard by counsel and examine evidence, he would suggest, that the honorable gentleman's question could not arise out of any thing contained in that motion.

Mr. Rock begged leave to explain. He was called upon, he said, to give his assent to a motion empowering the Court of Directors to put their seal to a petition that would pass, for ought he knew, into a resolution. There were certain resolutions amongst those proposed by the noble Lord to the House of Commons which he very much approved of. He did not say that he approved of the last relative to religion, which he admitted was one of the greatest importance. But he hoped that the Court of Directors would not oppose every one of those resolutions.

The Rev. Mr. Thirlwall rose and attempted to speak; but

Mr. Lowndes rose at the same time and obtained possession of the Court. He congratulated himself that he was at length honoured with their attention; as he must own he had yielded the point of precedence to the honorable gentleman (Mr. Hume) with reluctance, for though he was not convinced by his arguments, he should not have felt anxious to speak before him, if he had not feared an attempt to speak after a man of his abilities and eloquence might be considered as pre-

sumptuous. Having heard such able speeches from the Cicero and Demosthenes of this Court, fa laugh) he certainly could not flatter himself that he should be able to offer any thing very worthy their attention. But at the same time, as it was impossible to embrace every thing even in such long-winded speeches (which he certainly admitted were much better worth hearing than the long-winded speeches of another House) he should take the liberty of touching upon one or two points which had escaped their notice. As he professed nothing at all of the courtier, and as he spoke his sentiments freely and without reserve upon all occasions, he should not to-day forbear stating with freedom, but with respect, the few words he had to utter. His worthy friend (Mr. Jackson) had commented at some length upon the observations of Lord Castlereagh touching the conduct of the honorable servants of that House. It appeared that Lord Castlereagh had observed with tolerable freedom, upon the conduct of those honorable servants; and certainly in his (Mr. Lowndes's) opinion, not without some reason: for he firmly believed that if the honorable servants of that house had looked a little better after the interests of the Companyif they had not allowed the Americans trading to India-the Court would not have heard so much

as they have heard, about the dangers of private trade. Therefore, if such dangers there were, they had to blame themselves for slumbering on their posts. To this negligence must be attributed all that had been said about the baneful effects of private trade. And when he heard of an immense trade carried on by the merchants of that country (America) in three hundred sail of shipping, brought into foreign markets, and coming in competition with the Indian goods imported by the honorable Company to the injury of those concerned in the private trade of this country, he could not forbear to throw all the · blame upon the servants of that honorable House for allowing such an evil to exist. It was what might have been expected, and which could not but be anticipated. Now, he did think, with all due deference to those honorable persons, that they should not have suffered such a complaint to exist upon so important a question, but on that occasion they should have petitioned his Majesty's Ministers and the Houses of Lords and Commons, to point out some method to prevent the Americans from trading to India in the manner they had done. There was another point on which he · thought the Directors were also very much to blame. Though he felt every disposition in the world to speak of them individually with

worthy and excellent men, as individuals, yet when thrown together, like a heap of vegetables, they were apt to corrupt each other. (A laugh.)

The second point that he objected to in their conduct was, that on this important occasion, they had improvidently consented or agreed to give £300,000 a year to Government, in order to keep £4,500,000 which they would have kept, nolens volens; and this without any sort of reference to the state of their circumstances, whether in adversity or prosperity. His worthy friend (Mr. Randle Jackson) seemed disposed to give £450,000. But what he (Mr. Lowndes) contended for was, that if the Directors gave but £5 or £500, it ought to bear some proportion to their profits. Surely the Company ought not to give the Government £500,000, per annum, if their concern was a losing one.

Now, upon this second point, he thought they were really very culpable, and did not demand as much as they ought; but he only mentioned this circumstance to shew the impolicy of not looking to their own interests. And therefore he had hoped they would not have made such a bad bargain as they did on this occasion. This however, was not an observation which had just occurred to him; it had frequently been

