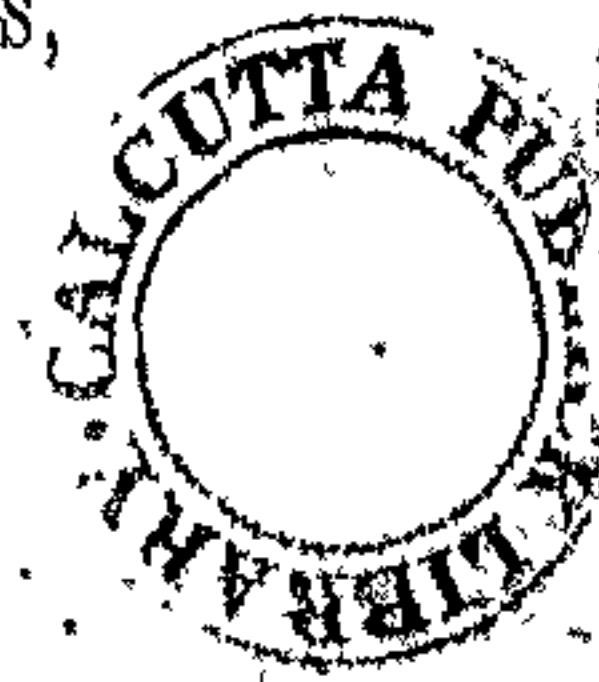


SPEECH
OF
COLONEL SYKES,
IN THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS,
ON
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18TH, 1858,
ON THE
PROPOSED INDIA BILL.

* WITH NOTES AND APPENDICES.

LONDON:
SMITH, ELDER AND CO., 65, CORNHILL,
1858.



S P E E C H,

&c &c.



MR. SPEAKER,

I would beg the indulgence of the House for a few preliminary words to set myself right with honourable members, ere I refer to the motion before us. Sir, from my long connection of nearly eighteen years with the Court of Directors of the East India Company the House may very naturally infer that I have certain predilections in favour of that Court. Great injustice, however, would be done to the Court, and the statements I have to make in its defence would be unfairly weakened, if that feeling were entertained by the House. I have so frequently for many years past opposed the views of the majority of the Court of Directors upon questions of public policy that I have exposed myself to the imputation of belonging to the Opposition benches. That opposition operated among my colleagues to my prejudice. It delayed my access to the honour of the chair of the Court of Directors beyond the customary period. If, therefore, I had any bias with respect to the Court, it would be against rather than in favour of it. I trust, therefore, that the House will be disposed to regard the statements which I have to make on the present occa-

sion as those of a witness to the truth, and not as those of an apologist or panegyrist of the Court of Directors, and I can assure the House that any statements I may make shall be capable of independent verification by any honourable member. I will first notice the grounds on which the noble lord proposes to make this transfer of power. The noble lord says—

“ In making this proposal, I feel myself bound in the first place to say, that I do not make it in any spirit of hostility to the East India Company, or as meaning thereby to imply any blame or censure upon the administration of India by that corporation. I believe the East India Company has done many good things in India. I believe that its administration has been attended with great advantage to the population under its rule. It is not on the ground of any delinquency on the part of the East India Company, but on the ground of the inconvenience and injurious character of the existing arrangements, that I propose this measure to the House.”

Inconvenience and the injurious character of the existing arrangements, then, were the grounds on which the noble lord proposed this momentous change. But what said the Chancellor of the Exchequer? That right hon. gentleman stated that the East India Company had done nothing at all—that all the glory of expanding two small factories, one on the Ganges and the other at Surat, into a magnificent empire that would have excited the envy of Alexander the Great and of Augustus Cæsar was the result—of what? Of the insubordination of the servants of the East

India Company ! That assertion is in direct opposition to the admission of the noble lord as to the excellent manner in which the Company had administered Indian affairs. The First Lord of the Treasury also said—

“ This system of check and counter-check may be carried too far. There is no doubt that these checks are requisite in every political machine, but you may multiply your checks and counter-checks to such an extent that the functions of the machine, which are intended only to be controlled, are paralyzed for every useful purpose.”

Sir, I challenge some member of the Government to give instances in which these checks and counter-checks have paralyzed the administration of Indian affairs. The noble lord added—

“ When Indian questions are discussed, it is the constant habit of those who take part in the debate, in impugning what has been done, to make her Majesty’s Government responsible for everything that occurs, although they cannot be fairly answerable for things over which they have not perfect control, and which they cannot entirely direct.”

I will show shortly where the perfect control and responsibility really rest. What said the right hon. gentleman the Vice-President of the Board of Trade? That the Court of Directors was entitled to neither praise nor censure, simply because for the last seventy years it had been deprived by statute of all power of carrying its good intentions into effect. “ In matters of state importance, they were passed by altogether,

and in ordinary matters they were only allowed to interfere after the President had made up his own mind, when their interference was obviously nugatory." "Every week," says the right hon. gentleman, "the President of the Board of Control has a meeting with the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, at which any matters requiring discussion are brought forward. The President's wishes are expressed, and then these two gentlemen go to the India House and prepare a '*Previous Communication*.'" The House shall judge what foundation there is for this statement, or for the right hon. gentleman's ridicule of the system of "previous communications" in the carrying on of Indian affairs by the Company in conjunction with the Board of Control. Here, then, are three members of her Majesty's Government contradicting each other on the grounds for abolishing the East India Company. A "previous communication" between the members of the Government, before the noble lord brought his motion into the House, might have saved them from this public expression of the want of harmony in their opinions. Probably the next member of the Government who may take part in the debate will state some other reason, distinct and opposed to those already noticed, for this transfer of power. The noble lord has truly said that the Company deserves praise for its administration of Indian affairs. Returns which have been laid before the House prove the great progress made in the commerce of India, in its internal administration, in its works of irrigation its roads, its police, and the

introduction of district courts of law, and in a variety of other matters, during the last thirty years. After the details of Indian improvements given by the hon. and learned member for Enniskillen in his speech, not less remarkable for its brilliant language than its crushing logic than which, as I have been told by one of the most distinguished orators in this House, no more eloquent display has ever been made within its walls—(cheers), it will not be necessary for me to mention more than one or two facts. During the forty years, from 1809-10 to 1849-50, the nett revenue of Bengal had been increased from 7,151,000*l.* to 13,700,000*l.*,* that of Madras had remained nearly stationary, varying only from 3,620,000*l.* to 3,478,000*l.*, while that of Bombay had risen from 466,000*l.* to 2,330,138*l.*, showing a total increase from 11,238,000*l.* to 19,570,000*l.* The exports from India had increased during the last twenty years, speaking in round numbers, from eight to twenty-three millions sterling,† or 188 per cent.; while the imports from all parts had increased from four to fourteen millions, or about 227 per cent. With such facts staring him in the face, could the Chancellor of the Exchequer justly contend that it was doubtful whether the possession of India had been of any service to this country? Why, such an increase of commerce in India must have tended considerably to encourage manufactures in this country, and so to have created a demand for labour and increased employment of capital, and must have been of great

Vide Appendix, No. 1

† Vide Appendix, No. 2.

advantage to both countries in their relations with each other. (Hear, hear.) I must make one observation with regard to cotton. The Indian Government has been charged with not doing anything in India to promote the production of cotton, and it has been said by some, that whenever cotton was wanted in England there ought to be found in India a large stock ready to supply the demand. Now, the fact is that the Indian Government has no more right to compel the production of cotton in India than the English Government had to compel the production of potatoes in England for the benefit of Ireland at the time of the Irish famine. It is entirely a question for the cultivator of the soil, and has nothing to do with the Government. (Hear, hear.) But what are the facts connected with the production of cotton in India? During the last twenty years the Court of Directors has spent above 100,000*l.* in cotton experimental farms,—in the introduction of varieties of cotton seed,—and in employing Americans at high salaries to superintend cotton farms; and from 1834-5 to 1855-6, the result is that the export of cotton from India to England has increased 346 per cent., and the general exportation has increased 141 per cent.* I trust, therefore, that I must have satisfied the Chancellor of the Exchequer that this country has derived some advantages from its relations with India. (Hear, hear.) I must for one moment advert to a few words which have fallen from my hon. friend the member for Shrewsbury, and which, coming

* * Vide Appendix No 2

from his lips, have pained me. My hon. friend has stated—

“The people of India, inhabiting a country blessed with the most fertile soil, and living under a Government formed from the most intelligent nation on earth, were yet plunged in the lowest depths of misery and degradation. The cause of this was, that they had for a lengthened period been more oppressively taxed than any other people on the face of the globe. The East India Company, as the lords of the soil, exacted from the cultivators rents so exorbitant and grinding as to be wholly without parallel in any other country in the world. One-fourth of the produce of the land was a very high average to levy in the shape of rent; but in Hindostan the proportion reached two-thirds and even three-fourths, leaving to the unhappy ryot the most wretched pittance on which human life could be sustained.”

Now, I hold in my hand a return, which is capable of verification by every member of this House, of the revenue raised in the North-West Provinces from the land-tax and all other taxes for 1854-5, from which it appears that in the North-West Provinces the taxes collected under the heads of land-tax, abkaree, stamps, customs, &c., in the regulation districts, amounts to 3s. 3½d. per head per annum,* and in the non-regulation districts to 2s. 3½d., while in the Bombay Presidency they amount to 3s. 9¾d. per annum.† It is true that it is not only the amount of taxation which is to be looked to, for small taxation may

* Vide Appendix, No. 3.

† Vide Appendix, No. 4.

press very heavily in consequence of the lowness of wages, dearness of food, or other causes; but such is not the case in India for, from inquiries which I made some years back when the pressure of taxation was greater than it is now, I found that, as regarded the relative position of the labouring classes in England and the natives of India, the comparison was in favour of the latter; for the pressure of taxation in India in relation to wages was as 6·94 decimals,* while in England in 1851 it was 8·04. As regards agricultural wages, there is no doubt that they are very small in India, varying from six to eight shillings per month, but that is not by the excessive cheapness of living, for in many parts of India a native labourer need not spend 1*l.* a day.† In fact, as regards the relative condition of the labouring classes in India and England, I can truly say that I have seen in one street in London, when I was engaged in examining the dwellings of the poor, more misery than I have seen in a whole province in India; and yet gentlemen in, and out of this House, make those unjustifiable assertions, which are damaging to the Indian Government, without the slightest foundation for them, instead of previously ascertaining the facts before they venture to make their accusations. As to the tenure of land, it is a complete mistake to suppose that Europeans are excluded from possessing it; the fact being that any one can hold land who may choose to buy it from the Government or other owner, burthened with a light land tax usually fixed for thirty

* Vide Appendix, No 5.

