

## CHAPTER III.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

THE East-India Company proceeded to Hindostan as merchants—circumstances converted them into sovereigns. On various occasions the ministers of the crown had shown a strong disposition to interfere with the government of India, and to participate in its wealth and patronage. The magnificent conquests which distinguished the middle of the last century furnished a fresh pretext for interference; and as men are never at a loss to find reasons to justify the course of action which they are inclined to pursue, the anomalous fact of a Commercial Company swaying the destinies of a mighty empire, was dwelt upon with all the energy which personal interest lends alike to truth or falsehood. Upon the intelligent and the unprejudiced such declamation would have little effect. No government ever existed that was conformed precisely to the principles of abstract reason: and if such a one should ever be framed, its endurance would, in all probability, only be sufficient to manifest the folly of the experiment. In all forms of government anomalies exist, and the question with regard to the  
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Company is therefore only one of degree. Thoughtful men may in their closets frame schemes of government, which upon paper shall appear perfect, but pure science is only for the intellect—the ideal must yield something to the practical, when brought to bear upon the ordinary concerns of life. Instead, therefore, of expatiating upon the irregularity of merchants exercising sovereign power, it would have been well to inquire how it had been exercised, and how far the great purposes for which government exists had been answered. Some such inquiries indeed were instituted, but with little of that spirit of fairness by which they ought to have been characterized. It could not be denied, that the state of the people had been improved : but it had not been improved so rapidly as the opponents of the Company thought, or affected to think, that it ought. The work of a century could not be accomplished in a few years. Under the most favourable circumstances national improvement is slow, and the circumstances of Hindostan were any thing but favourable. Its native population had been for centuries subject to aliens, whose iron rule had raised an abundant crop of all those vices which are generated by oppression. They were the victims of one of the most odious and debasing superstitions that ever shed its withering influence over the human mind, a superstition which

which alike palsied the intellect and corrupted the heart: they were, moreover, both constitutionally and by principle, averse to change. Under such a combination of circumstances, it is more surprising that any advance had been made under the dominion of the Company, than that the work of ages had not been achieved in a few brief years. But such considerations as these, reasonable as they are, could not be expected to have much influence in modifying the views of faction and ambition. The golden prize of India was regarded by the Government at home with envy, and as early as 1767, some discussion took place as to the rights of sovereignty.

The year 1773 was marked by the first direct invasion of the power hitherto exercised by the Company. By an act passed in that year, the Directors were required to lay before his Majesty's ministers, from time to time, all correspondence from India relating to revenue and to civil and military affairs. A governor-general and council were named, and various changes were made in the constitution of the Company at home. Before this time, every holder of £500 stock was a member of the Court of Proprietors, and no amount gave a plurality of votes. The qualification was raised to £1000, and an increased number of votes given to the holders of stock to a larger amount. Modifications equally important were

were made in the Court of Directors. They had formerly been elected annually; they were now to serve for a period of four years.

The barrier once broken down, the flood of Parliamentary interference rolled on apace. The year 1781 produced a further change. In addition to the information required by the last act, the Directors were called upon to communicate to Ministers all despatches sent to India; and in all matters of war and peace, and all transactions with other powers, to be governed by their advice. This was an important step gained by the Ministry at the expense of the Company, and Lord North would not have been content even with this acquisition had he felt himself more secure in his ministerial seat; but he was then tottering, and not long afterwards fell. The ill-fated cabinets of the Marquis of Rockingham and the Earl of Shelburne were too shortlived to admit of any proceedings; but this temporary repose was followed by the severest blow ever aimed against the authority and privileges of the Company. Had it succeeded, it would have been alike fatal to India and to England; to the rights of the Company, and to the liberties of the people.

Forced by circumstances into power, the coalition ministry was disagreeable to the King, and unpopular with the nation. To enable them to overcome these obstacles to the maintenance of their



their station, the Ministers turned their eyes to India, a country which, at that time, afforded a field for the speculations of every political charlatan. A plan was accordingly devised, ostensibly for the better government of India, but substantially for upholding a falling ministry. By this monstrous scheme the Company were to be deprived of even the forms of authority. The two existing Courts of Proprietors and Directors were to be abolished. Seven commissioners, to be named in the act, were to be invested with the uncontrolled exercise of both the political and the commercial functions of the Company, the last being committed to the especial care of nine assistant commissioners, who were also to be named by the act. The chief commissioners, in whom was centred all the power and patronage, were to be irremovable, except by the King, upon the address of either House of Parliament. The assistant commissioners were to be removable by the concurrence of five of the superior.

The bill excited throughout the country a degree of alarm almost without precedent. It was regarded at once as a gross violation of chartered rights, and as an instrument for destroying the independence of Parliament.

The feeling of respect for corporate rights was stronger at that time than at present, and perhaps wisely so. Statesmen may sometimes find it  
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convenient to treat them with contempt; but the experiment is always attended with danger. Every fresh violation of the rights of public bodies weakens the security of all private rights. The expediency which to-day calls for the sacrifice of a corporation, may to-morrow demand the sacrifice of an individual. Common safety is to be found only in common protection, and it is impossible to frame a distinction which shall have the effect of placing in security the rights of private persons, whilst those of public bodies are left at the mercy of expediency. The title of the East-India Company had originated in a royal grant. It had been strengthened by time, and by the repeated recognition of the Legislature; and the violent measure proposed by the Coalition Ministry could be justified only by the grossest delinquency. The partisans of the Ministry, indeed, treated chartered rights with a levity worthy of a later period; and the attorney-general ventured upon language which his own party felt to be rash, if not indecent. In one of the debates on the bill, the zeal of this functionary led him so far as to say, "What is a charter? a parchment with a piece of wax dangling from it."\* Such language was not calculated to allay the

\* A subsequent speaker, adverting to this, supposed a bill introduced to hang the attorney-general, when, said he, "it might be said, What is a hanged attorney-general? Nothing but a carcase daugling at the end of a rope."

the public alarm, and men would naturally begin to ask upon whom the next blow was to fall. Wherever it might be aimed, it was obvious that the passing of the obnoxious bill, by transferring the patronage of India into the hands of Ministers or their nominees, would enable them to strike with redoubled force and increased certainty. Mr. Mill has denied this assumption, and appears to think the degree of influence to which the House of Commons is subjected a matter of little importance. He asserts, that if the subservience of the House of Commons depends upon the degree, more or less, of influence to which it is exposed, it must be an ill-constituted assembly. It is so far ill constituted that it partakes of that infirmity which adheres to every thing human. But how is this to be avoided? If Mr. Mill believes that while human nature remains what it is, he can call into existence a legislative assembly from which all unworthy motives shall be infallibly excluded, he deceives himself, but he will certainly deceive no one else. He talks of securities; but the best security is the removal of temptation. The patronage of India in the hands of the Company is little likely to be abused; in the hands of the Minister for the time being, it would be attended with danger. Locked up for the benefit of a single political party, as proposed by the Coalition Ministry, it would enable that  
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party to dictate both to the throne and to the people, and to fix themselves in power too firmly for any thing short of a political convulsion to displace them.