made before. But having said so much, he begged only to add, that he did not entertain any ill-will towards them; but, that being an independent man, he was desirous of speaking the sentiments of an independent mind. And if he again devoted himself to peaceful retirement, he should no less feel the same portion of anxiety than if he were present in that honorable Court. He was, however, anxious to speak this day in vindication of his own conduct, which had been attacked for having spent all the winter at Bath. Several of his friends had said to him-"what, Lowndes! have you " deserted your post at the India House, where " you used to make so much noise?-- Why, you " have been silent for the last nine months !- What " is the reason of it?" - Now were his talents of a little more consequence than they were, perhaps his worthy friends might have thought he had been bought off: (a laugh) but though he was absent, he begged to say he was not ignorant of what was passing in that place, nor insensible to what had occurred elsewhere. He could only say to those worthy friends who were enquiring where he had been, that he had been an hundred miles from London, and had not an opportunity, from that circumstance, of attending the usual meetings. Happy was he to observe, that

a great many things of considerable importance to the welfare of India had happened while he was absent. The most pleasing was that of the appointment of a noble Lord to be Governor-General of India: for he did think that a man of more accomplished mind, a man of more conciliating manners, or whose knowledge and acquirements were better adapted to the good government of India than Lord Moira, could not have been fixed upon. He was a man who would do more for the benefit of that Country, and much more towards conciliating the good opinion and confidence of the settlements of that immense territory, than any Governor who had been sent out for many years. He was, in short, a second Marquis Cornwallis. the highest more in the

There were one or two points in the long speeches of the two honorable gentlemen who delivered their sentiments to the Court, to which he would shortly advert. That he principally alluded to, was the proposition of the noble Lord (Castlereagh) to send out a Bishop and three Archdeacons. Now, really, he could not see the policy of such a proposition taking it in three points of view.—In the first place, in point of religion; in the second, in a political light; and the third, in point of economy. The Bishop and Archdeacons, it was con-

pose of advocating the cause of the Christian religion. Certainly no man was a stronger friend to religious establishments than he was: but he must say for himself that he never knew a Bishop or an Archdeacon to forward religion.

The Rev. Mr. Thirlwall rose to order. He said it was impossible to sit still and hear the observations of the honorable gentleman, without checking such language.

Mr. Lowndes continued, he saw with a sort of prophetic eye, danger, not only to the cause of religion, but to the peace, the tranquillity, and security of British India, from the introduction of an hierarchy into that country. He entertained the highest respect for the church establishment of England, and he admitted that it was very proper that we should have the episcopal dignitaries at home, but they were utterly uncongenial with the very soil of India, and totally inconsistent with the dignity and tranquillity of that country: for he hesitated not to say, that the very moment a Bishop was sent to India, he would be at once placed in a situation higher than the Governor General himself. Such a thing was never heard nor dreamt of before, as the appointment of a Bishop in India. Hitherto the Company had had humble, meek and unassuming pastors,

who discharged their duty in a humble, meek and unassuming manner: but if they were to send out a High Priest the consequence would be, that the mild spirit and unassuming character of the present priesthood would vanish, the cause of religions would suffer, and religious dissentions and religious animosities would arise.

In justice to his own sentiments, he could not forbear touching on this point : but knowing that the time and attention of the Court had been so long engaged on that day, he should not trespass much more upon their patience; yet he hoped he might be permitted to say, that he perfectly agreed with Lord Castlereagh in the concluding part of . his speech, the recommendation of which he hoped would be adopted. His Lordship had said, "he could assure the House, His Majesty's Ministers, from a sense of public duty, and not from a wish of flattering any gentleman connected with either of the two contending interests, had adopted the plan he proposed; namely, a conciliatory plan, that the two jarring interests of the East-India Company and the Public should be united in such a way as to be beneficial to both." He perfectly agreed in the sentiments of the noble Lord, and he hoped it . would have the effect of reconciling those jaming interests of the Company and the Public : but he

was affaid that the Company did not wish, with . his honourable friend, Mr. Hume, to meet the public, like husband and wife, who had differed a little in opinion. Husband and wife, he admitted, should meet half way in such a case; but he did not think the Company would be quite so affectionately disposed. The East-India Company and the Public were rather to be considered like father and son: the father thinking he never could give too little, and the son, that the father could never give too much. (A loud laugh.) He did hope and trust, however, that the contending interests between the East-India Company and the public would be amicably adjusted; and that when they came together-the public, as the son, would consider that the father had other children to provide for; and whatever the parent had to give to the son, he would give it with good humour and grace; but, at the same time, shew parental tenderness for the interests of his younger children.