† Vide Appendix, No 6.

years.* Having disposed of the assertions of my honourable friend, and those of the member for the Tower Hamlets, who ventured to tell the House the natives were reduced to eat the earth they cultivated, I will now come to what has been said regarding the inconvenience of the double government. The noble lord at the head of the Government, with that buoyancy, hilarity, and good humour which are his characteristics, has amused the House with the adventures of a despatch between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, which he has compared to *The Adventures of a Guinea*; but the noble lord's measure is of far too grave a nature to be treated lightly, and I can only hope that the day may not arrive, although, indeed, it may arrive, and that at no very distant period, when this House will have cause to regard it with sorrow and not merriment. The House shall now have the real history of a despatch—not the ideal history, such as has been given by the Vice-President of the Board of Trade and by the honourable member for Reigate—and having passed the chairs I speak from personal experience. A despatch with its accompanying explanatory documents arrives from India, addressed to the Court of Directors, and never to the Board of Control. It is immediately referred to that one of the three committees into which the Court is divided to which it particularly belongs. These three committees, it should be observed, perform the corresponding duties of the whole Treasury bench, including all the Secretaries of State, the War, Ordnance,

* Vide Appendix, No. 7. ~

Medical, Admiralty, and Treasury departments; not, however, for a kingdom of 28,000,000 of souls, but for an empire of 181,000,000. At a Court of Directors held on the 10th of December, 1834, it was resolved that all despatches coming from India should be referred on their arrival to their respective committees for answer.* Unhappily, that simple method of transacting business has been subsequently interfered with. It has been thought necessary, that the answers to despatches should be drafted in the first instance in the India House, and then sent, in what is called a "previous communication," to the Board of Control without the knowledge of the committee to which they properly belong. This unfortunate circumstance has originated much of the delay now spoken of as impeding public business. But this is not the worst. I have always raised my voice against the "previous communication," because, in consequence of the despatch going to the Board of Control, and being there adapted to the views of the President, or, rather, of his clerks, it is prejudged. When it returns to the India House, to be laid before its proper committee, where it has to be handled by experienced men, exercising their independent judgment, it may happen that they do not agree with the President of the Board of Control, or rather his clerks. They take the despatch and its enclosures into their rooms; they compare the documents and paragraphs together, making their own notes in the margin. The subject may be one

* Vide Appendix, No. 8.

belonging, for example, to the Political and Military Committee, which discharges the analogous duties of the Foreign Office, the War Office, the Horse Guards, the Ordnance Office, and the Medical Department, for which there are separate departments under the Royal Government. The committee meet once a week ; they see and discuss each other's notes, and then determine by a majority of votes on the paragraph which shall go up to the Court. The members of the other two Committees then subject the despatch to the same ordeal, while it is lying upon the table of the Court for a week, and it is finally passed at a Court of Directors, which *must* take place weekly. Is there any Government on earth which can better secure that a question shall be properly ventilated and sifted by independent minds ? But, having been previously prejudged at the Board of Control, the chances are that that Board will not alter their views, but will insist on their original impressions ; and, of course, the men best capable of judging from their personal experience are obliged either to give way or to cause impediments. This is the real state of the case with regard to a despatch ; not one has its origin at the Board of Control. With the business of the Secret Committee, which deals with peace and war, the Court have nothing to do. The members of the Committee have only to put their signature to a letter drawn up by the Board of Control, and then send it out to India. In this way there may be a war of which the Court knew nothing, as was really the case in the Affghan war, and

also in the Persian war, when, as Chairman, I had myself to attach my signature to an order of the Board sending an expedition to the Persian Gulf. The Ministry, therefore, are entirely and exclusively responsible for everything connected with peace and war. And not less so are they in matters of general business, through their organ, the President of the Board of Control, for as the final approval or disapproval of each despatch resulting from the initiative of the Directors is at the pleasure of the President of the Board of Control, so the responsibility for those despatches equally rests with the Ministry. To show to the House the amount of business in which the Court of Directors exercise in the first instance an independent judgment, I have had a return drawn up of the official correspondence which took place during the year 1857—the year after I left the chair. This return embraces the different heads of public business, such as the finances, railways, electric telegraphs, public works, military, foreign, political, ecclesiastical, revenue, judicial, legislative, and statistical affairs.

The number of despatches received by the India House on these matters during the last year was 2,516;* and the number of collections—that is to say, the documents containing the facts or *data* on which these despatches from India were founded—amounted to 16,950. To do their duty, the Court of Directors had, of course, to read these 16,950 separate documents. It will be seen by-and-by whether it is not physically impossible for a single individual to

* Vide Appendix, No. 9.

read one-tenth or even one-hundredth part of this correspondence. The number of despatches sent to India in reply in 1857 was 1,833,* and NOT ONE of these originated with the Board of Control. But I now come to some figures which must amaze the House after the representations which have been made to it by the noble lord and the Vice President of the Board of Trade as to the delay in transacting the general business, and which delay and consequent inconvenience are the only reasons assigned for crushing a great historical corporation. The latter right hon. gentleman, though he had filled the office of Secretary to the Board of Control, has evidently laboured under some hallucination as to the mode of preparing the despatches. In the year 1857 the number of draft despatches approved by the Court of Directors on the very day on which they were laid before them was 1,157.† (Hear, hear.) Those ordered to lie on the table of the Court for further consideration amounted to 464; and, notwithstanding all that has been said about the adventures of a despatch by land and water, the average time during which a draft ordered to lie on the table was under consideration was seven or eight days. (Hear, hear.) I defy any office of Her Majesty's Government to produce such a return as this. Yet the East India Company are to be cashicred for obstructing public business, and the noble lord compliments, and smiles, and slays. (Laughter.) Many of these despatches, affecting as they do 181,000,000 of people,

* Vide Appendix, No. 9. † Vide Appendix, No. 10.

are of infinitely greater importance than Acts of Parliament; and in how many of them does the House suppose that alterations have been made by the Board of Control? Out of 1,621 drafts only 140 have been altered (hear, hear), and many of those alterations were merely verbal corrections. (Hear, hear.) Thus 1,481 despatches emanating from the independent judgment of the Directors have been approved without any alteration at all; where, then, is the impediment to good government on the part of the Court of Directors of which the House has heard so much? What delay there is, is caused by the interference of the Board of Control with minute details. When that Board was established, it was intended to prevent the Directors rushing into war or indulging in financial operations which might endanger the welfare of India, but it was never contemplated that it should make verbal alterations in despatches, or interfere with petty details. Now, as a sample of the vexatious meddling by the Board of Control, I will give the House one instance out of a thousand; and, to avoid all personality or invidiousness, I will take a case before the advent to office of my right hon. friend the present President of that Board. A despatch was received in the military department from Madras, one of the paragraphs of which recommended the granting of a pension of fifteen rupees, or thirty shillings a month, each, to the three grown up daughters of a subadar-major, or native captain, who had died after fifty years service, had been five times wounded, had volunteered to go to Java, and had received the military

medal and order of merit. The Directors at once sanctioned this pension, but when the despatch was sent to the Board of Control, ten shillings a month was deducted from each of the pensions. (Laughter and cheers.) This is a type of the meddling of the clerks of the Board of Control, and the chief cause of the delays. The details I have given will enable the House to determine where impediments to the transaction of business arise, and where responsibility really rests; and if delays exist, let them be compared with the delays in the passage of bills through Parliament, and the comparison will be tenfold to the advantage of the so-called double government. I now come to the proposed Bill of the noble lord, which, unlike Fox's Bill, commences, not with the enumeration of certain crimes and misdemeanors, but with compliments. Fox's Bill, which proposed the abolition of the Court of Directors, commenced with a recital that disasters of an alarming nature had long prevailed, and still continued, in the management of the territorial possessions, revenues, and commerce of this kingdom in the East Indies, and then enacted that there should in future be seven Directors, to be appointed by the Government, whose names were inserted in the Bill (hear, hear), and who should be assisted by nine assistant Directors, to be elected by the proprietary body. (Hear, hear.) There was no attempt to abolish the East India Company, and the popular elective principle was maintained and respected.* To these seven Directors

was given the whole patronage of India*, including the appointment and removal of the Governor-General and Governors of Presidencies; and they were commanded, in case of appeals being made to them, of injury or wrongs done in India, at once to inquire into the complaints, or to state in writing, within twenty days of the receipt of the appeals, their reasons for not doing so. In fact, they were made completely independent of Parliamentary and party influence, and were directed to exercise their authority only for the public good. Such a Bill one could understand; compared with that now before the House it was a gentle measure.† Fox's Directors had a deliberative power, and were to decide matters by a majority of votes without reference to any other body; but the councillors now proposed would have no power whatever; they were simply to record their votes and offer suggestions to the President, but they would have no independent character,—no stimulus to, or pride of action. As they were to go out by rotation, and their re-appointment rested with the President, their interest and their duty might not be always compatible. (Hoar, hoar.) It might be injurious to themselves to record their votes, and the practical result would be that the President would become a complete despot. (Cheers.) Fox's Bill also allowed the Directors to have seats in

* Clause 16.

† The "Fox's" bill only mangled its victim, but the noble lord's bill which may be called the 'Woolf's' bill, devours its victim, and leaves not a rack behind.

Parliament,* but by this measure the councillors were to be excluded from that House. Possibly it might be very inconvenient to an autocrat President to have them there. (Hear, hear.) The former measure was, at all events, justified by the anarchy which then prevailed in India, but this Bill was based upon a fiction of obstruction to public business on the part of the Directors for which, as I have shown the House, there is no foundation whatever in fact. As under the proposed plan the authority of the President would be absolute, he ought to pass in review all the 16,950 collections, or data on which despatches were to be founded, relating to twenty nations and 181 millions of souls. Was it possible he could perform a hundredth part of that work? Having passed the Chairs, I have some experience on this subject, and I assure the House that for two years I breakfasted at the India House every morning, except Sundays, and did not leave until six o'clock in the evening. I was obliged to carry papers home with me, and seldom got to bed before two o'clock in the morning. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) Yet I never could read one tenth part of the documents upon which I had to form a judgment. But I had means for getting through the work satisfactorily which the proposed despot would not have; I could rely upon the active co-operation and independent judgment of my co-Directors, who, working in their respective committees, read all the papers from India, and, in case of any ignorance or oversight on my

part, were able to correct my errors. (Hear, hear.) The proposed Bill provided for nothing of that kind. Under it the whole business would be left in the hands of clerks; because the eight councillors, having no deliberative power or independent action, would have no motive to labour. Did the House wish the Government of India to be carried on by clerks? (Hear, hear.) I must give one or two instances to show how business is conducted in Leadenhall-street. Last year the Government handed over between 20,000 and 30,000 troops to the Company for conveyance to India. The naval department at the India House is exceedingly small, but, with the aid of the six members of the Finance, Naval, and Home Committee, it was able in the months of July and August to take up sixty seven vessels steamers and clippers of the first order,—provision them, embark the whole of the troops, and despatch them to India, where they had all landed without an accident. (Hear.) That certainly did not indicate inefficiency, but rather a significant practical embodiment of the "*Phantom*" of the honourable member for Kidderminster? (Hear.) Take another case, which occurred during my chairmanship. An urgent despatch arrived from India asking that warm clothing should be sent to the troops in Persia. It was received on the 13th of October, and between that date and the 20th of November, having put the order into the hands of parties whom it was known would fulfil their engagements, the Directors despatched to India 419 packages of clothing and 349 packages

of boots—in all 768 packages,—and Sir James Outram took them with him to Persia. (Hear, hear.) These were not symptoms on the part of the Directors of inability to do the work which had been intrusted to them. (Hear, hear.) In all these and other cases the responsibility of approval of proposed measures rested with the President; and the responsibility of execution with the Directors. The new Bill would not make the responsibility of the President more distinct or certain, and it would take away the prudent council,—the moral check, and the executive power of an efficient body. I now pass to another and very painful subject, but having expressed in August last my opinions with regard to the mutiny I will not trouble the House with more than a few words on the present occasion. Everything that has come to my knowledge since—whether in the shape of Parliamentary papers or in that of private communications from India or the confessions of condemned Sipoys—confirm me in the belief that the origin of the mutiny was a frantic delusion on the part of the sipoys of the Bengal army that the Government were going to degrade them from their caste. I am convinced also that the mutiny was entirely a military one in its origin, arising from religious panic—a panic which was taken advantage of, *after the outbreak*, by the majority of the Mahomedans in India to promote the restoration of their former power. There were no organized conspiracies among the troops, no common sympathy even, until the punishments took place at