In this light was the subject viewed by the people of England, notwithstanding which the House of Commons passed the bill. The House of Lords, however, interposed, and rescued the crown and the country by rejecting a measure which would have enslaved both.

The fate of the Ministry being bound up with their India Bill, the rejection of the one passed sentence of deposition upon the other. The Coalition Ministry was succeeded by that of Mr. Pitt, and at an early period after his accession to power, the affairs of India were brought under the consideration of Parliament. The plan of the new Ministry was of a less violent character than that of their predecessors. The Company were to continue to exercise the functions of government under the inspection of the English cabinet, as they had done for eleven years previously ; but, to ensure a greater degree of attention than could otherwise be bestowed, a Board was created for the express purpose of superintending and controlling Indian affairs.

The system established in 1784 is substantially that which now exists ; the changes subsequently made being too unimportant to require notice.

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The objects of the Company were originally purely commercial, and could they have pursued them in peace and security they would have sought nothing further. Their enemies compelled them to unite with the character of the merchant, that of the soldier and the civil governor. The British Legislature has effected a change scarcely less unexpected. In 1813, the trade with India was thrown open; twenty years afterwards the Company relinquished the field to their competitors. The history of the world affords nothing more extraordinary than the present posture of the Company. Formed exclusively for the prosecution of a desirable branch of commerce, it has renounced trade, yet continues to exist for purposes which its founders never contemplated. Called incidentally to the exercise of civil and military power, it continues to wield that power now that its original character has disappeared, and when it has no longer any interest in those commercial advantages which it was the single purpose of its conquests to secure. The act of 1833 suspended the mercantile career of the Company, and it now exists only as an instrument for governing the country, which the wisdom and spirit of its servants has annexed to the British crown. The whole of the Company's property, territorial and commercial, having been surrendered, its debts and liabilities are charged upon India, and a dividend

dividend of £10. 10s. on their capital stock secured; the dividend redeemable at the rate of £200 for every £100 stock, after April 1874, and at an earlier period on the demand of the Company, should they be deprived of the government of India. This last provision is of course a dead letter until after April 1854, when the present act will expire. For the better securing the redemption of the dividend, a fund is formed under the control of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, termed the Security Fund of the India Company. For the purposes of this fund a sum of two millions has been invested in the public funds, there to accumulate to the amount of twelve millions. The Company are required to lay a financial statement annually before both Houses of Parliament.

Various provisions are contained in the act, especially relating to legislative and ecclesiastical arrangements, which will be noticed in subsequent chapters. It will be proper here to advert to the present constitution of the Company and the government of India, as settled by the last and preceding acts of Parliament.

The authority of the Company is exercised through the Court of Proprietors and the Court of Directors. To be qualified to vote in the former Court, a Proprietor must have been twelve months in possession of stock to the amount of at least  
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£1,000 ; this sum entitles him to one vote, £3,000 to two votes, £6,000 to three votes, and £10,000 to four votes. The Proprietors have the privilege of electing the Directors ; of making by-laws for the regulation of the Company, which are binding when not at variance with the law of the land, and of controlling all grants of money exceeding £600. The Directors are bound to convene a General Court on the requisition of nine qualified Proprietors, and such court, while it may discuss any matter connected with the affairs of India, has no power of rescinding a measure adopted by the Directors and approved by the Board. The votes are given by ballot, and in the election of Directors, a proprietor may vote by attorney.

The Court of Directors consists of twenty-four Proprietors, who are elected for four years : six go out annually by rotation, but they are re-eligible at the expiration of a year. The qualification for the office of Director is the possession of £2,000 stock. Formerly no person having been employed in any civil or military capacity in India could be chosen a Director until he had been resident in England for two years. The last act has removed this ground of disqualification : but if the Court of Directors, with the consent of the Board of Control, shall declare that the accounts of any civil or military officer are unsettled, or that a charge against him is under consideration, he is disqualified

disqualified for two years after his return, unless in the mean time the accounts are settled or the charge determined. The presence of thirteen Directors is necessary to constitute a court, and they elect from their own body a chairman and deputy chairman annually. In the Court of Directors is vested the administration of the affairs of India, subject to the supervision of the Board of Commissioners.

The Board is constituted by commission under the Great Seal. The first-named commissioner is President. The President of the Council, the Lord Privy Seal, the First Lord of the Treasury, the Principal Secretaries of State, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, are commissioners *ex-officio*. Two commissioners may form a Board, and the president having a casting vote, his power is consequently great.

To the Board the Directors are bound to transmit copies of all proceedings of their own court and that of the Proprietors, as well as of all letters and despatches received which contain material information, or which the Board may require. Copies of all despatches and official communications proposed to be sent out, must also be laid before the Commissioners, who within two months are to return them. If they disapprove or substantially vary any paper submitted to them, they are to state their reasons in writing. The Direc-



tors may then submit such remarks and explanations as they see fit, and the Commissioners are enjoined by the Act to consider them; after which they are to give further directions, which are to be final and conclusive. Despatches relating to subjects which in the opinion of the Board require secrecy, may be framed by themselves and transmitted to a Secret Committee of three members of the Court of Directors, who are forthwith to forward them to their destination. In such cases, neither the Secret Committee nor the Court have any power of deliberation. But in other instances, if the Court of Directors shall consider the directions of the Board contrary to law, a case is to be framed for the opinion of the Court of King's Bench, which is to be conclusive.