Now, there was one ground upon which he would stand on this occasion, which was—that if any right or privilege was to be taken away from the Company, there ought to be an equivalent for the loss; and there were three grand points upon which he would demand that equivalent: the rest he should be disposed to leave for

more detailed arrangements. The principle upon which he would make this demand was this, (keeping up the simile of father and son) that if it was not for the East-India Company, as a provident father, those children could not expect to have had a fortune at all. The first point, therefore, would be to ascertain the interests of the East-India House in Asia; the second, as to the mode of paying off the debt of £30,000,000; and the third and last, but most important undoubtedly, was the reestablishment of the Company itself. He thought this should come last of the three, to shew, that they were not actuated by those narrow selfish views which might be supposed to influence the conduct of individuals; but that, as a public body of men, they were anxious to deserve all the praises which Lord Castlereagh had bestowed upon them; and that they should do nothing to diminish the high character ascribed to them by the noble Lord; and that they might not place themselves in such a situation, that their enemies might say, the noble Lord had given them a character which they did not deserve.

Having trespassed so long upon the time of the Court, he should now conclude by expressing a hope, that whatever they gave, they would give it liberally: but, at the same time, considering

that the eldest son should not have more than was his due, because they had other children to provide for.

The Rev. Mr. Thirtwall said, he was extremely sorry to trespass, at that hour of the day, upon the patience of the Court; but he assured them he did not rise to prolong the general discussion upon the great question, which had already undergone so much consideration and had exhausted almost every argument. But there was one point which had been descanted upon by an honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Jackson) and by another honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume) in such a way, that were he to sit still and not offer his sentiments, however humble an individual he was, he thought he should not discharge the duty he owed to himself and that body of men of which he was an unworthy member. He must tell that learned and honourable gentleman he was most completely mistaken in the opinions, sentiments, and dispositions of the Clergy of the Established Church of this Country; and it was too much for him (Mr. Thirlwall) to hear without denying, that they had the dispositions attributed to them by that honourable gentleman. Had the honourable and learned gentleman simply contented himself with saying that he would protest against an ecclesiastical establishment

in India, he (Mr. Thirlwall) would have had nothing to say to that point, though he should certainly differ from him: but, when he heard such harsh expressions of hostility towards the episcopal church, he was sorry the honourable gentleman should have suffered his feelings to lead him into so unmerited an attack upon their character. He was the more distressed at such observations because he did not expect them from a gentleman whose speeches he had heard with so much pleasure and satisfaction. The honourable gentleman thought that the appointment of Bishops in India would be injurious to the welfare of that country in a temporal point of view for that episcopacy was naturally united with temporal power. The honourable gentleman was completely mistaken in that proposition. Episcopacy depended not upon temporal powers; and with respect to the supposed danger arising from the establishment of episcopacy in India, it was contradicted by the facts and experience of other countries. In America Bishops were established, and yet no danger was ever expected to arise or had ever arisen from their appointment. Episcopacy was established in Nova Scotia. The Bishops in that country had nothing to do with polities. They were wholly unconnected with temporal power; and he never-

heard of any danger arising from that establishment. Perhaps the Court was not aware that episcopacy in Scotland existed without temporal power; and he believed there was not an order of men in the history of the most pious christians. who ever surpassed the Scotch bishops in the blameless tenour of their lives. He knew many of them, and they did honour to that church of which they were members. It was fallacious reasoning, therefore, to contend that episcopacy was inseparable from temporal power. On the contrary he would maintain, that episcopacy was not at all hostile either to civil or religious freedom, or to any other of the advantages which rendered society valuable. He (Mr. Thirlwall) would not yield to the honourable gentleman or to any man, in sentiments of unlimited toleration to all classes and denominations of christians; but he did claim for himself, and for episcopacy, all those ecclesiastical privileges which, whether they were to be carried into India or not, were extremely necessary in his opinion, and inseparably connected with ecclesiastical government. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume) had stated that there were a great number of chaplains in India, and a great number of ecclesiastical appointments under the protection and patronage of the Company. He was not aware that the