Meerut. From the moment that those eighty-five troopers were condemned to ten years' imprisonment in irons—from the moment they were paraded in the presence of their comrades, and three hours were taken up in fixing the irons upon them—from that moment an electric shock of sympathy went through the whole army, and amongst their co-religionists in the contingents with native powers. Up to that time there had been doubts and alarms, but no common sympathy or understanding. Then, however, every Sepoy in the Bengal army made the case of the condemned his own. Although the objectionable cartridges were really not given out to the army at large, and had only been used at the depôts of the Enfield rifle instruction, each Sepoy said to himself, "I shall be ordered to use these cartridges; I must disobey; I shall therefore be condemned to ten years in irons, and consequent loss of caste, and the question now with me is submission or the extermination of my officers." We have seen the alternative which the Sepoys took, and the lamentable results of it; but the cause of their mutiny, considering their stringent religious convictions, is so simple and plain, that it needs no other explanation than the one I have now given. Predisposing causes there were, no doubt, but ample reference has already been made to them in debate, and the main, the immediate cause, was that which I have now stated. (Hear, hear.) If there had been at Meerut a man like Gillespie, who put down so promptly the mutiny at Vellore, or if the prudent course pursued at Hyder-

abad had been adopted in the first instance, the outbreak might have been extinguished at once. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the disaffection did not extend through the whole Madras army, in 1806, and at Hyderabad the men would have broken out into open mutiny, as at Vellore, had not Colonel Montresor, who commanded, upon learning the state of feeling among the Sepoys, taken upon himself the responsibility of abrogating the obnoxious order respecting the removal of their caste-marks. This entirely satisfied the men; the Madras army has remained faithful ever since, during fifty-one years, and its loyalty has proved of vital importance to us; without it, indeed, we might now have been driven to the coast. (Hear, hear.) To pass to another painful subject—a subject upon which much has recently been said in the pulpit and on the platform—said, too, wrongfully and unjustly, to the great damage of the East India Company in the public mind—namely, that the East India Company, and their servants in India, have denied Christianity, and have not manifested a proper sympathy with the Christian movements going on in India. Now, that might have been true in bygone times, but it is no longer so; nor, to my own personal knowledge, has it been so for the last thirty to forty years. In India the Company proclaims its Christianity at the cannon's mouth by saluting the bishops when they arrive at military stations. (“Hear,” and a laugh.) The Sepoys necessarily ask the cause of the salute, and are told it is to do honour to the head of the Christian

Church, the Lord Padri Sahib! Here is no timid concealment or denial of our Christianity! But I will now satisfy the House that the Company has not been slow in giving overt proofs of its anxiety to promote Christianity in India. I recently had a return laid before the House of Commons relative to the annual cost of the East India bishops and the ecclesiastical establishments in India from 1836-7 to 1855-6*. From this return it appears that the salaries of the bishops in the three Presidencies have remained the same—namely, the Bishop of Calcutta, 4,598*l.* per annum, and the Bishops of Madras and Bombay, 2,500*l.* per annum each. The visitation allowances of the Bishop of Calcutta had been increased from 104*l.* in 1836-37, and ranged up to 2,931*l.* in 1844-45, and fell to 752*l.* in 1855-56. The chaplains increased in number from 39 to 68, and their salaries had risen from 38,537*l.* to 51,031*l.* The chaplains of the Church of Scotland had, I regret to say, remained the same, from the first-mentioned year to the last. The expenditure for Church establishments had risen from 3,420*l.* to 6,467*l.*, and the allowance to Roman Catholic priests had increased from 485*l.* to 2,725*l.* In Madras the number of chaplains had risen from 23 in 1836-37 to 35 in 1855-56, and their salaries from 19,153*l.* to 25,056*l.* The expenditure for Church establishments had risen from 1,938*l.* to 2,636*l.*, and the allowances to Roman Catholic priests had increased from 808*l.* to 2,580*l.* In Bombay the number of chaplains had risen from 15 in 1836-37 to

26 in 1855-56; and when I first went to India there was but one for the Bombay Presidency. Their salaries had increased from 13,005*l.* to 18,036*l.* The expenditure for Church establishments had increased from 1,741*l.* to 2,021*l.*; and the allowances to Roman Catholic priests had risen from 552*l.* to 3,147*l.* In addition, 31,457*l.* was expended in Bengal for the building and repair of churches from 1832 to 1852, and 51,192*l.* was expended for the same objects in the Punjab and Bengal for *seventeen new churches* between 1853 and 1856. In Madras, 30,875*l.* was expended for the same objects, and within the same periods, and in Bombay, 28,164*l.*; and it will be borne in mind that all this outlay, of 2,453,882*l.* in twenty years, for Christian purposes, was from taxes paid by heathens and idolators. So far, then, as the Church establishment was concerned, the Court of Directors had, certainly, shown every disposition to promote Christianity. But the Court had done much more and had given grants of money to all the *missionary* schools, precisely as to Government schools, for the purpose of promoting the education of the scholars, whether converts or not. I will read in order to show what the real state of things in India is, the following extract from a work recently sent to me:—

“About five years ago a document was published by the Rev. Joseph Mullens, of Calcutta, entitled ‘Statistics of Missions in India and Ceylon,’* from which the following extract is taken:—‘At the com-

* The revised edition was reprinted in London, by Dalton, of Cockspur-street, in 1853.

mencement of the year 1852 there were labouring throughout India and Ceylon the agents of 22 missionary societies. These include 443 missionaries, of whom 48 are ordained natives, together with 698 native catechists. These agents reside at 313 missionary stations. There have been founded 331 native churches, containing 18,410 communicants, in a community of 112,191 native Christians. The missionaries maintain 1,347 vernacular day-schools, containing 47,504 boys; together with 93 boarding-schools, containing 2,414 Christian boys. They also superintend 126 superior English day-schools, and instruct therein 14,562 boys and young men. Female education embraces 347 day-schools for girls, containing 11,519 scholars; and 102 girls' boarding-schools containing 2,779 Christian girls. The entire Bible has been translated into ten languages; the New Testament into five others, and separate Gospels into four others. Besides the numerous works of Christians, 30, 40, and even 70 tracts have been prepared in these different languages suitable for Hindoos and Mussulmans. Missionaries maintain in India twenty-five printing establishments. This vast missionary agency costs 190,000*l.* annually; of which one-sixth—or 33,500*l.*—is contributed by European Christians resident in the country.' At every station there has been some degree of success; there are some villages composed entirely of native Christians; in the principal cities in which the missionaries have been located, the trust of many of the more intelligent of the natives in the faith of their forefathers has been

shaken, while they are impressed in favour of Christianity; in the boarding-schools many young people of both sexes have been converted to the purity of the Gospel; and the solemn scenes of the hour of death have proclaimed that in the near prospect of eternity the hope of the sufferer has been placed upon Christ. The native Christians have been exposed lately to the same indignities as Europeans in the massacres of the Sepoy war; and, so far as our information enables us to judge, they have been equally faithful in the hour of mortal peril."

The result was thus summed up in the work sent to me:—

"Happily, many of the murderous customs that were prevalent at the commencement of the present century are now interdicted. The widow no longer burns on the funeral pile of her husband, or is buried by his side. The deluded victim is no longer permitted to throw himself before the wheel of Jugger-naut's car. Ghat murders are no longer committed with impunity. Old men, old women, and children, are not now thrown to the sharks at 'the place of sacrifice' in Saugor. Thuggism has been abolished. Slavery is no longer legally upheld. These rites, and others of a similar character, have gone 'with the dust of dead ages to mix.' The connection of the East India Company with idolatry in its more open and offensive forms has ceased. The evils that yet remain will be exposed in these papers. Until the recent outbreak, the residents in India, both native and European, thought themselves as secure as in any

country in the world. The plains of Bengal had been free from the scourge of civil war since the *Battle of Plassey*, fought in June, 1757. Until recently the press was free. The proceedings in the courts of justice are conducted in the native languages. The out-caste has the same protection as the twice-born Brahmin. Hospitals and medical colleges have been instituted. There is a cheap, regular, and uniform postage. The electric telegraph is in operation; extensive canals have been dug and irrigation assisted; railways have been commenced; and transit dues on interior commerce have been abolished. For these ameliorations, as ‘concerning the kingdom,’ the benefits derived from the Government of the East India Company are gratefully acknowledged; their sway has been an unspeakable blessing to these lands; but ‘occasion and fault’ still lie against them as ‘concerning their God.’” Will the noble lord prosecute his Bill with such a eulogium from a missionary society before him?

Now, the House will rationally suppose that all these praises are uttered by warm advocates of the East India Company. They, however, proceed from a missionary journal published in Edinburgh on the 1st January, 1858, designated the “*Journal of the Indian Christian Association*,” and might therefore be taken as the true exponent of the feelings, at all events, of that part of the religious public which did not think that the Indian Government denied its Christianity in India. Nevertheless, the same association in November last presented the following petition to this House:—

PETITION PRESENTED BY THE INDIA CHRISTIAN
ASSOCIATION TO PARLIAMENT.

"That your petitioners, deeply affected by the calamitous events that have happened in India, have thereby been led to review with increased solicitude the course of policy pursued by the British Government throughout that vast dependency; and while they readily acknowledge that great benefits have accrued to the native population from the just and humane rule to which it has been subject, your petitioners deplore the public reprobach brought upon this Christian country by the countenance given to the debasing practices of the heathen by British authority. They are aware that, in some respects, this evil has of late years, been greatly mitigated; but, from facts that have been made known to them, *they lament to think that the baneful system of caste is still upheld by Government, that the connection between Government and the Hindoo temples has not entirely ceased, and that in various instances there has been discouragement of native converts to Christianity, who have been treated as if disqualified for employment by the Government, in direct opposition to the course of a wise and impartial toleration.* Such a policy, inconsistent with the principles of Christianity, and with the principles of the British constitution, is now seen, in the light of experience, to be moreover highly inexpedient.

"May it therefore please your honourable House in any measures which, in your wisdom, you may see fit to adopt for the better government of India, to provide that this public reprobach be rolled away, *by taking immediate steps for the complete removal of all Government encouragement of the pernicious system of caste, all public support of idolatry, and all obstructions to the profession of Christianity by the natives, or to the free promulgation of the truths of the Gospel.*—And your petitioners will ever pray."

Twenty-one other petitions have been presented to this House for the removal of the system of caste—against the public support of idolatry and for freedom in religion; amongst which was one com-

plaining of the gigantic obstacles which now exist to the spread of Christianity in India. Sir, I have proved to the House, from official returns and from missionary statistics, that the Directors of the East India Company and the Government in India do not oppose any obstacle whatever to the diffusion of Christianity in India; so far from it, missionaries of all Christian nations, and of all sects, roam over India at their pleasure, and instead of obstructing them, their labours are looked upon as advantageous to the country in assisting to educate the people; and their personal conduct is creditable to the European character in the examples they give of a true Christian life. But it is asserted that Christian converts are looked upon unfavourably, and cannot obtain employment under Government. An instance of a direct negation of this assertion has just come to my knowledge. At Kurrachee, in Sind, there is a convert employed in the revenue department as an assistant. The native convert was not at first allowed the same amount of travelling expenses as the European officials were; but he applied to the Bombay Government under Lord Elphinstone, representing that, as he was no longer a Hindoo, he could not, when travelling in the country, be offered hospitality by his friends, as heretofore, and therefore he ought to receive the same amount of travelling allowances as the Europeans. The Bombay Government, having considered that memorial, issued an order that the Christian convert should be put on the same footing as the European. What becomes, then, of the assertion

that Christian converts are viewed unfavourably, and treated as if disqualified for employment by the Government in direct violation of just and impartial toleration : — and yet such was the language of petitions to the House of Commons ! (Hear, hear.) On the contrary, the Governments in India issue circulars annually to the heads of all colleges and schools, whether Government or Missionary, to send in the names of the most intelligent students as candidates for public employment, without reference to their religious beliefs ; and in the three armies of India, native Christians are entertained as musicians and drummers, and even in the ranks. The Bengal army had in 1852 not less than 1,118 Christians ; the Madras army, 1,663 ; and the Bombay army, 300. In 1850 a law was passed by the Legislative body in Calcutta giving to Christian converts, either from Hindooism or Mahomedanism, the right of sharing in the family property from which they were formerly excluded by becoming Christians, according to the ancient religious laws and usages both of the Hindoos and Mahomedans. This had created a great sensation in India, for a Hindoo son was bound to perform certain religious rites for the benefit of the soul of his father, just as Catholics would have to perform masses to get the souls of their relatives out of purgatory, the Hindoos believing in the transmigration of souls. It was a direct interference with the religious institutions of the Hindoos, and it certainly was an emphatic proof of our demonstrating our Christianity in India at all

risks rather than denying it. Suppose that one of our old historic Catholic families—the Talbots of Shrovesbury, for instance—had an estate entailed upon the eldest son of the family on condition that he always remained a Catholic, and that the Protestant Parliament of this country should pass a law by which a younger son of that family, if he became a Protestant, should be entitled to share in the estate, what would be said in England of such a proceeding? It certainly would not be pronounced a denying of our Protestantism, and yet it was exactly analogous to what we had done in India, nevertheless we were accused of denying our Christianity. I have served a great part of my life in India, and I trust I was not deficient in Christian usages, feelings, and sentiments; the accusation, therefore, that I had denied my Christianity while I was in India is a reproach, and similarly so must it be to the 5,842 British officers and Christian gentlemen now serving in India; and in their name I must protest against that accusation as being as offensive to them as it is unjust. The parties who made that accusation would have done well to remember the Apostle Paul's commendation of charity.