Such is the state of the law. In practice, the intercourse between the Court and the Board varies somewhat from the prescribed routine. With a view to avoid unnecessary controversy, the custom has arisen of making what is called a previous communication from the Chairs to the President of the Board. This is an unofficial draft of a proposed despatch, which the President having examined, returns, either altered or unaltered, but unofficially, and without assigning reasons for alterations, if he has made any. The business then proceeds in the prescribed course. If the views of the Court and the Board coincide,

coincide, there is, of course, neither difficulty nor discussion. If they differ, the Board assigns its reasons; the Court either acquiesces, or states why it continues to dissent; and finally, the Board delivers its determination. Mr. Canning expressed a very favourable opinion of the practice of previous communication, as a means of preserving a good understanding between the two authorities to which Parliament has entrusted the government of India. He said, "The use and  
" object of previous communications is free dis-  
" cussion. They are amicable preludes to further  
" propositions, which enable the Board to state  
" its objections (when it has any), and to offer its  
" amendments and additions, without assuming  
" the air of dictation, and through which each  
" party becomes acquainted with the other's  
" sentiments, without being committed in point  
" of consistency and dignity to its own. The  
" official draft being thus prepared, with a free  
" knowledge how far it is likely to meet the con-  
" currence of the Board, the best chance is taken  
" for avoiding direct official collision."

Excepting such as pass through the Secret Committee, despatches generally originate with the Court; but the Board may require orders, instructions, and despatches to be prepared and submitted for its consideration; and if the Directors defer compliance beyond the space of four-

teen days, the Board may themselves prepare such documents, and the Directors are bound to transmit them.

The Act of 1833 was not passed without much previous investigation, and the ultimate determination of the Legislature to continue in the Directors the powers which they had hitherto exercised, may be regarded as an evidence that they had exercised them wisely. A body of men better qualified for the high duties which they are called upon to perform could not indeed be found. Many of the Directors have the advantage of local experience. They are elected by a constituency sufficiently popular, but at the same time perfectly inaccessible to those temptations which would not be without effect upon a class of voters less select. The number of Directors is sufficient to ensure a great variety of talent and information, whilst it is not so great as to impede the progress of business. But the claims of the Court need not be rested upon arguments of its probable fitness for the duties which it is called upon to fulfil: it may confidently appeal to history. Two or three humble factories extended into a mighty empire—a people steadily advancing to prosperity under its government—surrounding states imploring its protection, and seeking, under its fostering care, deliverance from the evils of native misgovernment—these are the facts to which the  
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authorities of the East-India Company may point as attesting their capacity for the high functions which they have been called upon to perform.

The testimony of Mr. Mill in favour of the Company may be regarded as unexceptionable. His laborious history manifests little desire to praise; but he is compelled to pay a tribute to the merits of the Court of Directors at home, and their servants abroad. To them he attributes all the good which has arisen from the British connection with India, while the evil he ascribes to that state influence to which the Directors have yielded—sometimes from an undue deference to the judgment of others, sometimes from the impossibility of successful resistance. The passage in which Mr. Mill delivers his judgment is too important to be passed over. He says,

“In regard to intention, I know no government, either in past or present times, that can be placed equally high with that of the East-India Company. I can hardly point out an occasion on which the schemes they have adopted, and even the particular measures they pursued, were not by themselves considered as conducive to the welfare of the people whom they governed. I know no government which has on all occasions shewn so much of a disposition to make sacrifices of its own interests to the interests of the people whom it governed, and which has, in fact, made

so many and such important sacrifices. If the East-India Company have been so little successful in ameliorating the practical operation of their government, it has been owing chiefly to the disadvantage of their situation, distant a voyage of several months from the scene of action, and to that imperfect knowledge which was common to them in common with all their countrymen. But they have never erred so much as when, distrusting their own knowledge, they have followed the directions of men whom they unhappily thought wiser than themselves, *viz.* practical statesmen and lawyers; and lastly, in the highly important point of the servants or subordinate agents of government, there is nothing in the world to be compared with the East-India Company, whose servants as a body have not only exhibited a portion of talent which puts to shame the ill-chosen instruments of other governments, but have, except in some remarkable instances, as that of the loan transactions with the Nabob of Arcot, exhibited a degree of virtue which, under the temptations to which they were exposed, is worthy of the highest applause."

In the face of such facts, it was seriously proposed, during the inquiries which took place previously to the passing of the last Act, to place the patronage of India in other hands. One suggestion was to transfer it to other corporations. It  
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is obvious that the only recommendation of this plan is that it would be a change. A more plausible scheme was to bestow the appointments upon certain schools and universities, and throw them open to public competition. Such a plan promised much, but would have effected nothing. Calculated to impress the mind favourably in the first instance, a moment's reflection will shew its hollowness. The degree of talent and industry displayed by boys, is an erroneous index to their future character as men. The fortunate competitors for school and university honours are not always,—perhaps it may be said not often,—eminent in after-life; whilst the men who have failed in attaining these distinctions, not unfrequently exhibit a degree of ability of which their early years afforded no indication. On a recent proposal to extend certain privileges to clergymen who had taken university honours, the highest authority in the church declared that a worse test of desert could not be devised. It is certainly as little applicable to the civil service of India as to the church at home; and had it been adopted, so far from ensuring a better set of men, the presumption is that it would have afforded a worse. If, indeed, the principle were good, it is not easy to conceive why it should not be applied to the patronage of the state as well as to that vested in the East-India Company. The former  
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is certainly not bestowed with greater purity, nor does it produce better public servants. The experiment is needless, and would end in disappointment; but if made, it surely ought not to be at the expense of a public body, who, according to the concurrent testimony of friends and enemies, have exercised their power in a manner the most exemplary.

The Directors possess the right of making all appointments of writers, cadets, and assistant-surgeons. The President of the Board of Commissioners participates in the distribution, not by law, but custom. The direct power of the home authorities is, however, limited to the original nomination. The advancement of the nominee in India depends upon the local authorities, among whom the patronage is distributed, according to regulations made by the Court and approved by the Board.

The late act prescribes a mode of filling up vacancies in the civil service remarkable for its complexity and uncertainty. For every expected vacancy four candidates are to be named, and one student admitted; and if the Directors do not within one month nominate the whole number required, the Board may supply the deficiency. The candidates must be not less than seventeen years of age, nor more than twenty. They are to be examined in certain branches of knowledge,  
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and classed according to their proficiency; and the candidates to the appointed number, whose names stand highest in the list, are admitted to the Company's College at Haileybury. It would not be easy to frame a plan more efficacious in creating a large amount of disappointment, or less calculated to secure a competent measure of knowledge. For one who succeeds, three sustain the mortification of being rejected; a penalty which it is possible has not been incurred either by idleness or stupidity. It may be that all the candidates are sufficiently qualified, and three-fourths of them are exposed to the stigma of rejection, not because they are incompetent, but because a few of their competitors seem to be somewhat more competent; the supposed indications of such higher competence being extremely fallacious, and frequently the result only of superior quickness, not of superior knowledge. The hardship of this is evident. To those in whom the patronage is vested, the operation of the plan, though less personally annoying, is equally unjust. The candidates nominated by one may all be rejected, and those nominated by another all admitted; yet there may be but a shade of difference in their respective claims, or possibly none at all. Again, the plan does not ensure that which is its professed object, a reasonable proficiency in learning. The fortunate candidates  
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are selected, not because they come up to a certain standard, but because they are the best that offer. It may be that the acquirements of all are but moderate, and then the grosser deficiencies of some ensure the triumph of others one degree less ignorant than themselves. Happy is he who, possessing little ability and less application, has the good fortune of contending for admission in a year of universal mediocrity.