clergy were so numerous in that country; but if they were, it was an argument in favour of episcopal appointments, in order to the good government of the clergy. It was of the very essence of episcopal government that there should be such appointments: but it did not, therefore, necessarily follow, that temporal power was inseparably connected with episcopal power. They were as distinct as possible. Now, he was a member of the national establishment, and why? Because he was an episcopalian. He was an episcopalian, because he was a member of the Protestant establishment. Supposing he should cross the Tweed, he would not necessarily become a member of the national establishment of Scotland; but he would be subject to the episcopal government of that country, unconnected with temporal power. Now, when the honourable gentleman had stated that temporal power was intimately connected with episcopal, that was a very strong argument against his statement; and therefore he begged to set him right upon that point. He knew that many people faboured under a very great mistake, fand it was an error he wished to correct) with respect to episcopal government; namely, the idea of temporal power being essentially connected with episcopal privileges. Therefore, when he heard those harsh

expressions of the honourable gentleman, when he heard him speak of that ambitious, assuming, arrogant (he was not quite sure that the honourable gentleman used the last word), but that ambitious aspiring disposition, as if it was absolutely essential to the support of episcopacy that the Bishops and church dignitaries should be ambitious and aspiring, he begged to tell that honourable and learned gentleman, and all who entertained similar opinions, that history and experience contradicted such statements. This Country, he maintained, was indebted to the clergy and episcopacy for her liberties. Could any man look back to the period of the Revolution, and recollect the magnanimous and heroic conduct of the six Bishops in the Tower, without being convinced, that there was nothing in the principles of episcopacy hostile to civil liberty? To hear, therefore, such language, as that used by the honourable gentleman, would be highly unbecoming in him, if he did not, at the moments point out the injustice done to the character of the hierarchy of this country. He himself was a very humble man, but certainly of an independent mind; and he would do justice to the bench of bishops, and contradict the statement of the honourable gentleman, by saying, that there was nothing of an aspiring ambitious character in

the disposition of those right reverend persons. It was true, they had temporal privileges in this country; they had a right to them: but they bore their honours with meekness and humility: they had never shewn any disposition to violate the principles of our free Constitution. On the contrary, upon all occasions, they L ad evinced themselves anxious to uphold the prir ciples of liberty, and maintain the freedom of the Constitution. With respect to the . honourable gentleman's (Mr. Hume) argument, that instead of increasing the number of chaplains and clergy on the Indian establishments, they ought to be diminished, he never heard so extraordinary an argument in a christian assembly. The argument of the honourable gentleman went the length of saying, that all attempts to convert the poor unenlightened Hindoos to Christianity should be given up. Such an idea filled him with horror. Good God! Did the honourable gentleman recommend the Court to exclude the Bible from the shores of Hindostan, lest, by enlightening the poor Hindoos with the knowledge of the true God, they would be subjected to the temporary inconveniences of this world? Would he praclude those unhappy men, from participating in the blessings of divine truth, and enjoying a blessed eternity? Would he not endeavour to rescue them from that misery in which their

utter ignorance had sunk them? Would he not endeavour to ameliorate their condition? Could that honourable gentleman hear of the dreadful . and unnatural sacrifices daily made amongst the poor Hindoos, without entertaining feelings of horror? Could he hear of a wife being offered up as a victim to the manes of her husband, and those other dreadful rites and ceremonies which usually took place on such occasions, without wishing that the blessings of Christianity might be disseminated amongst an unenlightened people, whose condition, without such means, could never be ameliorated? He was sorry to have heard such arguments from the honourable gentleman, and he hoped he would excuse him for having thus warmly expressed his dissent from such opinions.

Mr. Randle Jackson begged leave to explain. He said the reverend gentleman had put words into his mouth, which he should be extremely sorry, should go forth from that place, as expressive of his sentiments, uncontradicted. It was not very likely that a man, who was himself a member of the established church, and whose life had been a life of reverence towards the established hierarchy of his country, should now speak so lightly of them, as the reverend gentleman was pleased to say he had spoken. But he begged to remind the Court what the proposition

was, that he really contended for. It was this that high and vaulting ambition was inseparable from high station. That was what he said, and . what he would now contend for. He alluded to no particular persons or class of individuals; for he thought that the appointment of a lord chief justice or a Bishop, with a splendid stipend, was nearly allied to temporal influence and power. And to him it would make no sort of difference what the profession of the person was, who was vested with such high temporal power and influence, because the danger from such influence would be the same in the one, as in the other. All he now contended for was, that if such appointments were made, and accompanied by that power which was inseparable from high station, it would be a most dangerous beginning. He deprecated such a commencement, and he hoped in God that it might never take root.