But I must not be misunderstood, for I highly approve the efforts to spread our holy religion in India—a religion which humanizes all who adopt it—but for our own sakes those efforts ought to be made with prudence and circumspection, keeping in view always the inflammable materials with which we have to deal, and the bigoted prejudices of the natives,

particularly in the fatal obligations of caste. Sir Thomas Munro says :—"In every country, but especially in this (India) where the rulers are so few and of a different race from the people, it is the most dangerous of all things to tamper with religious feelings. They may be apparently dormant; and when we are in unsatisfactory security they may burst forth in the most tremendous manner, as at Vellore. They may be set in motion by the slightest casual incident, and do more mischief in one year than all the labours of missionary collectors would repair in a hundred. Should they produce only a partial disturbance, which is quickly put down, even in this case the evil would be lasting; distrust would be raised between the people and the Government which would never entirely subside, and the districts in which it happened would never be so safe as before." Alas, sir, these words are prophetic of the bloody events which we are now lamenting! Not less decided are the opinions of the celebrated Abbé Dubois, who passed thirty-two years of his life as a missionary amongst the natives of the Madras territory, and who made between 200 and 300 converts; but they were all from the low castes, and became Christians, as he says, with few exceptions, from interested motives. In the Abbé Dubois' published work occur the following passages :

"The Hindoos are a people entirely different from all others. You may, if you choose, exercise over them the most despotic sway; you may oppress them by every kind of tyranny; you may overload them with taxes, and rob them of their property; you may

carry away their wives and children, load them with chains, and send them into exile—to all such excesses they will, perhaps, submit; but if you speak of changing any of their principal institutions, either religious or civil, you will find a quite ungovernable people, never to be overcome on this point; and it is my decided opinion that the day when Government shall presume to interfere in such matters will be the last of its political existence.

“All know that nothing is better calculated to produce irritation, opposition, and resistance than contradiction; above all, when the contradicted party is the strongest and most obstinate. Now such is precisely the effect produced by the interference of the new reformers with the prejudices of the Hindoos, and I have reason to apprehend that the opposition of the latter will increase in proportion to the extent of the contradictions to which they may be exposed, *until it shall finish by some explosion, which may make all India a theatre of confusion and anarchy, to which it will be in the power of no Government to apply a remedy.*

“From my Mata, near Seringapatam,

“15th December, 1820.”

Here, again, is a prophecy and by a Christian missionary now too unhappily fulfilled. In the face of these opinions and facts, do the petitioners to this House really wish the Government to put down the caste of 160 millions of Hindoos? Could the Government do that, and dare they attempt it? (Hear, hear.)

Sir, I have dwelt at some length upon this all important subject, because if the proposed Bill were to pass, and the uncontrolled minister of the Crown were to act upon the views of the petitioners to Parliament, or if he were imbued with the feelings expressed in the following extract from the "Church Missionary Intelligencer," for January, 1858, the Government of India would not only be impracticable; but we might risk the massacre of every European in the country, and cause it to be deluged with blood: -

"Under Havelock, the 78th Highlanders and their fellow-soldiers fought that series of desperate engagements which rescued blood-stained Cawnpur from the hands of the cruel Nana, and relieved Lucknow before the vindictive multitudes by which it was hemmed in had overcome the constancy of its brave defenders, and perpetrated anew atrocities, the remembrance of *which can never be erased, so long as a Mohammedan mosque or a Hindu temple remain to remind us of them. Until these abominable systems, stained as they are with the blood of innocents, have been swept away, and the land washed from its deep stain of blood by the living power of Christianity, then and not until then, can these wrongs cease to be remembered.*"

Sir, the Archbishop of Dublin, at a meeting of the Church Missionary Society reported in the public journals on the 5th of February, 1858, took a much more prudent but not less Christian view of the duties of the Indian Government. He said that "the propagation of the gospel in India,

instead of conducing to the revolt, had been one of the greatest checks to it. The people of India did not fear the missionaries, but they feared an attempt on the part of the Government to convert them by force. Government has not prevented the establishment of missions. I take this occasion to state distinctly, that I earnestly deprecate all allusion to Government. I may add, that as I shall, of course, deprecate the opposition of Government to our efforts, so I shall, if possible, still more deprecate any assistance of Government, as government, to it, as it will excite the greatest degree of suspicion and alarm, and raise the greatest prejudice against Christianity. I should say, that the maxim of this society, as a missionary society, with reference to Government, ought to be the same as the answer given by the French merchant to the minister who asked how Government could aid and forward the commerce of France. His answer was, '*Laissez nous faire*'—let us alone. . . . I do think that the calamities in India are in some degree to be considered as judgments, not supernatural, but natural, upon our culpable neglect in not having overspread the whole peninsula of India, which it was free to us to do, with missionary stations and schools for those of the natives that chose to frequent them. And I do hope that we shall learn wisdom by what has passed."

Sir, I concur entirely with the Archbishop, who fears the interference of Government, for it must never be forgotten that we are but as one to 4,000 of

the natives, and for the sake of our safety, therefore, our efforts ought to be limited to appeals to their reason and judgment, and not be associated with demonstrations of the State to raise their hostility. (Hear, hear.)

I pass now to the question of patronage. This Bill would make the Minister of the Crown the despot of India. All the great offices of State in India would be at his disposal; he would allot them at his pleasure. But the great offices of State were not the only disposable places. There were in India many offices, both civil and military, of from 3,000*l.* to 4,000*l.* a year, the patronage of which had hitherto remained in the hands of the Governor-General and the Governors of the Presidencies; but when the Minister was no longer checked by a body of independent men sitting in Leadenhall Street, who knew how every appointment was given away, and could call all parties to account, might it not be expected that he would interfere in some of those appointments by means of his direct communications with the Governors in India, without their knowing anything about the matter? (Hear, hear.) The major part of military cadetships were to be given to the councillors. That was a very proper arrangement as far as it went; but, as these councillors were to be appointed by the Indian Minister, might it not be supposed that he would have some influence over his nominees? Some of the cadetships were to be set aside for the sons of old officers. That plan had often been considered at the India House, but had

been found to be totally impracticable. There would be at least from 1,200 to 1,500 claimants for the 10, 20, or 30 appointments which might be set aside, and who was to decide between them? One councillor would support A.'s claim, another would think B. more deserving, and a third would be for giving the commission to C.; so that it would have to be allotted by a toss up or a decision by ballot. The matter, therefore, was left by the Court as it stood. From a return to Parliament which I have lately obtained, it will be found that the total number of cadotships given away by the members of the Court of Directors from 1840 to 1855 was 5,477. Of these 1,865 had been given to the sons of military, medical, or marine officers, of chaplains, and of civil servants in the East India Company's service; 717 had been given to the sons of officers in the Queen's army. (Hear, hear.) Clergymen, the preachers of peace, would appear to have a belligerent progeny, for 580 cadotships had been given to their sons (hear, and laughter), and the remaining 2,315 had gone to the middle classes of society. (Hear, hear.) I have no hesitation in expressing my firm conviction—and I feel sure that all my colleagues would say the same—that not one of these cadotships had been given away for *party purposes.* (Hear, hear.) When the subject of patronage is considered in a higher point of view, as operating on parties in this country, what do we see? Of course, the party in office at the time took care to sanction only as Governor-

* Vide Appendix, No. 11

General one of their own side in politics. There was a proof of this in the case of Lord Heytesbury. No sooner had that noble lord been appointed than the Whigs came into power; and though Lord Heytesbury had embarked, they immediately put a silver oar on board the vessel on which he was, and brought him back. In fact, just as parties were in or out, so were the ins and outs of Governors-General of India likely to be. That was dangerous, to say the least of it. (Hear, hear.) There was a mistaken impression in the country that the appointment of the Governor-General originated with the President of the Board of Control. Such was not the case; but the course of proceeding was this: the *Chairman of the Court of Directors*, having ascertained the feelings of the majority of the Court, proposed a certain name to the President of the Board of Control, and in case that name proved acceptable it was submitted to the Court of Directors and the appointment was made by ballot, and he was sworn in as a Company's servant in the same manner, as a youthful cadet would be. But as the President of the Board of Control could veto any name proposed, the practical result was that a party man only would be accepted; the Directors, however, by the power they possessed, being able to prevent the appointment of an admittedly incompetent or dangerous person; and in consequence, with rare exceptions, the Governors-General and Governors of Presidencies had been men of ability. Not so with the great military commands; and it had been the curse of India, that the Court of Directors

had no power to object to any military nominee for high command. Those appointments were made by the War Department. It was simply communicated to the Court that so and so had been appointed Commander-in-Chief or General on the Staff, and he was sworn in as a matter of course, the only discretion which the Court had power to exercise being as to whether or not they should make him a member of Council. The consequence of the absence of all control on the part of the Court in the appointment of Commanders-in-Chief had been most unfortunate for India and damaging to our reputation. Sir J. Cradock—a military martinet, ignorant of the prejudices and feelings of the Madras soldiery—interfered with the religious usages of the sopoys, and a mutiny in the Madras army was the result. An amiable but incompetent man in bad health was appointed to command the Cabul force, and the result of his want of energy or bad health was that the whole of that force was lost, and their bones lie bleaching in the passes of Affghanistan. I witnessed in the Court of Directors the appointment of a Commander-in-Chief who, after having been sworn in, had to return thanks. That Commander-in-Chief was so feeble that he could scarcely rise from his chair, and I believe that he never mounted a horse in India. I have seen another Commander-in-Chief sworn in with sight so defective that on retiring from the court he would have run against the edge of a screen but for the interposition of a Director. (Laughter.) Again, there had been the appointment of a Commander-in-

Chief, an amiable man, a loveable man, and, I am told, an able man, and one much liked where he had been; but he had never been out of Europe, and was necessarily entirely ignorant of the country and the people of India, and of the peculiar constitution of an Indian force, and as such he ought not to have been placed at the head of the Indian army, and we had now to deplore for the second time the mutiny of an entire army upon religious grounds. Whatever alterations may take place in the Government of India, I trust that some provision will be made that the officers sent out in future to command the Indian armies, shall, at all events, be free from physical infirmities, and shall have some knowledge of the country and of the natives. (Hear, hear.) A very large amount of patronage in India lay under the surface; it consisted of the uncovenanted offices, which were very numerous indeed, amounting to some thousands. Honourable members all knew from experience the solicitations for appointments to which they were subjected from certain of their constituents, and I fear that those solicitations will be increased if the check of Leadenhall-street be withdrawn in the case of appointments of this description, which hitherto have been left entirely with the local authorities in India, but which might be interfered with by recommendations from home under a direct Government; and Brown, Jones, or Robinson, *protégés* of members, might find themselves with snug berths, whether they were adapted to them or not, at the cost of the interests of India. Let the House reflect that the

proposed Bill would give to the War Department and Horse Guards the additional patronage of an army of 300,000 men — the control, if not the direct nomination to all staff offices in India, and the Minister would directly nominate to all great civil offices, and might indirectly nominate to all other civil offices whatever !” Would the House consider the constitu-

* A FRENCH CRITICISM OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT SCHEME — The *Débats* describes the character of the new India Bill brought in by the English Government — and, while admitting the unsatisfactory rule of the East India Company it is not blind to the imperfections and disadvantages of the system now proposed. “If the East India Company (says that journal) has existed up to the present moment, it is because, in spite of successive reductions of its former power and privileges the idea of transferring its administration to a Ministry had never been seriously entertained. This is to be attributed, not to any sympathy on the part of the nation for the Company, but to want of confidence in the Government. To place in the hands of a political party the immense resources of the Indian administration would be tantamount to offering it the means of remaining in power without reference to the tendencies of its policy. England cherishes the idea of political parties, and of being governed by them, and she is persuaded that the control exercised by one party over the others is the best guarantee of good government. Public opinion takes an interest in their struggles, and interferes with its advice. But this intervention would be difficult in matters concerning India. Doubtless when a great catastrophe endangers the existence of the most splendid conquest of England, public opinion is roused, and seeks the responsible party; but this does not prevent people in England from being very imperfectly acquainted with the most important measures connected with the special administration of India. The public has taken part neither for the Company nor for the Crown, and it is known how displeasing to the members of the House of Commons was any discussion on Indian questions before the attention of England had been forcibly directed to the destinies of her colony by the present sepoy revolt. We will take another point of view. Let us suppose a Cabinet to be overthrown on a

tional liberties of the country safe by such gigantic influence being in the hands of military and political question of supplies, of reform, or of policy—questions with which the public is perfectly acquainted—the would the Government of India, if administered by a Minister, be affected by circumstances foreign to its mission, and would be led to lend its support to a measure in no way connected with the welfare of its subjects. These are inconveniences which are not present only in the present system. The latter may be faulty and blind the times, but it gives to the Government of India an independence which is necessary to it.