Admission to the College being gained, the student enters upon the usual course of study; and at the expiration of a prescribed period, such of the students as have a certificate of good conduct, are subjected to an examination in the College studies, and classed according to merit. After passing this examination the students are nominated to supply the vacancies in India, and have seniority according to their priority in the list, and, according to the same principles, have the right of electing to which presidency they will proceed. The Professors of the College are nominated by the Court, and approved by the Board.

It is somewhat extraordinary, that in these reforming times the College should have been spared, as its necessity is by no means apparent. The vacancies in the civil service are now comparatively few, and the number of students being proportioned to the vacancies, is, of course, greatly diminished.

diminished. Whether there ever existed any necessity for the College may admit of doubt: but it is quite clear that it is not adapted to the altered circumstances of the Company. It seems probable that in future the average number of students will not greatly exceed that of the professors and assistant professors, and to maintain such a magnificent establishment for so inadequate a purpose is only calculated to excite ridicule, or a graver though not more friendly feeling. The case would be different if the education proper to qualify the civil servants of the Company could not be obtained elsewhere; the public might then be disposed to look with indulgence upon an institution which, though disproportioned to its object, and exorbitant in its expenditure, was yet necessary to prevent the inconvenience that would arise from committing the affairs of India to the hands of ignorant men. But surely, in this country, there is no deficiency of the means of education. No description of knowledge is acquired in the College that might not be acquired elsewhere, and perhaps, on the whole, under more favourable circumstances. The only question therefore is, by what means shall the Company ensure a succession of civil servants, properly educated for the stations they are destined to fill. The most simple course will be the most efficient. Let the candidates be required to possess a certain

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tain degree of knowledge in such branches of literature and science as may be deemed necessary, their proficiency to be of course ascertained by examination. But the examination should be confined to the positive acquirements of the students. Success should not be a matter of accident, nor should the same amount of information in one year obtain honour, and in another incur disappointment and degradation. The tests of proficiency should be well defined, and he who was prepared to pass them should have nothing to fear from the quackery of competition, where, though learning may sometimes vanquish ignorance, arrogance but too frequently bears the prize from modesty. Such a plan, though less showy, would be far more useful than that of the act of 1833. The required amount of learning would be secured, and none would be rejected but those who ought not to succeed. Seniority and choice of station are minor points of detail, which might very readily be arranged to the satisfaction of all.

Admission to the military service of the Company is not clogged with the difficulties which have been thought necessary in the civil service. The European officers of the Company's<sup>s</sup> army commence their service as cadets, and they are eligible at sixteen years of age. Cadets for the artillery and engineers are educated at the Military Seminary at Addiscombe. They usually remain

main about two years, and on quitting the seminary are appointed to different branches of the service. If the demands of the engineer and artillery services fall short of the entire number of cadets, the remainder are draughted into the general service.

In the Committee of the House of Commons, 1832, some member threw out a suggestion that it might be desirable to make the whole service originally military. It is not easy to conceive on what grounds this opinion is maintained. The duties of a soldier and a civilian are very different. An individual is sometimes qualified to confer honour on either station ; but his possession of the qualification for one does not necessarily imply his fitness for the other. Such a plan would be unreasonable, by requiring in the civil servant qualities and attainments altogether foreign to his duties. It would be injurious, by excluding from the civil service all persons, however well qualified, who did not happen to possess a taste for military life. In this country, civil office is sometimes held by military men, but their military character is accidental. We do not require those destined to diplomatic, financial, or judicial service, to prepare themselves by a series of campaigns, and why this should be advisable in India and not in England, no valid reason can be assigned.

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It will now be proper to advert to the mode of administering the government in India:

The British dominions in that country were formerly divided into three presidencies: Fort William (Bengal), Fort St. George (Madras), and Bombay. By the late Act the presidency of Fort William is directed to be divided, and a portion of it to form the new presidency of Agra; but the division is not to affect the succession to commands and offices, nor the operation of the Mutiny Act.

The Governor-general is governor of the presidency of Fort William. He is appointed by the Court of Directors, subject to the pleasure of the Crown. His council, nominated by the Court, consists of four members, three of them servants of the Company of ten years' standing. The fourth member of council is not to be chosen from the servants of the Company; his appointment is dependent on the approbation of the Crown, and he is not entitled to sit or vote in council, except at meetings for making laws and regulations. The Court may also appoint the commander-in-chief of the Company's forces in India an extraordinary member of council. In the event of there being no commander-in-chief, or of that office being held by the Governor-general; the Court may appoint the commander-in-chief of the forces on the Bengal establishment. The  
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Governor-general in Council is supreme in India : but all laws and regulations disallowed by the Court of Directors under the control of the Board are to be forthwith repealed, and no law is to be made without their previous sanction, which shall give to any courts of justice, except those established by royal charter, the power of punishing his Majesty's European subjects with death, or which shall abolish any of the courts established by charter. The presence of the Governor-general and three ordinary members of council is necessary to give validity to any act of legislation. The other functions of government may be exercised by the Governor-general and one member. If the voices are equal, the Governor-general has a second vote ; and in cases where he may consider the peace and safety of the country materially affected, he may, after certain forms, act on his own responsibility, in opposition to the opinion of the majority of the council.

The administration of the affairs of each of the four presidencies is committed to a governor and three councillors. The Governor-general is governor of Fort William, and has the power of appointing a deputy governor in case of necessity. The appointments to the subordinate presidencies are subject to the same regulations as that of the Governor-general and his Council. If the Court of Directors do not supply vacancies within two months'

months' notice of them, the Crown may appoint. The King may also remove any person holding office under the Company. The same power of removal is possessed by the Court, with the exception of officers appointed by the Crown. And the Court, under the control of the Board, have the further power of reducing the number of councillors in any of the presidencies, or of suspending the appointment of councils altogether.