Mr. Hume was sorry again to trouble the Court; but he must be allowed to say something in answer to the reverend gentleman, who had put words into his mouth which he had never used. He denied that he alluded to political power, as connected with the bishops. He had stated that no man would be more anxious to see a religious establishment, under certain regulations, in India, than he was. He was sure

the Court would do him the justice to recollect, that he began with that very observation; but he concluded by stating, that there were, at present, clergymen in India, sufficient for every clerical duty that was required. His chief objection was upon the score of economy; and he denied that he had used those improper expressions attributed to him by the reverend gentleman. (Cries of question!)

The Rev. Mr. Thirlwall expressed his willingness to apologize to both the honourable gentlemen if he had misunderstood them.

Mr. Hume repeated that his objection was upon the score of economy.

Oxford, declared that he must be allowed to say he had used no expression of disrespect, individually, towards the Bench of Bishops. He had the greatest respect for those reverend prelates, as connected with the church establishment in England; but in India, he must say, he really did not see the necessity of having such appointments. On the contrary, he sincerely thought they would be dangerous. (Cry of Spoke! spoke! question!)—The honourable gentleman was proceeding to make some further observations—when

The Deputy Chairman interposed and called

the honourable gentleman to order, reminding him that he had already had an opportunity of delivering his sentiments.

Mr. Kinnard Smith requested permission to say a few words. He sincerely hoped that those gentlemen who advocated the cause of the Company in the House of Commons would still persevere in their exertions to obtain such a charter as would be perfectly consistent with the interests as well of the Country as of the Company. He doubted not that the terms would be liberal; but at the same time, he thought that if the trade were opened in the way proposed by Lord Castlereagh -unless there was a very great retrenchment :. both in this country and in India, of the expences of the Company, and likewise a reduction of all their officers of every description, and of their pensions,-it would be impossible for them to exist. At the same time, he did hope and trust that His Majesty's Ministers would in some degree abate of their original intention of opening the Outports, and that the Company would at least find themselves in a better condition than they expected. Indeed, he himself thought the propositions brought forward by Lord Castlereagh had not gone the length which had been feared. And he also did hope and trust, that they would consider the existence and support the property

and welfare of thousands who were dependent upon the determination of the question in whatever way it should be considered.

The question was then put from the Chair, upon the Chairman's original resolution, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Hume again rose, under some murmurs of the Court, to propose his motion; observing, at the same time, that if it was the wish of the Court that he should withdraw it, he would do so. (A cry of move, move!)

The question after having been seconded, was then put from the Chair, when

Mr. R. Jackson rose to deprecate the motion. He hoped the honourable gentleman, from a consideration of the circumstances in which the Company now stood, would himself pursue that line of conciliatory conduct he had recommended, by withdrawing it. In the first place, he begged to state what the proposition of the honourable gentleman was. It went to pledge the whole Court and the whole body of the East India Company in a vote of thanks, as it were, to the Ministers, for the liberality they had shewn upon this occasion. Now, for his own part, when he considered how much of the independent feeling of the Court would be sacrificed by acceding to that resolution, he must give,

for one, his decided negative to it : for even if the Ministers had taken up the cause with some degree of liberality, which he (Mr. Jackson) acknowledged they had, yet still such a resolution as this would, not only be inconsistent with the whole proceedings in their present stage, but would be utterly useless, as it respected the general interests of the Company. He not only saw no occasion for passing this resolution of acknowledgment to that liberality which the honourable gentleman stated to have actuated the conduct of Ministers, but he saw danger to the interests of the Company, by its laying them, as it were, at the feet of Administration. He would put it to the good sense of all who heard him. whether they would be likely in any way to improve their interests by laying themselves at the feet of Ministers? And he would leave it to the fair consideration of the honourable gentleman himself, whether it would not be stultifying the conduct of the Court in the most extraordinary way. after they had passed certain resolutions, and recognised certain principles, inconsistent with some of the resolutions proposed to the House of Commons? Even the conduct of the honourable genileman himself would appear inconsistent in some respects, because he had set out with acknowledging those views. But the honourable