GERMAN OPINION ON THE 'CORP D'INDIA'—*From the Times Gazette*—“Except a few patriots like Mr. Th. Lut, the current of public opinion is at present for the abolition of the East India Company. Let us consider the consequences—very different from what the mass of Englishmen seem to imagine—that such a step, may be in a remote future, would be sure to exercise an influence on the internal state of England, consequently on the fate of the world. Englishmen delight in talking of responsibility, they will be responsible for that step, but before a tribunal the decrees of which do not remain unexecuted! History, our poet says, is judgment. Few Englishmen remain in India for life servants of the Company and servants of the Crown will in future form one class. England will by and by be filled with officials, trained in a system of administration incompatible with constitutional government. To imagine that the annexation by England of the territory of the East India Company would tend to transfer notions and manners of law and freedom from England to India, instead of bringing our Anglo-Indian ideas and positions to England may suit some benevolent country gentleman, some peace-piercing amongst other goods in Christianity, and some German baccalaureus of philosophy. The patronage of thousands of appointments to be augmented in an enormous ratio, if the future Government of Oude is to be carried on in the teeth of native religion and custom, this patronage till now exercised by a body unaffected by Parliamentary politics, will, if handed on to the Minister, enable him to treat the Opposition, that were to be for all safeguards of the laws, as a set of speechmakers without hope, and declaimers without harm. Nobody has till now complained how the appointment of

servants of the Crown in this hitherto free country?*

(Hear, hear.)

In the change which it is proposed to make in the Government of India, I trust that the past management of our colonies is not to be the model

a 'special' Minister for India is to avert his obvious danger. As a Minister, he will continue to be a member of the Cabinet, and he could not disown his Indian policy from the European policy of his colleagues, unless he were to adopt the beautiful discovery of M. Nisard of the French Academy, of the 'two consciences, public and private.' There would be no lack of occasion to enrich such a double Government by various deputy consciences to meet various exigencies. A provision, that the Indian Minister should be unconnected with party politics would, of course, prove a more proper guarantee. But then universal suffrage is to be introduced. The general theory of universal suffrage ought to be corrected by what has happened in France, any special delusion about its working in England may be corrected by attending a single public meeting and listening to the amount of ignorance and nonsense it produces. The proposed reforms are a *coup d'état*. They will not make India better, but England worse. [The article from which the above is taken is entitled, "The East India Company and English Freedom"]

* As a proof of the advantage of the Court of Directors having the power of appealing to public opinion, the case of the Bankers may be adduced.—These men in 1833 endeavoured through Parliamentary influence to compel the Court of Directors to instruct the Indian Government to obtain from the King of Oude payment of Rs. 11,58,700 (115,870*l*.) with 86 per cent interest, said to have been lent to the King's predecessor in 1787.—The Board of Control took part with the bankers, and directed the Court to send instructions to India to have the claims liquidated; the Court, knowing thoroughly the fraudulent nature of the transactions, resisted,—the Board of Control applied for a mandamus, and the Court resolved to go to prison, but the Board of Control, not choosing to risk the expression of public opinion upon the case, withdrew the mandamus, and the Court had thus the gratification of having saved the King of Oude from nefarious plunder.

on which the Government is to be framed; for that afforded but a sorry guarantee for success in the future conduct of Indian affairs. Were we to go through the ordeal of a battle with India, and possibly, ignominious defeats similar to those with the North American States, ending in final separation? Or were we, as in Canada, to force a rebellion and acknowledge independence? Or, as in the Cape of Good Hope, produce resistance to imperial authority, Kafir wars (at the cost of three millions sterling), and virtual independence? Were we to have Parliaments with the twenty nations of India, after the fashion of Australia? or were we to reduce India to poverty and ruin, like the West-India colonies? or provoke rebellion and outbreaks every two years, as in Ceylon, despite its vaunted administration by governors whose average duration of office was two years and ninety-nine days, as held up for the approval of the House by the honourable member for Devonport, in utter oblivion of the past history of the island! I assert that India would not be safe in the hands of men wholly ignorant of the country and of the habits and temperament of the people, and that there could be no guarantee for the security of that great empire unless it were governed by experienced men who were thoroughly acquainted with India and the varied institutions of her twenty nations. (Hear, hear.)

I come now to a subject of grave importance to Liberal members on the Ministerial side of the House and to the constitutional interests of the country. Let me illustrate every Liberal member's

position by my own. I am a Liberal,—it may be something more,—but I call myself a constitutional Whig—for the present. (A laugh.) At Aberdeen I assured my constituents that I would do all in my power to assist in carrying a Reform Bill. But for what object was this Reform Bill so loudly demanded by the country? Was it to increase the power of the Minister, or was it to increase the influence of the people in that House, and to diminish the power of the Prime Minister? Well, sir, if the latter alternative be the universal expectation, and I should go back to my constituents, which I trust I shall do, with a Reform Bill in my hand, how on earth, in case I voted for the noble lord's India Bill, could I meet the taunts of my constituents, who would say to me, "Sir, you voted, indeed, for the Reform Bill, but in the same breath you voted for an India Bill, which will make the Prime Minister the despot of the House of Commons." (Loud cheers.) It may be my misfortune that I have read Locke, and that my mind has been somewhat trained to logical deductions and to acknowledge the power of a syllogism, and that I cannot consider free institutions compatible with the powers of an autocrat, and that consequently I must have voted against the noble lord's bill upon constitutional grounds, and wholly independent of any personal considerations whatever. (Cheers.) Liberal members around me, who propose to vote for the India and Reform Bills, may have that power, which I cannot claim to possess, of explaining, to the satisfaction of their consti-

tuents, the dilemma in which it appears to me they must be placed by such votes.

The noble lord of course expected that his proposed system of governing India would be characterized by a consistent and permanent policy; but how was it possible to have a consistent and permanent policy for India while the Minister for India went out with every change of administration? (Cheers.) What would have been the result of the constant changes of administration that had been made in past years if India had not had that "consistent and permanent" body which this bill would annihilate? From the year 1784, in which Pitt's bill which he must say was infinitely more liberal than that proposed by the noble lord (cheers) was introduced, there had been twenty-eight Presidents of the Board of Control, making the average duration of official life just $31\frac{1}{2}$ months. Was it possible for any man whose official life did not exceed $31\frac{1}{2}$ months to administer any government upon a consistent and permanent policy? But the *permanent* Court of Directors prevented the evils which would otherwise have resulted from these frequent changes. I will not say whether the noble lord wished, by introducing this Bill, to compensate himself for the loss of power which his Reform Bill would occasion him (laughter); but that idea possibly may have intruded itself. Sir, I have demonstrated to the House that there is no foundation in fact for the noble lord's statement, that the acts of the Court of Directors impede the machine of Government, and that it is therefore necessary to abolish the East India

Company. Admitting, however, the existence of impediments; they have been in operation for three quarters of a century, and have been compatible with great material and moral progress in India, and consequently there can be no immediate pressure for a change of government, which will alarm the people of India, and indeed be a premium to mutiny. Have the members of the Court of Directors also, no claim to consideration; men of position, ability, and reputation, who as the executive portion of the Home Indian Government have in no instance failed in their duties. Who in fact hold their offices for terms of years by elections under an Act of Parliament, which, if the noble lord can induce the House to abrogate, then no charter or rights of any corporation whatever will be safe. As the noble lord has not adduced any sufficient public grounds, there surely must be some latent grounds for crushing the Court of Directors, and holding them up to degradation in the eyes of Europe; for their summary and unexpected dismissal must necessarily have that effect. Does the noble lord mean to attribute the mutiny in the Bengal army to the maladministration of the Court of Directors, when the supreme Government has told him it came as unexpectedly upon it as upon the authorities in Europe. It cannot be that the noble lord gives credit to the crude assertion that, in the present bloody contest in India, the Queen's name would be equivalent to an army of 20,000 men. The honourable member for Reigate, who was very deservedly checked the other night for

the ability he possesses as an antiquarian—(great laughter)—told them that the Queen's name was a host. That honourable gentleman had spoken of his experience of thirty years, but it had been chiefly in Mahomedan countries out of India; for, to qualify him to take his seat in the India Direction by having passed ten years in India Proper, it was necessary to have recourse to the Ayeen Akbari, or institutes of Akbar, and to admit that Affghanistan, in which the honourable member had served, was once a province of India Proper. Now, the honourable member must know, or ought to know, perfectly well, that there had not for six centuries been a Queen upon the throne of Delhi, nor a Queen upon any one of the five Mahomedan thrones of the Doocan. He ought to have known also that the Mahomedan law did not permit a female to succeed to the administration of political authority;* and it was equally the rule and usage with the Hindoos. It was quite impossible for the natives of India to appreciate the affectionate loyalty, the devotion, and, in fact, the love—if I may use such an expression—which Englishmen entertain for their Queen—(cheers)—and which I most heartily and devotedly entertain; but if the Government of India were at present to be transferred to the Crown, the Queen's name amongst the Mahome-

* No Mahomedan lady can let her face be seen by any man excepting her husband or very near relatives and it is credibly asserted that the face of the late poor Queen of Oude had never been seen by a male stranger from the moment she quitted her palace at Lucknow until her death at Paris last month. Her voice was only heard from behind a curtain!

dans would be introduced as "Padisha Begum"—(laughter)—that is to say, the Wife of the King, and it would be asked, "but where is the King?" (Hear, hear.) Amongst the Hindoos, who were equally opposed with the Mahomedans to the exercise of administrative political authority by females; the Queen's appellation would be "Maharaneo," Wife of the King or Prince. There had been one or two occasions on which females had been regents for their sons, but a male has always been the object of regal succession.