One provision remains to be noticed; but as its probable consequences will be discussed elsewhere it will be sufficient to merely mention it. All natural-born British subjects are now permitted to reside without license in any part of the territories which were under the government of the Company on the 1st day of January 1800, in any part of the countries ceded by the Nabob of the Carnatic, of the province of Cuttack, and of the settlements of Singapore and Malacca. The only conditions required are, that the party shall proceed by sea, and shall on his arrival give notice of his name, place of destination, and objects of pursuit. A license is still necessary in the territories not specially excepted by the act. A British subject may hold lands in any place where he is authorized to reside.

## CHAPTER IV.

## AGRICULTURE.

THE restrictions on the residence of Europeans, which were necessary while our power in India was gathering stability, have now been abolished to as great an extent as prudence will permit, and British subjects are at liberty to transfer their capital and skill to a country where there is an almost inexhaustible field for the employment of both. England is saturated with the capital of which India stands in need. England abounds with the scientific information, and the practical ingenuity, in which India is remarkably deficient. England, too, possesses, in an eminent degree, that spirit of enterprize, the want of which is one of the most striking characteristics of the larger portion of the inhabitants of the East. For the employment of English capital, knowledge, skill, and enterprize, India presents a surface of vast extent and extraordinary fertility, with a supply of labour at once cheap and abundant, and it is to Englishmen that she must look for that impulse to improvement which, from her own sons she will never receive. The system of husbandry,



dry, if system it deserves to be called, has been handed down for ages unimproved, and, as may readily be imagined, is of the most wretched description. Where nature has done so much, man has done scarcely any thing. This has arisen from a variety of causes ; the natural indolence of the natives ; the darkness engendered by the gross superstitions which hold dominion over their minds, and the insecurity which at all times, previous to the reign of the British, has attached to the possession of property. In a country subjected to the three-fold curse of indolence, superstition, and anarchy, there is little temptation to accumulate capital, and still less to invest it in improvement. Dispirited by oppression, and enervated by fear, the native would be content to draw from the soil just as much as would satisfy the demands of his task-master, and afford himself a bare subsistence ; while no stranger would risk his capital in a country where his improvements would enrich, not himself, but the temporary possessor of supreme power, or some of his rapacious myrmidons.

The wisdom and equity of British sway is removing one of these causes, and not only rendering property secure, but, what is equally important, convincing the holders of its security. This, however, is not sufficient. A people who have slept for centuries, are slow in waking to active exertion.

exertion. India possesses no class of men likely at present to take an interest in its improvement, and to effect this important object with speed and certainty the assistance of European capitalists is indispensable. The provisions of the late act regarding the settlement of Europeans may therefore be regarded as wise and beneficial. The restrictions previously imposed were necessary till we were strong enough to dispense with them. That period has arrived, and we have removed them in the spirit with which, on the return of strength or the attainment of manhood, we cast away the supports required by sickness or infancy.

The circumstances of India happily preserve it from the influx of one class of emigrants who find little difficulty in transporting themselves from Europe to the Western World ; those who, bankrupt alike in fortune and reputation, seek a land where subsistence may be gained and character dispensed with. The distance, the expense of the voyage, and the absolute necessity of possessing some portion of either capital or credit, secure India from being visited by any great number of mere adventurers. Even to the laborious poor, India presents no temptation. The climate would incapacitate them for toil, and the cheapness of native labour renders competition impossible. The British settlers must conse-

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quently be men of capital, and their immediate dependants; and the introduction of such a class of British subjects into the tract of country now opened to their enterprize, must be regarded, under existing circumstances, as promising unmixed advantage. The indirect benefits will not be inconsiderable. Every European must be a consumer, and thus give a stimulus to production. A body of British settlers will also tend to bind India more closely to Britain, by community of habits, language, and religion. Most of them will keep up some connection with the parent country, and many will entertain the hope of returning to it, while the increased intercourse that will take place between natives and Europeans must tend to remove the prejudices of both. We may safely then concur in the opinion of Sir Charles Metcalfe, that "every measure which is calculated to facilitate the settlement of our countrymen in India, and to remove the obstructions by which it is impeded, must conduce to the stability of our rule, and to the welfare of the people subject to our dominion."

The danger to be apprehended from the emigration of mere adventurers being small, the settlement of Europeans should rather be invited than discouraged; and with this view, it may be acceptable to point out some of the most desirable modes of employing capital. Agriculture is  
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unquestionably the first ; it is that in which capital is at once most required and most likely to produce a valuable return. But though India is rich in productions of almost universal demand, her resources remain undeveloped by the imperfect modes of cultivation, to which prejudice, ignorance, and poverty have condemned her. A volume would be insufficient for a complete exposition of the agricultural capabilities of India ; but a few remarks directing attention to some of the more valuable and improvable of her productions, will not be misapplied.

#### COTTON.

Woollen was formerly the most important branch of manufacture carried on in Great Britain, and linen occupied the second place. In the vicissitudes which attend the progress of human industry, both linen and woollen have yielded to cotton, which now gives employment to a greater number of hands, and a larger amount of capital than any other commodity. To Britain an ample supply of the raw material is consequently an object of the highest importance. Equally important to the country which can supply the demand is the acquisition of such a customer.

The soil and climate of India are admirably adapted to the growth of cotton, and every variety  
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is produced there. But from the carelessness and mismanagement which mark every stage, both of culture and preparation for the market, the price which India cotton bears is greatly inferior to that commanded by the cotton of America. Yet the cotton of the East is capable of producing fabrics of unequalled strength and durability. This circumstance may not be attributable entirely to the quality of the material, but in some degree also to the simplicity of the mode of manufacture. Thus the paper of Nepaul possesses the same quality of durability; but if manufactured by European mills, and bleached by European art, its superiority is gone. In the same way the circumstances under which the cotton goods of India are fabricated, doubtless have some effect in promoting durability. The thread is spun by hand—the weaving is performed by a hand-loom, and the process of bleaching is effected by steam and exposure to the sun. The injuries inflicted upon the fibre by the use of machinery in the first two operations, and of mineral acids in the third, are thus avoided; the cloth is not subjected to the process of singeing, and there is throughout no sacrifice of strength to either beauty or economy. Yet all these advantages would not confer the power of making a good article from a bad material. The low price of Indian cotton must, therefore, be accounted for on some other ground than