gentleman's proposition assumes that there was really a hostile feeling, and an indisposition on the part of the Court to meet the Ministers. Now if that were really the case, such a proposition might be very seasonable. The honourable gentleman stated his reason for making this proposition to be, that that Court might go on in their share of the negociation, in a conciliatory manner: but he would ask, was it necessary for such a resolution to be adopted by the Court, in order to induce them to do that which their own good sense, their own respect to themselves, their own convenience, and their own interests, would prompt them to do? Surely, there was every disposition in the Court, without that sort of mandate which the honourable gentleman's motion contained, to become conciliatory. There was every disposition to become so, not withstanding any idea the honourable gentleman might entertain upon the subject. But the honourable gentleman did not content himself with the mere attempt at persuasion, his resolution was couched in terms of command. It was like a mandatory. order upon the Court to crouch at the feet of Ministers: " that you do forthwith enter into consideration with the King's Government, acknows ledge the liberality of their views, and thank them fot what you have obtained from them?" >>>

Now, that was as much as to say, that as the Court could not get all they had been wishing · for-as they could not get that which was essential to their interests, they should content themselves with just so much, if they could get no better. Could that, he would ask, be a wise resolution for a body like them to adopt? How could a proposition of this kind lead to a conciliatory adjustment, if there was a sincere wish on the part of the Company to second the proposition by their conduct? Surely a spontaneous, unsolicited, inherent disposition to conciliation was a better assurance to His Majesty's government of the sincerity of the Company in their conciliatory disposition, than any forced, stiff, and formal declaration upon the He knew the former was the temthe subject. per and disposition of the Court; and therefore there was no occasion to make any humiliating professions of it: and he had no hesitation in saying, that, whether it was the Directors or the Administration which thought a communication necessary with each other, that communication, whenever it took place, would be attended with the highest possible honour to both parties: but, at present, he was persuaded, the Court must see it would be exceedingly ill timed to require that communication; perfectly persuaded, as he was, that the good sense of the Court, and the none of an included a Engraceon in that Cause

natural desire they must have to consult their own interests, would induce them to remove every impediment to conciliation. For his own part, he really thought the resolutions of the honourable gentleman, if adopted, would be an actual impediment to conciliation, at the same time that they were inconsistent with each other. The first set out with acknowledging the justice and the liberality of those resolutions laid before Parliament, together with the substance of the conduct of the Court, and contained a great deal of important matter. But the second desired the Directors to go upon their knees, to communicate the temper of the Court, in an audience with His Majesty's Ministers, and to desire that they would do for the Company-not all that they (the Company) could wish, - but all that they the Ministers were willing to do for them. Now what advantage could be expected from such a proposition? for that was the substance of the honorable gentleman's motion. He hoped the Court therefore, would concur with him in beseeching the honorable gentleman, that he would not avail himself or take advantage of the usual forms of a public assembly, to propose resolutions of that kind; for he must know how . it would read with the public, that such Resolutions of an honorable Proprietor in that Court

were positively negatived: and he would put it to the honorable gentleman's own good sense, whether the real interests of the Company would be consulted by such a course of proceeding? For, surely, the Court would never bring itself to support resolutions, which told them that they must throw themselves at the feet of His Majesty's Ministers to ask for bits and scraps. Such conduct would not contribute much to the respectability and character of the Company, and therefore he should hope that the honorable gentleman would think it advisable to withdraw his motion.—(Cry of Withdraw! Withdraw!)

Mr. Hume again rose, and said that, in justice to himself, he hoped the Court would permit him to say one word in explanation. He could have no sort of intention whatever, either to degrade the Company, or demean it in the eyes of His Majesty's Ministers. But when he recollected what had passed on a former occasion, and that the assertion on the part of certain gentlemen was, that His Majesty's Ministers had broken off the conference with the Company, he had thought, that the best way of securing conciliation, on the part of His Majesty's Ministers, was to adopt the resolutions he had proposed; and, therefore, considering the discussion in the House

of Commons as the advance courteous, he was willing that this Court should meet the House halfway. He had no objection to obliterate from the resolution the word "liberal," and leave it in the more general terms in which it was conveyed. He should, with great deference to the Court, still persevere in taking their sense upon it.

Mr. Jackson said, that the alteration suggested, by no means obviated his objections to the motion.

An universal cry of, Withdraw! Withdraw!
Adjourn! Adjourn! proceeded from all parts of
the Court;—when Mr. Hume again rose and
said, that, as the sense of the Court appeared to
be so strong against his motion, he should be
extremely sorry to press it: he would therefore
withdraw it.