The statement of the honourable member for Reigate, therefore, was not supported by historical facts, nor by the usages or expectations of the people of India. With all anxiety, therefore, to introduce the Queen's name, let not her name be introduced under a misunderstanding of the supposed effect. Let us have the Queen's name by all means on a proper occasion and at a proper time, but the present is not the proper time. (Loud Opposition cheers.) There is surging in India a feeling which may burst out from one end of that country to the other from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. (Cheers.) I ask myself calmly but seriously, "What effect will a present change of Government produce in India?" and my reply is, "The Sepoys and those connected with them will say, 'Oh, this mutiny of ours has succeeded, at all events, in putting down one Government (loud cries of hear, hear)—we have only to try again and we shall get rid of another.'" (Hear, hear.) The present agitation in India ought to be

allowed to subside, the people to be tranquillized, and their fears to be allayed, before any idea of changing the Indian Government is entertained by Parliament; for was it not well known that in many parts of India the remnant of native troops that had remained faithful mutinied not only at the eleventh hour, but at the eleventh hour and fifty-ninth minute, and rushed to certain destruction, because on hearing of the arrival of additional European troops in India they were seized by a fear, and the change of Government would strengthen that fear with all inculcated, of being exposed to European vengeance? Their belief was that the Europeans were coming for the express purpose of putting them to death with degradation, and they preferred death without degradation; the people at large also would consider the change of Government intended to carry out the exclusive views expressed by the Europeans of Calcutta and by part of the press in England; and most of all would they believe that the change was intended to carry out the views promulgated from the pulpit and the platform at religious meetings. It was perfectly absurd to suppose that we could govern India without a very large native army (hear, hear), or that we could retain such an army without to some extent consulting its prejudices. (Hear, hear.) The present vivid impressions from the blowing away from guns, and from the almost unrestrained power of multitudinous hangings, which Lord Canning has so humanely and judiciously endeavoured to limit, (loud cheers,) and the religious panic about caste

degradations would have passed away, or be so weakened, ere long, that a change of Government might be effected without its object being misconstrued or dreaded : but my decided opinion is, that it would be wise to let that administration alone which has been not only compatible with, but has promoted the material welfare of the nations of India and the development of the resources of the country.* I care not what form of government it is,* provided it protects

* " Sir what we want is a body independent of the Crown, and no more than independent, which shall be neither the tool of the Ministry nor of the Opposition. It is not easy in a country like this to constitute such a body ; none I have heard suggested would be such a body" The East India Company, strange as its constitution may appear, is such a body Whatever charges may be brought against it, whether it does act rightly or wrongly, it does not act from political considerations."—*Speech of Mr. Macaulay, India Debate, 1833*

The Marquis of Lansdowne acknowledged the advantages that had resulted from the administration of the Company in keeping the interests of India excluded in a greater degree than they otherwise could have been from the several chances and changes of party in this country, and as an intervening body in the possession of patronage which would otherwise be scrambled for by the gladiators of Parliament —*Speech of Marquis of Lansdowne, India Debate, 1833.*

" The real dangers of British India will commence from the day when the party spirit of the British Parliament shall be brought to bear directly on its administration "—*Lord Metcalfe.*

" There is another body of persons on whose behalf I wish to say a few words. The noble and learned lord on the woolsack did not throw any reflection on the Court of Directors, but the noble and learned lord opposite (Lord Plunket) did do so My lords, I must say that the conduct of the Court of Directors, in this transaction, reflects great honour on them It does not matter to them whether the recommendation of Mr. Grant be adopted or not, they are in no

the rights and privileges of the people, insuring to them equal justice with their European follow-subjects : and if Parliament should insist upon the abolition of the so-called Double Government, then let its initiative be the doing away with the Board of Control (great laughter and cheers),—introducing the Queen's name,—the constituting a Council sufficiently numerous to do the work of administering an empire of 181 millions of souls,—placing at its head a Minister of the Crown, with the same powers and functions, and standing in the same relation to the Council as the Governor-General of India does to his Council, and the giving to that Council an assur-

respect interested except as the guardians of the honour and good faith of the administration of India ; as such acting upon their responsibility, acting in the discharge of their duty to those who elected them, and the people of India, they are determined to resist the order of Mr Grant'—*Lord Ellenborough's Speech in the House of Lords, 5th May, 1833*

I cannot conceive anything more disadvantageous to the people than their being made the sport of party passions and political feelings which take place in this country—*Mr. Charles Grant, India Debate, 1833.*

" My own opinion is, that nothing would be more dangerous than to give the Crown the whole control of the thousands upon thousands of the population in that part of the British dominions"—*Speech of Lord John Russell, India Debate 1853.*

" Is this system to be legally set aside ? Is this form of government to be hastily rejected ? We have the advantage of the opinions of Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington in favour of that system of government. They never hesitated or doubted, amid all our difficulties, that those difficulties would be overcome ; and if they were now alive, I am satisfied that they would counsel and entreat you, as I now do, not hastily or rashly to tamper with such a system."—*Speech of Sir James Chatham, India Debate, 1853.*

ance of independent action. (Loud cheers.) Above all things I beseech the Liberal gentlemen in this House to preserve the elective principle (Renewed cheers.) If their professions to their constituents be worth a rush they will do so. (Laughter.) India might then be governed entirely free from party feelings. Sir, I have been compelled to trespass upon the House at some length in detailing my views, and I will conclude with the words of a resolution which was unanimously agreed to at a meeting of the East India Company after a debate of four days, a debate conducted with an amount of eloquence, ability, and of prudence which would have done honour to this House. That resolution was—

“That the proposed transfer of the governing powers of the East India Company to the Crown is opposed to the rights and privileges of the East India Company, is fraught with danger to the constitutional interests of England and is perilous to the safety of the Indian empire.” (Loud cheers.)

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX No. 1.

PROGRESS of REVENUE for DECENNIAL PERIODS

BENGAL		MADRAS		BOMBAY	
1809-10	1849-50	1809-10	1849-50	1809-10.	1849-50
Net Revenue £	Net Revenue £	Net Revenue £	Net Revenue £	Net Revenue £	Net Revenue £
7,151,037	13,700,809	3,020,607	3,478,651	466,716	2,330,638
1809-10.		1849-50			
£7,151,037	Bengal	£13,700,809	Bengal.		
3,620,657	Madras	3,478,651	Madras		
466,716	Bombay.	2,330,638	Bombay		
£11,238,410	Nett Total.	£19,570,098	Nett Total		

APPENDIX No. 2.

EXPORTS and IMPORTS of INDIA.

EXPORTS from INDIA			IMPORTS into INDIA		
1834-5	1855-6.	Increase per cent	1834-5	1855-6.	Increase per cent
£	£		£	£	
7,993,120	23,039,268	188.22	1,261,106	13,177,057	227.32

EXPORT of COTTON.

TO ENGLAND.			TO ALL PORTS (ENGLAND included)		
1834-5.	1855-6	Increase per cent	1834-5	1855-6.	Increase per cent
lbs.	lbs		lbs	lbs	
38,268,402	170,771,510	346.24	98,320,050	237,170,910	141.23

APPENDIX No. 3.

STATEMENT OF AREA, POPULATION, and REVENUE of the NORTH WESTERN PROVINCES, showing the Population per Square Mile, and the rate per Head per Annum contributed by the Population

Divisions.	Districts	According to the Census prepared in 1872-53				For 1854-55					
		Area	Population	No of Souls to each Square Mile	Land Revenue	Abkaree	Stamps.	Miscellaneous and Sayer	Customs.	Grand Total.	Pressure of Taxation per Head
DELHI	Bhutiana	3,017	112,974	37	1,41,936	---	5,538	639	53,17	9,01,284	5 3 5 1/2 or 1 78
	Panepur	1,269	389,985	306	8,18,972	7,046	10,092	5,412	---	8,40,890	3 4 4 3/4 or 2 16
	Hissar	3,994	330,812	100	4,66,987	3,748	7,676	864	7,91,018	12,09,596	7 8 8 or 3 83
	Delhi	789	43,744	552	4,41,688	60,965	66,803	7,387	11,66,237	17,45,080	8 0 0 or 4 00
	Rohtuck	1,340	3,71,013	281	63,166	3,411	11,710	1,145	---	6,47,439	3 0 0 or 1 71
MEERUT	Gurgaon	1,939	662,486	342	10,58,769	6,295	15,148	2,964	12,81,019	21,64,195	7 5 5 or 3 71
	Dehra Dham	673	32,063	47	4,697	19,298	4,040	1,23,260	---	1,89,297	11 9 1/2 or 5 90
	Saharunpore	2,152	801,325	370	10,81,962	39,336	50,132	3,155	---	11,74,648	2 11 1/2 or 1 46
	Muzaffernagar	1,646	67,865	408	11,09,974	35,490	21,489	3,858	---	11,40,431	5 0 1/2 or 1 4
	Meerut	2,200	1,13,072	515	17,03,096	84,045	54,246	7,642	---	18,49,029	3 3 2 1/2 or 1 62
ROHILKHAND	Bohainsubur	1,898	778,342	425	10,69,699	14,879	23,430	8,284	---	1,16,172	2 10 1/2 or 1 43
	Allypore	2,153	1,131,665	527	19,74,086	37,874	68,979	19,593	---	20,93,512	3 8 8 or 1 84
	Bijnore	1,909	697,571	366	12,03,606	19,625	25,062	7,181	---	12,55,474	3 7 7 or 1 80
	Moradabad	9,578	1,138,461	422	13,47,988	39,656	69,970	5,147	---	14,62,755	2 6 1/2 or 1 26
	Budaon	2,401	1,019,161	424	11,19,810	41,269	45,709	3,045	---	12,09,833	2 4 1/2 or 1 18
AGRA	Bareilly	3,119	1,378,968	442	17,76,815	1,24,172	91,670	21,098	---	20,13,745	2 11 1/2 or 1 46
	Shahjehanpore	2,308	986,096	427	10,59,334	87,651	31,117	2,147	---	11,80,249	2 4 1/2 or 1 19
	Muttra	1,613	862,909	535	16,65,735	30,589	31,041	1,737	19,66,883	17,29,152	4 0 0 or 2 00
	Agra	1,864	1,001,961	537	16,13,076	50,352	94,063	4,361	---	37,25,737	7 5 1/2 or 3 73
	Farruckabad	2,192	1,064,607	501	13,36,845	1,19,639	69,677	2,035	---	15,28,196	2 10 1/2 or 1 42
ALLAHABAD	Mysore	2,020	832,714	412	12,63,362	34,672	36,541	963	---	13,33,438	3 2 1/2 or 1 60
	Etawah	1,677	610,965	364	12,74,134	21,414	15,621	4,861	---	13,16,030	4 4 0 or 2 15
	Cawnpore	2,348	1,174,566	500	21,39,950	1,43,460	61,277	8,844	---	23,53,531	4 4 0 or 2 00
	Fatehpore	1,583	679,787	429	14,95,680	65,965	25,942	969	---	17,18,116	4 4 0 or 2 23
	Humeerpore B.	2,694	605,889	225	17,33,694	30,176	10,412	1,824	---	16,19,923	4 4 0 or 2 194
BENARES	Banda	3,009	743,872	247	15,94,652	42,017	26,119	17,135	4,21,271	27,73,888	4 4 0 or 2 01
	Allahabad	2,768	1,379,788	495	21,98,777	1,43,992	77,203	2,645	---	24,97,897	4 4 0 or 2 01
	Goruckpore	7,340	3,087,874	421	21,27,749	2,03,386	1,13,514	53,178	---	16,50,918	1 0 0 or 1 20
	Amritgarh	2,216	1,623,251	657	14,90,890	1,01,372	64,874	3,782	---	13,76,311	2 4 1/2 or 1 03
	Jaunpore	1,309	1,143,749	737	12,53,786	68,990	50,217	3,319	---	11,37,936	2 2 0 or 1 33
Total Regulat on Districts	Benares	6,152	1,104,315	214	8,39,509	1,03,930	54,474	20,363	1,19,438	11,36,256	2 2 0 or 1 33
	Gazepore	993	651,757	855	9,03,545	1,56,876	72,019	4,023	---	17,35,307	2 2 0 or 1 33
		76,190	30,473,927	399	4,07,47,984	20,61,334	13,11,376	3,48,611	58,59,03	5,02,68,341	3 3 1/2 or 1 65