than that of its intrinsic inferiority—and the slovenly methods of culture and carriage are quite sufficient. The native will in all cases adopt that course which gives him the least trouble, and is attended with the smallest outlay; no prospect of increased profit is sufficient to tempt him to greater care, or a more liberal expenditure. In consequence of this apathy, the cotton of India is deteriorated in value—no care is taken to select the best varieties, nor the most favourable situations—no regard is paid to a due rotation of crops—a number of articles are grown upon the same ground and at the same time, to the injury of all—and the whole system of husbandry is of the most injudicious and perverse character. The cotton-shrub in India an annual, in America and the Leeward Islands is triennial. It is said that the best produce is yielded in the first year, and if it be so, the practice of suffering the plants to die annually may be defensible. But nothing can justify the neglect of changing the seed—a measure of indispensable necessity, but never regarded by the Indian cultivator. The methods of cleaning and separating the cotton from the seed, are as rude and insufficient as the mode of culture. The essential oil of the seed frequently escapes, and the cotton in consequence becomes dirty and discoloured. From this cause also it derives a tendency to become mouldy. It is further

further injured while in the course of transit. A large proportion of it is grown at a great distance from the place of export. It is conveyed partly by water in ill-constructed boats, insufficiently protected from the weather, and is sometimes warehoused for months at intermediate places. On its arrival, though some attempts may be made to clean it and remove the seed, they partake of the inefficiency which pervades every part of the proceedings, from the sowing of the seed to the shipment of the wool. Finally, it is subjected to powerful screws, injudiciously worked, and all the seed and other impurities with which it happens to be contaminated, are pressed into it. Shipped in such a state, it is rather surprising that it should bear so high a relative value, compared with the cotton of the West, than that it should fall so much below it. That great improvement may be effected by intelligence and care is obvious, but European attention and European capital are indispensable. By the application of these, there is reason to believe that the cotton of the East may be brought to rival that of the West, and one of the most important branches of our manufacturing industry thus be rendered independent of foreign states for a supply of its raw material. The weekly demand for cotton at Liverpool amounted in 1832 to fifteen thousand bales. The custom of the British manufacturer would be one  
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of the noblest presents that could be bestowed on India, whilst its transfer to that country would be alike beneficial to our own. The jealousy of our manufacturing superiority which prevails in North America is notorious, and it behoves us to guard in time against its consequences.

### SILK.

On the production of silk the Company have bestowed great attention, and expended considerable sums. Private capital to some extent has also been applied to it, and with promise of success.

Silk-worms in India are fed not only on the mulberry, but also on the *palma christi*, or castor-oil plant, and several kinds of the laurel tribe. The mulberry is of course the most important, and the silk produced from it of a far superior quality. The culture of this valuable tree\* is conducted by the natives of India in the careless manner which distinguishes all their agricultural operations. No care is taken to select the best species of plant—none to preserve it, or to obtain the largest quantity of leaf, while the worm often perishes from neglect. Yet land applied to the raising

\* It is said that a dwarf-tree, the height of which seldom exceeds six or seven feet, is widely spread in China, and gives food to their superior worms.



raising of silk yields a higher rent than if cultivated for any other purpose; and though the reputation of India silk in the European market is not high, there is an anxiety for a fuller supply, which is enhanced by the increasing competition between the English and French manufacturers. Though perhaps in every point of view a less important article than cotton, it yet affords an opening for the investment of capital with a reasonable prospect of fair returns.

#### INDIGO.

The beneficial effects of British capital upon India have been exemplified in the indigo plantations. The old Indian methods of producing this article were miserably imperfect, and it is to the connexion of Europeans with the Indian soil that we must ascribe the great extension of cultivation and the great improvements which have taken place in the mode of producing it. The effects of this connexion became rapidly perceptible. It increased the value of land, and raised the price of labour. The indigo trade does not, however, at present offer to the capitalist inducements equal to those held out by other articles of produce. Though the consumption of indigo in France has greatly increased, the supply is at present fully equal to the demand, and there is not much prospect of an extension of the trade. The price at which it  
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is now afforded is barely remunerative, but its lowness has the effect of driving all competition out of the market. There are several plants producing indigo besides that from which it is now obtained, and should an increased demand arise, they will probably be brought into use.

#### TOBACCO.

This article is an exotic in India, as is evident from the fact of there being no native name for it. Of its introduction, however, no memorial exists. The consumption in India is small, as the natives, though they smoke almost universally, never use tobacco but in combination with other ingredients. A very small portion of land is consequently devoted to its growth, as the quality is generally bad and unfit for exportation. That it might be greatly improved is the opinion of those best qualified to judge, and even at present India produces some good tobacco, though in small quantities. There is a kind grown to a very limited extent in the northern circars, and converted into snuff at Masulipatam, on the coast of Coromandel. This snuff is highly valued in England. Some good tobacco is also raised in Bundelcund. Capital, knowledge, and care, are probably all that are wanting to render the production of tobacco of marketable quality more general.

## COFFEE.

The cultivation of coffee in India is of recent introduction, the first plantation having been established in 1823. Coffee being a shrubby plant, requires considerable time to bring it fairly into the market; at present, therefore, to pronounce an opinion upon the subject would be premature. Bengal is regarded by Dr. Wallich as well adapted for its growth. The Hindoos at present do not drink it, though the Mahomedans do. There seems nothing improbable in the expectation that it may in time find consumers among the former class; and, at all events, the taste for it is so generally diffused throughout the world, that little difficulty in finding a market need be anticipated should an article of average quality be produced.

## SUGAR.

The cultivation of sugar is already extensive, and there are few parts of India possessing the means of irrigation where it might not be successfully cultivated. The cane is quite equal to that of the West-Indies, but it is deteriorated by a wretched system of cultivation. The old mode of extracting the sugar is perfectly Indian—that is, of the rudest description. The West Indian process has been lately introduced, but no improvement will take place, either in the culture or the manufacture, that does not result from European

ropean enterprize and capital. To the employment of these no article offers fairer prospects. The consumption of sugar is enormous, and to its probable increase it is not possible to suggest limits. India may become the greatest sugar country in the world, and it is our duty to the people committed to our rule to secure to them this important branch of trade. The course prescribed by our own interest is not less clear. A large share of the profits of British capital employed in India, will return to increase the resources of our own country. The time, too, is peculiarly fitted for the experiment, and the present circumstances of our West India possessions urge it with a voice which it would be the extreme of folly to disregard. A change has taken place, the consequences of which are yet in the bosom of Time; but the best informed and the most sagacious regard them with gloomy forebodings. Some venture to predict that the period is approaching when all labour will cease in the West-Indies, excepting so much as is necessary to preserve existence, in a climate where the wants of man are few. It scarcely admits of doubt that there will be a reduction both in the breadth of cultivation and the amount of produce; and it is worth remembering that the great and sudden prosperity of the indigo trade in Bengal was caused by the destruction of the plantations in