The hon. gentleman's motion was accordingly withdrawn.

A general cry of Adjourn! Adjourn! from all parts of the Court, and the Deputy Chairman had put the question of adjournment, when

Mr. Hume again rose. He said he had a proposition to make to the Court, which, he was sure, would meet with the unanimous approbation of all the gentlemen present. He thought, on a momentous occasion like the present, the

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Court ought to be guided by what had taken place on a former occasion; and he was sure" that no man there would be willing to deprive himself, on an occasion like this, of the opportunity to express his approbation, and his feelings of gratitude towards the conduct of a gentleman who had so eminently distinguished himself by his exertions and his talents during the whole of the negociation :- he meant their hon. Chairman, Sir Hugh Inglis. He was extremely anxious to follow the example of the General Court of Directors and Proprietors, on the 3d of April 1793. As they were not likely to meet again before the annual election on the 14th of . April, he was sure the Court would excuse him for having availed himself of this opportunity, however late it was in the day, of moving the thanks of the Court to the honourable Director and Chairman, whose public duties, every man, he believed, would admit had been productive of the greatest advantage to the Company. (Hear! hear! hear!) He was desirous therefore, that this just testimony should be borne to his valuable . services on the present occasion. Without troubling the Court any further at present, he should conclude by moving : - and a bisq.

That in consequence of the important ser-

ing the present negociation with His Majesty's

Ministers for the renewal of the Company's

"Charter, it is recommended to the Court of

" Directors, after the election of Directors on

" the 14th of April next, to solicit the aid and

" assistance of the said Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart.

" during the remainder of the negociation, and

" that he now be added to such Committee or

"Committees as may be appointed for that pur-

" pose."

Mr. Rock seconded the motion.

Mr. Kinnard Smith stated in a few words his concurrence.

Mr. Hume said this was a resolution of thanks similar to that voted to Sir Francis Baring in the year 1793 : and he doubted not but that the fike unanimity would prevail on the present occasion.

Some doubt seemed to be entertained by the Directors, as to the regularity of the proceeding, when

The Deputy Chairman addressed the Court, and said, he hoped he might be permitted to express himself upon the proposition which had been so liberally and so handsomely made by the honorable Proprietor; who, on this occasion, had paid a just tribute to the merits of their worthy Chairman. When the honourable Proprietor had first proposed his motion, he (the Deputy

Chairman) had imagined that there was no precedent for a proceeding so desirable in itself and so agreeable to his own feelings. But it now became his duty to state, that upon inquiry, he was happy to find the same honour had been conferred on Sir Francis Baring, in the year 1793. as had been alluded to by the honourable gentleman. He begged leave further to state, that he had not the least knowledge, nor the least anticipation, that the honourable Proprietor meant to pay that merited compliment to the honourable. Chairman. He could only say, that having frequent occasions of knowing the zeal of his honourable friend's mind - the anxiety he felt for the. interests of the Company—the watchful and active share he had taken in promoting its welfare-his ardency in embracing every opportunity to forward those interests, and in a manner which could not be surpassed ;---and knowing, too, that no circumstance, however difficult or perilous, could induce that honourable person to sacrifice those interests; it became him, it was as well his duty as his gratification, to say, that if such should be the testimony of their approbation and confidence for his honourable colleague, be should be happy in seeing the Company continue to be benefited by the talents and services, which had so much and so honouraply

distinguished him, -although, in common course, the honourable Chairman would be soon out of the Direction. At all events, it would be a due testimony to his character and his abilities ; - and the approbation of the Court, to a mind like his. would, he knew, be deemed the highest reward to which his ambition could aspire. There was one other observation he would take the liberty of making. He thought this act of justice, which was so honourable to the worthy object of it, would be a sure presage of the strength of the Company's cause, and would add to the probability of its success.-It would shew that the measures which had been hithertopursued, meeting with such warm approbation, were likely still to be followed, and that no change in that system could be desired or exexpected, which had contributed so much to the welfare and advantage of the Company. (Heart hear! hear!) It was a strong indication of an · intention, on the part of the Court, to persevere in that policy which added so much to the strength and good government of British India.