NON REGULATION DISTRICTS FROM CENSUS OF 1847-48, the latest date.					For 1854-55						
Divisions	Districts.	Area.	Population	No of Souls to each Square Mile	Land Revenue.	Abkaree	Stamps	Miscellaneous and Saver	Customs.	Grand Total	Pressure of Taxation per Head.
					<i>Rupees</i>	<i>Rupees</i>	<i>Rupees</i>	<i>Rupees</i>	<i>Rupees</i>	<i>Rupees</i>	<i>s d Rs</i>
SANGOR and NEHRUDDA Territories	Sangor	1,854	305,594	165	7,87,114	27,598	26,320	6,578	...	8,47,610	2 6 or 1 26
	Dumoh	2,498	363,584	149							
	Jubbulpore	6,237	442,771	71	6,46,631	51,500	26,124	8,544	7,32,839	1 7½ „ 0 81
	Seonee	1,459	227,000	156							
	Mundia	6,170	225,092	36	4,81,571	64,443	17,637	2,991	...	5,66,948	3 4½ „ 1 69
	Hoshungabad	1,916	242,641	127							
	Baitool	990	93,441	94	3,16,842	17,976	13,387	1,836	..	3,50,041	2 8½ „ 1 37
	Nursingpore	501	254,486	508							
	Jaloun D.	2,313	246,907	106	13,76,936	23,191	7,535	20,893	.	14,28,485	11 6½ „ 5 79
	Jhansee	1,394	300,000	215							
JAWUD NEEMUCH	Chumdeyree	556	87,260	157	4,97,058	14,253	4,497	2,423	2,68,409 E	7,56,640	5 2½ „ 2 62
	Jawud Neemuch	443	84,866	191							
NIMAR	Nimar, British and Scindia F.	269	25,727	96	1,50,008	18,636	24,511	.	1,93,155	
AJMERE	Ajmera, including all Mairwarra G.	2,691	287,290	90							
KUMAON	Kumaon	11,972	605,830	50	2,01,804	4,962	11,704	9,544	2,27,314	0 8½ „ 0 37
	Gurwhal										
Total Non Regulation Districts..		41,396	3,791,949	91	52,38,048	2,41,320	1,20,750	90,867	3,80,556	60,71,541	3 2½ or 1 60
Grand Total...		117,586	34,265,376	291	4,59,86,032	23,02,654	16,32,126	4,39,478	52,79,550	66,59,895	3 3½ or 1 15

A. Collection of the Hodul customs division.

B. Including non regulation Pergunnah of Mahobah and Jentpore.

D. Including all Kutchwahagurk.

E. Collections of the, Calpre and Raypore customs division.

F. Area and population for British Mairwarra alone

G. Including all Mairwarra for revenue, but the area and population are for Ajmere and Mairwarra.

APPENDIX, No. 4.

AREA, POPULATION, AND REVENUE OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

RETURN of the AREA, POPULATION, and REVENUE of the BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, showing the Population per Square Mile, and the Pressure of Taxation per Head for each District of each Division for 1854-55.

COLLECTORATE	Area	Population according to the Census of 1851 *	Number of Souls to each Square Mile.	Government Land and Sayer Revenues for the Land Revenue. Year 1854-55	Land and Sayer Revenues on each Square Mile	Pressure of Taxation on each Inhabitant.
	<i>Square Miles</i>			<i>Rupees</i>	<i>Rupees</i>	<i>s d Rs</i>
Bombay	20	520,758	26,037	1,68,347	84,17,35	0 7 ³ / ₄ or 0 323
Ahmedabad	4,409 ¹ / ₂	653,730	148	14,14,271	3,21,279	4 3 ³ / ₄ " 2 163
Kaira	1,375	580,631	422	15,85,472	11,53,070	5 5 ¹ / ₂ " 2 730
Surat	1,486	493,934	333	19,74,754	14,61,698	7 11 ³ / ₄ " 3 999
Broach	1,351	290,934	215	16,97,701	11,45,547	11 8 " 5 832
Khandeish	12,078	785,744	65	22,13,044	1,83,929	5 7 ¹ / ₂ " 2 816
Tanna	5,400	874,570	161	20,01,322	3,70,615	4 6 ¹ / ₄ " 2 288
Poona	5,250	698,587	133	921,815	1,75,583	2 7 ¹ / ₂ " 1 319
Ahmednugger	10,078	1,002,733	99	15,31,956	1,52,009	3 0 ³ / ₄ " 1 527
Scholapore	8,565	685,587	80	9,92,323	1,15,857	2 10 ¹ / ₂ " 1 447
Rutnagore	4,500	665,238	147	7,57,210	1,68,268	2 3 ¹ / ₄ " 1 138
Be'gaue	6,515	1,035,798	158	13,68,842	2,10,106	2 7 ¹ / ₂ " 1 321
Dharwar	3,790	757,849	199	15,23,551	4,01,992	4 0 " 2 010
Sattara	11,000	1,219,673	110	15,15,950	1,37,813	2 5 ³ / ₄ " 1 242
	75,806 ¹ / ₂	10,265,746	135	1,96,66,558	2,59,432	3 9 ³ / ₄ " 1 916

* No census of the collectorates forming the northern and southern divisions of the Bombay Presidency, and of the town of Bombay (including Colaba), has been taken since 1851. During the past year it was determined that one should be taken during 1856, but owing to unforeseen circumstances it has been found necessary to defer doing so for another year.

Statistical Office, East India House,
16th February, 1858

(Signed) M. HORNIDGE.

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APPENDIX, No. 5.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of POPULATION, REVENUE, and PRESSURE of TAXATION in BRITISH INDIA, and the UNITED KINGDOM.

INDIA.					UNITED KINGDOM.						
Governments	Population	Population to the Square Mile	Revenue, including salt, opium, & all other taxes, exclusive of the charge of collection, 1850-51	Pressure of Taxation per Head	Revenue of the Salt Tax	Wages of an Agricultural Labourer in a month	Percentage of the Population per Head to Wages	Population of the United Kingdom, 1851	Total Revenue of the United Kingdom, 1851	Pressure of Taxation per Head	Percentage of the Population per Head to Wages At 10s per week
Bengal*	41,927,750	181	9,775,679	4 1 1/2	6 1/2						
N. W. Provinces	25,730,136	254	6,087,807	4 8 3/4	3 1/2						
Punjab†	4,100,983	52	1,276,252	6 2 1/2	9 1/2						
Madras	22,301,697	166	4,742,690	4 3 1/2	5						
Bombay	11,109,067	92	4,408,752	7 11	5						
Total	105,169,633	158	26,291,180*	4 11 3/4	5 1/2	£3 12 0 1/2	6 94	27,452,262	57,401,011	£21 9 1/4	8 04

* Including mint duties, post office collections, stamps, Calcutta excise, miscellaneous, civil, and revenue. judicial fees and fines, land, sayer, abkany, &c., customs, salt, opium, interest on arrears of revenue, machine, morupha, and tobacco

† Chiefly estimated population.

‡ The rate of wages issued to 2,000 men employed on the Calcutta and Bombay mail roads.

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The figures thus show that the pressure of taxation is under five shillings per head in India, and 2*l.* 1*s.* 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* in England, and this taxation in relation to wages is under 7 per cent in India, and above 8 per cent. in England. But these results only throw a partial and inferential light upon the real condition of the people; for five shillings may be a crushing tax in India, and 2*l.* 1*s.* 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* light in England; and it is necessary to know how far the labouring classes in the respective countries can command the necessaries and comforts of life. John Bull's idea of necessaries and comforts is a good deal based upon the quantity of beef and beer a labouring man can command, and it might shock his beau ideal of comfort to put the water-drinking, cereal consuming, and scantily clothed Indian into the same category of comfort with himself. Nevertheless, as the climate neither invites the consumption of stimulating food nor drink, nor permits of heavy clothing, I may venture to say that the Indian labourer with his cereal food, in many parts of the country costing even less than a penny per diem (as I showed in a paper on prices, published in the "Journal of the Statistical Society," on the 29th of June, 1847), and his fractional cost for house rent, with his 72*s.* per annum, has his physical wants as readily available, and is comparatively as contented and comfortable as the English labourer with his 26*l.* per annum. Poverty and wretchedness exist in all countries; but this much I can say, that in similar limited areas I never witnessed in India such an amount of squalid misery as it has been my misfortune to witness in my personal inquiries, in London and elsewhere, into the condition of the labouring classes.

The salt tax is a subject for invective, and a few words must be said on it. The table shows that its average pressure for India is 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* per head per annum, or 164th part of an agricultural labourer's wages; but I have proved, in the paper upon prices before quoted, that two shillings worth of salt, of even the best kind, which the people do not consume, would last a labourer 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ months, and cost about the fourth of a farthing per diem; and where it was cheap, as at Kheir, in the Deccan, it would last thirty five months, and cost 0.025 of a penny per diem. The outcry about the cruelty of the salt tax therefore is simply ridiculous. The earth, which is said to be clawed up, to be eaten, is commonly carbonate of soda, used by washermen instead of soap.

W. H. SYKES.

London, April 14th, 1863.

APPENDIX, No. 6.

PRICES of the CEREALIA and other EDIBLES in INDIA and ENGLAND compared

Extracts from a Paper published in the "Journal of the Statistical Society of London," for November, 1847, headed, "Prices of the Cerealia and other Edibles in India and England compared," by Colonel Sykes, F.R.S.

The reduction of the local measures of Table II. into Indian measures was effected by Mr. Chapman, and must have been a work of infinite labour, as he had to ascertain the exact value of each local seer. The annual averages in Indian seers, so reduced, were converted by me into avoirdupois weight, and consequent upon that last conversion the price per quarter English has been determined, and the following are the results :—

	Indian Seers per Rupee average of 19 Years	Indian Seers in Avoirdupois weight		Prices per Quarter English	
		lbs	oz.	s.	d.
Wheat	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	64	5	14	10
Rice	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	36	13	0	0 $\frac{7}{10}$ per lb.
*Gram .. .	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	60	7	15	11
†Bajra	40 $\frac{7}{10}$	82	10	11	7
‡Jowaree .. .	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	100	8	9	6

It is thus shown that an average of years gives 64 lbs 5 oz. of wheat for 2s, 36 lbs. 13 oz. of rice, and 100 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs of that nutritious grain, jowaree (*Holcus sorghum*), for 2s ; a sufficiency to support a man for two months at least, if the dietary in the prisons of the North-Western Provinces and Bengal be taken as a standard. In these prisons the daily allowance to a convict is from 1 to 2 lbs. of wheaten flour, regulated by the nature and duration of the hard labour to which the convict may be condemned. But Table II. shows that in 1828 the average price of jowaree gave nearly 137 lbs. avoirdupois for 2s., so that a man could support himself for much less than a halfpenny per diem, and get fat upon it. But if reference be made to Table No. I, it is seen that at Kulus in the years 1828 and 1848 there were 80 local seers of jowaree per rupee, or 99 $\frac{1}{2}$ Indian seers, equal to 204 lbs. avoirdupois, for 2s, or more than 2 lbs for a farthing, so that a man could live for less than a far-

* Cicer Arietinum. † Holcus Spicatum. ‡ Holcus Sorghum.

thing per diem for the cost of meal. In wheat it is seen that the average prices in 1828 and 1836 were 26½ and 36½ Indian seers per rupee, equivalent to 74 lbs and 75½ avoirdupois. The above bread grains, at such cheap rates, are within a moderate distance of the sea coast. But Tables III, III*, and III**, carry us farther inland, and the cheapness is very much greater. These tables are from Colonel Sleeman, the Commissioner of the Saugor and Nerbuddah territories, and give the prices at seven markets within his commissionership from 1831 to 1840 inclusive, and from 1843 to 1846, both inclusive; but the prices of wheat, gram, and rice, only are given. In these tables it is shown that at Baitool in 1843 as much as 167 lbs. avoirdupois of wheat were sold for 2s, and at the seven markets enumerated, the price varied in the year only from 5s 6d per quarter English to 6s 8d. In succeeding years the prices were slightly enhanced, but in 1846 famine prices ruled, owing to the failure of the monsoon; that is to say, at Baitool the price of wheat, which in 1843 was 5s. 6d per quarter, became 21s. 8d. But the average prices of wheat at the seven markets for the years 1843, 1844, and 1845, was 7s. 6½d. per quarter gram, similarly, was 7s. 7½d per quarter, and rice, 4s. 4½d. per cwt. For the ten years preceding, from 1831 to 1840, the average price of wheat was 10s. 6d per quarter (Table III**)

APPENDIX, No. 7.

TENURES upon which LAND can be held in INDIA.

Throughout the greater part of India, land is already private property, and cannot therefore be disposed of at the pleasure of the Government. Europeans may, however, under Act IV, of 1837, "acquire and hold in perpetuity, or for any term of years, property in land or in any emoluments issuing out of land," in any part of British India.