in St. Domingo. Previously to the French revolution, that island enjoyed an almost exclusive possession of this trade; but the disorganizing doctrines which convulsed the parent country extended to the colony. A revolt of the negroes was the result, and from that time St. Domingo has not produced a single pound of a commodity with which she previously supplied the whole world. Habit has rendered sugar one of the necessities of human existence, and a prohibitory price alone can lead to a diminished consumption. Why, then, should we not avail ourselves of the advantages which India offers for the supply of an immense and increasing demand? Why, in the event of our West-India colonies becoming unproductive (a calamity which there is but too much reason to apprehend), should we not be prepared to draw from the fertile provinces of the East those supplies which are denied us in the West? It would be absurd to say, that the destruction of our West-India colonies would, in any case, be unattended with loss; but the loss would receive all the mitigation of which it is susceptible, by opening to the capitalist fresh channels of profit, and to the consumer new sources of supply. But to insure these beneficial effects we must be liberal—we must be just towards our Eastern possessions. Hitherto we have been neither. The duty levied on East-India sugar

sugar exceeds by more than thirty per cent. the duty imposed on sugar produced in any other part of the British dominions; the duty upon East-India rum is nearly double that paid by the produce of other settlements. The latter duty is, of course, prohibitory, and the former is a serious drawback upon the profit of the cultivator, as well as a serious impediment to production. These grievances ought not to continue. It is not just to tax heavily the industry of one half of our fellow-subjects, and to confer comparative immunity on their rivals. It is not politic to discourage a branch of production capable of affording extensive employment to capital and labour, and ministering to an appetite universally diffused. The admission of the sugar of India at the same rate of duty which is paid on that raised in other British dependencies, is called for by every motive to which a statesman should be accessible. It might be conceded without any apprehension of a diminution of the revenue. The increased importation would more than make up the difference between the higher and the lower duty. Such a measure would be at once useful and popular, inasmuch as it would not only substantially promote the benefit of India, but would convince its people of the disposition entertained by the government at home to encourage their productive powers. To the great  
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body of consumers in this country it would be scarcely less acceptable and beneficial. If the period should ever arrive when the sources of our present supply shall fail, we shall be compelled to have recourse to the East. It will be prudent, then, to provide in time for this contingency, the occurrence of which must be regarded as something more than a bare possibility. If by excessive taxation we depress the spirit of production in India, all we can look for when the hour of necessity arrives, is an insufficient supply at an exorbitant price. If by an upright, wise, and generous policy we place her on a level with her competitors, and give free course to the development of her agricultural resources, we secure to ourselves, under all circumstances, an abundant supply of sugar at a reasonable rate. To the West-India colonists the question is of no importance whatever. If ruin should overtake them, it will not be in consequence of doing justice to India; it will arise, not from fair competition without, but from insubordination and commotion within; it will not be averted by undue protection, nor accelerated by a reasonable concession to another body of producers, whose claims are equally entitled to attention. The interests of India and of England demand an equalization of the duty, and not a single session of Parliament should be allowed to pass over without the performance of this act of justice.

## TIMBER.

The forests of India might be rendered of far greater importance than they have hitherto been. Dr. Wallich, who visited many parts of India with an especial view to the forests, states that they contain every description of timber in the world, or a substitute for it. The wealth derivable from this source has been in a great degree overlooked, and even the timber most necessary for the supply of the wants of the natives has been neglected. There has been a serious falling off in the supply of bamboos, the universal building material for the poorer classes in India. With regard to other timber, almost all that was near the rivers has been cut down; but the natives being ignorant of the modes employed in Europe and America for the removal of timber grown at a distance from water-carriage, there is still a large supply inaccessible to them, but which would offer little difficulty to superior skill. Capital might also be judiciously applied in establishing saw-mills in the vicinity of forests, by which the risk incurred in floating timber entire down the rivers might be avoided.

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On the other products of India it will be unnecessary to dwell. Wheat and barley are raised



on a considerable breadth of land, but rice is the grain most extensively cultivated.

The attempts to introduce the cultivation of tea have not succeeded, and we know so little of the subject that it would be improper to offer an opinion. At present, the culture of this plant must be regarded as pure matter of experiment.

## CHAPTER V.

## MANUFACTURES.

THE subject of Indian manufactures will demand a very brief notice. India is not calculated to become a great manufacturing country in the present condition of the world. Labour, indeed, is cheap, but however small the expense at which human life is maintained, the hands of man cannot compete with machinery in cheapness of production. The piece-goods of India, formerly an important article of export, are now superseded not only in the British market, but in her own; and Manchester and Glasgow furnish clothing to the people of India. The fabrics produced by machinery are not indeed equal in strength or durability to those manufactured by manual labour, but the vast difference in price ensures them a preference in every market. Some attempts have been made to establish cotton-mills in India, but the most sanguine must entertain great doubts of their success. The advantages possessed by the parent country are so overwhelming, that the contest is altogether unequal. Machinery may be constructed in England, but when disabled by accident, the difficulties of getting it repaired will

be considerable. Time might overcome this ; but there are other impediments not likely to be surmounted. The coal of India is of inferior quality, and with the disadvantages under which that country must labour in a career of manufacturing competition, she will do wisely to apply her energies principally to the improvement of her agriculture. She ought, however, to be allowed a fair chance of success. If we can do little to advance, we ought to do nothing to depress her manufacturing industry. Yet our statute-book contains provisions which have a direct tendency to this end. The injustice which excludes her sugar from consumption is extended to her cotton and silk piece-goods—the former are charged in this country with a duty of ten per cent., the latter with a still more oppressive impost of twenty per cent., while British goods are imported into India free of duty. If any indulgence were shewn, it surely ought to be to the weak. Here the case is reversed in favour of the strong. India should not be regarded in the light of a foreign country, but as an integral part of the British empire, separated by distance but united with it by a common interest. There should be no more distinction between Britain and India than between England and Scotland ; and the subjects of both divisions of the empire should have the privilege of exerting their industry unrestrained by laws intended

intended to favour one at the expense of the other. The duties on India piece-goods should therefore be repealed, and in doing this we should make no sacrifice. Our manufacturing greatness is too firmly established to dread any thing from such a measure. The actual advantage to India might be small, yet the boon would be valuable, as indicating a desire to give her industry a fair opening. As the produce of the existing duties must be inconsiderable, there can be no financial object in retaining them fit to be placed in comparison with the conciliation of our fellow subjects in the East.