He would still intrude another observation, with the permission of the Court, in allusion to the motion which the honourable Proprietor had proposed, but which he, with so much delicacy for the feelings of the Court, had withdrawn.—In calluding to the past, he thought the Court ought to draw some presage of the future. By that which was past they were best able to anticipate what might ensue. From the past it would be seen a d acknowledged, that no opportunity had been lost by the Directors of promoting 'every' feeling of conciliation; and he was sure he might with equal justice add, that the Court of Directors would never in future do any thing inconsistent with the interests of the Company: but, on the contrary, that they would seek every opportunity of conciliation consistent with the great object at stake, and the important charge imposed upon them .- What they had already begun they would continue to persevere in : and so far as he, personally, was concerned, he hoped he should again have the honour of rendering them his humble but faithful services: and he assured them, that no means should be spared on his part to protect the East-India Company in the moment of difficulty and danger. That should be the great object of his life; and to become instrumental in its protection would be the proudest honour he could desire. hear !) " pomeliney oldered

He hoped he had not said too much, he was afraid if he had said less, he should have said too little. He was their servant; and it was as well

his duty, as his gratification, to watch and protect their interests.—Wherever he might be placed they should find him faithful and conscientious, anxious to devote his whole life to their honour and service.—He doubted not but the motion now proposed would be carried with that Unanimity, which, while it affords the highest honour to the merit that elicits it, will give additional value to the grateful testimony of approbation.

Mr. Twining said, that having been a member of the Court of Proprietors in the year 1793, when the resolution was, brought forward for returning thanks to Sir Francis Baring, the then Chairman, and for continuing him in office during the negociation between His Majesty's then Ministers and the Company, it certainly did occur to his mind, that a resolution of the same nature might be offered upon the present occasion, approving the conduct of their honorable Chairman, though he never mentioned it. But he did not wish that the motion should come: From the side of the bar on which he had the honor towit, from motives sufficiently obvious to need any explanation. He was convinced, however, that some honorable gentleman on the other side of the bar would propose doing that for Sir Hugh Inglis, which had been done for Sir F. Baring ? and it was with peculiar pleas.

sure he heard the honorable gentleman bring forward a motion, which, he was sure, would give infinite satisfaction to every member of the Court present.

The Deputy Chairman said he begged leave to second the morion.

However, being informed that it was already seconded, he then put the question, which was carried unanimously with loud acclamations.

Mr. Rigby said he would not, at this moment of the day, have presumed to occupy the attention of the Court at all, had not a circumstance occurred to his mind, upon which he would take the liberty of putting a few questions. After the brilliant display of talents, and after all the information that had been laid before the Court upon this subject generally, a circumstance had occurred to him but had escaped others, and which he thought required explanation. What he alluded to, was the secucrity of the pension paid by the Company to the most noble the Marquis of Wellesley. He was desirous of knowing whether this subject would be taken into the consideration of the Court? It occurred to his mind, from some observations which fell from an honorable gentleman, (Mr. Lowndes) respecting the Government making good the securities of the Company, in ease the

bmpany should sustain any inconvenience from he loss of their trade. Now, it would be recolected, that the pension of £5000 per annum to Marquis Wellesley, was for twenty years from the year 1798, provided the Company's exclusive trade so long existed. It had occurned to his mind, that perhaps the very circumstant might cause in the noble Marquis's mind degree of delicacy, which might perhaps interfere with the line of his public duty! Feeling that the noble Marquis might suppose himself to appear interested in the event of this question, though his independent mind would disdain so uuworthy a consideration, he (Mr. Rigby) was desirous to free him, even from the shadow of imputation on the subject; and should therefore. be glad to learn if any means could be devised to secure the noble Marquis's pension, and, at the same time, relieve him from all appearance of obligation. This was merely a suggestion of his own, which he threw out for the consi: deration of the Court; and certainly it was not his intention to make any motion on the subject.

Mr. Loundes said in a few words, that certainly the noble Marquis's pension ought, and, he dared to say, would be placed upon such a footing as to secure it from danger.

The Deputy Chairman begged leave to state,

that it would not be in the power of the Directors, to accomplish what was proposed by the honorable Proprietor. It was a matter in which, at present, they could not interfere, and it must remain for future consideration.

After a few words from Mr. Hume, pointing but one or two terbal alterations in the vote of thanks to Sir Hugh Inglis, which were acceded to, the Court adjourned.]



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