It is only in districts like Gouckpore and the Deyrah Dhoon, where large tracts of waste land exist to which no individuals have any claim, that the Government have it in their power to make over the property in the land to applicants desirous of cultivating it. The terms adopted for grants in these districts were, a lease for forty years, under which one fourth of the land was to be rent free for the whole term and the remainder for three years, after which

the twentieth part of the rent assigned was to be paid, rising annually in twentieths until at the end of the twenty third year, the maximum rent of twelve annas (1s 6d) per acre would become due, and the land, subject to that payment, would be the absolute property of the grantee. Conditions were inserted in the lease to provide for the land being brought into cultivation according to stipulated annual proportions on failure in which the portion of the grant found to be uncultivated, reverted to Government.

In the districts of Kumaon and Garwhal, there are immense tracts of land suitable for tea cultivation which are at the disposal of Government. These lands will be granted to persons possessing sufficient means and capital in lots of from 200 to 2,000 acres, one fourth to be free from assessment in perpetuity, and the remainder for four years, after which a rent of one anna (1½d.) per acre will be charged, rising annually by the same sum, until in the twentieth year, when the maximum rate of one rupee (2s) per acre will be reached, after which the proprietary right in the grant vests in the grantee, who, in whatever manner he may cultivate the land, will never be called on to pay more than the average rate on grain crop lands in the same locality.

Provisions are to be inserted in the lease to secure the land being cultivated with tea plants, which are supplied gratuitously by Government to the extent of their means.

APPENDIX, No. 8.

ORDERS of COURT referring Despatches from India to their respective Committees.

At a Court of Directors the 10th December, 1834

The Chairman acquainting the Court that sundry Despatches had been received from India since their last meeting, the undermentioned were read, viz., Political Letter from Bengal, No. 7, dated 8th May, 1834, together with its several enclosures, also, a letter from Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, addressed Secretary, under date the 11th June, 1834; and a discussion having taken place as to the Committee to which the same should be referred, it was Ordered, that the said Despatches do lie on the Table of the Court.

17th December, 1834.

The Chairman, adverting to the Proceedings which the Court adopted on Wednesday last, when certain Despatches received from

Bengal were read ; and moving the Court, it was Resolved, that in future a List of Advices received from India be laid before the Court as hitherto; that the several Advices be referred, under the direction of the Chans, to the respective Committees, whose duty it will be to consider of replies to be made thereto; that a List of such Advices and the Committees to which they stand referred be laid before the Court by the Secretary so soon as the said List shall have been prepared by the Examiner; and, that an Abstract of the several Advices be furnished by the proper Departments to the Clerk of each of the Committees for the purpose of its being laid upon the Table for the information of the Members ; it was then on another motion, Ordered, that the Political Letter from Bengal, No 7, dated 8th May, 1834, and the letter from Sir Charles T. Metcalfe, dated 11th June, 1834, which were read in Court, and ordered to lie on the table on the 10th instant, be now referred to the consideration of the Revenue Judicial and Legislative Committee.

APPENDIX No. 9.

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE during the Year 1857.

INDIAN CORRESPONDENCE				HOME CORRESPONDENCE
Department	Letters from India		Despatches to India	
	No of Letters	No of Collections		
Public	431	5,907	296	The Number of Drafts of Letters approved by the Court of Direc- tors, or adopted in consequence of the Court's Resolutions during the year 1857, was 7,927.
Financial	314	912	163	
Railway	181	563	168	
Electric Telegraph	11	50	51	
Public Works	210	2 180	67	
Military	677	1,960	624	
Marine	170	481	176	
Political	177	1,497	97	
Ecclesiastical	59	179	42	
Revenue	162	1,453	43	
Judicial	121	1,768	100	
Legislative	—	—	4	
Statistical	—	—	2	
Total	2,516	16,950	1,833	

The discrepancy between 1,833 Despatches to India and 1,621 Drafts, which passed the Court in 1857, is explained by many Drafts of the previous year not having been signed as Despatches until after the commencement of the year.

APPENDIX No 10.

DRAFT DESPATCHES approved by the COURT OF DIRECTORS
during the Year 1857

No of Drafts	Approved on the Day on which they were laid before the Court	Ordered to lie for Consideration.		Altered by the Board.	Approved by the Board without Alteration.
		No	Average No of Days during which the Draft was under Consideration		
1,621	1,157	461*	Between 7 and 8 Days	140†	1,481

* Many of these despatches not only took into consideration very important questions, but embraced a variety of matter and were periodical reviews of the proceedings of particular departments of the Government in India, extending over from three to six months

† Many of these alterations are simply verbal

APPENDIX, No. 11.

EAST INDIA (CADETSHIPS.)

RETURN of the Number of CADETSHIPS and different Classes of Individuals on whose Sons all CADETSHIPS for *India* have been conferred by the Directors of the East India Company and President of the Board of Control, in the several Years from 1840 to 1857 both inclusive.

	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.	Grand Total.
Sons of Military, Medical and Marine Officers and Companions in the East India Company's Service	83	99	87	57	80	93	83	68	66	68	60	53	65	80	103	9	00	10	5,177
Sons of Civil Servants in the Company's Service	90	10	21	18	10	10	20	21	23	18	20	18	18	21	25	25	37	33	
	191	81	101	77	40	12	00	80	80	80	92	71	89	107	128	12	135	3	
Sons of Military, Naval and Medical Officers in Her Majesty's Service	77	72	80	50	31	03	40	36	34	27	27	35	23	22	13	11	0	8	
									1805										
Sons of Clergymen	41	17	42	27	20	33	34	31	2	23	28	2	26	29	1	11	35	69	580
									717										
Sons of Professional Men and Others	182	206	227	148	100	175	142	10	95	95	100	91	73	77	110	102	62	89	2315
									580										

APPENDIX, No. 12.

EAST INDIA (BISHOPS AND CATHEDRAL ESTABLISHMENTS, &c.)

RETURN of the ANNUAL EXPENDITURE for ECCLESIASTICAL OBJECTS in India, at the different PRESIDENCIES, from 1836-37 to the latest Period, under the several Heads of Bishops and Cathedral Establishments; Number of Regular Chaplains; Number of Uncovenanted Auxiliary Chaplains; Cost of Building Churches; Cost of Grants in Aid of Church Building, Allowances to Roman Catholic Chaplains; and Miscellaneous Expenditure.

YEARS	BISHOPS				CHAPLAINS.								Allowances to Roman Catholic Priests.	ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS Donations for Construction of, Grants in Aid of, Purchase and Repairs of Buildings by Government.	Miscellaneous.	REMARKS.
	No	Salaries	Visitation Allowances.	Cathedral Establishments.	Church of England.			Church of Scotland		Church Establishments.	Uncovenanted					
					No	Salaries	Travelling Allowances	No	Salaries		No	Salaries				
ENGAL		£	£	£		£	£		£	£		£	£		£	
36-37	1	4,598	104	3,062	39	38,537	564	2	2,310	3,490	2	425	485	£31,457 was expended for construction, repairs, and enlargement of Churches from 1832 to 1852.	186	17 churches and chapels have been erected, or in course of construction, in the Punjab alone during this period.
37-38	1	4,598	492	3,064	51	39,031	228	2	2,310	3,397	2	425	480		383	
38-39	1	4,598	..	2,274	51	39,031	326	2	2,310	3,517	2	480	426		281	
39-40	1	4,598	823	2,238	51	39,031	186	2	2,310	3,523	2	420	427		135	
40-41	1	4,598	2,879	1,691	53	40,231	305	2	2,310	4,771	2	420	448		459	
41-42	1	4,598	316	1,127	53	40,231	99	2	2,310	4,935	2	420	502		738	
42-43	1	4,598	914	2,451	53	40,231	208	2	2,310	4,861	2	420	420		410	
43-44	1	4,598	1,073	2,638	53	40,231	367	2	2,310	5,080	2	420	520		788	
44-45	1	4,598	2,931	1,702	53	40,231	647	2	2,310	5,148	2	420	480		950	
45-46	1	4,598	1,433	1,200	53	40,231	597	2	2,310	5,218	2	420	630		912	
46-47	1	4,598	1,454	2,958	53	40,231	1,188	2	2,310	4,478	2	300	431		182	
47-48	1	4,598	300	1,121	53	40,231	988	2	2,310	5,204	2	420	575		371	
48-49	1	4,598	442	1,236	59	43,831	1,073	2	2,310	5,695	2	420	822		608	
49-50	1	4,598	778	1,206	59	43,831	1,208	2	2,310	5,612	2	420	1,042		393	
50-51	1	4,598	977	1,307	63	46,950	980	2	2,310	5,759	2	420	2,184		431	
51-52	1	4,598	269	1,083	63	46,950	1,187	2	2,310	6,077	2	420	2,035		4,680	
52-53	1	4,598	438	1,120	63	46,950	1,495	2	2,310	6,750	2	420	2,031	1,012		
53-54	1	4,598	136	1,120	63	46,950	881	2	2,310	6,553	2	420	2,235	1,940		
54-55	1	4,598	363	1,375	68	51,031	1,596	2	2,310	6,286	2	540	2,887	746		
55-56	1	4,598	752	1,120	68	51,031	1,510	2	2,310	6,467	2	540	2,725	1,218		

DEAS:									
137	1	2,560	940	23	19 153	425	2	1,963	1,938
138	1	2,560	940	29	20,976	450	2	1,963	1,992
139	1	2,560	966	29	20,976	438	2	1,963	1,964
140	1	2,560	976	29	20,976	389	2	1,963	2 011
141	1	2,960	966	29	20,976	413	2	1,963	2,008
142	1	2,560	966	29	20,976	435	2	1,963	2,528
143	1	2,560	966	29	20,976	313	2	1,963	2 706
144	1	2,560	901	29	20,976	909	2	1,963	2,893
145	1	2,560	850	29	20,976	137	2	1,963	2,998
146	1	2,560	880	29	20,976	68	2	1,963	2,900
147	1	2,560	880	29	20,976	68	2	1,963	2,980
148	1	2,560	880	29	20,976	68	2	1,963	2,761
149	1	2,560	880	29	20,976	68	2	1,963	2,740
150	1	2,560	878	29	20,976	68	2	1,963	2,718
151	1	2,560	878	29	20,976	68	2	1,963	2,628
152	1	2,560	878	29	20,976	68	2	1,963	2,618
153	1	2,560	878	29	20,976	68	2	1,963	2 090
154	1	2,560	936	29	20,976	68	2	1,963	2 152
155	1	2,560	960	29	20,976	68	2	1,963	2,222
156	1	2,560	1,010	30	25,056	68	2	1,963	2,636
IBAY:									
137	1	2,560	733	15	13,000	793	2	2,038	1,741
138	1	2,560	1,053	17	12,636	1,140	2	2,038	1,971
139	1	2,560	1,053	17	12,636	1,367	2	2,038	1,970
140	1	2,560	1,119	17	12,636	654	2	2,038	1,687
141	1	2,560	1,179	23	15,276	653	2	2,038	1,698
142	1	2,560	1,059	23	15,276	399	2	1,896	1,793
143	1	2,560	1,231	23	15,276	393	2	1,896	1,616
144	1	2,560	1,267	23	15,276	590	2	1,896	2,044
145	1	2,560	1,287	23	15,276	336	2	1,896	1,938
146	1	2,560	1,267	23	15,276	39	2	1,896	2,126
147	1	2,560	1,267	23	15,276	333	2	1,896	2,022
148	1	2,560	1,267	23	15,276	448	2	1,896	2,167
149	1	2,560	1,267	23	16,416	406	2	1,899	1 744
150	1	2,560	1,267	23	16,416	364	2	1,896	2,090
151	1	2,560	1,267	23	16,416	360	2	2,016	1,783
152	1	2,560	1,279	23	16,896	370	2	2,016	2,210
153	1	2,560	1,327	23	16,896	326	2	2,016	2,210
154	1	2,560	1,328	23	16,896	389	2	2,016	2,313
155	1	2,560	1,316	23	16,896	371	2	2,016	2,411
156	1	2,560	1,335	26	18,936	371	2	2,016	2,021

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