## CHAPTER VI.

## FOREIGN TRADE.

COMMERCE and agriculture have a tendency to benefit each other. Whatever contributes to advance the commercial prosperity of India will stimulate its agriculture ; whilst, on the other hand, as its circumstances are not the most favourable to manufacturing industry, it can only become a great commercial country by increased attention to the improvement of its soil. It cannot import unless it have something to export in exchange, and its powers of exportation must be limited by its power of production. With this view the improvement of agriculture ought to be a primary object with the friends of India. If this be duly encouraged, foreign commerce will follow as a matter of course.

The external trade of India compared with her capacity is not great. As connected especially with the interests of our own country, considerable importance must be attached to her commercial relations with China.

India exports to China vast quantities of opium, for the growth of which she possesses peculiar facilities.

cilities Opium may be raised in Bengal cheaper and better than in any other part of the world; and China affords a market almost unlimited in extent. The taste for this drug has spread through the empire in spite of severe regulations for its exclusion, and is said to have extended even to the palace itself. However much this increased consumption of a pernicious stimulant may be regretted in a moral point of view, it is certain that it promotes several objects equally desirable both for India and England. This is not the place to discuss its importance as a source of revenue; but, commercially, its advantages are manifold. To India it affords employment for her land and labour. It gives also ready means of transmitting the tribute which she pays to England, and to that country consequent facilities for receiving it. The demand for tea in India is small; in England it is enormous. Here, as in many other instances, the convenience of the three countries is promoted, and their wealth increased by the agency of universal commerce. Bengal produces opium, and China desires to consume it; but in Bengal there is no taste for tea, which is the produce of China. In England this taste exists; but the Chinese have little desire for the commodities of that country. Again, India has to remit a certain amount of revenue to England; but the demand for Indian goods is limited: all difficulty,

difficulty, however, is removed by the intervention of that system of mercantile accommodation which has spread itself throughout the civilized world. The opium of Bengal is exported to China, where it is paid for probably in bullion. The holders of the bullion may not deal in the commodities of China, and the direct course, therefore, would be to remit it to India; but a bill is a more convenient remittance than bullion, and the latter consequently finds its way into the Company's treasury as the consideration for a bill upon India, and bullion thus deposited performs the office of paying for the tea required for the consumption of England. The importer of this article purchases of the Company in London bills upon China or bills upon India which are negotiated in China, and with the proceeds of these which arise from the sale of opium, he procures his freight of that article which constitutes the morning and evening beverage of almost every class of the English people. The multifarious ramifications of commerce occasion many deviations from this course, and conceal the operation that is actually taking place. But whatever the details the principle is the same, and the opium of India is substantially exchanged for the tea of China. When the trade with that country was confined to the Company, the transaction was more simple, but in no other respect different.

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Whether the British public under the new system will be better or worse supplied with an article which habit has made essential to their comfort, is a question which it is altogether foreign to the purposes of this work to discuss.

India, by exporting opium, assists in supplying England with tea. China, by consuming opium, facilitates the revenue operations between India and England. England, by consuming tea, contributes to increase the demand for the opium of India.

With England the trade of India has greatly extended, and in proportion to the development of her resources will it be increased. As has been already stated, the cotton piece-goods of England have materially interfered with those of native manufacture, and the probability is that the consumption of the former will continue to increase and that of the latter to decline. Both justice and policy, therefore, require that every encouragement should be given to the growth of cotton in India; and if she should be enabled to supply the vast demand of the parent country for the raw material, it will be some compensation for the loss of the home market to her manufacturers. Metals and woollens are articles of export from this country. The great obstacle to the extension of commercial intercourse between England and India is the difficulty of finding returns suitable



suitable to the English market. But this difficulty is in a great degree created by faulty legislation, and would be removed by the adoption of a wiser policy. All duties that press injuriously upon the industry of India should be repealed, and especially so much of the tax upon sugar as places her in a worse condition than other countries subject to the British crown. The exports of India must be principally the products of her soil. In proportion as that receives the benefit to be derived from European capital, energy, and skill, will her amount of exchangeable commodities be increased. But the hope of progressive prosperity will be vain, if the parent country retard the course of improvement by ruinous imposts. It can never be too often repeated, that by advancing the prosperity of India we are advancing our own: by offering a market for the goods of India, we are opening one for those of Great Britain.

With France and the other European nations the commerce of India is inconsiderable. Wine is imported from the first-named country, but in many instances the consumers prefer receiving it from English houses of established character. The consumption is of course very limited, the natives not being accustomed to drink wine. The feeling against it is, however, wearing away, and some drink wine in considerable quantities. Any  
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great accession of European settlers would, of course, increase the demand. The principal article imported by the French is indigo, and their consumption of it is on the increase.

The trade with America somewhat exceeds that with France. The Americans generally purchase their cargoes with bills or bullion—they take back indigo, silk, and saltpetre. Their demand for these articles is not likely to decline, nor is there much probability of their rivalling us in the commodities with which we supply the Indian market.

Some facilities have within the last few years been afforded to the trade with Ava through Arracan. The Burmese appear likely to be considerable consumers of British goods.

The commerce of India with central Asia is limited by various causes. The heavy duties levied by the various sovereigns, the insecurity of property, and the difficulty of transport, all contribute to cramp the operations of a trade which doubtless would extend itself, if aided by wiser government, greater security, and improved modes of communication. Caubul is a great and increasing consumer of Indian and British commodities. The manufactures of our own country have in a great degree superseded those of Russia, which formerly commanded an extensive sale in Caubul. Through the last-named country both  
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Indian and British goods are transmitted to Bokhara, where the introduction of the latter has had the same effect, of displacing in a great degree the goods of Russia. If this trade were pushed as it might be, the supply of Bokhara with muslins and woollens might be secured exclusively to India and England. With a view to the extension of our commerce with these countries, Lieutenant Burnes suggests the propriety of imitating the Russians, by establishing fairs or bazaars on the frontier of our Indian empire adjoining Caubul, and the suggestion certainly deserves attention.

The trade with Persia might be greatly advanced. The chintzes of Masulpatam enjoy a preference in that country which ensures their sale, but there are commodities which Persia receives from other quarters which might advantageously be supplied by British India. Indigo and cotton are carried by the Dutch from Batavia, and the indigo is unquestionably inferior to that of India. The French, too, send various articles from their settlements. With reasonable care and activity, the whole of this trade might be transferred to our Indian possessions.

The commercial capabilities of our Eastern dependencies are at present very imperfectly understood, but a few years will probably develop them, to the joint advantage of India and England.